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# THE NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper  
Devoted to the Interest  
of the Socialist and  
Labor Movement

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## Rail Board Packed With Labor's Foes

ALBANY, N. Y. June 18.—The Albany Board of Railroad Commissioners today packed with labor's foes.

By Norman Thomas

PENNSYLVANIA politics are giving plenty of proof—if any were needed—that popular primaries were not in themselves any sure cure against corruption. Business interests in our capitalist society can buy and bamboozle the electorate scarcely less efficiently than a political convention. Only it costs more money. The pious Pepper, it appears, adopts the same methods as Vane, the ward politician. The refinement of hypocrisy in Pennsylvania is that you don't buy votes, but simply hire as many watchers as your slush fund permits. Where the money comes from is already clear. Vane and his cohorts make their living out of politics. Mellon, for the sake of his prestige, wants his own man for Senator in Washington. Grundy, the manufacturer, wants his own man as Governor for fear lest disagreeable tax legislation may be enacted. So they pay. And there are plenty to receive. The "legitimate" campaign expenditures in a state like Pennsylvania may be great. But it is quite apparent that the bulk of the money has gone for the illegitimate hiring of watchers. And that, in Pennsylvania, means buying votes. It looks as if we should have to come to a rigid and somewhat mechanical restriction of the amount of money that may legally be spent in the primaries.

I make no defense of vote selling when I suggest that many a man who sells \$5 for his vote in New York or \$10 for being a watcher in Pennsylvania may plausibly advance the excuse that about all his vote is worth is what he can get for it in the open market. The old parties see to it that there are no real issues. Labor is not militantly and effectively in politics. What is there to vote for except cash in hand or the prospect of some job or favor from one of the boys you put in office? It isn't much use to feel a virtuous disgust at this Pennsylvania performance unless you are willing to try to put some reality into politics, and the only way that can be done is to work for a strong and intelligent labor party.

Let no Pennsylvanian think that I as a New Yorker feel any particular pride in the moral superiority of my own city. What has already been revealed of the milk scandals under our last city administration will keep us New Yorkers humble. For the privilege of trifling with the health, if not the life, of men, women and children in New York one agent has confessed paying nearly \$100,000 in graft money which apparently went to the assistant of a Health Commissioner whose testimony as to what he did not know about his own department entitles him to rank with the present Attorney-General of the United States. Please remember that this milk graft went on under that great friend of the people, ex-Mayor Hylan.

So far, Mayor Walker's administration has produced no scandal. Neither has it given evidence of any conspicuous constructive policy of social reform. We are, however, interested to learn that 472 men and women are

### Meyer London Left Only \$4,000

Lifetime Sacrifice and Service Without Financial Reward  
Revealed in Filing of Will—Praise of Socialist  
Continues to Pour In

MEYER LONDON'S life of service to the workers and their labor organizations netted him, in financial reward, the sum of \$4,000, the filing of his will, in which his widow and daughter are made the beneficiaries, revealed this week.

London's accumulation of such a small amount of money, when it is remembered that for more than 20 years he was a brilliant and much sought-for lawyer, presented another side of the generous nature of the Socialist whose passing was mourned by 500,000 persons last week.

As The New York World said: "A new ending has been written to the story of the poor boy who rose from the masses, achieved leadership, received the acclaim of the people and gained great wealth. Meyer London did those things, with one exception. He will bequeath everything to his widow. No one who knew Meyer London will be surprised to learn that 'everything' was personal property

### EASLEY SORRY HE CAN'T SHOOT STRIKERS

"Tortuous Retainer of Plutocracy" Sighs for a Mussolini to Kill Textile Workers

By Albert F. Coyle

Editor, Locomotive Engineers' Journal

WITH respect to one traitor to the cause of labor, our patience is at an end. We refer to Ralph M. Easley, creator, director and chief salary-grabber of the National Civic Federation, which has long imposed on the labor movement as a means of "reconciling" the difference between capital and labor. The International Association of Machinists, the United Mine Workers and other aggressive labor unions forbid any of their officers to be connected with Mr. Easley's Civic Federation, and the late President Warren S. Stone resigned from it in disgust some months before his death.

We have just seen some interesting letters between Easley and the chief publicity agent for the U. S. Steel Corporation marked "Confidential—Not To Be Published," which tear the mask from this fake "friend of labor" so that honest-minded labor leaders can no longer associate in his company.

The marvel to us is that Easley has been able to deceive the labor movement as long as he has. While keeping within the good grace of the late Samuel Gompers by means of fulsome flattery, Easley has defamed and vilified almost every progressive person and principle in the labor movement that did not have official protection. He has openly opposed social insurance, old age pensions, the minimum wage, unemployment insurance, and even co-operative ownership. These great social protections for the workers Mr. Easley brands as "socialistic" and "bolshieistic," and anyone who advocates them is a "dangerous red." While denying that he is opposed to child labor legislation, Mr. Easley has adroitly appointed committees of reactionaries to "study" the child labor problem, which committees whitewashed the child-slaving mill owners of the South, and Easley himself assisted by maligning Owen Lovejoy, the great-hearted father of the child labor amendment to the Constitution. Incidentally, this false "friend of labor" is so considerate of starving little children that he bitterly attacked the Quakers and such men as Captain Paxton Hibben for daring to carry on child relief work in Russia during the famine.

#### Even Taft Quit

Every ardent worker for world peace, from Jane Addams to Bishop Brent, has been defamed by Easley as "unpatriotic" or "bolshieistic," the while he has touted it up for a big army and navy. So insulting were his tirades against advocates of peace that Chief Justice Taft and former Secretary of Commerce Redfield resigned from his Civic Federation in protest.

Not even the liberal churchmen have escaped Easley's malicious tongue. He has attacked the Methodist Federation for Social Work departments of most of the other churches, and denounced

valued at \$4,000. Still, not everything. He left something else. It was strong enough to crowd east side streets with mourners last week when his funeral took place.

It is true that London's Socialist comrades are not surprised. The hat was never passed at a Socialist meeting but that Meyer London put his \$50 or \$100 in it. All the time, his comrades knew that his generosity deserved a much larger purse.

As a lawyer, he would be regarded by the ordinary rim of legal practitioners as "a nut." Divorce cases, bankruptcies, anything with the slightest unsavory touch, he would not handle.

"His cases were mostly of two sorts," his former partner, Benjamin Chess, said, "—wage cases and injunctions. A case involving a workman's \$12 wage was just as important to him as an injunction suit affecting 30,000 persons. He would work night and day and find time to advise with the rest

(Continued from page 9)

### Women Trade Unionists Will Convene In Tenth Convention in Kansas City



Leaders in the Women's National Trade Union League. Left to right, Mrs. Sarah Green, Miss Rose Schneiderman, vice-president; Mrs. Maud Swartz, president; Miss Agnes Nestor.

EVERY woman who has a job has a share of interest—directly or indirectly—in the National Women's Trade Union League which is to hold its tenth biennial convention here, beginning June 28.

Mrs. Sarah Green, head of the Kansas City league and official hostess of the convention, is a member of the Waitresses' Union. Mrs. Maud Swartz of New York, national president, is from the Typographical Union. Rose Schneiderman of New York, vice-president, is from the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers. Agnes Nestor of Chi-

### Equal Pay for Equal Work Demand to Occupy Attention of Delegates

ago, another big figure among labor women, is from the Glove Makers. But the things they work for include the things which affect equally the pampered secretary of a corporation president, the head of a women's department in a big bank, the woman lawyer or doctor or artist.

The convention will take up the old problem of getting equal pay with men for equal work, the eight hour day, better standards of living, full

citizenship for women and better living conditions for working women. The National Women's Trade Union League is a federation of trade unions with women members and of individuals who accept the league's platform. Its announced purposes are:

To encourage self government in the workshop.

To develop leadership among the women workers.

To insure the protection of the

younger girls in their efforts for better working conditions and a living wage. To secure for girls and women equal opportunity with boys and men in trades in technical training, and pay on the basis of occupation and not on the basis of sex.

To secure the representation of women on industrial tribunals and public boards and commissions.

To interpret to the public generally the aims and purposes of the trade union movement, and

To provide a common meeting ground for women of all groups who wish to see the principles of democracy applied in industry.

### 44 PICKETS ENTER CHICAGO JAIL

Injunction Judge Bitter Against Garment Strikers of 1924—Mothers in Prison

Chicago.

SIXTEEN-YEAR-OLD invalid, requiring constant skilled attention from her mother, is being left with three other children to the mercy of strange hands while her mother spends 45 days in the Cook county (Chicago) jail. The child will be a permanent cripple unless given the greatest care.

Other mothers are separated from their infants, wives from sick husbands, girls from the families they help support. All, to the number of 44, including several men, are a sacrifice to the majesty of the injunction in industrial disputes decreed by Judge Denis Sullivan. They had violated his extreme writs against picketing in the 1924 dressmakers' strike and had now exhausted the last legal resources against serving the 10 to 60 days and paying the \$100 to \$350 fines imposed on them for contempt.

Two were excused at the last moment by Sullivan, one because she was in advanced pregnancy and the other because of critical illness. The judge did not want his pound of flesh to result in death. But short of that, he was inexorable. He scorned the plea of Jane Addams and other social workers who pointed out the just demands of their families upon the women who had displeased him more than two years ago. He declined to follow the suggestions of the defense attorney. Even Freda Reicher, who had been sent to Colorado to recover her health, was forced into the prison for 30 days.

So the erstwhile pickets proceeded to the county jail, seven a week ago, twenty last Saturday, five on Monday, and so on. They were accompanied to the gates by their staunch union friends, hundreds of them cheering them for their loyalty to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which they had placed above the sanctity of judge-made law. Flowers from the union heartened the prisoners. Assurances that the union organization is continuing against the employers' campaign for which the girls had defied Denny Sullivan fortified their spirit.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the Chicago Federation of Labor and the Illinois State Federation of Labor are continuing their efforts to obtain the release of the pickets. The families of the victims are being cared for by their union.

BERLIN.—There were more than 100,000 casualties, 1,564 of which were fatal, in Prussian mines in 1925.

### 5,000 Young Socialists Weld Bond of Fraternity At First World Congress

By Nellie S. Nearing

AMSTERDAM.

THE Socialist youth of Europe is reuniting at Amsterdam for its first international conference. Five thousand strong, they are marching through the street and along the canals of this quaintest and cleanest of cities. With crimson banners floating high, with lusty young voices shouting "Heil, Heil, Heil," and Freundschaft, with firm and steady steps, they march in even ranks from the station to their camp.

The camp is at Watergraafsmeer, on the outskirts of the town. Almost a thousand tents arranged in streets and cross streets, with an open square in the middle; A veritable town, laid out over night as it were, with inhabitants ready provided.

Quarters were assigned in an incredibly short space of time. The Hollanders had everything prepared in admirable order. Ten to a tent, with one commandant for each. A blanket to each person. Meals to be served in front of each tent. Lists of a few simple rules. Revellie at morning and night. Practically none of the usual larksome formalities to attend to.

Knapsacks were speedily deposited, and the real business of learning to know one another began.

Friendships Cemented

"Sprechen Sie langsam," "Parlez lentement," "Please speak slowly." One heard these phrases again and again. Eager groups trying to say with their hands the words that their tongues were unable to utter. The joy of something achieved when at last an idea was successfully expressed in one language or two or three. Hilarious bursts of laughter and happy smiles did as much to cement the friendships as hours of formal conversation could have done. There were no false barriers of formal introduction. Camarade, Genosse and Genossin served to commence any conversation. At the end of an hour, a hundred acquaintances were made. Young folks from twelve different countries of Europe had made of themselves an integral unit ready for action.

The first formal meeting was held after supper in the open square. A high tribune served to make the speakers visible to all.

Such an amazing array of banners! Not only the traditional blood red hue of Socialism, but purple, yellow, blue, orange, gold, green, stripes and bars, letters and crosses, circles and squares—every conceivable size, color, shape and form. Nothing could have been more pregnant with life and color except the happy smiling young faces beneath them.

They began with the "International" French, German, Czechish, Polish, Russian, English words blended into an incredibly harmonious whole.

Then followed the "Red Flag," and the "Song of the Young Guards." A greeting from the Dutch hosts and a reply in German, the language most universally understood. Then marching, singing, and still more speaking, until the meeting broke up, and transformed itself into small groups.

#### Sign Language Called to Use

For five days we sang and talked, and marched, and met, we ate, and slept, and dressed, and washed together, on this far away camping ground, where only half of the 5,000 were on their native soil. Over 1,000 Belgians, 150 Austrians, nearly 100 Germans, 45 Czechs, 10 French, 5 English, 2 Russians, Swedes, Danes, Norwegians and two Americans unofficial, but cordially welcomed.

The Flemish and the Dutch could understand the German of the Germans and Austrians when they spoke slowly. The Germans and Austrians were less able to understand Dutch and Flemish. But perseverance can accomplish wonders and the sign language helped out. The French fraternized with the Belgians, the Poles with the Czechs. Where repartee, debate and discussion were impossible, other substitutes were found. A husky young chap who is soaping his feet, beside a plump dame brushing her teeth, needs no words to make himself understood. On the second day one saw them everywhere exchange insignia, addresses, photographs, promising to write, and to maintain the connection until the next conference.

The commissariat is deserving of particular mention. Three times a day, at seven in the morning, at one o'clock, and in the evening (any time from six to eleven, depending on the day's activities) the volunteer service guards served out rations from wheelbarrows and from fifty-gallon milk cans, six tents to each squad. Bread, butter, cheese, marmalade and coffee for breakfast. A mash of chopped meat, potatoes and green vegetables for dinner. It may sound rather hasty, but endless demands for more showed that it was appreciated. Plates were promptly washed and made ready for the desert, a mixture of rice, sugar and milk. For supper, again.

(Continued on page 2)

MILWAUKEE.—One man was killed and two others injured, when a freight elevator dropped three floors into the basement.

John Devine, a diver, met death at the bottom of the East River.

BERLIN.—Forty persons were killed and fifty wounded in an explosion which destroyed the Haselock Power factory near Mannheim.

### REICH VOTES ON EXPROPRIATING ROYALTY

Socialists Would Give Wealth of Ex-Rulers to the Needy Masses

By George Schmidt

As the readers of The New Leader are aware, the German people have declared by a huge vote for a referendum on the question of confiscating property claimed by the ex-Kaiser and the other former royal families. The following article by a leading German Socialist gives the details of the fight and shows that technicalities may delay the decision at the ballot box for quite a long while.

The first attempt to bring about a vote of the people a decision on a particular legal point, according to the Constitution of the German Republic has in its preliminary stage led to a brilliant success for the initiators. By the insistent claims of the royal houses wide sections of the German nation were so stirred that they manifested their will in vast numbers, to the dismay of our opponents and beyond the highest expectation of our party. To impose upon the German people, hard pressed under the burden of reparations, such a further load as is represented by the claims of the royal houses, was too strong a dose even for the long-suffering German. The twenty-two princes of the Reich advanced a claim of roughly 2,500,000,000 gold marks at 23.3 cents apiece. In this are included landed and forest property of 500,000 hectares, about 100 mansions, industrial and agricultural rights to the value of 200,000,000, yearly pensions to the ex-ruling princes of 150,000,000, art treasures, gold and silver ornaments to the value of 500,000,000, and capital investment at home and abroad amounting to 300,000,000.

The revolution omitted to simply confiscate the possessions of the ruling houses, as was done by the Austrian Republic with the Hapsburgs. The Constituent Assembly in Germany, in view of the differing conditions in the various provinces, had left to the latter the settlement of this question. Then the ruling princes initiated actions before the ordinary courts, claiming as their own property the castles, forests and domains, etc. According to the German Constitution, rights of private property remain intact. Before these middle-class courts they were able successfully to show that the possessions claimed by them were their own private property, even though historical proof might be brought forward that the origin of some of their capital could be traced to the sale of German subjects as cannon fodder to foreign rulers. Several German states were the losers in costly legal actions.

The executive of the Social Democratic party investigated the problem

### COOLIDGE HURTS CHANCES OF PEACE

Winslow, New Chairman, Blocked Howell Bill—Union Leaders Are Resentful

By Laurence Todd

Washington.

RESPONSIBILITY for failure of the machinery for industrial peace in the railroad world—likely to follow the appointment of an anti-labor majority of the Railroad Board of Mediation by President Coolidge—is laid squarely on Coolidge's shoulders by railroad labor spokesmen in Washington.

Coolidge has appointed Samuel E. Winslow, former chairman of the house committee on interstate and foreign commerce, who refused to permit hearings on the Barkley railroad labor bill and then failed to permit that measure to come to a vote in committee, to be chairman of this new rail labor tribunal, at \$12,000 a year for five years.

He has appointed former Gov. Morrow of Kentucky, lame duck of the Railroad Labor Board, for four years. He has named Wallace W. Hanger, another lame duck of the Railroad Labor Board, for two years, and Hyman Davies, a confederator from the Department of Labor, for one year. The three-year job has not been filled, as the White House is undecided between two claimants.

#### Labor Is Astonished

Astonishment and indignation were shown by rail labor officials when the news became public. W. M. Clark, vice-president and legislative representative of the Order of Railway Conductors, declared that the rail labor executives had informed President Coolidge when they called on him, after the passage of the Watson-Parker rail labor disputes bill, that they were opposed to the selection of any members of the deceased Railroad Labor Board to the new board. They wanted a new and clean start. They said they would not promote the candidacy of anyone for the Board of Mediation, but they would protest the carrying over of any of the men who had made the old board a failure.

In the face of this frank statement, Coolidge has named Morrow, who has been bitterly anti-labor as a member of the old board, and who used machine guns and militia companies against strikers in Covington and the Kentucky coal fields before he was appointed to the Railroad Labor Board. He has appointed Hanger, who is a professional job holder in railroad matters, and whose votes have regularly been thrown to the anti-labor side. At the head of the tribunal he has put the man who, as a rail labor leader declared, is the most offensive who could be found in the whole country—Winslow, ex-chairman of the committee that treated rail labor for years with open contempt.

At the office of Alfred Thom, general counsel for the Association of Railway Executives, whose majority has backed the Watson-Parker legislation, the statement was made that the selections came "as a complete surprise."

#### On Their Knees!

Silk-Stockinged Communists Don Breeches and Sword to Kneel Before King George

LONDON.

Communists in court dress were a feature of the second royal court held in Buckingham Palace.

The Soviet Charge d'Affaires, M. Rozslov, and his first secretary, M. Bogomolov, attended, wearing the regulation satin knee breeches, silk stockings and jeweled sword. They were distinguishable from the monarchistic ambassadors only by the absence of orders. The United States ambassador wore ordinary evening dress.

The Communist's appearance before the King in full court regalia has caused much amused surprise and comment inasmuch as Ramsay MacDonald and other labor leaders' participation in Court functions was the signal for a derisive howl of protest from Communist quarters.



## BRITISH STRIKERS GET AMERICAN MINERS' AID

**First Installment of  
\$50,000 Already Re-  
ceived in London—  
Locals Urged to Aid**

Indianapolis. **F**ULLEST possible financial aid for the 1,100,000 locked-out British miners is urged by the United Mine Workers of America in a circular signed by International President John L. Lewis, Vice-President Philip Murray and Secretary-Treasurer Thomas Kennedy. It has been sent to all district, subdistrict and local unions. The United Mine Workers of America already has begun sending money to the British Miners' Federation.

In response to an inquiry, Secretary Kennedy said: "International Union of United Mine Workers last week cabled substantial donation direct to British Miners' Federation. We also sent out circular to our affiliated local unions and branches for donations to be sent to our international office for transmittal to the British miners. While strikes, idleness, etc., have placed limitations upon our resources, nevertheless we are doing and will continue to do all in our power to help our British brothers, who, like the American miners, are engaged in a great struggle to protect and further wage and condition standards."

From London comes a statement by A. J. Cook, secretary of the British Miners' Federation, that the U. M. W. A. has promised \$50,000, on which the first installment has already been received. Cook has also acknowledged receipt of \$10,000 from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

## PIONEER YOUTH CAMP WILL OPEN SEASON ON SUNDAY, JUNE 27TH

The summer camp for children conducted by Labor's youth organization, Pioneer Youth of America, enters upon its third year on Sunday, June 27, according to an announcement of Secretary Joshua Lieberman.

The Pioneer Youth camp accommodates boys and girls nine to sixteen years of age and is conducted on a non-profit making basis. Its aim is to give children every opportunity to conduct their own activities under their own control and management. It definitely appeals to the children of trade unionists, because of its support by labor unions and because it places

## Miners' Women

A birth, a death beneath the sky  
Between the granite mountain  
walls,  
A respite when no children cry,  
And then the blow awaited falls.  
Out in the heedless sunshine play  
The babes upon the squalid street,  
But one that on your bosom lay  
Will walk no more on tottering  
feet.

Before you wonderingly come  
To feel how deep his laughter  
hurts,  
A rope snaps on the winding-  
drum—  
He tugs no longer at your skirts.  
And with your heart and limbs  
like lead,  
Before the trembling old wives  
wail,  
You'll leave the barely-covered  
dead.

To pack the living's dinner-pail.  
Day after day the light will shine  
Back from the polished copper  
pane,  
But darkness and the dreaded  
mine

Have dimmed the light that was  
your man's.

The little lad at school today  
The mine will gather like his sire,  
And you will watch in your dumb  
way

His wet clothes drying by the fire.  
Every man-child born a slave  
Of darkness and the eternal Pit,  
And every girl, until her grave,  
The mother of a slave of it!

—George Slocumba.

the children in an atmosphere favor-  
able to the labor viewpoint.

The location of the camp in Dutchess  
County, New York, is an attractive one,  
being situated on the large farm be-  
longing to the Manumit School. The  
tents are pitched on a sunny, sanitary  
slope, facing, on one side, rolling  
meadows and a brook, and on the other  
deep woods and hills.

The camp staff is composed of men  
and women carefully selected because  
of their experience and special train-  
ing. They are in sympathy with modern  
experimental educational methods  
and acquainted with existing social and  
economic conditions. The children in  
camp are under the constant super-  
vision of a doctor.

The rates for attendance are \$12.50  
a week for children of trade unionists  
and \$20 a week for all other children.  
The lower rate for trade unionists is  
made possible through special ar-  
rangements with interested unions.  
Camp will be in operation until Satur-  
day, September 4, and children may  
remain there for as long or short a  
time as they desire. Registration for  
attendance at camp is made at the  
office of Pioneer Youth, I. L. G. W. U.  
Building, 3 West 16th street.

Pioneer Youth of America also con-  
ducts a camp in the State of Pennsylv-  
ania, near the city of Media.

**BERKELEY SPRINGS, W. VA.**  
—Three were killed in the blast at  
the sand pit of the Berkeley Glass  
Sand Company.

# Did the Furriers Win?

**I**F IT were not for the fact that we have just passed through one of the most intensive wars of propaganda in history, we should be astounded at the astuteness with which the "left wing" leaders of the New York Joint Board of Furriers have made a defeat look like a victory. Their members held demonstrations of hilarious joy at news of the settlement not only because the strike was at last over but because they believed they had won.

