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N. Y. Garment Industry at Standstill As Strike of 40,000 Empties Shops

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By Norman Thomas

THE radical movement as a whole—the L. I. D. Conference at Camp Tamiment was any sample—can no longer be accused of refusing to face the complexities of the problems before it. The bulk of our discussion was nothing if not realistic. Personally, I think the new realism far more hopeful than the old romanticism, provided we remember that, because a problem is difficult and complex and we have no patent medicine warranted to cure in three doses, we do not necessarily have to sit down with folded hands and wait for inevitable catastrophe.

Take imperialism, for example. The complete cure for imperialism is a world-wide social revolution, and even that social revolution would have to be so wise and brotherly that it would settle the differences which now exist between the economically more advanced nations which are predominantly white and the less advanced which are colored. Not even the National Security League can manage to work up a scare about the imminence of so complete a revolution. Meanwhile "American dollars now encircle the globe." Including the war debts, our foreign investments total twenty-five billion dollars. If you want to know how they are divided and what are their ramifications, read Stuart Chase's admirable article on this subject in the New York Times of Sunday, June 27; or, better yet, get hold of Robert Dunn's book, "American Foreign Investments." With this foreign investment goes the struggle for markets and trade. As the speakers at the L. I. D. Conference pointed out, it is not a simple struggle. With one hand America demands the payment of debts, public and private, which can only be paid with goods; while with the other she erects a tariff wall against those goods. The particular political accompaniments of American economic imperialism vary from polite pressure by the bankers on a country like France, through the Dawes Plan in Germany, the collection of customs by American experts in Bolivia, etc., down to an actual protectorate in Haiti, to say nothing of our colonial government in the Philippines. Behind them all are the same forces.

With the march of this economic imperialism American ideals are changing before our eyes. We talk no longer of liberty, but of law and order. We are instinctively sympathetic with European imperialism over "backward" races and accept its justification as our own. The dignified and pathetic appeal, for instance, of the Druse chieftain leading the rebellion of the Syrians against the French has fallen on deaf ears.

But when we come to the question: what shall we do about imperialism? the problem is not simple. The world is economically interdependent. It is neither possible nor indeed desirable for a nation to keep all its capital at home. Shall we, therefore, say nothing can be done?

For us Americans, certain very definite things can be done:

- (1) We can clean up immediate abuses, of which there are many, in our own relations with our own colonies like Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands.
- (2) We can refuse to let the rubber interests betray our honor and pledged word to grant independence to the

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SOCIALISTS OF N. Y. MEET IN CONVENTION SATURDAY AND SUNDAY

The Socialist party of New York State will meet this Saturday and Sunday, July 3rd and 4th, in a regular convention to adopt a platform and nominate candidates for the coming State elections. Among the candidates to be nominated will be nominees for United States Senator and Governor.

The sessions will open Saturday at 1 p. m. at Finnish Hall, 127th street and Fifth avenue. About 75 delegates are expected. Saturday night the delegates will be tendered a dinner and reception in Finnish Hall. A play will be given. Dancing will follow.

The business will be resumed Sunday, when candidates will be nominated.

GREEN GETS APPEAL TO AID PERU LABOR FACING CONSCRIPTION

WASHINGTON. President Green of the Pan American Federation of Labor has just received an appeal from the Mexican Federation of Labor officials in behalf of the Peruvian Typographical Federation of Labor. The appeal contains an earnest request to the Pan-American Federation of Labor asking that a strong protest be formulated to the Government of Peru against a so-called Conscription of Labor Law now in force, by which workmen are compelled to work twelve days each year without any remuneration or wages whatsoever.

It is stated that the President and Secretary of the Peruvian Typographical Federation of Labor are going to be deported because they have dared to print and circulate a manifesto containing a strong protest against the so-called "Conscription of Labor Law."

TEACHERS MEET TO CONSIDER PROBLEMS

New Blood Wanted in Officials — Goose- stepping Education to Be Considered

By Laborite

WHEN John P. Coughlin, secretary of the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York, told the tenth annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers on June 29, 1926, that "teachers are as intelligent as bricklayers or housewreckers," he must have been expressing a pious wish, rather than an observation. The fact is that teachers have not had the intelligence and, in many cases, the courage to heed the call of unionism. The fifty-odd delegates to the convention represented only about four thousand teachers.

The federation has been taking serious stock of its accomplishments after a decade of existence. The feeling has been growing that little will be accomplished until more full-time official positions can be established. The need for active organization work, with organizers out in the field, planting new locals and nurturing them during their period of acquiring experience, is urgent. A demand has also arisen for new blood among the officials. At this time of writing, June 30, 1926, the elections have not yet been held, but it is expected that the field will be contested. The organized teachers realize that the effectiveness of their numerous protests is commensurate with their numbers. They must increase their trade union strength in order to be more than voices crying in the wilderness. The convention is considering these problems.

The American Federation of Teachers is not different from other unions in having among its members conservatives, moderates and radicals. This was especially evident in the discussion on the resolution condemning military training. The wholesale censure of militarism had to be modified. The resolution was sent back for rewording to discountenance only compulsory military training and centralized financial control from the army authorities at Washington. The address of John Nevin Sayre of the Fellowship of Reconciliation on the subject spurred on the delegates.

The convention has adopted resolutions recognizing the principle of collective bargaining in fixing salary schedules; referring the study of the feasibility of the family allowance to the Executive Board; reiterating its stand for equal pay for equal work, preparation and experience, irrespective of sex of teachers or pupils; condemning the acceptance by labor educational enterprises of money from individuals, groups or foundations not in sympathy with the aims and aspirations of the organized labor movement; rallying to the defense of continuation schools and visiting teachers for the study of delinquent children; requesting the Executive Committee to investigate the iniquities of Prof. Richard T. Ely, of the Institute for Research in

SIGMAN ISSUES STRIKE CALL

"The Spirit of 1910
Will Now Lead Us to
Victory," says President Sigman

By Morris Sigman

Pres. International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

BROTHERS and Sisters, Cloak-makers: Today is a holy day for us as well as the entire labor movement. Today we are forced into an open struggle against our employers in order to protect our rights as workers and as human beings. This struggle we are now entering has been forced upon us by the lords of our industry who refuse to carry the responsibility of the conditions that we have to work under. This is not the first time in the history of our union that our employers have forced us into an open war against them. But just as at all times in the past we have answered our employers with thorough solidarity in our ranks, against their challenges, so shall we meet them now.

The justice is on our side. The issues of this struggle are clear to all of us, as well as the world. These demands are just and necessary for our livelihood. As workers we give away our lives for the industry, and our employers must in return assure us of a comfortable living