Below appears a cold-blooded chart analyzing the furriers' conquests. We hate to disillusion anybody. We should have liked to have seen the strike end in a genuine victory. That is why we are disgusted with the behavior of the leaders who impudently proclaim that all is well, when all they have gained for the workers has been an agreement which if it had been made by anybody else would have aroused from these very "lefts" cries of "sell-out."

## The Strike Settlement at a Glance

### Original Demands Before Lockout of Feb. 11, 1926

A forty-hour week.

A thirty-two-hour week during the  
slow season.

Equal division of work among work-  
ers during the entire year, instead of  
only during three months of the year.

An unemployment insurance fund to  
which every manufacturer is to con-  
tribute three per cent of the amount  
he pays out in wages.

Punishment of manufacturers who  
break agreement.

Twenty-five per cent increase over  
old minimum.

No section contracting.

Foremen not to be permitted to work  
at any branch of the fur trade.

Manufacturer to use only those skins  
which were prepared in union shops  
and bear union labels.

Shop inspection by union without  
notification to manufacturer, as was  
the case in the old agreement.

**"Eight Points" Agreed to by  
Employers Through Inter-  
vention, Over the Heads of  
the Strike Leaders, of Presi-  
dent O. Schachtman of the  
Furriers' International Union  
and A. F. of L. Representa-  
tives Presented to Historic  
Carnegie Hall Meeting  
April 16, 1926**

The old agreement to be used as a  
basis of conference.  
The agreement to last for three  
years.

A forty-two-hour week, to be dis-  
tributed during the first five days of  
the week, to make a five-day week for  
seven months in the year; for the  
other five months the forty-two hours  
to be spread over a six-day week, with  
not more than four hours of work on  
Saturday.

The present minimum wage to be  
increased ten per cent.  
At the end of two years the second-  
class minimum (for inferior grade of  
goods) to be abolished. A serious  
grievance.

No subcontracting.

For two years from Feb. 1, 1926, no  
apprentices to be admitted into the  
industry until it has absorbed those  
already in service.

Overtime to be eliminated as far as  
possible, the exact extent to be deter-  
mined by discussion.

### Final Agreement Made on June 10, 1926, and Ratified by the Membership of Both Sides on June 14, 1926

Three-year agreement.

The forty-hour week is granted with  
the understanding that during the last  
four months of the year the workers  
shall work four extra hours on Satur-  
day, with single pay for the extra  
work.

Penalties for both workers and em-  
ployers for violation of the provisions  
concerning overtime, minimum scales  
and contracting.

Minimum wage scales are increased  
ten per cent.

The provisions of the old agreement  
concerning contracting shall continue  
to govern, with the additional pro-  
vision that there shall be penalties im-  
posed for violation.

Employers shall be permitted to hire  
one foreman over the cutters, nailers  
and operators, and one head finisher.  
These employees shall be exempt from  
union rules.

Apprentices shall not be engaged for  
a period of two years.

Three holidays with pay formerly  
enjoyed by the workers are re-  
linquished. These are New Year's Day,  
Washington's Birthday and Lincoln's  
Birthday.

There shall be no overtime except  
for the four hours of overtime in the  
last four months of the year.

Immediate discharge of strike-  
breakers, who are to be reinstated  
after being penalized by a special com-  
mittee of the Joint Board acting with  
the impartial Chairman of the Con-  
ference Committee of the Fur Indus-  
try, Dr. Paul Abelson.

### A Realistic View of the Final Settlement

This establishes the basic forty-  
hour week, but in practice it means  
nothing of the sort. The workers may  
work forty hours during the dull sea-  
son, when they are fortunate if they  
work that amount of hours at all. Dur-  
ing the busy season when a limitation  
upon hours counts, they will work  
forty-four. The provision for single  
pay makes a serious dent in the prin-  
ciple of the forty-hour week.

Loss.

Loss.

Loss.

Previously penalties only exacted  
from manufacturers. This means that  
the union and the employers' associa-  
tions can exact fines to aid their treas-  
uries, when they so please.

A back-down from the original de-  
mands. Obtainable under the "eight  
points" agreement.

The "eight points" agreement granted  
original demand.  
Provision for penalties is a gain.

Loss.

Loss.

Loss.

A gain.

An inexcusable concession. Formerly  
the holidays were paid for. The three  
payless holidays mentioned occur dur-  
ing the dull season. That means that  
the employees will miss three days' pay  
when it is most needed and will be  
paid for part-time work done during  
the weeks when these holidays occur  
on a forty-hour basis, whereas pre-  
viously it was thirty-six, because the  
other eight hours occurred during a  
legal holiday. This is a distinct loss.

The provision for no overtime in a  
seasonal industry can only be a fic-  
tion. The strikers' leaders could not  
permit a provision for overtime unless  
extra payment were granted. Hence,  
the absolute prohibition, which simply  
means that the workers lose the time  
and a half payment they were receiv-  
ing under the old agreement.

The presence of Dr. Abelson on the  
committee guarantees leniency to the  
strike-breakers.

## SOCIALIST YOUTH IN WORLD CONGRESS

(Continued from page 1)

bread, butter, marmalade and coffee,  
with either cheese or eggs.

**Food Ends a Revolution**

And for each repast hungry bri-  
gades, armed with plate, spoon, knife  
and cup, waited in front of their re-  
spective tents.

Of course, there were hitches. An  
hour's delay in serving dinner one  
day resulted in an impromptu parade  
of hungry campers. Beating the  
tattoo with their spoons on the metal  
plates, they marched behind the band,  
around and around the camp, gather-  
ing recruits at each tent, eager to  
protest against the procrastination of  
the commissary department, but dis-  
persing rapidly at the sight of food.

The coffee was a source of endless  
fests. No one was entirely sure of  
what it was made. Some of the  
campers staged a mock funeral for  
one who had supposedly died from the  
effects of it—not of the quantity, but  
of the quality—the funeral orator ex-  
plained.

But the food was plentiful, and it  
was hot. Fresh air, combined with  
tired feet, created appetites that  
asked no questions and made no  
complaints.

**Before Business Started**

The washroom, if one can use the  
term, was the scene of many curious  
encounters. Rows and rows of spigots  
emptied their contents into a kind of  
trough. Basins were provided, but  
the majority preferred to wash under  
running water. The boys stripped  
and washed from the waist up and  
the knees down. The girls were a  
trifle more modest, but did not hesi-  
tate to emerge in their night robes  
and lather vigorously their faces,  
necks, arms, legs and feet. Perhaps  
it destroyed a little of the piquancy  
of the charm of the gentler sex to  
see it thus en deshabille. As one  
boy explained to me:

"The first morning I stayed there a  
half hour, there was so much to see.  
The second day I only noticed a few—  
the pretty ones; the third morning was  
so cold I didn't look at any one, but  
hurried through as fast as I could."

But a more wholesome basis for  
good comradeship undoubtedly re-  
sulted and helped to break down some  
of the foolish barriers and false mod-  
esty from which the girls are usually  
the ones to suffer.

So much for the details of camp  
life. Though important in themselves,  
in a bigger sense they served merely  
as a background for the serious busi-  
ness of the conference.

**Populace Greets Visitors**

The Dutch comrades arranged an  
admirable program.

By day, a visit to picture galleries,  
or to a cinema, where the history and  
geography of Holland were graphic-  
ally portrayed and explained. By  
night, two huge meetings in the town,  
one in an auditorium, and one in a  
stadium seating 35,000 people. Sing-  
ing, folk dancing, pageants represent-  
ing the old ideals of war and the  
newer ideals of peace, brotherhood  
and internationalism. A torchlight  
procession through the streets of Am-  
sterdam, winding its way back into  
camp at two o'clock in the morning.  
But it was not a weary way, Lusty,  
happy voices were singing ever with-  
out cessation.

Even the police who escorted us  
chatted in a friendly manner all along  
the line, and joined frequently in the  
singing.

Each time that we marched through  
the town, in fact, we were accorded  
a reception that indicated the deepest  
and most widespread interest. Red  
banners were displayed from hun-  
dreds of windows, while crowds of  
eager onlookers lined up along the  
curbs to cheer us as we passed.

**Saying Good-Bye**

The last day was reserved for a  
boat ride up to Alkmaar, where one  
can see a bit of old Holland. A walk  
through the woods and sand dunes to  
Bergen on the See, a bath in the  
Zuyder Zee, the return boat ride and  
moonlight walk back to the camp ter-  
minated an almost perfect day. But  
even the stoutest and boldest spirits  
pled guilty of fatigue after the two  
and one-half hour walk on the sand  
dunes, and were glad to curl up on  
the soft straw in their tents and live  
it all over again in dreamland.

On Wednesday morning a reville at  
6 a. m.; hasty preparation for depart-  
ure; universal farewells and promises  
to write; ranks forming; banners  
waving; group after group marching  
away; then, all, all over. Nothing left  
but the empty tents, desolate and bare,  
bare.

But the spirit engendered, the fel-  
lowship and brotherly love and affec-  
tion, the affirmation of common ideals  
and hopes for the betterment of man-  
kind. This will live on, engraved on  
the hearts and the lives of each one  
who formed a part of the First Inter-  
national Youth Congress at Amster-  
dam.

## Workers' UNITY HOUSE

FOREST PARK, PA.

Owned and Managed by  
The International Ladies Garment  
Workers' Union

The Workers' Summer Resort in the  
Blue Ridge Hills of Pennsylvania

Beautiful Surroundings  
Unexcelled Food  
Concerts Daily  
All Sports  
Dancing

**REGISTER NOW!**

3 West 16th Street, New York

# We Cannot Let Them Starve!

The coal miners of Great Britain, their  
women and children, four million souls  
in all, are in desperate straits.

They are facing sure starvation—unless  
you help.

These workers have been making a  
courageous struggle for decent wages  
after a long period of depression when  
earnings have ranged from \$11 to \$15 a  
week.

The plight of the men is bad enough.  
That of the women and children pitiful  
indeed. In wretched hovels clustered  
near the bleak pit heads, children are  
being born by ill-nourished women who  
have been on the verge of starvation for  
months. Other children are growing up  
under the most wretched of conditions.

We appeal especially for these innocent  
victims of a cruel industrial war. Let  
us give them their chance for life.

Whatever funds you donate will be  
distributed by trained workers and will be  
entirely in the form of food.

To act promptly means the saving of  
lives. Give generously and give NOW.  
Send your check or money-order today to

**EVELYN PRESTON, Treas.**

**British Miners' Relief  
Committee**

Room 635

**799 BROADWAY  
NEW YORK CITY**

## REICH VOTES ON EXPROPRIATION

(Continued from page 1)

thoroughly and laid it before a large  
meeting of party officers. The ques-  
tion at issue was whether for the first  
time the attempt should be made to  
allow the people to express their will  
by a vote. However, before this ques-  
tion emerged from the stage of dis-  
cussion, some inkling of it had  
reached the public, and the Com-  
munist party conceived the idea of  
exploiting the question of the referen-  
dum for a big propaganda effort. But  
the executive of the Socialist party  
at once took the lead and jointly with  
the Communist party brought before  
the government a motion for the hold-  
ing of a referendum.

In the Constitution it is provided  
that the referendum shall be pre-  
ceded by a preliminary public de-  
mand. This portion of the task has  
now reached its conclusion.

The initiation of the preliminary de-  
mand is set going by a request for  
permission, which has to be brought  
by 5,000 electors to the Reichstag, or

by a political party representing at  
least 100,000 voters. Then the ini-  
tiating parties are bound to carry  
through at their own expense the pro-  
cedure of the preliminary demand.  
They must despatch to the various  
constituencies the announcements to be  
posted in public, together with  
lists for signature. It was agreed be-  
tween the Communists and the Social  
Democratic party that each party  
should carry on its agitation inde-  
pendently, and that the expenses of  
the procedure would be met equally  
between the parties. The two parties  
had to despatch lists for signature  
and posters to some 60,000 constitu-  
encies. In addition enormous quantities  
of propaganda literature.

To give a general idea of this ardu-  
ous task, we will only mention that  
the Social Democratic party, in addi-  
tion to 300,000 lists for signature and  
30,000 accompanying letters forwarded  
in 40,000 envelopes to the towns, con-  
stituencies and parishes, despatched  
for propaganda purposes to the local  
organizers of the party inter alia,  
2,000,000 pamphlets, 850,000 posters,  
notes for speakers and drafts of  
speeches in editions of 20,000, thirteen  
illustrated schemes for various kinds  
of pamphlets, and two editions of  
about 100,000 special numbers of two  
journals. The Communists had to  
meet a similar distribution. This has  
made heavy claims on the party's re-  
sources, which have to be found by

voluntary effort by means of ex-  
traordinary subscriptions and by col-  
lections.

The draft for the referendum pro-  
vides for confiscation of the whole  
possessions of the royal houses with-  
out any compensation. The returns  
would be utilized for the unemployed,  
for those wounded or left dependent  
by the war, for people dependent on  
small pensions or incomes, for im-  
poverished victims of the inflation, for  
landworkers, small holders and small  
farmers, and for the creation of set-  
tlements on the confiscated land. The  
castles and other buildings would be  
used for purposes of general welfare,  
culture and education, especially for  
convalescent and children's homes.

This, the greatest political effort  
achieved by the German people over  
the preliminary demand, testifies at  
home and abroad the good republican  
spirit prevailing amongst wide classes  
of the German people. It means an  
act of faith in the Republic. The  
monarchy lies shattered on the  
ground.

**CARTHAGE, Mo.**—Four men  
were killed in an explosion of  
powder in a gelatine cartridge  
packing house.

**BUTTE, Mont.**—Three miners  
trapped by a cave-in in the 1,900-  
foot level of the West Colusa  
copper mine.

## BRITISH ELECTORS GIVE LABOR NEW VICTORIES IN LOCAL CONTESTS

There was a municipal by-election  
in the Ladywood division of Birming-  
ham recently. These seats previously  
had gone Conservative by a majority  
of 4,500. The district is in the terri-  
tory of the Chamberlains. The two  
brothers, Sir Austin and Neville, have  
seats in the Cabinet and have run Bir-  
mingham just as the late Senator Pen-  
rose used to dominate Pennsylvania.  
Oswald Mosley, a son-in-law of the  
late Marquise of Curzon, who will op-  
pose Neville Chamberlain in that dis-  
trict at the next general election, cam-  
paigned in the municipal by-election  
appealing to the electorate to vote for  
Labor as a protest against government  
methods in the general strike. Labor  
won with a majority of more than  
1,100.

This victory, following another one  
a few weeks ago, verifies the predic-  
tion of The New Leader that Premier  
Baldwin's party would suffer political  
reverses because of his broken pledge  
regarding the settlement of the gen-  
eral strike.

Walter Domaratus was killed  
when he came in contact with a  
charged wire.



## BERGER FOR NEW CONSTITUTION

**Socialist Congressman Moves to Call Convention to Revise National Law**

Washington. REVISION of the Constitution of the United States by a constitutional convention is proposed by Representative Berger, Socialist, in a House resolution. His measure would amend the Constitution by granting to Congress the right to call such a convention.

"I know," said Berger, "that nothing offends and antagonizes the vested interests more than criticism of the Constitution. They know that the present Constitution was designed by the wealthy class of that day—the speculators of scrip and the big land-owners and their representatives—with a view to preventing the people from exercising political influence. For many years only those who had wealth could vote. Only one-sixth of the people had the franchise at the time the Constitution was ratified, and most of them did not vote."

Changes which Berger believes the spirit of the twentieth century requires should be made in this document, patched in nineteen places since 1787, are various. He would "put teeth in" the Bill of Rights, as to freedom of speech, press and assembly, to protect the rights of strikers against the clubs and ball-locking of police. He would also make effective the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, to protect the Negroes against lynching and other violence at the hands of the whites. He would eliminate the prohibition amendment. He would make the Constitution more easily amendable, would deny to the Supreme Court the right to pass upon the constitutionality of acts of Congress, and he would "make it possible to enact child welfare, minimum wage and other social welfare legislation, which is impossible under our antiquated Constitution."

## LITHUANIAN SOCIALISTS MAKE HUGE GAINS

A big victory for the Lithuanian Social Democrats and a decided setback for the clerical reactionaries ruling that little republic in the elections for Parliament held May 8 and 9, is reported in German newspapers.

The Government bloc was overthrown, being reduced from forty-one to thirty seats, while the Social Democrats increased their Deputies from eight to fifteen and the so-called Popular Socialists (or Popular Peasants' Party) rose from sixteen to twenty-three. The various racial minority parties won nine seats and five Deputies were elected from Memel Land on a platform calling for autonomy. Consequently, the reactionaries, headed by Premier Bystra, will probably have to give way to some sort of combination composed of the former opposition groups.

The victory was won despite a fearful campaign of terrorism waged by the Government forces. So-called Lithuanian Fascists distributed leaflets threatening death to the Socialists and Jews and the Government staged a mass trial of several score of workers accused of Communism, plotting against the state and all sorts of horrible crimes. But the good work of the Socialists and the progressive peasants was effective nevertheless.

If the Socialists, Popular Peasants' Party and racial minorities can cooperate the reaction has lost its grip on Lithuania for good. The new Seimas has 85 members, instead of 78, due to growth in population and the annexation of Memel Land.

## A SUMMER COURSE

ON  
The  
'Golden Ages'  
of Civilization

In the light of Proletarian criticism  
WILL BE GIVEN BY

**LEON SAMSON**

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**LABOR TEMPLE**

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Wednesday Eve's, at 8:30 P. M.

Open air and other accommodations during hot weather

JUNE 22—The Golden Age of Pericles—The Reign of Cultured Scoundrels.

JUNE 29—The Golden Age of Augustus—The Sympathy of Genius.

JULY 7—The Golden Age of the Renaissance—The Humanity of Humanism.

JULY 14—The Golden Age of Louis XIV—A Study in Kings and Clowns.

JULY 21—The Golden Age of Elizabeth—Poets, Pirates and Calibans.

JULY 28—The Golden Age of Coolidge—Moneybags in the Saddle.

AUGUST 4—The Next World War—The Doom of Gold.

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION AFTER EACH LECTURE

ADMISSION 25c.

## Wants Radio Freed



Herbert H. Merrill

## SCHENECTADY LABOR ENDORSES DILL BILL

Calling attention to the suppression practiced against Norman Thomas, Socialist, by several radio companies in New York City, the Schenectady Trades Assembly has sent, through its Chairman of the Legislative Committee, Herbert H. Merrill, Senator Dill a letter urging enactment of his bill providing for non-political control of the radio.

## AMSTERDAM URGES LABOR-OWNED RADIOS

In noting the fight being made by the Chicago Federation of Labor for the right to broadcast its messages through the air, Mr. Hoover to the contrary notwithstanding, the Amsterdam Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions remarked:

"Nothing could show more clearly than the strike in Great Britain how important it is to the workers that they should control their own wireless stations, in order to prevent the government from having a monopoly of the wireless such as the British Government possesses."

"In Holland, the Workers' Wireless Association, which hires the national wireless station one evening each week in order to conduct its own propaganda, seized the opportunity last week of broadcasting, in English, French and German, reports received from the International Transport Workers, the International Federation of Trade Unions, etc., on the situation in Great Britain, and in particular on the steps actually taken or being planned on the Continent to assist the British workers. Owing to the non-appearance of newspapers in England, and the reports circulated from capitalist sources, the British workers would otherwise have learned nothing of these activities of their continental comrades, or would have received only misleading and biased information."

## Filippo Turati Calls For Recruits to Fight All Dictatorships

In the first number of the weekly *Giustizia* (Rome), the publication of which was begun in March and which is trying to fill the gap caused by the suppression of the daily *Unitarian Socialist* paper of the same name, the veteran Filippo Turati makes a ringing call for recruits who are convinced of the necessity of democracy within and without the party and have no illusions as to the evils of dictatorship, no matter by whom imposed.

The responsible editor of *L'Avanti!*, the daily organ of the Maximalist Socialists, was acquitted recently by a Milan court of having incited to class hatred by publishing a manifesto of the Revolutionary Bureau of the Revolutionary Parties (the so-called International of the Rejected). *L'Avanti!* recently reported the receipt of 1,750 lire (at 4 cents apiece) from the Italian Socialists of Hoboken to help political victims in Italy.

CAMDEN. — With the death early today of Howard Myle, the number of workers who have lost their lives in the construction of the Delaware River bridge mounted to thirteen.

WORCESTER, Mass. — Mario Lutago, a tractor driver, was instantly killed when a two-ton machine overturned and crushed him.

## Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society

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

BRONX, N. Y.

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

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

THE BOARD OF MANAGEMENT

## 700 REJOIN SHOE STRIKE

**Demonstration of Picketers Before Brooklyn Factory Wins New Converts**

During a demonstration of 500 picketers before the factories of the American Shoe Company, 166 Livingston street; Wolf & Son, 273 State street, and Lax & Abowitz, 17 Smith street, Brooklyn, 700 shoe workers marched out singing and shouting and joined the strike of the American Shoe Workers' Protective Union.

The 700 men had formerly been out on strike, but broke ranks last week and returned to their factories. Their action marked the first victory of a more progressive strike committee elected to supersede in power the union officials, according to Jerome Valenti, organizer.

Leaders of the new group controlling the strike are Max Kaplan, 215 East Eighteenth street, Manhattan, and Abe Merelson, 266 Keap street, Brooklyn. Valenti announced that new life has been infused into the strike and that the strikers are in a stronger position now than they have ever been before. A hearing will be held in the Bridge Plaza Court, Brooklyn, for C. Gagnon, 55 Nassau street, a striker, arrested by Brooklyn police last Saturday on a charge of disorderly conduct during a clash between police and strikers.

## VOTERS OF ESTONIA BACK SOCIALIST PROTEST

The protests of the Socialist Party of Estonia against the high-handed persecution of alleged, and genuine, Communists and labor leaders by the agrarian-dominated Cabinet long after the suppression of the Communist putsch of December 1, 1924, and the withdrawal of the two Socialist members from the Government last December were approved by the voters of the little Baltic republic at the general elections of May 15, 16, and 17.

The straight Socialist Party strength in the new Parliament is 24, against 22 in the old Chamber, of whom 8 had belonged to the Independent Socialist Labor Party before the amalgamation effected in April, 1925. This gain was made in the face of the splitting off from the regular Socialist Party of a group headed by three ex-Communist Deputies shortly before the election who labeled themselves Estonian Labor Party and succeeded in winning six seats. In the elections of 1923 the Communists won ten seats, but their party was outlawed after the abortive coup of December, 1924. Three Communist Deputies joined the Socialist Party and three others lined up with some former Socialists and formed an independent group. Two of the four were said to have fled to Russia and two were reported shot.

Just before the elections, the police arrested Deputy Abramson, a leader of the so-called Labor Party, while he was talking on the street with an alleged Communist named Rismann. A search is said to have revealed that the latter had a typewriter, a manifold apparatus, some literature and a list of addresses. He was at once court-martialed as a dangerous Bolshevik agent from Moscow and shot one hour after he was found "guilty." Abramson was held in jail, but his election to the Chamber will probably free him. These incidents were exploited in the campaign by both Socialists and Communists to the disadvantage of the reaction. Nevertheless, the Agrarians managed to hold their 23 seats and will probably be able to line up enough members of the various bourgeois groups to retain control of the new Parliament which opens on June 15.

The composition of the Chamber of Deputies is as follows: Socialists, 24; Agrarians, 23; Colonists, 14; Party of Labor, 13; People's Party, 8; Labor Party, 6; Christian People's Party, 5; Russians, 3; Germans, 2; House Owners, 2.

## Carpenters Sign Peace With Sheet Metal Workers

WASHINGTON. General Secretary Sullivan of the Sheet Metal Workers' International Association, at headquarters in Washington, confirmed the announcement by President Hutchison of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters in Indianapolis that the executives of the two unions have signed a peace agreement covering their jurisdictional differences.

If and when the agreement is ratified the two organizations will divide work in connection with the laying of floors, setting of windows and fixing of hollow forms for concrete columns, involving changes in methods of building construction which have been established in recent years. The point in dispute which has been most often discussed in conventions was the jurisdiction over setting of metal window frames.

Adjustment of the differences between the Carpenters and the Sheet Metal Workers will probably bring the Carpenters back into affiliation with the building trades department of the American Federation of Labor. To the A. F. of L. the news of signing of the agreement was most welcome, since it removed the most important dispute remaining between international unions affiliated in the Federation.

## GROUP LEADERS WANTED

Wanted 2 capable Group Leaders, one for boys and one for girls, for a modern Sunday School Camp. Call Sundays after 7:30 P. M. Tanzer, 636 Morris Park Avenue, Bronx.

## Wins Labor's Praise



G. M. Serrati

## INTERNATIONAL RECALLS SERRATI'S LIFE FOR LABOR

Following the publication of the news of the death from a stroke of paralysis of Giacinto Menotti Serrati on May 10 in a little village near Lake Como, at the age of 53 years, the Zurich Bureau of the Socialist and Labor International issued the following summary of the later activities of the one-time fighting Italian Socialist editor:

"As Mussolini's successor in the editorship of *Avanti!*, he held high the flag of absolute anti-militarism during the war, and this glorious period during the Socialist movement in Italy will also be remembered to his fame. During the post-war period his name was connected with all the hesitations and divisions in the Italian working class.

"The following dates from three years of his life appear like a kaleidoscopic change: In July, 1920, he was the president of the Second Congress of the Communist International in Moscow; in January, 1921, he remained in Leghorn with Turati and Treves in the Socialist Party on the occasion of the split with the Communists. Again in April, 1922, he represented the whole Socialist Party of Italy, which stood outside all international connections, at the Conference of the Three International Executives in Berlin. In October, 1922, at the Congress in Rome, he split the Socialist Party and joined the Maximalists, to whom fell *Avanti!*, and of which he remained editor. In December, 1922, he was again in Moscow at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, and received instructions to join the Maximalist Party to the Communists. This plan miscarried—the extraordinary Congress of the Maximalists in April, 1923, in Milan, refused union with the Communists. Serrati was replaced by Nenni in the editorship of *Avanti!*. He now published a paper of his own, *Pagine Rosse*, whose undisguised Communist policy led in August, 1923, to his exclusion from the Maximalist Party.

"As a repentant sinner, he was again accepted by the Communists, but he only came to the front a little during the last three years of his life."

## INTERNATIONAL REVIEWS TCHAIKOVSKY'S WORK

The passing of the veteran Russian revolutionist, Nikolai Vassilievitch Tchaikovsky, in London on April 30 at the age of 76 years drew the following notice from the Zurich Bureau of the Socialist and Labor International:

"He was the founder of the first secret revolutionary organization in Russia—named after him—which set as its task the work of propaganda among the masses of the people. The 'Tchaikovskies' organization, which was founded in 1869 and very soon had branches in nearly all the large towns in Russia, played a great historical part in the revolutionary movement in Russia. The leading organizations of the seventies 'Zemlya Volya' and 'Narodnaya Volya' and the chief leaders of the Russian movement originated from this organization.

"Tchaikovsky himself withdrew early from revolutionary work, and in the last years of his life, through the intellectual chaos of the post-war period, he was even deflected into the counter-revolutionary camp, even going so far as to join in preparations for an armed intervention against the Bolsheviks. Nevertheless, his name will retain its significance for all those who are acquainted with the revolutionary movement of Russia as the symbol of the birth of the organized fight for liberation from the fetters of repression."

## Tourist Club Hike

Sunday, June 20, we hike to our camp in Midvale, N. J., to celebrate the first day of Summer. This day has been celebrated for hundreds, yes thousands of years. We have arranged a highly artistic program of vocal and

## CAMP TAMIMENT NOW OPEN FOREST PARK, P.A. FOR ADULTS

Nature's Wonder Spot in the Blue Mountains of Pennsylvania, 20 miles from Delaware Water Gap

All outdoor sports. Fourteen splendid tennis courts. Delightful bathing. Excellent food. Dancing and entertainment in glorious hall on shore of lake. Beginning July 5, daily lecture by eminent speakers

MODERATE RATES

MAKE EARLY RESERVATIONS

Camp Tamiment, Forest Park, Pa.

N. Y. Phone Stuy. 3094

Phone Stroudsburg 71

## EASLEY SORRY HE CAN'T SHOOT

(Continued from page 1)

The Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference by declaring: "The authors of the Bishop's Program (for social justice) ought all to be put in jail." Dr. John A. Ryan of that body, one of labor's staunchest friends, rejoined by labeling Easley as "a tortuous retainer of plutocracy"—a fitting epithet for the traitor to labor who had his secret agent "investigate" the ministers preparing the Interchurch Federation report on the Steel Strike and then sent his agent's distorted report to Judge Gary!

Easley defamed the late Senator La Follette and the Progressive Party. His reckless vilification of British labor led Warren S. Stone and President Timothy Healy of the Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen to resign from his Civic Federation. Indeed, Easley actually stooped to calling the great British labor journalist and member of Parliament, George Lansbury (known as "the best loved man in England"), a "Bolshevik and a grifter." Even such a strong American union as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, which owns three large labor banks, is damned by Easley as "bolshevistic" because of its progressive principles.

Called Free Speech "Nuisance" Equally unconscionable are Easley's vituperations against the American Civil Liberties Union, whose director he falsely brands as a communist because he dares to defend poor foreign workmen deprived of their constitutional liberties. Incidentally, Easley's pamphlet, "Free Speech a Nuisance," is so un-American that it might well have been written by some of his royalist friends from czarist Russia.

The last nail in Easley's coffin as a fake "friend of labor" has just been driven by himself. In the "Confidential—Not To Be Published" letters recently sent to Mr. Ivy L. Lee (sometimes called "Poison Ivy") because of the astute anti-union propaganda he has ably turned out for such big open-shop employers as the Steel Trust and Standard Oil, Easley wantonly slanders the noble men and women who are leading the heroic Passaic textile strikers to victory. After calling these leaders communists (many of them are no more communists than is the man in the moon), Easley adds this vile falsehood: "These Reds are not after higher wages and better conditions, but they want to take over the factories in regular Moscow style."

The writer chanced to be asked to help these Passaic strikers when they presented their case to members of the U. S. Senate and to the Secretary of Labor. He heard them tell of starvation wages (\$12 to \$16 a week for night work in civilized America), inhuman treatment by their employers, the denial of their constitutional right, and ruthless attacks on their peaceful meetings by violent policemen—an industrial situation so rotten that Honorable Frank P. Walsh, former chairman of the National Industrial Conference Board, denounced it as the worst he had ever heard of in all his experience. Yet these long-suffering textile strikers committed no act of violence, were ready and willing to negotiate with their employers, and agreed with the Secretary of Labor to go back to work immediately if their bosses would but agree with their union to pay them a living wage.

Would Shoot Strikers And yet this man Easley, in his letter to Ivy Lee, dated April 1, 1926, regrets that we have no Mussolini over here to deal with people like these Passaic strike leaders, since "Under our form of government, if we once let them in, we could not shoot them at sight nor beat them up as they might deserve, nor even feed them castor oil."

I do not question Mr. Easley's right to hold such brutal anti-labor opinions if he wants to. I believe in the sanctity of the Bill of Rights in the American Constitution, even if Mr. Easley does not, and I want him to have the freedom of speech which he would deny to others. But I do say that any man who stains his lips with such slimy slanders of a group of starving workers striking for a living wage is no longer fit for the friendship or even the distant respect of those who are fighting the battles of labor.

Instrumental solos, folk and interpretive dancing, recitations, mass singing, etc. The greater part of this program will be presented around a log fire. All workers, regardless of proletarian political affiliation, who love the great outdoors are welcome to join us. Meeting place, Erie R. R. Ferry, Chambers street and Hudson River; time, Saturday afternoon, June 19, 4:15 p. m.; round trip fare, \$1.70; leader, W. Beck. Non-members need not worry about food or sleeping accommodations, as there is an abundance of both at reasonable prices.

## DEBS JOINS COMMITTEE TO AID 5,000 CHILDREN OF N. J. TEXTILE STRIKERS

Eugene V. Debs has wired the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, at 739 Broadway, New York City, accepting a position on a sub-committee of that organization for the special purpose of raising funds for milk for the children of the striking Passaic textile workers. Debs wired: "Certainly, I will be glad to serve and help the Passaic strikers in any way possible."

Norman Thomas is chairman of the Emergency Committee, which is making a drive for a large milk fund to provide milk for more than 5,000 children throughout the summer.

The committee is also raising funds for the relief of British miners, under authorization from A. J. Cook, the strike leader. This week Miss Evelyn Oreston, who heads the work for the British Miners' relief, wired \$1,000 to England and she reports that men and women in all walks of life are responding to the appeal to help women and children of the coal fields.

## COOLIDGE PACKS BOARD WITH LABOR'S FOES

(Continued from page 1)

prise." They, like the unions, expected a new set of men to be chosen.

Situation Is Critical

The situation created by Coolidge's affront to railroad labor is critical, since the wage movement of the train service brotherhoods is advanced to a point where the Board of Mediation is soon to be obliged to attempt a settlement of the dispute. If the Senate confirmed these selections, the majority of the board would unhesitatingly use its powers to defeat the brotherhoods' demands. Back of Coolidge in his stacking of the board against labor and a higher wage level is James M. Emery, lobbyist in Washington for the National Association of Manufacturers, who has fought this legislation from the start. Emery has insisted that the measure would lead to a wage increase, and this wage boost would force manufacturers to raise wages in their turn. By his selections for the board, Coolidge appears to have undertaken to block any wage movement in the railroad industry, and thereby to prevent a betterment of wage levels in the manufacturing industries.

Winslow, Morrow and Hanger cannot be confirmed in the remaining period of the present session of Congress. Friends of the railroad labor organizations in the Senate will fix responsibility on Coolidge and his big business advisers, and will force him to withdraw the names or else wait to give them recess appointments. If these men take up the rail wage question under the cloud of inability to secure confirmation of their own appointment, there will be no rail labor peace.

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# Brookwood Raises Problems of Workers' Education

By Laborite

THE commencement exercises held at Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, New York, on June 4, marked the close of the pioneer period of the school's development and the beginning of the new era of expansion and consolidation. As a sign of this change, A. J. Muste, who the general press insists upon labeling "dean" and who is really chairman of the faculty, announced the inauguration of a drive for a two million dollar endowment fund. It is appropriate, therefore, at this point to take stock of Brookwood, its achievements and possibilities.

In the spring of 1921 the workers' education movement in the United States was full of hope. It brought into existence the Workers' Education Bureau (W. E. B.) and Brookwood, the first and still the only resident labor college in this country. Some of the same people were behind both ventures. In fact, most of the group who met at Brookwood, March 31 and April 1, 1921, to organize the school, went the following day to the conference in New York City that established the W. E. B. Since then, these two bodies have traveled in different directions.

Brookwood nestles among the rolling hills of Westchester County at Katonah, N. Y., about forty miles north of New York City. It was formerly a modern school for children, owned and conducted by William and Helen Finckle. It is the vision and loyalty of these two that induced them to turn over their property to the "New Brookwood." One third of their share they retained, the third they sold to M. Toscan and Josephine B. Bennett, to whose lot it fell in conjunction with the Finckles to get the school actually under way, and another third they deeded to A. J. Muste, the new chairman of the faculty, and his wife, as long as they remained connected with the school. Therefore, in October, 1921, the first contingent of students and faculty trudged up the hilly road to the large white colonial house, that has remained the center of activity since, guessing, but little knowing, what firm foundations they were laying.

From the first Brookwood has had its roots in the labor movement. Men like John Fitzpatrick, James H. Maurer, John Brophy, Jay G. Brown, Rose Schneiderman, Charles Kutz and Abraham Lefkowitz, all active trade unionists, were responsible for launching the school. Since then, Fannie M. Cohn, Phil E. Ziegler, Gustav Geiges and Robert Fechner, among others, have taken an active interest in the work. The school has been endorsed by twenty international unions, ten State federations of labor, fourteen city central bodies, as well as by district councils and local unions. The majority of the Board of Directors are labor representatives. Eleven organizations have gone so far as to establish one or more scholarships at Brookwood for their members. All of the members of the faculty have some sort of labor background. Of the sixty students that the school has attracted, all, except about ten, who attended during the first two formative years, have been trade unionists, and most of them active ones. Practically without exception they have remained in the labor movement after graduation. In addition, many of these have from time to time been called back to active duty for strikes or relief work, while still in attendance at school. Then, too, Clinton S. Golden, field secretary, has established contacts with labor and carried the workers' education gospel practically to every corner of the United States. Finally, the establishment of annual summer institutes has brought to Brookwood active labor men for periods of one week or two. This summer, for instance, there will be Textile, Giant Power and Railway Institutes under the auspices of the appropriate labor unions. Plans for holding conferences of union executives from time to time are under way. Yes, there is no doubt of it, Brookwood is trade unionist through and through.

The physical equipment of the school is no longer the property of private individuals. Through donations it has been possible to transfer the whole to Brookwood when it became incorporated a year ago. This has not institutionalized the college. It may have emerged from its experimental stage but it is still experimenting. Its early ideals of a school democratically controlled "by those living and working on the place" have not suffered. Interestingly enough, the pitfalls of undifferentiated democracy into which other groups have fallen have been avoided. Functional democracy has been the watchword. It is recognized for example, that the faculty has autonomy in matters of educational policy and the students in other things.

## Labor College and W. E. B. Travel Along Different Paths \$2,000,000 Endowment Fund Is Being Sought

Nevertheless, there is close co-operation and open exchange of views between both resident elements.

If we are going to measure the value of Brookwood, we must see what it has accomplished. At the commencement exercises John Coughlin, secretary of the New York City central body, who is not at all addicted to theorizing, sized up the situation with illustrations based upon his own experience. He said that a generation ago the duties of a labor leader were comparatively simple. He kept his nose to disputes over hours and work-

ing conditions. But now things have become more complicated. He has to be conversant with conditions in more or less relevant fields. Even the formerly simple questions now require expert knowledge of the intricacies of business. Brookwood, he felt, was sending out trade unionists equipped to battle in this new world.

The faculty, of course, is responsible for instructing the graduate in the use of the modern arms and ammunition. A. J. Muste has been teaching history and foreign labor; Arthur W. Calhoun, social economics; David J. Saposs,

trade unionism; Josephine Colby and Mildred T. Calhoun, English; Helen G. Norton, Journalism, and Hazel McKay, dramatics. The last two subjects were introduced during the past school year and are to be continued. The Journalism course is of increasing importance. A student, who was quite skeptical of its usefulness, recently confessed his conversion. He had been out in the field arranging relief for the Passaic strikers. He soon discovered that proper publicity work in modern industrial struggles is not a luxury but a necessary weapon in

the fight. The dramatic work has taken up too much of the time of the students last year. It has eaten up a good deal of their energy somewhat in the manner which similar activities in the conventional schools do. But it has not been wasteful. Anybody who has seen the Brookwood players—and they performed in an improvised open-air theatre at the commencement exercises—will recognize the potentialities of the labor drama. It is beautiful yet effective propaganda. When it takes the form of tragedy, it vivifies for us the nature of the social mess

which we have to clean up. When it is comedy, it gives the labor movement a sense of humor, which is a grim necessity. In the future Brookwood will probably carry on its dramatic work in less elaborate and exhausting fashion and try to extend it to communities that are ready for it. A serious problem has arisen during the last year in the case of students who have left classes in order to enter industrial conflicts. While this action of theirs is on the face of it commendable, it is questionable whether it ought to be encouraged.

Certainly it should be regulated along the lines of a well thought-out policy. The students who come to Brookwood are more or less mature in the labor movement. They come to the school in order to get the opportunity for study and reflection. It seems that one of the sacrifices that they—and their unions—must make is to abstain from plunging into extended strike activities during their stay at Brookwood. Certainly, if they do leave the classroom for a week or two their outside work should be correlated with their studies through reports and discussions subsequently. Brookwood is working hard on the problem.

Probably the most remarkable aspect of Brookwood's history has been its independence. It has never kow-towed to anybody. It has kept before itself the ideal of open-mindedness, facing the facts squarely. Tolerance of conflicting opinions has been its characteristic feature. Recently the school has gotten into hot water. The annual conference for teachers of workers' education was held at Brookwood over the Washington Birthday week-end under the auspices of Local 139 of the American Federation of Teachers, of which the Brookwood faculty makes up the nucleus. A resolution was passed condemning the acceptance of donations from foundations and similar sources that might be hostile to organized labor. It was made clear that this was aimed at the Workers' Education Bureau, which had practically become the Educational Department of the A. F. of L. The W. E. B. had accepted such a contribution for carrying on its publication work. In the "Weekly News Service" of the A. F. of L., under date of May 22, 1926, an item appeared warning workers not to be "deceived by tricky (workers') education," but to apply to the A. F. of L. office or the Workers' Education Bureau for assistance in educational and research problems. And so the matter stands at present.

It is with high hopes, then, that Brookwood looks forward to the future. Assistance has been given by the American Fund for Public Service for a ten-year extension program. New buildings, especially a library, will be constructed. Research work will be undertaken. The ultimate size of the student-body will be 100. The building and guarantee fund of \$2,000,000 "will seek support only from labor organizations and groups of individuals genuinely interested in workers' education under trade union control and will not solicit or accept contributions from foundations whose loyalty to the fundamental aims of organized labor might be questioned." Furthermore, the fund "is never to cover more than 50 per cent of the actual budget, so that the school may continue to be dependent for its existence on the annual scholarships provided by trade unions which desire to provide their members with the opportunity for a labor education." Brookwood has a clear vision of its functions. It knows exactly where it is going, and it will get there.

## :-: Socialism On Vital American Issues :-:

### Victor Berger's Speech in Congress; Safeguarding Our Liberties

I HAVE also introduced a bill to enforce the first amendment to the Constitution by making it a Federal offense to violate its provisions guaranteeing freedom of speech, of the press and of assembly. It makes violations of the amendment a felony, punishable by two years' imprisonment or by a fine of \$5,000, or both.

Much is being said about putting teeth into the eighteenth amendment. That slogan is being heralded by the Anti-Saloon League and its servants in public office. The Volstead Act had that object in view.

But it has never been suggested by any group of "reformers" to put teeth into the first amendment of our Constitution, which was considered the most important amendment by both Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton, who otherwise did not agree on very many things.

I regard the first amendment as most essential to the preservation of fundamental rights of Americans. It is also remarkable as being one of the few provisions which, instead of limiting the liberty of the citizen, extends it. Moreover, I believe that the first amendment can be enforced without trouble if a law is passed for its enforcement.

Of course, I realize that many Americans of today are different from those of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. American business men today worship Mussolini, who brags that he wipes his feet on liberty. Certain wealthy Americans today envy Italy, Spain and Greece their dictators. They find fault with the Russian Communists, not on account of their methods or because a small oligarchy is ruling Russia, but because Trotsky, Lenin and their friends have laid hands on property. One hears every day business men deploring the fact that Congress is in session and wishing that Congress would adjourn forever, if possible—and such an obedient Congress, at that.

Of course, we hear a great deal about Americanism and Americanism. Capitalist newspapers give prizes for the best essays on the Constitution, even though the most important parts of that Constitution are a dead letter and are to remain so.

Patriotism today does not mean the greatest good for the greatest mass, but means military display—flag day, navy day, defense day.

And democracy today means jobs for "deserving Democrats." If Thomas Jefferson would rise from his grave today, the Democratic statesmen of the South would put him into jail immediately as a dangerous radical, since he said that violent revolutions are needed every 25 years to preserve liberty.

As to our Constitution—the right of the people to speak freely, to write freely and to have the right to assemble for the purpose of discussing their grievances lies at the basis of all other rights.

At this very moment, men are held under \$20,000 bail at Passaic, N. J., merely because they dared to exercise the right of free speech, even though they exercised it only on a privately owned lot. Free speech has become next to impossible in this country.

And then there is the recent case of the Mercury, a monthly magazine published in New York, and edited by America's foremost critic, Henry L. Mencken. Because it published a story which some prudes thought was immoral, but which many people believed was in reality a highly moral lesson by showing up the hypocrisy of some of the yokel towns in the Middle West, its sale was forbidden.

When a judge in Boston freed the magazine, the Postmaster General forbade its circulation.

Now, with all due respect to the Postmaster General, I do not believe that he is an absolute judge of either good literature or good morals. He ought, therefore, to be deprived of the autocratic power that he has of ruling any publication at random, if he so chooses. The Postmaster General, like any other mortal, should be compelled to go to the courts and prove his case against the publication before he could stop its circulation. I would give no man living the unlimited censorship over free speech and over free press.

If a publisher of a paper or a magazine has done any wrong—and that has been proved in the court—then the man responsible should bear the consequences and be punished. But censorship of the type we have in this country is the plutocratic devil's own invention, and was nurtured from a little strippling by hypocrisy, crooked-

ness, and cowardice until it grew up and became the big tree of the present day. It originally started with the Postmaster General, together with the Attorney General getting the right to deprive papers that contained advertisements of the Louisiana lottery, with which Southern gentlemen tried to recoup their fortunes, of the second-class mailing privilege.

Mr. Speaker, have the American people lost their faith in democratic institutions? There seems to be less concern here about the loss of civil liberty than in any western European country. There is surely less resistance against Federal, State and local tyranny. We have truly become a docile people.

Our working class, apart from the farm labor, is mostly made up of aliens and semialiens. It is further made up of all kinds of nationalities, races, and religions, who have little love for each other and little coherence with each other. For those reasons it is surely the most poorly

organized on the whole of any working class of any civilized western European country.

Owing to the colonial conditions which still prevail in our country, the standard of living is higher in this country and the living conditions undoubtedly easier, especially since the war has turned Europe into a general poorhouse.

Nevertheless, even the native American worker is satisfied, if he has enough to eat, if he can go to a movie and see a game of baseball or a prize fight occasionally. If, on top of all that, he can also have a cheap automobile, then the goal of his wishes has been reached.

The slogan in our country today, like in Rome of antiquity, seems to be "panem et circenses," bread and games.

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, we have all but stopped immigration—even immigration from Germany, England and the western countries of Europe, where

## Nine Facts About Porters

Nine telling counts against the Pullman Company's treatment of the porters are made in a resolution presented in the House of Representatives by Congressman Celler of New York. The nine points follow:

1—That "the Pullman Company sells primarily service, mainly the service of its employees, especially the Pullman porters and maids, from which service much of its profits are derived."

2—That "it is the claim of those engaged in the present struggle of the Pullman porters and maids to organize into a trade union, that their wages are at a miserable level, and that conditions and hours of employment are such as to menace their health and efficiency, allowing them only three hours' sleep at night on the average run."

3—That "they are subject to many hours of enforced preparatory labor without pay."

4—That "it is claimed that the tips received by the average porter on a standard car are insufficient to pay for his personal expenses on the road alone, and that therefore he and his family are forced to live on his present yearly average wage of \$370, which is far below the minimum American family budget."

5—That "it appears that the Pullman Company, under the name of the Pullman Palace Car Co., began business under the laws of the State of Illinois in 1867 with an original capitalization of \$32,306,000, to which no cash capitalization has since been added, although now the Pullman Company claims that it is capitalized at \$135,000,000."

6—That "it appears that the sum total of dividends since the company's original incorporation amounts to over \$29,500,000, in addition to which \$44,000,000 has been declared in stock dividends, making a total of all dividends in excess of \$333,500,000, of which \$10,738,872 were declared during the last fiscal year."

7—That "the gross revenue of the Pullman Company during the last fiscal year was \$90,318,319, of which \$55,927,749 was from sleeping car and kindred services alone."

8—That "its net profits were \$15,771,976, of which \$12,631,103 was from sleeping car and kindred services alone, and that said huge profits are ample and sufficient to better the working conditions, hours of employment and wages of Pullman porters and maids."

9—That "every reasonable effort made by the Pullman porters and maids to organize for the purpose of collective bargaining has met with constant and stubborn resistance of the Pullman Company, who have used every known method that wealth can purchase to prevent said organization."

The resolution concludes: Whereas, The conditions of labor that the said Pullman Company imposes on the Pullman porters and maids are so below the American standard of living as to shock the public conscience by it;

"Therefore, be it resolved that the Committee on Labor, House of Representatives, be hereby empowered to investigate the wages, hours and conditions of employment of the Pullman porters and maids, and to investigate the financial history and financial conditions of the Pullman Company as same may affect wages and conditions of employment, to the end that exploitation of said Pullman employees might be prevented and that they might receive fair and adequate wages commensurate with their services. For this purpose said Committee on Labor will have the right to swear witnesses and take testimony in the District of Columbia as well as other parts of the country."

## Some New Books in Brief

### Statesmen's Stuff

HOW a man who has viewed the obscene spectacle of municipal politics from the vantage point of Chicago's City Council can produce an interpretation of political leadership as unreal as this ("Four American Party Leaders," by Charles E. Merriam, University of Chicago) is an intriguing mystery. The most obvious and fair explanation, it must be concluded, is that Mr. Merriam prepared these papers for undergraduate consumption. They are the predigested intellectual food for unawakened college students.

Mr. Merriam cites six basic qualities of a political leader, namely:

(1) Sensitiveness to the strength and direction of social and industrial tendencies; (2) acute perception of possible causes of community conduct; (3) facility in group combination; (4) facility in personal contacts; (5) facility in expression; (6) courage. Quite arbitrary choice of the getting-on-tributes of successful politicians, it would seem.

What are these attributes make statesmen, what are the ones which break them? Wilson, fallen, is still the possessor of Mr. Merriam's six basic qualities. Roosevelt, a political cast-off, is no less sensitive, acute, facile, clever and courageous. Scarcely a word in these interpretations of Lincoln, Wilson, Roosevelt and Bryan of the economic forces that make and break statesmen. Not a word in these papers that would aid quivering undergraduates to understand the battle of politics as it is—a scheming, relentless, cruel and horrible contest of organized economic groups for strategic positions of control; in this country, thus far, largely a battle of industrialists with international bankers, with labor left out in the cold.

M. H. Hedges.

### Wasted Material

HERE "The Cabala," by Thornton Wilder; Albert & Charles Boni, \$2.50) is a beautifully written, beautifully printed novel of practically no importance. Why it should not be of importance, this reviewer is unable to say. Perhaps the inability to see anything much in it is due to the reviewer's obtuseness. Or perhaps it is due to a feeling of exasperation, which grows with every page turned, that the author has not made better use of his material and of his unquestioned talent.

The story is one of a high aristocratic group in present-day Rome, whose influence is supposedly enormous, but whose achievements are apparently nil. Like the book itself (perhaps we should call it an allegory), they don't get anywhere. That such a group actually exists is improbable. That, existing, it would immediately, unanimously and wholeheartedly take the unimportant young American who tells the story into its confidence is preposterous. Somehow or other, however, the tale, as told, has an air of plausibility. The several individuals who compose the Cabala—Miss Grier, the Cardinal, the Duchess of Aquilana, the Princess of Espoli, Astree-Luce—are all endowed with the breath of life. About any one of them a complete novel could be written, and the pity of it, rather, is that this was not done. Taken together, they cancel out.

In the opening sentence it was stated that this book was "beautifully printed." This is not true, however, if one happens to be himself a printer. The number of misspelled words is regrettably high, and there are far more examples of broken type than would seem excusable. And the appearance of page after page is spoiled by erratic spacing between lines.

Frank D. Halsey.

### An Unworthy Effort

"BEATRICE" (Beatrice," by Arthur Schnitzler. Translated by Agnes Jacques. New York: Simon and Schuster. \$1.50) is the Schnitzler of a decade and a half ago; it comes between "Bertha Garlan," which appeared in translation some years ago, and "Frau Elise," which set all the critics talking last fall. If we are anything of a prophet, "Beatrice" will set very few to talking, unless it be to wagging their heads in disappointment. In "Frau Elise," Schnitzler gave us a sensitive, poignant study of a girl; in "Beatrice," he gives us a cruel, hardly credible tale of a woman of forty, done in short, bold strokes that alienate our sympathies from their character in the novelette.

The translation seems stilted and not good enough for Schnitzler. It is bristling with Yankee colloquialisms which tend to make the too tragic content ridiculous. The characters do not live or suffer. They are there, created by the author, but never do their joys or sorrows provoke sympathy. They are puppets, always steeped in sex desire, never having their fill of this desire; one or two, perhaps, are momentarily happy in this desire, but so full of fear and suspicion that the desire leads immediately and almost inevitably to despair. Beatrice herself in spots seems a genuine enough person, but only in spots. Her nature seems to have an inordinate number of inconsistencies, not inconsistencies that are understandable, but those that seem put there just to make it harder. Arthur Schnitzler is a tremendously interesting contemporary, but we found "Beatrice" an unworthy effort, with peculiar moral twists.

Madelin Loef.

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# A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

## Free as the Air?

"ANY free air around here?" said I to the presiding elder of the rural filling station.

"Sure," said he, waving a greasy hand over the blue horizon, "help yourself. You can have it all for the catching."

Of course, not all air is as free as that. There is cold air in the refrigerator that costs real money. And the hot air of the politicians that costs even more, and, last but not least, there is air which Providence and Secretary Hoover placed at the disposal of the radio corporations of America.

There is my old friend and college chump, Ed Nockles, for instance, who, besides being secretary of the Chicago Federation of Labor, thought he could go in the air pounding business as a side line. And what he'll be wanted to do that for is more than I can tell because he has a voice that makes an elevated train, suffering from a complication of flat wheels and ingrown axils, sound like a whispering zephyr.

Anyhow, my friend Nockles sing-songed the Chicago unions into the notion to acquire a broadcasting station so as to offset the open shop static that pollutes the air between bedtime stories and breakfast bacon. Then the bunch back of Ed, being a power in Chicago politics, in a small way, induced the Mayor of the burg, or somebody, to give them the loan of the water tower of the fire department or the roof of the City Hall or the flag pole on the municipal pier on which to graft that noise making machine. And everything was hunky dory until Hoover heard about it. By this I don't mean that Nockles had asked Hoover for permission to permeate the ether with union-made air waves. Ed isn't of the asking kind.

But, anyhow, when the Department of Commerce learned that the Chicago Federation of Labor was laboring under the delusion that it could install a radio station, Brother Hoover sent word that the department was out of wave lengths of the size needed by Chicago and that, therefore, and so on, Ed could broadcast his message by means of the deaf and dumb language.

Nevertheless, Brother Nockles has gone and went ahead and is installing radio station WCFL, being the abbreviation for Washington Can't Fool Labor, which sounds almost too good to be true.

In the meantime, there is talk of a vicious court fight to determine whether Ed or Herb own the air of the land of the free. And Frank P. Walsh has come to the aid of Ed to put the kibosh on Herb—or give him the air.

While all these things were going on in Chicago the air was broke loose in New York, too. It happened all because Norman Thomas, another old friend and world war buddy of mine, was hampered by the rummy notion that under the constitution of this glorious democracy every free born and independent American citizen had an inalienable right to use the air for anything from blowing up tires to making speeches to Passaic strikers.

Norman used to be a minister of the gospel but lost his job for preaching once too often from the text "love thy enemy." After that he sank lower and lower until he finally degenerated into a pacifist which is about as low as a man can get in this Christian nation.

More and moreover, my friend Norman is what I would call a militant pacifist, signifying that he would rather fight for peace than live in peace with fight. In fact, I never knew of a man who was so hell bound to establish peace on earth at the risk of losing the good will of everybody.

Well, some time ago, Station WHAP broadcasted a speech by Joseph Cashman, a C. O. D. patriot whom Norman is suing for libel because the speech contained a choice assortment of plain and fancy lies concerning an organization of which Norman is a member.

Therefore, Norman bounced on WHAP with all fours and demanded that he be permitted to broadcast a correction so as to give the listeners of WHAP the low down on this Cashman. But WHAP gave the air to Norman by refusing him the air.

Then WRNY invited him to use its station for an address on the subject of freedom of speech on the air. And, strange to say, this address was actually delivered after some of the main stingers had been taken out of it at the request of the management. However, enough was left in it to indicate that Norman opined that the percentage of freedom contained in the air was somewhat below the alcoholic content of near beer.

In explaining the reason why the air should be purged from all controversial subjects, such as freedom, for instance, a representative of WMCA said in speaking of Norman's speech:

"Why he slammed the daylight out of the companies on which we depend for supplies. Mr. Gilman (manager of the station) agreed with me that it was better not to do anything rash and get into trouble with other stations on whom we depend or with Washington."

The congregation will now rise and sing:

"My country, 'tis of thee,  
Sweet land of liberty."

Well, anyhow, go ahead, boys. Somebody ought to strike a blow for free air before some galoot corners the stuff, chokes a meter down our throat and makes us poke a quarter in the slot every time we want to breathe.

Adam Coaldrigger.

## Bernstein on Industrial Crises

THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

### Bernstein's Critique on Industrial Crises

THE fourth question raised by Bernstein is whether the present economic system will inevitably result, as Marx at first believed, in a series of crises "whose crowning point is the universal crises."

In analyzing this problem, Bernstein first examines what he considers to be the most popular Socialist explanation of economic crises, namely that they result from under-consumption. Despite the popularity of this theory, Bernstein points out that both Marx and Engels in their later writings did not regard "under-consumption" as the main cause of crises. Engels, for instance, in the third chapter of his treatise against Dühring, while admitting that under-consumption on the part of the masses may "also be a condition of crises," asserted that it explained their presence at that time just as little as it explained their former absence.

"To explain the present stagnation in the sale of cotton yarns and textile fabrics by the under-consumption of the English masses and not by the over-production of the English cotton manufacturers," he maintained, in dealing with the crisis of 1877, was rather stretching facts to fit a preconceived theory. The theory of under-consumption, he declares on his footnote, originated in the writings of Simond, from whom it was borrowed by Rodbertus.

"It is pure tautology," wrote Marx about 1878 in the second edition of "Capital," "to say that crises arise from the want of consumers able to pay. Crises are each time preceded by a period in which the workers' wages rise and the working classes actually receive a relatively greater share than usual of the yearly produce destined for consumption."

In contradiction, however, with this position, Marx, more than a decade earlier, in the early '60s, in the second edition of "Capital," gives as "the last reason for all social crises the poverty and limitation of consumption of the masses as opposed to the impulse of capitalist production to develop the productive forces, as though only the absolute capacity for consumption of the community formed their limit." In this passage, under-consumption on the part of the masses is emphasized even as opposed to the anarchy of production. To this earlier conception Bernstein voices his objection.

### Will Crises Lead to Economic Collapse?

Bernstein next challenges the Marxian thesis that economic crises tend to become ever more violent in their nature, finally ending in the complete collapse of the system. Engels, declares Bernstein, goes so far as maintaining that such devices as trusts and combines, for preventing the recurrence of crises, but conceal in themselves "the seeds of a more powerful future crisis."

The alternative seems to be either "a new world crash of unheard of violence," or a chronic rotation of crises with a relatively shorter and feebler improvement of trade, and a relatively long, indecisive depression. In answer to this position, Bernstein declares: "Signs of an economic world-wide crash of unheard of violence have not been established, nor can one describe the improvement of trade in the intervals between the crises as particularly short-lived. Much more does a third question arise which after all is partly contained already in the second—namely: (1) whether the enormous extension of the world market, in conjunction with the extraordinary shortening of time necessary for the transmission of news and for the transport trade, has so increased the possibilities of adjustment of disturbances; and (2) whether the enormously increased wealth of the European states, in conjunction with the elasticity of the modern credit system and the rise of industrial cartels (or combines), has so limited the reaching force of local and individual disturbances that, at least for some time, general commercial crises similar to the earlier ones are to be regarded as improbable."

### Credit, Speculation and Crises

Such critics of Bernstein as Rosa Luxemburg argue that the credit system but accelerates foolhardy speculation and crises. In endeavoring to prove her case, she concentrates, however, declares Bernstein, on the destructive, not the constructive, functions of the credit system. Marx realized the mixed character of credit when he spoke of it as "half swindler, half prophet." It is not true that speculation grows greater with the advance of capitalism. The maddest outbursts of speculation come at the dawn of the capitalist era, "and speculation celebrates its wildest orgies usually in the countries where the capitalist development is youngest. In the domain of industry speculation flourished most luxuriantly in new branches of production. The older a branch of production is, under modern forms, with the

exception of manufacture of mere articles of fashion, the more does the speculative momentum cease to play a decisive part. The conditions and movements of the market are then more exactly foreseen and are taken into consideration with greater certainty." Increasingly rapid means of communication from one industrial center to another, increasingly close relationships between manufacturers, and the influence of the trusts, all modify the intensity of crises. The failure of a world crisis to materialize, in fact, leads Engels, in 1894, to question whether the world was facing a new enlargement of the cycle, and to warn his readers against the abstract deduction that these crises must repeat themselves in the old form.

"There remains," concludes Bernstein, "only so much, that the capacity for production in modern society is much greater than the actual demands for products determined by the buying capacity; that millions live insufficiently housed, insufficiently clad, and insufficiently nourished, in spite of abundant means at hand for sufficient housing, nourishment and clothing; and that out of this incongruity over-production appears again and again in different branches of production, so that either actually certain articles are produced in greater amounts than can be used—for example, more yarn than the present weaving mills can work—or that certain articles are produced not in a greater quantity than can be used, but in a greater quantity than can be bought; that, in consequence of this, great irregularity occurs in the employment of the workers, which makes their situation extremely insecure, weights them down in unworthy dependence, brings forth overwork here and want of work there; and that of the means employed today to counteract the most visible part of this evil, the cartels represent monopolist unions—on the one side against the workers and on the other against the great public."

Bernstein declares "that the great danger of trusts is not that they breed more extensive crises, but that they 'virtually bear within themselves the possibilities of a new and more hopeless serfdom for the working classes.'" He concludes:

"The problem of crises cannot be solved by a few well-preserved catchwords. We can only investigate what elements of modern economy work in favor of crises and what work against

them. It is impossible to prejudge a priori the ultimate relation of these forces to one another, or their development. Unless unforeseen external events bring about a general crisis—and as we have said, that can happen any day—there is no urgent reason for concluding that such a crisis will come to pass for purely economic reasons. Local and partial depressions are unavoidable; general stagnation is not unavoidable with the present organization and extension of the world market, and particularly with the great extension of the production of articles of food."

It is seen that here Bernstein comes to direct grips with the over-simplified theory of crises propounded by the early scientific Socialists, while carrying to their logical conclusion some of the earlier declarations of Marx and Engels. Failing to see a general crisis as the inevitable result of economic forces, his suggested tactics for ushering in the co-operative commonwealth are necessarily different from those who are firmly convinced of the truth of the cataclysmic theory. The possibility of a collapse due to political events, however, Bernstein nowhere denies.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

## GEORGIAN SOCIALIST HEAD DIES IN PARIS BY SUICIDE

The report from Paris of the death, through suicide, of Nicholas Teichidze, one of the great leaders of the Russian Socialist movement, reveals a Socialist tragedy of the first magnitude.

Teichidze was one of the makers of the Russian Socialist movement and the revolution which it brought about, yet he died an exile from Russia, a victim of the Bolshevik dictatorship, which refused to differentiate in its ruthlessness between Socialist and capitalist opposition except, in some cases, where it loosened its grip a bit on the latter.

With Stalin, Tserebelli and By-paridze, Teichidze was a leader of the Georgian Social Democratic movement. For many years he was a member of the Duma. The revolution of 1917 found him in the forefront. Later he became head of the Georgian Socialist Republic, which was later overthrown by the Soviet government.

WE are writing to the Postmaster General in regard to a pension for Isabel, our black cat. Yes, boys and girls, the truth must out. Isabel is enroute again and in all our experience we have never met a more faithful or persistent litter carrier.

## Jesse James Was a Piker

Judging from the capital invested, the act of voting in a Republican primary in Pennsylvania has become a basic American industry. According to the testimony before the Reed committee the hourly wage rate is about that of a bootlegger's assistant. Apparently Andy Mellon, the former proprietor of Old Overholt whisky, bases his wage scale for voters on that paid to the hippocketeers. Of course, voting in Pennsylvania primaries is a highly seasonal occupation. But this was apparently taken into account when it came time to pay the boys off.

We once went to a very wet dinner of Babbitts at which Andrew Mellon was present and was praised as "the best Secretary of the Treasury since Alexander Hamilton." In our opinion this was the faintest of praise but it made a big hit with the assembled realtors who for the life of them couldn't have told you whether Alexander Hamilton was the inventor of the Monroe Doctrine or the man who shot Benedict Arnold at the Battle of White Plains. However we now rise to confer new distinctions upon Uncle Andy. We nominate him as the most brazen hi-jacker who has appeared on the American scene since they laid Jesse James in the grave. The fact that Jesse sometimes took a chance is the only thing that differentiates the two.

Uncle Andrew has written a right smart letter saying how wicked it is to think of favoring the American farmer with any sort of subsidy such as that proposed in the Haughen bill. It must be very painful to the head of the subsidized aluminum trust to think that anyone else should have a subsidy. Here is one instance where competition does not appear to Uncle Andy, at least, to be the life of trade.

Great gobs of silence are being omitted from the White House these days. But if the Reed committee keeps up its good work we expect to hear the White House spokesman step right up and say, "No guilty man shall escape." As we remember it, that was the funny crack that Cal made during the Teapot Dome revelations. Who says that politicians have no sense of humor?

Next week we are going to the annual conference of the League for Industrial Democracy at Tamiment where we are scheduled to read a paper called, "What can we do about it?" "It," in this instance means the present capitalist system. A tired radical of our acquaintance, one of those birds who says, "I'm going to knock off for awhile and make some money and then I'll come back and knock Big Biz for a loop," suggests that all we need to do is to get up and say one word. "And that word would be 'nothing.'" But this bright young man is wrong on two accounts. In the first place after he has made his pile (if any) he will find that instead of turning around and walloping the system whereby he has made it, spang in the nose, he will have to spend the rest of his life getting rid of the filth that he has accumulated in the process. We mean mental and spiritual filth.

In the second place despite the fact that capitalism in this country seems so securely seated in the saddle we have never seen a time when the rider was so nervous. What do you suppose all these flag-waving organizations such as the National Security League, the American Defense Society and the rest feed upon? Why the guilty consciences of the exploiters who know that at any minute the house of pulp and printers' ink that they have builded around this Coolidge prosperity bunk may come tumbling to earth. Honestly folks, it isn't half as hard as it looks. It does call for a thoroughgoing overhauling of our techniques many of which are as dusty as Tut's Tomb. It does call for an intimate knowledge of American social forces, which few of us now possess. It does require more tolerance of divergent opinions within the movement than most of us seem willing to exercise. But Hells bells, the other crowd are not so all-fired smart as we sometimes think. Every time we show signs of fight, they take to cover. They too, are engaged in internecine warfare. And they are rapidly getting to the point where they are showing their hands to the underlying population. The great American people may be as dumb as you like to think they are but there comes a time when a prone position becomes irksome even to the dumbest. And while we are not a prophet or the son of a prophet we are willing to bet a subscription to The New Leader against Charles Evans Hughes's whiskers that that time is not so far off. At all events come on down to Tamiment and talk it over with us. Bring along your tennis racket and we will beat you on the courts even if you lick us in the debate.

McAlister Coleman.

## GOVERNOR MINTURN A Labor Novel of the Northwest

By M. H. HEDGES

(Continued From Last Week)

"Retreat and regit," something in Dan said. He suddenly became aware that an inner change, not immediate, but impending for months had consummated itself within him. He saw how men grow old, battle-worn, not suddenly, not consciously, but noiselessly, ineluctably, until they were dying inwardly before they were aware. That, he told himself, was the way life had passed his mother. . . .

Climbing tiers of red houses against the blue sky, Duluth was fading behind them, as the Northland leaped against the foam. It was a merry moment. Below, the ship's orchestra was playing a jazz dance of which Dan did not know the name. There was animation on deck, a pleasant stir of festive colors as men and women in gay shawls took the deck chairs. Dipping, majestic gulls, white-capped waves, the rhythmic "ching, chug" of the engines, the city distant, sinking from them in the sunlight, like a crumbling image in a dream, these were spread, it seemed, for Dan's particular entertainment. . . .

"I never get tired of this view," Agatha said.

"I don't think I should either," he answered.

Dusk came swiftly. The shore-line faded out. They were alone on the sea. Something dropped from Dan. It was as if he had said "good-bye" to some past forever. He thought of his mother. . . .

Within three hours after their embarking, the "Northland" was battling desperately with one of the precipitate squalls for which Lake Superior is famous. The boat, though in no great danger, pitched and tossed in the trough of the choppy sea. The gale drove three-fourths of the passengers to their berths. Even some of the crew were sick. Dan escaped. Agatha crumpled up before the onslaught, and lay, limp, will-less, complaining child in the bed. Her damp hair made a copper pool for her to lie in. Her mouth lost its firmness, her eyes their luster, her cheeks looked their careful grooming looked pale, in texture coarse. She was petulant, whimpering. Yet even in her discomfort, the proud grace of her body, the comely strength of her, could not be concealed. Dan marvelled at her physical loveliness. . . .

Her air of mastery of self and life was gone. Nausea seemed to have severed all the stern bands of control she had severely set about herself. Masks tumbled down. She was no longer Agatha Morrison, niece of Senator Matt Gaylard, but just a girl, weak and a little disgusting. She

seemed to sense something of his reaction.

"My God, Danny, you must get me off this boat, or you'll lose whatever love you have for me," she said. "Please go out. I'll be all right."

Dan sat in a steamer chair outside her door thoughtfully. He heard her retching. It all had happened before, he told himself. Many a night he had listened to his mother like that. Agatha like his mother? That golden, charming mistress of life, like his mother? . . . Gusts of winds shook his chair. Through the porthole, red flashes of lightning—a heaving sea—far-off, indistinct, hoarse howling of fog-horns—the pour of rain over the decks—a warm sheltered feeling of being inside—exaltation at the sight of nature on a great jag, staggering to the tattoo of rain and thunder. . . .

For the first time, doubts came to Dan about his love for Agatha. The suggestion intruded itself that he go away from her—now—slip off absurdly into the night and storm, and disappear. After all, she was not his wife yet. Would she ever be? Would Agatha ever really surrender to him? Every half hour or so, he shook himself free from his drowsy broodings and went into her. Once he was aroused by the sound of her weeping. . . .

Morning. Leaden sky and turbulent angry gray waters. Georgian Bay with its stormy promontories, and desolate, lonely islands of rock in tune with the gray grandeur of cloud-swept sky and storm-swept sea. Agatha was asleep at last. Dan shook himself and went out on deck. A tone-pool in gray. Fresh, spray-filled air welcomed him. His spirit responded to the boundless sweep of sky and water. A stewardess, an Irish girl, was passing from stateroom to stateroom, her short skirts billowed about her legs, just lifted to reveal her pretty, bare knees. She leaned against the wind joyously, her frank, unafraid eyes upon Dan. She was clean, rain-rinsed, friendly; strong as life, a part of sea and nature; so unlike Agatha. She stirred him deeply. His eyes followed her. He thought: "I might have married a girl like that—one of my own kind."

Agatha grew better, but did not try to rise. Dan prowled the wind-swept decks. . . . There was a strange, morose, motionless figure that stretched itself under a rug in a steamer chair. Dan passed him time and again as he paced the deck. This fellow, diminutive, frail, with gray about the temples, thin mustache, and dark, fixed eyes, paid no more attention to the bounding sky-line, or the waters than if he were sitting at home in his sun-room. He poked at a book with his inquisitive nose all day. . . .

Once when Dan passed him, he raised his eyes. The next time, as Dan paused in his tramping, he spoke. It

was easy to talk after that. In the course of a long, circumambulatory conversation, the man said: "Being on shipboard is like belonging to an army. You give yourself over to an absolute dictatorship. Your bodily wants are looked after; the captain and pilot do the thinking for you, and everybody is on the same footing of equality, all in the same boat, you know. That's why a voyage is such a good rest. It's better than a hospital."

Dan found it a new idea. "You know," the stranger said, renewing the theme, "equality is what's destroying us here in America. We are organized like a mob rather than like a ship. We have no captains and no pilots."

Hereupon he began to read without ceremony from his book: "Every improvement of the type of man has been the work of an aristocratic society, and it will always be so—a society with a long hierarchy of rank and differences among men and based on slavery in one sense or another."

He turned over pages rapidly and flung aphorism after aphorism at his eager and astonished listener. . . .

"The new table, brethren, I put up for you. Be hard."

"In itself an act of injury, violation, exploitation or annihilation cannot be wrong," he continued, "for life operates essentially and fundamentally by injuring, violating, exploiting and annihilating, and cannot even be conceived of as existing otherwise. . . . 'Wisdom that,' the little man declared in a kind of rhapsody of the reason. . . .

"Life is essentially the appropriation, the injury, the vanquishing of the unadapted and weak," he quoted again. "I read from the new Ten Commandments," he explained. "Nietzsche, my boy, is the antidote of democracy, a savior for an age, in which man, springing out of a welter of Darwinian nonsense, lost all self-respect. . . . He referred to his book. 'I teach you the superman. Man is something that shall be surpassed. What have ye done to surpass him?'"

The bitter, tonic words fitted well the little man and the austere background of scudding gulls, gray waters and stone-clad shores. . . .

Night came. Dan had more time to think. His mind ran back over his life and the persons that filled it: Hugh, the eternal interrogation point of his soul that would not be answered; Alice Miller, Bricktop. What if he had married one of these? That beggar at the wharf; the legislator. Goodnite—damn him—Andrewson. How bitter was the defeat of the anti-injunction bill—how crushing! The little girl, the unknown girl, who had cried because he had kissed her; Senator Gaylard, whom he had come to respect deeply. "Governor Minturn, Governor Minturn," he heard in the throbs of the engines. He heard the old call. . . .

He walked to the stern of the boat

and watched the leagues of water churn over the propeller. Behind, in the wind-swept distance, was home, his mother in her accustomed chair—the chair over which he and Hugh had fought. The picture faded. His mother was harder to visualize amid the splendor of the Northland. . . .

He went back to Agatha. She was lying as he had left her, but she smiled as he came in.

"Come near me, dear," she demanded. "Hold me tight." Ah, the warmth of her! They were silent. He kissed her. They talked. He told her about the lighthouses on Isle and bluffs, and the man who had read Nietzsche to him. . . .

"I am not interested in Nietzsche," she said. "I am interested in you."

She pulled him down beside her.

"You know, dear," she began gravely, "how one thinks things when one is sick—mad things. I dreamed I was going to die. The pain of it, Dan. I felt so—so—incomplete." She paused. "My husband," she went on passionately, "I acted meanly in Duluth. . . . What if I had died, Dan?"

He held her to him.

"But, dear, you can't realize how all my life I have hated men—no, not men—myself, my open, raw nature, so vulnerable, so powerless against them, against you, Dan. . . . I am so weak." She hid her face against his shoulder. She trembled. . . .

They left the boat at Mackinac, that Jade Jewel in the open sea. They found a hotel room that opened on the bay. They could see the stars drop into the blue as they lay clasped in each other's arms, oblivious of time and space. . . .

They took train to Chicago. They went to the Drake, at Agatha's suggestion. Dan made no objection. He had begun to accept the perquisites of Agatha's class as his own. . . .

That night they dined in the great dining-room, with its classic atmosphere. Somewhere far away amidst the Ionic columns an orchestra was playing. From the window they looked down upon thronged Sheridan Road and to the open lake. Men and women, flushed with health and well being, dazzling with jewels, sat at table. Agatha was aglow with the splendor. To Dan she had never looked so charming. . . .

"You order for me," she asked softly, and smiled at him across the table. Dan gave the order crisply with the right snig frowl to the obsequious waiter. Agatha lit a cigarette. The orchestra began its fantasy again. Dan leaned back, feeling masterful and strong. Enfolded luxury of a beneficent Providence seemed mysteriously thrown about him. Security is sweet. This is the setting for her, he thought. This is her world—her world. There was no other. It seemed to him, then, as if there had never been another. . . .

(To be continued next week)



## Machinists Act to End Faulty Election Counts; Company Cops Expensive

### The Field of Labor

THE International Association of Machinists is bent upon avoiding the scandals that accompanied their election for general officers last summer. John F. Anderson, the candidate of the progressives for president, was defeated by William H. Johnston, holding office by less than 1,000 votes out of a total of 35,000 cast. Anderson issued a circular under the caption, "The Story of the Big Steal," in which he charged wholesale fraud. Johnston immediately suspended him until an apology and retraction were forthcoming. Dissension rent the union, and no effective organization work could go on.

Last January the administration made a feeble attempt to correct the inadequacies in the election system of the union. Two propositions, one making slight reforms, and the other substituting the less democratic method of elections at the regular convention, were submitted to a referendum vote. The unusual thing occurred of having both suggestions defeated by an overwhelming majority. Then, in February at a reconciliation meeting, a "treaty of peace" was signed whereby Anderson withdrew his appeal from the decision of the executive council in suspending him. Thereupon, the council, by unanimous vote, had him reinstated. Late in May, Johnston tendered his resignation as president because of ill health—he had been inactive since last fall. Arthur O. Wharton, former president of the Railway Employees Department of the A. F. of L. and former member of the Railway Labor Board, was appointed to take office July 1. Simultaneously the movement to improve the election machinery has gained ground. The Milwaukee and Cleveland lodges have taken the lead. The agitation now is at its height. Fourteen propositions will be submitted to a referendum vote in July. Whichever are chosen will guarantee effective checks on cheating, so that the next general election will be free from corruption. Then, the Machinists will be enabled to turn their energies from internal quarrels to the organization of the automobile mechanics and the recovery of lost territory.

### A BLOW AT COMPANY COPS

It has been customary for capitalist interests, especially in out of the way places, such as mining regions, to enlist uniformed officers of the law in breaking strikes. This is done by paying the salaries of these lackies and quartering them on the company's premises. Recently, for example, it became known that county police in the New Jersey textile strike were boarded and their compensation advanced by one of the mills on the pretext that the sheriff had not ready cash on hand. We all remember how assiduous these officers were in clubbing the strikers. Now comes a decision from the highest court of Texas, which, if made universal, would undermine this sort of practice.

During the shopcrafts strike of 1922 the Governor lent the St. Louis Southwestern Railway thirty rangers (state police) on the condition that the road paid their salaries. A striker engaged in peaceful picketing was

killed by one of these officers. A jury awarded damages to the family of the deceased, to be paid by the company. The railroad appealed on the ground that it was not liable, since the ranger was a public official, discharging public functions. The Court of Civil Appeals of Texas ruled otherwise. While it is no expected that Big Business will permit itself to be deprived of the benefits of governmental machinery so easily, it certainly indicates that it will resort to new methods. Obviously, sufficient appropriations for police officers who find their chief usefulness in industrial disputes will be the next demand made by corporations and their lackeys.

### NOW IT CAN BE TOLD

Congratulations to the Daily Worker! Beginning with the Decoration Day week-end it ceases to fling epithets of abuse at trade union officials with whom it disagrees. Its militancy will, hereafter, be couched in decent temperate terms. A tendency in this direction has been apparent in recent months. On May 26, 27 and 28 was held the plenary session of the central committee of the Workers' (Communist) Party. The meeting decided to change the editorial policy of the Daily Worker. Consequently, William F. Dunne, who has been one of the most unscrupulous of the arch-offenders, has explained the new tactics in three articles in the sheet in question under the general title, "What the Daily Worker Is—What It Must Become." He says in part:

... If one looks over a file of the Daily Worker covering any length of time, he will be struck by the constant repetition of such words as "labor faker," "fink," "traitor," "terrorism," "tools of the bosses," "white guard," "counter-revolutionist," "fascist," "black treachery," "degenerates," "scoundrels," "crooks," "betrayal."

... It is my opinion, formed after some experience in the labor movement, and careful consideration of the matter, that the so-called labor fakers are damaged very little by such abuse, but that it actually aids them in that it gives them a chance to shift the issue, i. e., to talk about our abuse of them rather than the concrete demands we put forward.

... It is very noticeable and enlightening, however, that as the strength of the left wing in the labor unions has decreased, the heat of our utterances concerning the iniquitous practices of the labor officialdom has increased until our general approach and criticism can be described as a sort of venomous fury.

We shall be interested in seeing how the NEP (New Editorial Policy) will differ from plain progressive trade unionism. Certainly, the subsidence of malicious attacks by Communists will make it easier for non-Communist, forward-looking unionists to resume independent activity without losing caste with their fellow members.

### GALA CONVENTIONS

Union conventions, like those of other organizations, are so apt to over-emphasize their recreational features that something is bound to happen sooner or later to drive home the necessity for greater attention to detail. At the last General Assembly of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, held at Montreal, refuge of conventions, the per capita tax was raised from 50 to 60 cents by unanimous vote. Then someone discovered that the printed daily proceedings which had been furnished delegates did not contain any record of the change. Rumors of illegality of the increased tax spread until Local 454 of New York requested a referendum vote for its repeal. On the advice of counsel, Charles A. Burnett and Morris Hillquit, the Administration refused the request as being unconstitutional. Meanwhile, evidence has been produced to show that the fault lay with the printers at Montreal, who had made an incomplete transcript of the notes of the Official Report. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the delegates were careless in not checking up on such an important matter in the first place. As we go to press we are reliably informed that Local 454 has withdrawn its charges. So the matter is closed.

### THE FAMILY ALLOWANCE FOR TEACHERS

Little by little Professor Paul H. Douglas' propaganda for the family wage is beginning to bear fruit in this country. People will agree or disagree with the proposal, but at least they will not be able to be indifferent. The Teachers' Union of New York City has now taken the matter under advisement and referred the question to the coming annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers. It is pointed out that the governments of France, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Netherlands, Switzerland, Poland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland,

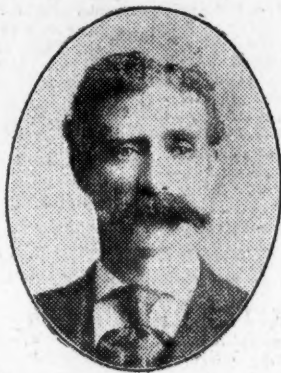
## The Story of the Painters Union

### II.—Consolidation (1901-1908)

By Louis Silverstein

WHAT HAS COME BEFORE

ON the wave of the enthusiasm for national craft unions, the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators (now also Paperhangers) was founded at Baltimore in 1887. Its leader was John T. Elliott, formerly of New York. It was not long before Elliott, who had become secretary-treasurer, and his followers began to look upon the union as a vested interest of theirs. Therefore, when at a regular convention it was decided to move the headquarters to Lafayette, Indiana, and Elliott refused to run again, McKinney, his successor, demanded the books. With this request Elliott refused to comply. A feud now broke out and the Brotherhood was split into two factions, one with headquarters at Baltimore and the other at Lafayette. It was only with the death of Elliott, in 1900, that it was finally possible to arrange a reconciliation with the aid of the American Federation of Labor. In 1901 the two factions had their first reunited convention.



John T. Elliott

WHILE the Elliott and McKinney factions were wrangling for supremacy of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers little attention could be paid to constructive work. The membership of the union had at first grown with more than gratifying rapidity. Starting with six hundred, the number rose to seven thousand within one year, and at the time of the Great Split in 1894 had reached twenty thousand. In the years immediately following the total adherents of both sides dropped to less than half that number. As hopes of a reconciliation increased, gains in membership came quickly, so that at the time of the reunion in 1901 there were almost twenty-nine thousand members. Two years later the number had more than doubled.

Naturally, confronted by so chaotic a national organization, those painters throughout the country who felt the need for unionization and had no desire to take sides in the internal quarrels of the Brotherhood, banded themselves into local independent unions. The absence of persistent organization work, moreover, permitted these to entrench themselves in their localities and defy the jurisdictional claims of the Brotherhood.

### Small Organizations At a Disadvantage

Once the division among the painters was healed, most of these local unions were induced to join the national body. After all there were disadvantages in small organizations, autonomous in their vicinities. Not only were they weak with respect to financial resources in a struggle with employers, but their members did not enjoy satisfactory beneficiary systems, if at all. Their most serious defect, however, arose from their very localism. Their members were hampered in seeking work elsewhere since unions in other cities would not recognize membership cards of other organizations. The Brotherhood could offer material help in times of crisis, desirable benefit arrangements and traveling cards. It was, therefore, comparatively simple to convince independent unions that their best interests lay with the B. of P. D. & P. If they were still refractory, pressure could be brought to bear through the city central bodies of the American Federation of Labor. Contractors who would not deal with the A. F. of L. Painters would find it difficult to hire the services of any workmen at all. The defiant could thus be brought to terms.

One organization, however, proved a stumbling block to the Brotherhood. In the East there had arisen the Amalgamated Association of Painters and Decorators of New York and Vicinity. The recurrent movement for consolidation of the painters' unions of the metropolis will make up a portion of our story of the New York organization in another installment of this series. For the present, it is sufficient to know that on April 15, 1897, such an amalgamation, involving 2,200 members, took place. The Brotherhood was practically non-existent in this important

Jugo-Slavia, and Italy all pay their employees, in addition to the basic salary, extra allowances for each child in the family. Local governments and private employers have been introducing the system. Of course, the objection to the family wage in the case of private enterprise, that it places the benevolent employer at a disadvantage in competition, does not hold good for public servants. Teachers can argue with reason for the innovation. Policemen, firemen and other city and state employees can follow suit. It is a reasonable demand and one that is bound to become more important in the years to come. To convince the unmarried woman teachers of its necessity will be the most difficult obstacle to be hurdled.

### THE STEEL TRUST'S HUMANITARIANISM

The explosion on June 14 at the Gary plants of the United States Steel Corporation, resulting, according to the first dispatches, in the death of ten and the injury of sixty workers, comes on the heels of the twenty-fifth

center of work. Not only did the Amalgamated monopolize all the painting in New York City to the total exclusion of the A. F. of L. organization, but it even went further and safe-guarded the interests of its members by expanding into outlying territory. Early in 1902 it was joined by the painters of Philadelphia and Washington, D. C. This enabled those within its fold to find work elsewhere if they so desired, to the detriment of those affiliated with the Brotherhood. At the same time, the Amalgamated had a death benefit of \$100 for members in good standing six months, an accident benefit of \$10 for thirteen weeks and a strike benefit of \$1 a day for three weeks. Finally, a high initiation fee provided a wall that outsiders could not scale.

### Fight on Amalgamated Begins

The Brotherhood realized that it had to capture the stronghold of New York. Otherwise, it would suffer prestige and its members economic opportunities. In addition, the acquisition of two or three thousand dues-payers was worth striving to attain. A struggle against the Amalgamated Painters was, therefore, initiated.

But unlike the situation in other cities, the non-A. F. of L. painters in New York—and for that matter in Philadelphia—had the support of the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Most important of all the building trades' organizations with their iron grip on the trade, then as now, gave their support to the Amalgamated Painters. The latter had their representatives on the famous Board of Delegates, who tyrannized the building contractors. That was the day of the labor boss, Sam Parks, the Brindell of his time. He and his ilk had long ago demolished any lines that might have existed between what was ethical and what was not. Builders had to bribe them in order that contracts might be fulfilled on time without the interruption of sudden strikes. The labor bosses, petty and big, considered the union treasuries their own. Nevertheless, the rank and file, though somewhat disgruntled with the mysterious stoppages, was generally satisfied with the wages they were receiving. The "entertainment committee" browbeat out-spoken opponents into silence.

### How Amalgamation Was Brought About

It is in such an atmosphere that the Brotherhood officials had to make headway. Fortunately, they were not hampered by such fears as Elliott had entertained, that the New Yorkers would wrest control of the Brotherhood from him, were they to affiliate. The present officials were able to push forward aggressively without any qualms whatsoever but the Amalgamated Painters in their provincialism and cock-sureness rejected all proposals for consolidation, no matter how liberal. The A. F. of L. building craft unions, particularly the carpenters, supported the independents. The Brotherhood waited for an opening wedge. In the year 1902 an opportunity appeared. The Amalgamated had struck for an increase in wages and a half holiday on Saturday. The employers began secret negotiations with the Brotherhood. The President, J. C. Bahnhorn, came East and immediately sized up the situation. There was but one thing to be done: buy the admission of the Brotherhood's locals into the Board of Delegates. The two thousand and half dollars he had at his disposal were insufficient. Seventeen thousand dollars additional were raised among the employers. Imperceptibly the Board of Delegates, notably the "credentials committee," began to recede from their formerly adamant position. "Boss" Richard Carvill was appointed umpire to decide some questions in dispute between the Amalgamated and the Brotherhood. He de-



J. W. McKinney

clined in favor of the latter. On December 20, 1902, the Brotherhood was admitted to the Board of Delegates on condition that its members did not work for less than the four dollars and forty five per day that the Amalgamated was demanding. Within three days the Brotherhood had signed a secret agreement to work for three and a quarter and three fifty a day. The Amalgamated Painters, while not losing the strike, had to content themselves with a partial victory.

### Bosses' Alliance Fails to Stem Tide

After that the Brotherhood made some headway. Defections in the ranks of the Amalgamated occurred. In 1906 the National Alliance of Painters was organized to fight the Brotherhood on a wider basis. It could not stem the tide. In 1907 its ranks broken, its membership diminished, it submitted to its fate. An agreement was signed on March 1 which set up a Conference Board consisting of five representatives from each organization. These ten men were to conduct the affairs of both bodies jointly for a period of one year. An initiation fee of twenty-five dollars and minimum dues of fifty cents per month were to be common to both bodies. There was to be mutual recognition of business agents and working cards. Members of the National Alliance working out of town must apply to the Conference Board for a Brotherhood working card. A common wage scale and uniform working conditions were agreed upon. At the end of the year the members of the National Alliance were to become members of the Brotherhood. The representatives of the American Federation of Labor cooperated in making these arrangements.

This scheme worked out so well that in 1908 the Alliance merged with the A. F. of L. organization. The beneficiary interests of the New Yorkers were protected by permitting them to count their years of membership in the Alliance (or Amalgamated) in the calculation of the benefits due them. provided they had joined the Amalgamated or the unions that had gone into its composition before the age of fifty. This was similar to a provision in the constitution of the Brotherhood. George F. Hedrick, 1st General Vice-President and now General President, spent three months in New York transcribing the names of the recruits into the historic "Hedrick Book," now at headquarters at Lafayette, Indiana. Philadelphia and Washington, D. C., the other forts of the Amalgamated had capitulated earlier. The Brotherhood had consolidated its position.

It seems to me an unpardonable thing that we should waste so much more vigor in trying to put an end to the poor man's betting than in trying to put an end to his poverty.—"New Statesman," London.

amount spent in preventing accidents. The Steel Corporation is not an eleemosynary institution. All its activities for the good of the worker, apart from considerations of humanity, have been amply justified by plain business reasons—they paid eventually. The men who direct the policy of the Corporation have never lost sight of the fact that the first object of any company is to make money for its stockholders.

That is why Secretary of Labor James J. Davis, in a letter congratulatory to the Honorable Elbert H. Gary, can well state:

What especially pleases me is your reported statement that the United States Steel Corporation has found that accident prevention and safety work really pays from a dollar-and-cents point of view. You are reported as having stated that the United States Steel Corporation in ten years spent \$9,763,063 in accident prevention work and that the money saving resulting therefrom had been \$14,609,920. Such is the Steel Trust's humanitarianism!

## Small Italian Unions Resist Fascist Chains; Balkan Labor Confers

### Labor Doings Abroad

AS has been reported in The New Leader on several occasions since the enactment by the Fascist Government of Italy of the law making the black shirt unions, headed by an ex-Anarchist, the only legal representatives of the workers in dealing with their employers or the State, the real trade unions are having a hard time trying to accommodate themselves to their difficult position, while waiting for the day of reckoning with Mussolini and his dictatorship.

In order to hold the weaker units in line a mixed trade union federation has been formed for all those trades whose membership is small, and who are therefore not strong enough to be independent. The object of this new federation is to facilitate the recruitment of all the supporters of the Italian Trade Union Center. It is directing its attention to isolated workers; workers who are organized locally again in mixed organizations or trade groups; and national trade or industrial unions which have lost their independence. The organization is to give moral and financial support to the members, who have to pay a total subscription of 20 lire (15 lire for women and young persons under 18).

With a view to setting up a connecting link between its scattered forces the Italian national center recently began to publish the Battaglia Sindacale again, which had been suppressed along with other trade union and party papers. But this attempt at republication was met by the confiscation of the paper.

Under the heading, "The Free Trade Union House Must Be Built Up Again," a circular has been published which contains a report of a significant meeting recently held by the National Executive of the Italian Trade Union Center. Having discussed the new foundations of the trade union movement, the circular goes on as follows:

"The free trade union movement by its very nature cannot develop in dark holes and corners, it cannot live in the dark. It may not, and will not, take cover behind a mask, to create about itself an atmosphere of lasting suspicion. It needs light and sun. In building our new house we must take into account the conditions imposed by the laws. At present we have the possibility of existing as de facto trade unions. Then let us claim our legal right! The duties and functions of our organizations will be somewhat narrowly circumscribed in future; we shall have to confine ourselves to positive critical research, trade union education, and technical and moral assistance."

In a resolution describing the situation created by the new laws, the new structure of the movement is set forth. In place of the old district organizations, i. e., the Workers' Committees and Secretariats, small committees of representative men, are appointed by the National Executive—where possible by arrangement with the local sections. In addition to those committees of representative men there are also advisory committees, chosen by the sections or groups concerned. The national mixed trade federation are for the moment left standing as separate organizations. The trade federations, whose membership (according to the law, 10 per cent of the workers employed in the respective industry), and funds are not sufficiently large to render them autonomous, are administered with the assistance of mixed advisory committees of the same trade as the federation concerned.

The National Executive, whose former authority has been supplemented by the new arrangements, consists of General Secretary Buozzi and Secretaries Carlo Azimonti and Battista Magliani. In important matters the executive calls in Comrades Bentivoglio, Galli, Galbiati, Reina, Beni and Viotto.

Recent proofs of how the Italian workers feel about the trade union situation are found in the election of members of the sick and death benefit fund in the big metal works at Riva.

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near Milan, where all the candidates known as regular union men were elected and not a single Fascist won a seat, and a similar election by employees of the Milan street car company, in which 1,200 votes were cast for the regular unionists and only 600 for the black shirts. This in spite of the fact that so far it has been impossible to reconstitute the real street car men's union in Milan.

### CONFERENCE IN SOFIA AIDS BALKAN UNIONS

Great Impetus was lent to the work of building up a strong, united trade union movement in the Balkan countries by the Balkan Conference held in Sofia April 9 and 10 under the auspices of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

The Conference was preceded by preliminary discussions in Belgrade, attended by representatives of the I. F. T. U., Mertens, vice-president, and Sassenbach, secretary, and by various leaders of the Yugo-Slav trade union movement, as well as by representatives of the International Trade Secretariats, Simon, Leather Workers; Wilhelm, Food Workers; and Smit, Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees, and their affiliated organizations in Yugoslavia. In several trades there are various unions which, although they accept the point of view of the I. F. T. U. and belong to the Yugoslav national center, continue to maintain their separate existence. Undoubtedly, these discussions will help to bring about fusion. The same purpose was served by meetings held by Sassenbach in Sabotica and Novisad. In Sabotica the Independents (Communists) endeavored to make it impossible to carry on a well-attended meeting, but did not succeed.

On April 7 the delegation arrived in Sofia. The representatives of the I. F. T. U. had already been welcomed at the frontier by leaders of the Bulgarian Trade Union movement. In Sofia the foreign fraternal delegates were greeted at the station by a huge gathering of workers carrying banners and flowers. After speeches of welcome, a great procession was formed and wended its way through the city. An attempt by the Independents (Communists) to organize a violent counter-demonstration at the station exit entirely failed. The "Champions of the United Front" were held back by the stewards of the regular unions.

The conference at Sofia was also attended by Edo Fimmen of the Transport Workers International and by representatives of the trade union movements in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Roumania, Hungary, Greece and Czechoslovakia. The object of the conference was to strengthen the Trade Union movement in the Balkans and to bring the separate countries into closer unity. All the conference resolutions which were supported by the I. F. T. U. delegation were adopted unanimously, and among other things it was decided that attempts to achieve unity on the basis of the resolutions and policy of the Amsterdam International be favorably regarded.

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## TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

to evolve policies on a seven-point program, including housing and taxation. A perusal of the list of these names shows an overwhelming majority of bankers, realtors, lawyers and business men. Labor is virtually unrepresented. It is, of course, self-evident that the men to solve our housing problem are those most closely connected with the business of land speculation, money lending, etc., which makes housing so dear. Who can do so much for the people as those who have done them so much in the past?

What is the use of professing an interest in the united front and then writing the sort of articles that appeared in the Freiheit on the death of Meyer London? In reviewing his life the Communists had every right to point out those points on which they differed with him. But the tragedy of his death, the overwhelming outpouring of affection for him, above all, those tremendous services to the labor movement which even Freiheit grudgingly admitted Meyer London formerly rendered to the labor movement, all united to make the tone of Freiheit's remarks both unseemly and untimely. Something more than good manners are involved. Rabid unfairness, whether shown by the right or the left wing, is a tremendous stumbling block on the road to a co-operative commonwealth.

Col. Brookhart threw a fresh scare into the Iowa conservatives by a speech about fixing a 5 percent return for capital and letting labor run industry. Later, it developed that the 5 percent return limitation was meant to apply only to co-operatives. Even so, the speech showed that Col. Brookhart is moving along, but it's about time that our Midwestern progressive friends should stop airing individual panaceas and line up for a real labor party with a well thought out philosophy. Wall Street may be annoyed by plans for subsidies to farmers like the subsidies it itself enjoys. But it needn't lose much sleep so long as discontent confines itself to occasional flare-ups within one or another of the old parties.

It is good that the long and bitterly fought furriers' strike in New York City should have ended on terms which the workers who fought so courageously regard as satisfactory. The result is a partial victory for the 40-hour week—a victory bought, how-

ever, by yielding some other very important demands. If the workers maintain their solidarity and subordinate right and left wing politics to the good of the union as a whole, these other demands may at some future date be won without, perhaps, so protracted a struggle. The growing demand for a 40-hour week is to be justified not only as a means of overcoming seasonal unemployment, but as a way of escape from long rushed hours at the machine which tend to make Robots of the workers. It is not likely, however, that the 40-hour week in principle—to say nothing of practice—will ever be secure in any trade so long as the unorganized workers in the textile industry, for instance, have to work from 54 to 66 hours to live. The biggest task of American labor just now is the organization of the unorganized. That's why it is so important that every help should be given to the Passaic strikers.

## SWEEPING VICTORY IS WON BY SOCIALISTS IN ARGENTINE TOWN

A sweeping Socialist victory in the municipal election in the commune of Resistencia, way up on the northern border of Argentina, is reported in La Vanguardia of Buenos Aires of April 27. Despite the combination of the bourgeois parties in a group labeled "municipalistas," the Socialists polled 1,095 votes against 517 for the "municipalistas" and 193 for a so-called dissident bourgeois faction.

The campaign was hotly fought and the rejoicing of the population when the results were given out knew no bounds.

## IGLESIAS RE-ELECTED BY PORTO RICAN LABOR

SAN JUAN.—Porto Rican labor, in convention assembled in the hall of the territorial Senate on May 31, re-elected Santiago Iglesias as president of the Porto Rican Labor Congress. He has held that office many years, but sought to resign because of his being absent in Washington much of the time. He is secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

Iglesias is now attending the session of the Legislature, in which he is a Socialist Senator. He will tour the island, addressing meetings of organized workers, before return to Washington at the end of July.

## GERMAN PRINTERS CELEBRATE 60th YEAR

The German Printers' Union has just celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of its foundation in Leipzig. The union takes in practically all the various divisions of the printing trade and has about 80,000 members, or some 92 percent of those in the industry. The Apprentices' Section, founded in 1920, has about 12,000 members. The union's national organ got out a fine special edition on the anniversary, and the labor and bourgeois press of Germany united in lauding the Printers' Union.

BALTIMORE.—Joseph Doche lost his life at the plant of the America Malt Company while inspecting machinery.

## German Painters' Union

LOCAL 499, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS. Regular Meetings Every Wednesday 8 p.m. at the Labor Temple, 213 East 94th St. AUGUST KOENIG, President. CHAS. KOENIG, Sec'y. AMERSON HAAZ, Fin. Sec'y.

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## Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators of America, District Council No. 9, New York City.

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# A m u s e m e n t s

## D R A M A

### Chekov, Satirist of Nineteenth Century Russia

By Henry W. Nevinson

ALL who have seen "Riverside Nights" at the Lyric or the Ambassadors Theatre have been laughing over the burlesque upon Chekov's plays.

In that admirable burlesque we are shown the white-bearded old steward who is spending his few remaining years in vainly attempting to make out the family assessments for the income tax. We are shown the bride returning from church with a husband whom she detests, but has married in the hope of restoring the family fortunes through his knowledge of betting tips. We are shown a dismal woman who keeps on repeating "There is something peculiar about this house" in solemn tones as she waves about a teapot from which hot water dribbles. We are shown the young goal-keeper who, when the goals stood five aside, reflected upon the insignificance of victory in any case and walked in the opposite direction when the ball was approaching his goal for the sixth time. We are shown how the bride just wedded flings herself upon the goal-keeper's neck in the midst of the party and clings there until it occurs to her that they may be observed. Whereupon the goal-keeper, realizing her misery, pours the contents of his toy revolver into the body of a spectator, and learning from the bride that the spectator was unfortunately not her husband but only the best man, sinks into despair, murmuring, "That's the way things happen to me!"

It is an irresistible burlesque, not only upon the Chekov plays, of which London has lately witnessed four—"The Cherry Orchard," "The Sea Gull," "Three Sisters" and "Uncle Vanya"—but upon much in all Russian literature. As the natural theme for his burlesque, Mr. A. P. Herbert has chosen "Futility"—the Russian sense of life's futility, and the futility of so much in the Russian life and habit. In his novel actually called "Futility," Mr. Gerhardt, the young Oxford writer, chose the same characteristic, having perceived it in his visit to Russia after the war. And indeed it is not hard to perceive. It was obvious to myself in the revolutionary years twenty years ago. One recognized the Russian tendency to futile theorizing and interminable discussion, the incapacity for organizing anything practical, the admixture of brotherliness and cruelty that cancelled each other out, and the quick discouragement or despair. Added to these was the passion for fleeting pleasures, and the easy-going idleness which makes futility certain. If you remember those Russian traits you may better understand the necessity of Lenin's revolution.

That is to me the inner meaning and intention of Chekov's gloomy dramas of Russian life. He died about six months before Father Gapon's revolution in January, 1905, began and all intellectual Russia was then still lamenting the loss of her most remarkable dramatist and story-teller. I am not sure whether people then recognized his power as a satirist. When a writer accurately describes contemporary life as it is, it may well seem so natural to contemporary people that they do not notice satire. Perhaps that is the reason why "Gulliver's Travels," the greatest satire upon English life, has been commonly used as an amusing book for children, and why Chekov himself objected to having his most depressing satire,

"The Cherry Orchard" called anything but a comedy.

All the four plays mentioned have the same main theme: all are satires upon the mournful futility of middle-class and intellectual life in Russia. Almost everyone is vaguely unhappy. A student lover in "The Cherry Orchard" says to the young girl: "My soul was always, every minute, day and night, full of inexplicable forebodings. I have a foreboding of happiness, Anya. I see glimpses of it already." Think of "a foreboding of happiness" in a love scene! Similarly Uncle Vanya observes to the woman he loves: "Day and night the thought that my life has been hopelessly wasted weighs on me like a nightmare. I have no past. It has been stupidly wasted on trifles, and the present is awful in its senselessness." In the "Sea Gull" we are at once shown a young girl who always wears black. Why? Because, she says: "I am in mourning for my life. I am unhappy." In "Three Sisters" we are told of a newly-wedded wife who "makes philosophical reflections and frequently attempts to commit suicide, evidently to annoy her husband." I can only suppose that it was the failure of the attempts that annoyed him.

In most of the plays a revolver is prominent, and it usually accomplishes suicide, though in one case a would-be murderer misses his man twice in half a minute and cannot forgive himself for that further evidence of life's futility. A comparatively cheerful young clerk in "The Cherry Orchard," playing a guitar upon a garden seat, tells his little audience:

"I'm a cultivated man. I read remarkable books of all sorts, but I can never make out the tendency. I am myself precisely inclined, for whether to live or to shoot myself, speaking precisely, but nevertheless I always carry a revolver. Here it is. (He shows it.)"

It is remarkable that this satirist of gloomy futility was himself a merry man. In the introduction to the new collection of his letters, his wife, known as the actress, Olga Knipper, writes of him: "Chekov was always extremely fond of everything comic, humorous; he liked listening to funny stories, and, sitting in a corner, his head propped on his hand, pinching his beard, he would go off into such infectious laughter that I often left off listening to the story and enjoyed it second-hand through him. He was very fond of conjurers and clowns."

That seems another proof that Russia is the land of contradictions. You may say almost anything about Russians and always be right. We all contradict ourselves, but for violence of self-contradiction, I would back the Russian. And so it was that this laughter-loving nature, so energetic and gallant in his contest with a fatal disease, was the most melancholy satirist of Russian life, unless, indeed, Gorky or Andreff may surpass him in sadness.

In Chekov's time there was enough in Russia to make the merriest heart sad. It was characteristic of the man that just when he was rising to fame he set off through Siberia (before the railway) to study the conditions of life in the terrible convict settlement of Sahalin (Saghalin). What he found is partly described in the volume of "Letters to His Family and Friends," published in 1920. I give only one quotation:

"I will try and describe minutely the position of the children and young people in Sahalin (his visit was

CHARLOTTE WOODRUFF



Is a talented player with a good voice and who uses it to advantage in "The Great Temptations," the Shubert revue at the Winter Garden.

In 1900, I saw starving children, I saw girls of thirteen prostitutes, girls of fifteen with child. Girls begin to live by prostitution from twelve years old, sometimes before menstruation has begun. Church and school exist only on paper. The children are educated by their environment and the convict surroundings."

He speaks, too, of the repeated floggings and executions, but those were then too common in Russia itself to attract remark. Writing about the same date, after praising the work of the English in Hongkong and India, he says of Russians:

"We, so we are told in our own newspapers, love our great motherland, but how does that love express itself? Instead of knowledge—insolence and immeasurable conceit; instead of work—sloth and swinishness; there is no justice, the conception of honor does not go beyond 'the honor of the uniform' . . . Work is what is wanted, and the rest can go to the devil."

What he foresaw to be the inevitable result is shown in the words of the Lieutenant Tiesbach ("Three Sisters"):

"I have never worked in my life. . . I was guarded from work. The time is at hand, an avalanche is moving down upon us, a mighty clearing storm, which is coming is already near and will soon blow the laziness, the indifference, the distaste for work, the rotten boredom out of society. I have to work, and in another twenty-five or thirty years, everyone will have to work. Everyone!"

That was written in 1900. Twenty-five years was only a slight overestimate. But there is one point about the Chekov plays that is often overlooked. Everyone can see the satire on Russian futility, but many are blind to the Russian idealism. Take "The Cherry Orchard," for instance, as being the best-known of the plays. Lyubov, the chief character, is no doubt a foolish, futile woman. She has squandered her money upon everyone who comes. She has squandered her affection upon one scoundrel, or more than one. She is utterly helpless in worldly affairs and she deserves her ruin. But none the less she retains her love of beauty. The knowledge that "her beautiful cherry orchard is to be destroyed to satisfy the greed of a speculative builder breaks her heart. In a utilitarian and commercial world she remains the one noble soul. To the last she fought to save beauty from destruction. No matter what the London Council or the House of Commons might say, she would have preserved Waterloo Bridge.

### Negro Theatre For Washington

FROM Washington comes a report that a Little Negro Theatre is to be developed, patterning after a similar organization in New York City.

Establishment of the Little Theatre was described as an attempt to create a center "where negro actors before negro audiences interpret negro life as depicted by negro playwrights and artists." Mrs. Carrie W. Clifford, club president, described the movement as a "novelty" in the new birth of the theatre. Presence of the negro in the theatre, she stated, was abnormal, his audiences being principally white.

Demands and ideals of another race than his own were regarded as a limitation on negro development in the theatre, the "norm" of the black actor being set by audiences with small conception of negro life, who accept him as a minstrel, comedian, singer and lay figure, but seldom as an ordinary human being with everyday reactions. "Lulu Belle" and "The Emperor Jones" were cited as examples of the hesitation with which negro characterization has been portrayed.

This development, it was said, has not called for the best work of negro actors, or the most poignant negro drama, large numbers of colored groups at present entertaining their audiences with Shakespeare, and with Broadway successes with colored principals. Fundamental principles of the Little Negro Theatre, on the other hand, have stipulated that lays presented on its stage must be about negroes, written by black men and women, for negro audiences—and the theatre itself must be located in a negro neighborhood.

### English Authors Send Greetings To Dramatists' Guild Here

A resolution congratulating the Dramatists' Guild of the Authors' League of America upon its successful negotiations with the theatrical producers has been received by the guild from the Dramatists' Sections of the English Authors' Society. The resolution, which was proposed by Major Ian Hay Belth and seconded by Ashley Dukes and Sir Anthony Hope Hawkins, read as follows: "Resolved, That this general meeting of the Dramatists' Section of the Incorporated Society of Authors, Playwrights and Composers (Great Britain) congratulates the Dramatists' Guild of the Authors' League of America upon having successfully settled the terms of a minimum basic agreement, and expresses its cordial adherence to the main principles therein contained."

### Frank Craven to Play Lead in McCutcheon's "Going Home"

Frank Craven will play the leading role in "Going Home," the comedy by George Barr McCutcheon, which A. L. Erlanger will present at Werba's Brooklyn Theatre Monday night. Mr. Craven did not intend to play this part. He was only going to stage the piece. Others in the cast include Isabel O'Madigan, Herbert Yost, Louise Carter, Andrew Molony, Robert Williams, Augustus Minton, Helen Weatherly, Lou Ripley and Basil West. Mr. Craven's last appearance here was in his own play, "New Brooms," while it was playing at the Fulton Theatre. The play will come to Broadway early next season.

### Provincetown Barnstormers Planning Active Summer

The Provincetown Barnstormers, of which Frank Shay and Cleon Throckmorton are the directors, are planning a summer of activity at that Massachusetts seaside town. Harold Winston will be the director and the offerings will include several new plays and revivals of various Eugene O'Neill and Susan Glaspell works.

### DONALD FOSTER



With Berton Churchill in "Alias the Deacon," the amusing comedy now in its sixth month at the Hudson.

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LOIS BENNETT



Has the role of Phyllis in the Gilbert and Sullivan operetta, "Iolanthe," which is doing capacity business at the Plymouth Theatre.

### Broadway Briefs

Giuseppe Sterni, an Italian actor of note, who is now on his way here, will appear at the Greenwich Village Theatre on June 26 for a limited engagement in "Power," by Arlo Flamma, under the management of the American Stage Producing Company, Incorporated.

Hugh Wakefield, the English comedian, has been engaged by A. L. Erlanger to play the leading role in Martin Flavin's comedy, "Service for Two," which is to be one of the early autumn productions.

Eddie Buzzell has been engaged for the principal comedy role in "Lady Fair," the Harbach-Hammerstein-Mandel-Romberg operetta, which Schwab and Mandel will produce in the early fall.

J. P. McEvoy's Revue, which Richard Herndon will present at the Belmont Theatre the week of June 28, is called "Americana," and will embody delightful satire on Americans and American habits; present plenty of synecopation, and also have woven into its novel fibre music of earlier periods of American history.

Lynn Fontanne and Alfred Lunt will remain in the cast of "At Mrs. Beam's," the Munro comedy at the Guild Theatre, until early in July, when they will sail for a short vacation in Europe. Estelle Winwood and Earle Larimore, who is to be a member of the Theatre Guild's permanent company next year, will take up the two roles.

Clyde Dempsey and Frank McCormack, the detectives of "The Gorilla," will appear in Keith-Albee vaudeville in a comedy sketch written for them by Ralph Spence.

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### IOLANTHE

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

glorious Austrian court, "Merry-Go-Round," which had its Broadway premiere three years ago, will be shown at B. S. Moss' Colony on Sunday.

John Glola, the champion Charleston dancer, winner of the Bessie Love cup, is now appearing at the Charleston Chateau, a popular show at Luna Park. Last February Mr. Glola won the title of the world's champion by dancing the Charleston for twenty-two and one-half consecutive hours at Roseland, Broadway and 51st street.

Arthur Richman's play, "A Proud Woman," which Edgar Selwyn is to produce in the autumn, will have Elisabeth Risdon, Margaret Wycherly and Anne Morrison in the cast.

### The Parable of What the People Liked

NOW it came to pass that the Actor-Managers and others who produce plays raised a great outcry, saying: "Lo, there are no good plays to be had in this country. We must import them from foreign parts."

For we know a good play when we read one and we know what the people like. Now a certain man who had some skill in playwrighting, hearing of this, said unto himself:

"I also know the tastes of the common people. I will therefore write such a play as appeals to them and I will send it to those actor-managers and others. And when they read it they will say (for they also have knowledge of what the people like):

"My boy, this is it. Our fortunes are made. A few more writers such as thou and no longer need we produce works by the foreigner."

So he wrote his play and sent it unto a certain actor-manager. And after many moons the actor-manager read it and said:

"'Tis passing fair. Howbeit, there are too many fat parts. Therefore it will not do for me."

And he returned it to the writer, who sent it unto another producer.

And, after many moons, the other producer read it and said:

"This is tripe and not what the people like. And he returned it."

So the writer sent it unto another producer, who lost it, but after many moons found it again, and read it and said:

"This is piffle and not what the people like, and he returned it."

Then the writer sent it unto another producer, and to another, and yet another.

For they all returned it (after many moons) saying that it was not what the people liked (or that there was no part in it for so-and-so).

But it came to pass that (after many years) the writer himself produced the play.

And the people came in great multitudes to see it (for many moons), for they said one to the other in their own language:

"This is great, this is the stuff to give us, which, being interpreted, meaneth this is what we like."

And the actor-managers and others who had refused the play were exceedingly envious and felt like kicking themselves. Howbeit, they dissembled their wrath and said:

"This is sheer luck, and could not occur again in a hundred moons. For we know what the people like."

S. V. S. in "The Curtain" London.

### Schwab & Mandel to Open Season with "Queen High"

The Ambassador Theatre has come under the control of Schwab and Mandel, producers of last season's "Captain Jinks," through a leasing arrangement with the Shuberts. The new lessees will open their season in September with "Queen High," a musical comedy, now current in Philadelphia.

Following this production will come "The Brigand," a melodramatic comedy, by George Tilton and Paul Fox; "The Tree of Aphrodite," by Guy Bolton; "Fair Lady," a musical comedy, the book by Otto Harbach, Oscar Hammerstein 2d and Frank Mandel; the music by Sigmund Romberg; "The Pink Mule," a musical comedy by Guy Bolton and Frank Mandel; and "Spitfire," a musical comedy adapted from Edward Peple's play by Buddy De Sylva and Laurence Schwab.

Frances Starr's forthcoming vehicle, to be the first offering of William B. Friedlander's new producing organization, has been given the title of "The Shell" by its author, Dorance Davis.

### GEORGE SIDNEY



In "Sweet Daddies," a new film coming to Moss' Broadway next Monday.

Starting this week, the matinee performances of "A Night in Paris" will be discontinued for the summer.

### Reinhardt to Stage Three Productions at Salzburg Festival

Three productions by Max Reinhardt will be on the program of the annual Salzburg dramatic and musical festival to be held in that Austrian town August 7 to 29.

A revival of the production of "Everyman" in the version of Hugo von Hofmannsthal; Goldini's comedy, "The Servant of Two Masters," and Mozart's "The Magic Flute" will be the Reinhardt contributions to the festival. If the weather is good "Everyman" will be presented in the open court in front of the cathedral, and in case of rain it will be given in the Festspielhaus. The other productions will be staged in the Festspielhaus, which was dedicated last summer, and in the Municipal Theatre.

### "Jurgen," Cabell's Suppressed Novel, to Be Dramatized

"Jurgen," the suppressed novel of John Branch Cabell, is to be dramatized and produced next season by Norman Bel-Geddes.

"Jurgen" was the storm centre of the censors several years ago when published. It was withdrawn from sale for a time, but eventually overcame the criticism and had a record sale. Bel-Geddes will design his own sets and will also supervise the staging.

Next month Edgar Selwyn will try out "The Imaginative Girl," by Roy Bryant and Harry Durant. The play will open in Siamford July 29.

### THE NEW PLAYS

#### MONDAY

"ZIEGFELD'S PALM BEACH GIRL" will be presented at the Globe Theatre on Monday by Florenz Ziegfeld. The cast will include James Barton, Greta Niesen, Ray Dooley, Louise Brown, Peggy Fears, Beth Herr, Edna Leedom, Chela Luce, Edna Covey, Irving Fisher, John E. Hazard, Charles King, Polly Walker, Mary Jane, Helen O'Shea, Accent and Janesko and the Connor Twins.



## DRAMA

### Dollar Drama Planned By Civic Repertory Theatre

LE GALLIENNE, who sailed for Europe the other day, in announcing her plans for next season, answers the far-flung question of a well-known critic concerning the whereabouts of the \$1 theatre so freely promised but not realized, by arranging to offer to the public a People's Theatre, with seats priced from 50 cents to \$1.50. Popular matinee prices are to range from 35 cents to \$1. Miss Le Gallienne has organized for this purpose a producing company with the title of the "Civic Repertory Theatre." It is planned to begin the season October 18, opening with "Saturday Night," by Benavente, to be followed by the presentation of a group of plays consisting of "The Three Sisters," by Chekhov; "La Locandiera," by Goldoni; "The Silver Box," by Galsworthy; "The Secret Life," by Granville Barker; "Twelfth Night," by Shakespeare; "Pillars of Society," "The

FRANK CRAVEN



Will have the chief role in George Barr McCutcheon's new play, "Going Home," which opens Monday at Werba's Brooklyn theatre.

Master Builder" and "John Gabriel Borkman," by Ibsen; "Sister Beatrice," by Maeterlinck, and "The Cradle Song," by Sierra.

Mrs. G. E. Calthrop is in charge of the department of costume and scenic design. During the summer, while abroad, Miss Le Gallienne and Mrs. Calthrop will visit the Goldoni museum in Italy to obtain authentic designs which will enable them to present "La Locandiera" in true Venetian manner. Miss Le Gallienne believes the American public will be glad to have the same privileges accorded it which are enjoyed by the people of every country in Europe, viz., to attend a repertory theatre where plays of the highest dramatic value, such as the works of Shakespeare, Ibsen, Strindberg, Goldoni, Sheridan, Shaw, Calderon, Maeterlinck, Claudel, Tchekov, etc., are offered, many of which have never been produced in America, acted by a fine cast and at popular prices. She has been planning for the fruition of this idea for three years and is encouraged to project it at this time because of the tremendous success resulting from her presentations of "The Master Builder" and "John Gabriel Borkman" this season, here in New York and on tour.

Subscription tickets to the "Civic Repertory Theatre" will be available for the entire season, ranging in price from \$5 to \$15. The matinee prices are from \$3 to \$10. The success of this plan would depend fully upon the response of the public.

Egon Brecher, who played the title roles of both of the Ibsen plays, "John Gabriel Borkman" and "The Master Builder," with Miss Le Gallienne, will play the leading roles in next season's repertory. The others are Beatrice Terry, Sydney Machat, Harold Moulton, J. Sayre Crawley, Ruth Wilton, Rose Hobart, Beatrice de Neergaard, Mary Balfour, Hardie Hunter Albright, Mischa Auer and Elida Pierra. There will be about four more members to be added to this list for the permanent company, each one of whom, including Miss Le Gallienne, has signed a contract for five years with the "Civic Repertory Theatre" organization.

## THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

### Indiana

The state secretary urges all young people who are interested in a Young Peoples' Socialist League to communicate with the state secretary for information and co-operation. The party organization realizes that it is necessary to organize the young people so that they will be a stimulant to the activity of the party. The American Appeal and The New Leader also urge young Socialists and parents of young Socialists to co-operate with the state organization. Address Effie M. Mueller, 205 Holiday Bldg., Indianapolis.

### Montana

James D. Graham is covering the state preparing to place a state ticket in the field. He has informed national headquarters that he expects to succeed. He also informs us that Mrs. Doris Morris is preparing to start her speaking and organization work in Montana.

### Pennsylvania

The Socialists of Allegheny County and their friends are invited to a basket picnic at New Era Camp, Glenover, opposite Verona, on the Allegheny River on Sunday, June 20. Those desiring information should call William Adams, secretary, Atlantic 3634.

### State Ticket

The Socialist Party has announced the following candidates for the State of Pennsylvania and also for Allegheny County:

For Governor, John W. Slayton; U. S. Senator, Cora Bixler; Lieutenant Governor, Henry Ernest Close; Secretary of Internal Affairs, Wm. J. Van Esen; Congress, Sarah Limbach, 32nd District; Sidney Stark, 33rd District; David Rinne, 34th District; W. J. Van Esen, 35th District; John William Adams, 36th District. State Senators: Calvin Fetterolf, 35th District; A. C. Graul, 40th District; John J. Schwartz, 42nd District; Nelson Lorentz, 44th District; Frank A. Silvis, 45th District. A legislative ticket has also been nominated in twelve districts.

### Ohio

Cleveland Councilman Peter Witt has introduced an ordinance in the City Council providing for the purchase from the Cleveland City Railway of their cars, lines and franchise, to be owned and operated by the city. Local Cleveland of the Socialist Party has recorded its approval of the measure and in its resolution states that "in case it goes to the people for a referendum we will help to circulate petitions and endeavor to get as many citizens as possible to sign the petitions."

The Socialist Party will have its candidates on the ballot. The nomination petitions are being signed rapidly, interest is being awakened, and there is evidence of a general desire for a change in the city government.

Joseph W. Sharts of Dayton sends good news and backs it with the real thing. His short but interesting letter reads as follows: "I enclose herewith check for \$1,000, which represents the cash settlement of the Will of Jos. H. Sims. All expenses have been paid." This amount was derived from a will made by Comrade Sims, our interests being taken care of by Comrade Sharts.

### Kentucky

Comrade Grigsby of Louisville, a prominent member of the Carpenters' Union and for many years an officer of the Carpenters' District organization, orders 50 copies of the American Appeal, to be handed out to his brother members at a special meeting to be held for the purpose of electing officers. Other Socialists should take notice of this manner of extending the circulation of the American Appeal.

### Oklahoma

Walter Edward of Hordland writes National Headquarters saying he is in favor of getting the organization strengthened in his state, and is willing to do his part. He sends in a large list of names that we may furnish them with sample copies of the paper.

### Wisconsin

Wisconsin has just nominated its State ticket and written its State Platform, and now starts its battle to carry Wisconsin, increase its representation in the State Legislature, and also in Congress.

William Coleman sent his check for \$125 worth of dues stamps. Watch Wisconsin put it over and see that your State does likewise.

### California

State Secretary Lena Morrow Lewis arrived in San Francisco and has taken up the work of pushing the State campaign, which is headed by Upton Sinclair for United States Senator. Comrade Lewis expects an excellent campaign and a big vote in November.

A comrade in California noticed a letter in a daily paper of Los Angeles which read as follows: "What is the name of the paper that is being edited by Eugene V. Debs, and where is it published?" The answer was: "It is the American Appeal, and the address is Chicago, Ill." This is the way this comrade got a line on the American Appeal. It would be a good idea for comrades in other parts of the country to use the same tactic.

### Illinois

The Socialist Party of Cook County will hold its annual Socialist press picnic Sunday afternoon, June 20, at Riverview Park, Roscoe, Belmont and Western avenues.

Besides dancing, music, games and other entertainments, there will be an open-air meeting at 3 o'clock. Three speakers of national reputation have been secured. William Coleman of Milwaukee, a member of the Wisconsin Legislature and former Milwaukee Alderman, will be the principal speaker. Other speakers of equal caliber will be the well-known Oscar Ameringer, editor of the "Illinois Miner," and Leo Krzycki, organizer and National Board member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and formerly Under-Sheriff of Milwaukee County. Tickets can be purchased from County Headquarters, room 315, 303 West Madison street.

### New England

The New England District Executive Committee met last Friday and planned work for Alfred Baker Lewis, the district secretary-organizer, which will include visiting the organized branches and then concentrating on territory near to Boston and in Boston itself. Plans were made to visit unions and Workmen's Circles to get them to buy subscription cards to the American Appeal in bulk, and sell them in turn to their members.

Local Fitchburg is boosting the American Appeal by using the three-month trial subscription cards, which sell for four for a dollar. They have adopted the plan of putting on active members of labor unions, and expect to follow them up by visits before the subscription has run out. This plan is highly recommended to other Locals, as the Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industry publishes a full list of all the officials of labor unions throughout the State.

The members are again urged to ask the public library in their town to buy copies of the American Labor Year Book. If the library trustees do not act favorably, Locals are urged to present a copy of the book. Boston Central Branch will see that the American Labor Year Book gets into the Boston, Brookline and Cambridge Public Libraries. The year book may be purchased from the District Office at 21 Essex street, Boston.

London Memorial Meeting Don't forget the memorial meeting for Meyer London in Faneuil Hall, Washington and North streets, Boston, on Sunday, June 20, at 2:30 p. m. The speakers will be Leon Arkin, of the "Jewish Daily Forward"; Joseph Bearak, Joseph Salerno, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Julius Hochman, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, and Judge Panken of New York. George Roemer will act as chairman. In addition, Morris Schwartz and Mark Schwind, of the Jewish Art Theatre, will read a eulogy of Comrade London, and Lazar Freed will sing a dirge. Friends in the neighborhood of Boston are especially urged to attend this meeting.

The meetings behind City Hall in Worcester were opened by Alfred Baker Lewis on Sunday, June 13. The Socialist Party's hour is from 5 to 6, and local comrades are asked to attend the meetings to help out. Lewis paid a flying visit to Lowell and held a well-attended street meeting and received promises of help in organizing a branch from several old-timers, including William Sproule, whose efforts for the party have never flagged.

Lewis will attend the Fellowship of Youth for Peace conference at Concord on Tuesday and Wednesday, June 22 and 23, and will lead the roundtable on the 23d on the question of whether or not "International War is Implicit in Capitalism."

### Connecticut

Connecticut Socialists will hold their State convention at the Arbelter Manor Hall and Park, West Haven, Sunday, July 25. The convention will open at 10 a. m. A State ticket will be nominated. A picnic will be held in connection with the convention, at which it is expected Alfred Baker Lewis will speak. M. F. Plunkett and Karl C. Jursek will also address the meeting.

Socialists and Socialist sympathizers from all parts of the State will be invited to attend. It is expected that the convention will revive Socialist activity in the State to a large extent.

### Hamden

Local Hamden held a meeting Friday evening, June 11, at which M. F. Plunkett and Karl C. Jursek made a report of the National convention recently held at Pittsburgh.

### New Haven

A large Meyer London Memorial Meeting was held Monday evening, June 14. Martin F. Plunkett, State secretary of the Socialist Party, addressed the meeting.

dressed the meeting. P. Dembitzer, organizer of the Jewish Socialist Verbond of New York City, also spoke.

### New York State

Executive Secretary Patrick J. Murphy of the Bronx gladdened the State Office last week by putting in an order for 1,000 dues stamps. Comrade Murphy has been engaged in a campaign to get the membership of his Local in good standing before the new regime, the Socialist Party of New York City, takes hold of affairs. In sporting parlance, Murphy seems to have got the "Indian sign" on the other executive secretaries of the Greater City in the matter of getting in back dues.

### Organizer Herman's Work

Organizer Herman's report for last week confirms all the good things that have been said about him. He is not only building up the membership of Local Buffalo, but is practically paying his own way. It is generally considered that organizers cause a big outlay in comparison with speakers, but the contrary is true in the case of Herman, and he can also make a speech whenever it is desired.

State Secretary Merrill is circulating up-State locals in regard to the record of Senators and Assemblymen on labor measures in the State Legislature. He urges that the indifferent, rotten records of anti-party legislators be contrasted with the 100 per cent. labor records of Socialists who have been at the State Capitol.

The State Secretary has decided to call a meeting of the State Executive Committee for 10 a. m. the morning preceding the opening of the State convention, July 3. It has been customary for the Unofficial State Committee to meet on the day following convention adjournment, and the hour of such meeting will probably be set at 10 a. m. State Executive and State Committee members who think that such hours will be inconvenient are requested to communicate with the State Secretary immediately.

### Local New York

#### STREET MEETINGS

**Manhattan** Friday, June 18, Clinton St. and East Broadway. Speakers, Tim Murphy and Joseph Leventhal.

**Monday, June 21, 159th St. and Broadway.** Speaker, Esther Friedman. Ben Goodman, chairman.

**Tuesday, June 22, 112th St. and Lenox Ave.** Speaker, Esther Friedman. Julius Umansky, chairman.

**Wednesday, June 23, 133d St. and Lenox Ave.** Speakers, Samuel E. Beardsley, Tim Murphy, Chairman, V. C. Gaspar.

**Friday, June 25, Clinton St. and East Broadway.** Speaker, Samuel E. Beardsley.

#### Bronx

**Monday, June 21, 141st St. and St. Ann's Ave.** Speakers, Dr. Leon R. Land and Tim Murphy. Mathilda Tillman, chairman.

**Thursday, June 24, Intervale Ave. and Wilkins Ave.** Speaker, Esther Friedman. Mathilda Tillman, chairman.

#### Brooklyn

**Friday, June 18, Pitkin Ave. and Bristol St.** Speaker, Ethelred Brown.

**Saturday, June 19, Havemeyer and South Fourth Sts.** Speakers, Ethelred Brown and Tim Murphy.

**Tuesday, June 22, Williams Ave. and New Lots.** Speaker, Tim Murphy.

**Wednesday, June 23, Knickerbocker Ave. and Stockholm St.** Speakers, Esther Friedman and J. A. Weil.

**Thursday, June 24, Pulaski St. and Tompkins Ave.** Speakers, Tim Murphy and August Claessens.

**LONDON MEMORIAL MEETINGS** **Brownsville** Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St., Brooklyn. Sunday morning, June 20, 11 a. m. Speakers, E. C. Viadeck, A. I. Shiploff, Charles Solomon, Louis Waldman, William Karlin. Also musical numbers.

#### Bronx

Auspices Local Bronx, Socialist Party, at Bronx Free Fellowship Hall, 1301 Boston Road, Friday, June 25, 8:30 p. m. Speakers, Charles Solomon, Samuel Orr, August Claessens, and probably Judge Jacob Panken and A. I. Shiploff.

**City Central Committee** At its meeting on June 10 the City Central Committee elected a committee to draft a resolution of sympathy to be sent to the family of the late Meyer London. A committee of five was elected to draw up rules and one of seven members on nominations to the City Executive Committee and officers of the City Committee. The report of the nominations committee will be included in the call for the next meeting of the C. C. C.

A temporary executive was elected. The members are Brody, Kaye, Murphy, Lee, Robbins, Rosenfarb and Sadoff. Locals are urged to wind up their affairs by July 1.

The next meeting of the C. C. C. will be held Wednesday, June 23.

### Bronx

The General Party meeting held June 11 was the best attended in a year. The Executive Secretary reported the financial standing of the Local, which is free of debt. The Local disposed of over 1,800 dues stamps from March 1 to June 11.

Local Bronx decided to hold a Meyer London memorial meeting Friday, June 25, at 1301 Boston Road.

London memorial meeting Friday, June 25, at 1301 Boston Road.

On the prohibition question delegates to the State Convention were instructed to vote in favor of either the Canadian or Swedish system. Both systems are to be investigated and the one better adapted to this country is to be approved by the convention.

Nominations for all county offices were taken up. Tentatively all offices were filled, but party exigencies may cause some changes. Consequently the list of nominees will not be filed until later.

Branches and Language Branches were instructed to elect delegates to a County Executive Committee to take charge of all party work not inconsistent with the work of the City Central Committee.

The membership drive of the Central Branch has been very successful and will be given over to the incoming Executive Committee.

### Yipseldom

The next hike will be held to Dunwoode on June 27. All Yipsels will meet at the Van Courtlandt Park Station not later than 10:30 a. m. This is to give all Brooklyn comrades time to get there. Notice the time and place. Make no other arrangements for that Sunday.

There is healthy competition in the Dramatic Society. Two circles are working on plays. Circle 6, Brooklyn, is producing Upton Sinclair's "The Second Story Man," and Circle 2, Brooklyn, is working on "Freedom by John Reed. Both circles are trying to do better. May they both win. There are a few vacancies in the society. You can still join any Friday, 8:30 p. m., at the Rand School. Rehearsal this Friday.

There will be a general League meeting Saturday, June 26, at 6 p. m. Something novel will be staged at this meeting. The first production of the Dramatic Society will be given. Upton Sinclair's "The Second Story Man" will be part of the program. The meeting will be held in the Debs Auditorium, Rand School. This will be a Senior meeting, but all Juniors are invited.

Juniors and Seniors: Do you want to go to the Museum of Natural History? Here is the opportunity. Algernon Lee, Director of the Rand School, will take a group of 15 Saturday, June 19. Notice the time and place. Be in front of entrance to the Museum at 2:30 p. m. The Museum is situated at 77th street and Central Park West.

**A Successful Dance** Circle 2's dance of June 12 came off in very fine fashion, a large crowd attending, some of those present expressing their intention of joining the organization.

Director Afros proposed giving a course of informal lectures upon the "Evolution of Society." The resignation of Financial Secretary Seldin was accepted and Louis Pressa was chosen to take his place. Comrade Erkus is to assume the athletic directorship, the position left vacant by Comrade Pressa. The circle will open a bank account with the proceeds of their June affair.

## LONDON LEFT \$4,000 IN WILL

(Continued from page 1)

of us in this office about other cases. And when it came to fees, he would charge only a third or a fourth of the usual sum."

Horace London, Meyer's brother, explained to reporters who expressed surprise at the Socialist leader's small estate:

"He had been accustomed to contributing a large part of his income to the Socialist Party, to charity and to various Socialist enterprises," said London. "Although he had a large law practice, much of the work was done for nothing and his income was not as large as was generally supposed."

London cited an instance which he said was typical of his brother. He had an important case in the Supreme Court in Brooklyn at one time, when he suddenly received a call from Canada to make a speech. He dropped the case entirely and hurried to Canada, paying his fare both ways and refusing payment for the speech.

Part of Meyer London's income went to help strikers, his brother said, while some of it was given to needy individuals and to a number of organizations which appealed to him from time to time for funds.

Messages of condolence to Mrs. London and expressions of London's great service to labor continued to pour in this week.

The German branch of the Socialist party adopted the following resolution: "To the family of Comrade Meyer London.—The German Federation of the Socialist Party in its meeting of June 11, 1926, expresses the sincerest condolences at this, your sad bereavement in the loss of your husband and father and our true comrade and leader, Meyer London."

The Bonnaz, Singer and Hand Embroiderers' Union adopted the following resolution:

"We, the Bonnaz Embroiderers, assembled at a membership meeting on Thursday, June 10, express our deepest sympathy at the great loss of Brother Meyer London."

"His memory will be enshrined in the hearts of those with whom he fought shoulder to shoulder and will be remembered as one of those who gave birth to the Unions in the needle industry."

Services for London were held in the Municipal Court the day of the funeral. Assemblyman Samuel Men-

delbaum requested of Judge Jacob Panken, Socialist, presiding, permission to say a few words about London's work. Mandelbaum's eulogy was followed by an address by William Karlin.

"When the time comes to re-write the story of the struggles of the American people for democracy, along with the Declaration of Independence will come the deeds of those who are making the Declaration a living document. It was such men as Abraham Lincoln and Meyer London who inspired the people with the genuine spirit of liberty."

"Meyer London died poor. In all things he was first, last and all the time an advocate of the people's cause."

"To sum up his life, Meyer London lived altogether for the crowd with which he fought and traveled; and you cannot say of any man more than that he led his followers to victory in many battles."

Justice Henry S. Schimmel, Justice Michael F. Blake, Judge Panken and ex-Judge Julius G. Kremer also spoke.

The Socialists of Boston have arranged a memorial meeting to take place in Faneuil Hall tomorrow (June 20, Sunday). The speakers will be Leon Arkin, Joseph Bearak, Joseph Salerno, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Julius Hochman, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, and Judge Jacob Panken of New York.

George E. Roemer will preside. Morris Schwartz and Mark Schwind, of the Yiddish Art Theatre, will read eulogies of Meyer London, and Kazar Free will chant a hymn of mourning.

Herbert M. Merrill, state secretary, Socialist Party, New York, said:

"I feel that I am representing the unanimous sentiment of our movement when I say that Meyer London typified for us the realization of an ideal of what a thoroughgoing and consistent Socialist should be—a man of brains, oratorical power, unimpeachable integrity and sound judgment. Both the economic and political movements of the working class will be the poorer for the loss of this able and devoted comrade who stood for so many years like a rock of Gibraltar in the Congress of the United States as their champion and spokesman. It was Auerbach, I believe, who said that the deeds of the great who have been among us that float away through time and space, and the memory of Meyer London will endure as a glorious and fragrant experience in the hearts and minds of his comrades."

This resolution was passed by Local Philadelphia, Socialist Party: "Local Philadelphia, Socialist Party, is profoundly shocked and grieved to learn of the untimely death of our beloved comrade, Meyer London."

"Comrade London will always be held in respectful memory from his useful and devoted services to the Socialist movement of the United States. We mourn the loss of a loyal comrade, a leader of wisdom and ability and desire to express to his bereaved family our sincere sympathy in their time of sorrow."

Theodore Debs said:

"The shocking news of Meyer London's death has just come to our attention and we are inexpressibly grieved over the tragic calamity that robs us of this splendid comrade and leader in the prime of his brilliant powers. We have been in personal touch with him for fully thirty years and during all that time found him always true to the core and with the ring and gleam of pure gold."

The national office of the Socialist Party appointed Morris Hillquit to represent the party at the funeral of Meyer London.

"The Socialist Party and the entire working class have lost a most able champion and a true comrade in the sudden death of Meyer London. Please extend our heartfelt sympathy to the family and bereaved comrades," William H. Henry, national executive secretary, said in a letter to Hillquit.

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# THE NEW LEADER

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SATURDAY, JUNE 19, 1926

## PENNSYLVANIA'S AUCTION

SOME of the secrets of the Republican stock exchange of Pennsylvania have been revealed during the past week to the chagrin of the leading party brokers. The stock of the Democratic Party does not bring as good returns with the result that it is a drug on the market. Pittsburgh seems to have been the center of the largest Republican purchases although business was also brisk in other sections of the State.

One witness before the Senate committee told of armies of men marching up to the Pepper and Vane headquarters to be "paid off." Walking two and three together, a steady stream of men a block long for at least two days marched to the paymaster to get their coin. "It looked like a run on a bank," said one witness, who observed the buying of cattle at five and ten dollars per head.

This cynical debauchery of the suffrage is typical of capitalistic politics in the United States and it is not surprising that over 50 percent of qualified voters do not go to the polls and that an even smaller percentage take any interest in Republican and Democratic primaries. What in many European countries has been won by generations of sacrifice, and is therefore valued as a precious weapon, is in this country made a subject of barter and auction. The disgusting spectacle reminds one of cattle driven to the stock yards with purchasers haggling over the prices to be paid.

This Pennsylvania auction will be made the most of by the Democrats who will prepare to profit by the general disgust. Thus the voters are tossed from one election to another, out of the hands of one set of brokers into the hands of another set, while the political rule of our kings of finance and capital remains undisturbed. The primary of Republicans and Democrats simply means that the brokers must pay more for their spoils, not that it leads to popular rule. Independent party action by the masses is more than ever an imperative necessity.

## BRIAND CABINET OUT

WHILE the franc continues to sink another Cabinet has fallen in France. French imperialism has spent large sums in Morocco to conquer the Rif and more money is being poured into Syria to establish French mastery in that part of the world. Meantime the higher sections of French capital and finance have opposed heavy taxation of their incomes to stabilize the franc and liquidate the French debt.

The situation becomes graver each day and we may expect the most reactionary sections of the ruling class to squint at a dictatorship with the royalists and clericals leading the pack. Briand is gloomy. He sees "clouds above us" and fears the coming of a "cyclone," a situation "as serious as the days of Verdun."

In other words, the chickens hatched by the long regime of Poincare are coming home to roost. That gentleman, representing some of the largest capitalist interests of France, kept assuring Frenchmen not to worry about the public debt. He was going to collect it from prostrate Germany even to the last franc. It was for this reason that he embarked upon the mad venture of invading the Ruhr which for a time threatened to involve Europe in another war. The expenses of the Ruhr, Riffian and Syrian adventures, together with the refusal of the capitalist profiteers to part with some of their plunder through taxation, have brought France to its present plight.

The situation has become so bad that it is now doubtful whether the old franc can be saved and it is certain that another Cabinet will be unable to drag the nation out of its troubles unless it recommends drastic action and is supported in the Chamber. The next week or two will be momentous in French history. The "best minds" of French capitalism have certainly made a nice mess of their job.

## SENATOR ROBINSON'S PLEA

SENATOR ROBINSON of Arkansas, speaking to Virginia Democrats on Tuesday, became virtuous. "Shall the national Government be dominated by big business?" he asked, and went on to say that if the Democrats emphasize this issue they may enjoy control of both houses of Congress. Democrats have enjoyed such control before, but they have given no more satisfaction than Republicans do now.

What hope has any intelligent voter that the Democrats will not be as servile to big capitalist interests as their opponents are now? The economic development of the South, a region which they have controlled

since the fall of the carpetbag governments, gives a final answer.

In the past thirty years the South has been going through an interesting phase of industrial revolution. Northern capital has invested heavily in textile plants while the iron and steel interests of Southern Alabama have become of great importance. Other industries are being located in the South and Southern Democrats are investing heavily in them. In office they have been conspicuous in favoring almost unrestricted slavery of children of the workers.

Another factor in this history is important. The South used to be the home of the free trade dogma. It was the dogma of a slaveholding class. As capitalist development came to the South and Republican tariff appeals lured investors the Democrats began to change their tune. This change has continued so that today it is impossible to tell the difference between Democrats and Republicans on the tariff question.

This shows that the Democratic Party is just as servile to the interests of the capitalist class as their Republican brothers of the North. For Senator Robinson to talk about Republican servility to big business is to indulge in hypocritical cant. Both parties are the property of big business and a Congress controlled by Democrats will gladly wear the collar that Coghline and Company now proudly displays.

## FICTION VS. FACT

A DENVER reader of The New Leader sends us a clipping from the Rocky Mountain News reporting a speech of George L. Berry before the Denver Legion. Berry is president of the Printing Pressmen's Union and a bigwig in the American Legion. Our correspondent seems to be excited but a reading of the address leaves us unmoved.

Berry emphasized two things. He asserts that "America's prosperity" is due to our "capitalistic form of government." He praises this form of government and then refers to it a number of times as representative of "democratic liberty." He certainly was unconscious of the contradiction between a "capitalistic form of government" and "democratic liberty."

However, this is not unusual for professional orators who enjoy paying homage to something they do not understand. We have had these gentlemen for generations and we will have them for a long time to come. They are not expected to think and they do not expect those who listen to them to think. Therefore, they can involve themselves in contradictions without involving any mental strain.

But aside from the contradiction in the speech there is the fact that those who framed the Constitution never believed that they were establishing a government of "democratic liberty." Mr. Berry may consult the record of the body and he will find no evidence to support his theme. Nor will he find that the idea was to establish a "capitalistic government." The Constitution was a compromise between those interested in commerce, slavery, manufactures and the paper tokens of government debt.

Mr. Berry may prefer fiction to fact, but in this he does not differ from any others and there is nothing to get excited about because he chooses to do so.

## THE MILK GRAFTERS

ONE grafter, a former secretary of a former Health Commissioner, has been found guilty on two counts for his connection with bootleg cream and other milk graft. An appeal will be taken and we have our doubts whether the convicted gentleman will sojourn very long behind prison bars. That he deserves to spend a few years there is certain, but there is many a slip 'tween the cup and the lip, especially in the case of old party brokers.

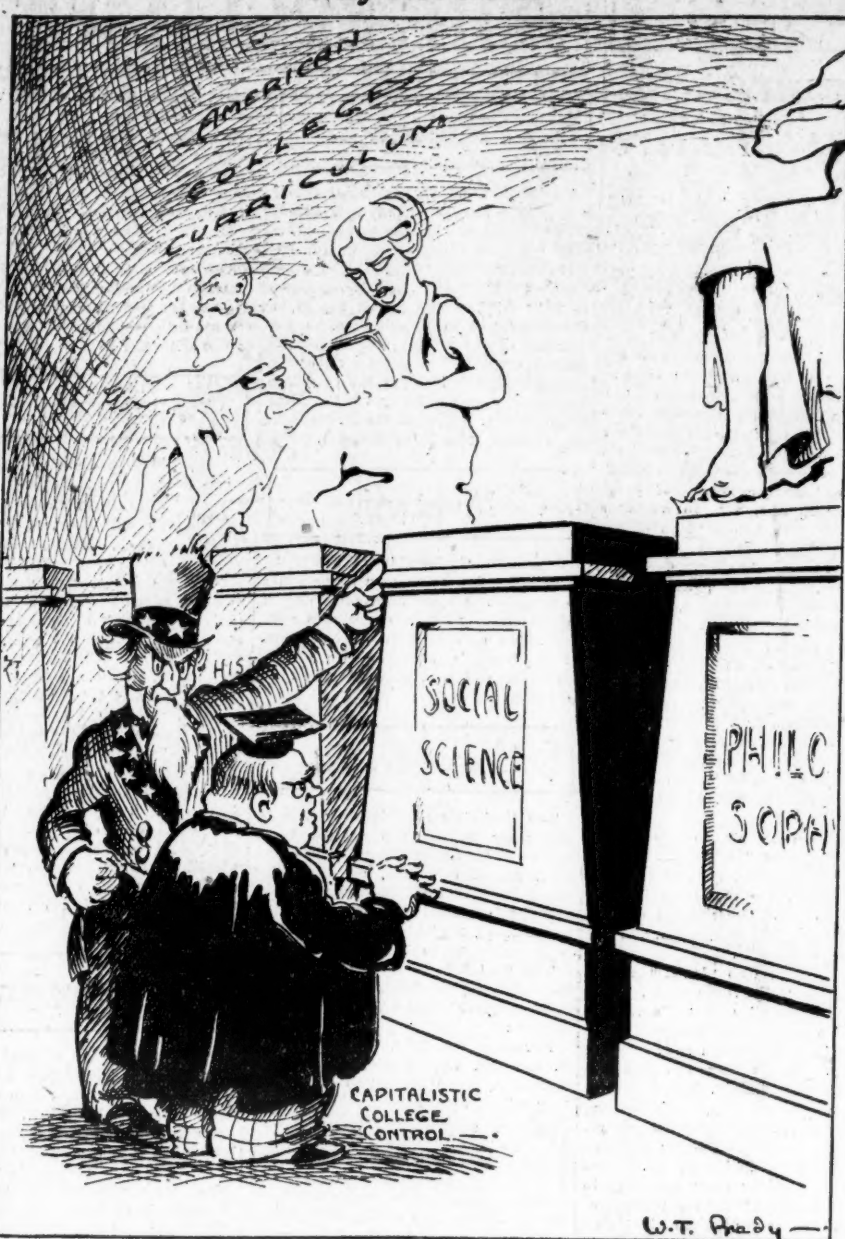
But there is something more important involved in this dirty milk scandal than sending a few grafters to prison. For our part we would be satisfied if they never paid the deserved penalty if at the same time we had some assurance that the distribution of milk would be reorganized under a plan of social control that gave the masses the first consideration. We have said, and we repeat it, that capitalism in the distribution of milk will breed other grafters if we cage every one of them now at large. To rely upon vulgar politicians to avoid temptation when private profits are the basis of milk distribution is folly.

What is true of milk is true of other commodities and services having a social character. Housing, marketing and transportation are sources of private plunder and it would be surprising if plunderers did not appear on the scene. Capitalist politics is not a matter of education in ethics and the humanities. Neither is capitalist ownership of public services and public necessities. The two go together. They are inseparable. We may catch a crook here and there but crook-breeding will continue.

What is needed is a Socialist policy looking forward to a city managed on the basis of a large family, every member of which shall contribute something to the making of a City Beautiful, a city of comfort, health, education, safety and well-being. That ideal cannot be reconciled with capitalism and Tammany control.

If there has been a conspicuous feature of the news in the Socialist Party press in the past few months it is evidence of a continued awakening of Socialists who have been inactive for a number of years. This is gratifying and we hope that every reader of The New Leader who is a member of the party will give more service to its building and that those who have not yet joined a Branch will do so without delay. We shall be glad to forward any inquiries regarding membership to the proper party officials. The Socialist Party is the only political organization in the United States that is adapted to serve the workers. Join it if you are not a member; be active if you are.

## "Why Not Fill It?"



## THE CHATTER BOX

### Bored White—a Tirade

WE dislike people who are habitually bored, and who always make sure that you know it; provided of course they have some respect for your opinion. We dislike them because they almost bring us to the point of boredom. We have never met any really clever people, and that is why we feel that none of the men and women we meet day after day, and in the evenings occasionally, and who affect the superior attitude of weariness are worth liking at all. Most of us are very dull. A few of us are just a trifle less dull than the rest. This about sums up human kind.

And because of our distempered view of those charming people who discuss books glibly, not having written or read them, who serve art, drama, and musical criticisms with the off-handish gestures of a hostess serving a store-bought supper to her guests, we will hardly be fair in our judgment of inner life and habit. And yet this is really what we mean to do right now.

We have always despised the person of wealth whose weariness and lack of interest in the ordinary sensations that life has to offer, drive him or her from one weird perversion to another: from one madcap episode to another exotic experience, until the whole gamut of madnesses that publicity agent and dramatic director can concoct has been run, and the degenerate ends up in an insane asylum or the Senate.

We have greatly hated the shopkeeping middle-class-tired-business-man type when they go playing at high class leg shows and low class night clubs.

But more to be hated than all of these are the thrill hunters who gad about in tiny whirlpools and eddies, secure in the esteem that they have known all, seen all, and lived all the trite and ordinary phases of life—and now something stranger than fiction must be sought—or else what price living. For such Gershwin and his giddy, gymnastical jazz is ultra and Beethoven is a bum. A night in a hootch swigging hole on Houston street mingling with "cokeys" and "snow sniffers," battered battlers and bailed-out bootleggers, bandits and bawdy bartenders, is out of the thousand and one Arabian variety. For such the marriage relationship is anathema, and even the less hampered modes of monogamy tedious to death. For such the lower forms of promiscuity even become tiresome, and odder shapes of sex are invented and formed. The latest phase of it started with the Barbary Coast cabarets in Harlem, and is gradually developing into an unwritten code that the smartest and highest state of human conduct is to have a mulatto paramour. And it is more because we have always fought with and for the Negro in his steady stride toward a place in the sun alongside of his hoggish white brother, that we are especially incensed at this new development, this most dangerous phase of our contemporary social life.

These clever and bored charming people we write about come from every stratum of modern society. They all do some form of parasitic work (creative workers are never bored with any part of humanity, and they never have time to indulge in empty clevernesses). Some of them write advertisements, vaudeville skits, smart set joke sheets, publicity gags, or cheap popular ballads. Some others are artists who have incomes sufficient for studios and models and so they need do very little painting if any. A great many are men and women whose occupations for income are always kept secret, and all that is occasionally heard is that his or her play or novel or symphony is about to appear—soon. Throw in a decadent poet, a futuristic dauber and a first and only novelist and your coterie of clever and bored persons is complete. Meet them at their little groups and parties and the essence of their boredom gets you quick. One or two try gawking out the strains of a popular song, another pulls a petty pun on a wrinkled prune of a proverb, a third tells a story of sex perversion to the peroration of a gobbled goggle and an attempt at femininity in tone and gesture; a fourth suggests another round of homebrewed portion, and the fifth moves that the party end up in Harlem at this or the other Black and Tan night club. Before the party breaks up to converge again in Harlem, the evening has been used up in much the same dull, gossiping manner as a pinocchio evening in

the East Bronx among real estate operators, or a whisky party in Kew Gardens among the idle brokers and their idle wives. Absent men and women of their acquaintance are aliced, trimmed and pickled verbally with even more zest and feeling than is used by the duller world. Rumor and frail conjecture are given the fine cloth of credence, and those who have the least touch of truth easily come to understand that there is ignorance among educated men and women. It is an ignorance that is peculiar only to those who have arrived at a state of believing themselves beyond learning or thinking about anything more.

Some law, some method ought to be devised to put this constantly growing class of mental lazybones to actual hard and useful work. They are becoming a menace to the community. For one thing they help keep the Buncombe of the Negro Night Life alive by spending large sums of money at those dance clubs. For another they are stirring up sinister racial hatreds with their new philosophy of toting about Negro companions and lovers. Conditions being as they are, people being what they are, the Negro particularly is the sufferer if this condition is to become more rampant and open. The white sensation hunters who whet their jaded animalisms with such contracts are helping to keep the Negro down.

The shop, the union, his lodge and his schools will lead the Negro to his equality, to his inalienable right to manhood.

The boudoir of the bored, thrill-hungered white lady opens upon nothing for his people but a vista of unreasoned and horrible passions funneling a tornado of blood-letting and homicide.

The school, the theatre, the museum, the concert hall and the shop are the places where the black, the white, and the brown will bring about the mingling of color into the ultimate brotherhood. The night club is a place where no human being with his eyes toward the sun, white or black low or high should meet. Ideals, beauty, and love, the three graces of a real and useful life, will not be met with under the sickly haze of a dance cellar—and in the hell raising squawk of the saxophone.

Maybe we have been a trifle too hard in what we have said here, but we have more than a furtive notion that we are more than right.

### After the Rain

The streets are cleaner,  
After the rain,  
The grass is greener,  
After the rain,  
The skies are clearer,  
My love is dearer,  
And God seems nearer  
After the rain.

Kate Herman.

We trust you all agree that the Prize Poem of Miss Mansfield's "The Mountain Dwellers" was well worth the award. We hereby thank the judges, Bud Shipley, Ralph Cheyney and Floyd Dell, for the time and patience they expended during the nights of judgment. We also thank the hundreds of excellent although unsuccessful poets for their interest. We wish them all better luck the next time.

May we announce that we expect to spend the week end of next week attending the L. I. D. convention at Lake Tammamont. Bushkill Bugle please copy. . . . Chance for all of you to meet us and other celebrities, including Sandy the Tent-maker—also Solon DeLeon and Clem Wood, the perennial L. I. D. playwrights—also the actors such as Sam Freedman and Gert Klein et al—also a chance to see the Unity House—also, lots and lots and everything. . . .

May we further announce that at 10 p. m., Saturday, June 19, at Station WGBS, we will hold forth on "The Ghetto in Poetry," a sort of combination of reading and story telling out of our experience. Such of you as are static-proof and superheterodyned—we invite your turning the dials until the loud speaker squawks forth—"This is Station WGBS, and the next number is a specialty and a treat we are sure to our jazz-jimmied and music-mob audience in no other than the person of

S. A. de Witt.

## The News of The Week

### Coming Battle Over Booze

We hope that as a result of referendums to be held in New York, Illinois and Ohio on the booze question that some intelligent solution of the issue will follow. So long as millions give their attention to this question there will be little done in relation to more important matters. Fortunately, the three States mentioned are leading States and their action will have an important influence on all other States except the South. California's experience has been the most interesting. From 1914 to 1922 prohibition referendums were defeated four times, but in the latter year an enforcement act was carried by a majority of 34,000 in a total vote of 856,000. Three-fourths of the vineyard product of the State were sold to the wineries and distilleries and those identified with this business fought prohibition for years. In the old days grapes rarely sold for more than \$12 a ton, but under the Volstead Act prices jumped from \$8 to \$10 a ton to \$70, \$80, and even \$100 a ton! Bootlegging has also become an "essential industry." The vineyard acreage has also increased and there has been a big increase in the output of grapes. California now presents the amusing spectacle of a combination of vineyard and bootlegging interests fighting against any change in "prohibition" legislation. Certainly, slap-stick comedy could not go farther than this.

### Aftermath of British Strike

A report of the British Board of Trade for May shows that owing to the general strike exports declined \$90,000,000 and imports \$115,000,000. Premier Baldwin spoke to 15,000 Conservatives late last week and emphasized this phase of the strike, but added that if the strike had succeeded it would have brought "starvation and ruin." We are inclined to think that if the strike had been successful in every respect it would have averted this calamity for the miners at least. Baldwin went on to object to the "new trade unionism" as of "foreign origin" and insisted that the British workers must leave the Amsterdam International. With British capitalism itself international and using the British Foreign Office for its international interests we can understand the sweet reasonableness of this demand. M. Citrine denies for the Trades Union Congress that it had received any funds from the Soviet Government for the strike and added that the proffered help of Russian workers was also declined because it would be "willfully misrepresented and its acceptance misunderstood." Meantime The New Leader has received the Daily Mail's report of its "Trade Union Mission to the United States" and it is interesting reading. It is practically a glorification of American capitalism with an affectionate slant at our open-shoppers. American trade unionists will be interested to know that this mission is trying to sell our open-shoppers and their methods to British workers.

### World Honor For Matteotti

The anniversary of the assassination on June 10, 1924, of Giacomo Matteotti by Mussolini's tools was observed in practically all civilized countries. In Berlin, Paris, London, New York, everywhere, members of workingclass political and economic organizations met and paid their tribute to the martyr of Italian labor. Even in Italy, many "under-cover" meetings were held, at which Matteotti was lauded and his murderers damned. The most sensational meeting was held in Geneva, where a number of Fascisti attached to the staff of the League of Nations tried to start a pro-Mussolini demonstration when some speakers branded him as a murderer. The disturbers were thrown out, some of them being so badly beaten that they sought police protection and hospital care. In Marseilles a band of black-shirts invaded a meeting addressed by Cesare Rossi, the one-time Mussolini press agent, now a refugee in France, and who confirms the view that the dictator himself was responsible for the death of the Socialist Deputy, and attacked the speaker. Rossi received a few blows before the anti-Fascisti could rally to his support, but he was not seriously hurt. His assailants were quickly subdued. Reports from many countries received by the Zurich Bureau of the Socialist and Labor International tell of big collections for the Matteotti monument to be placed in the Maison du Peuple in Brussels and kept there until it can be removed to Italy, after the passing of the dictatorship.

### Socialists Fear Polish Shift

Evidence that the Polish Socialists are fearful of a shift by Marshal Pilsudski that will result in a thinly disguised dictatorship exercised in the interest of capitalists—foreign and domestic—is found in Warsaw dispatches telling of protests registered against the Marshal's policy by many scattered Socialist groups. Unless some semi-adequate explanation is made by the Government of the use of troops to break a strike of the metal workers in Ostrowiec, where three persons were killed and many wounded, the Socialist Party as a body is likely to join the opposition. The pretext for the shooting was the familiar one used by Mussolini, Horthy and Primo de Rivera, i. e., that nothing must be allowed to hamper the economic rehabilitation of the country. Thus far, no apologies are reported from Pilsudski for the acts of his subordinates. On the other hand, he is said to be negotiating with the agents of his former reactionary opponents with a view to a compromise (Continued on page 9)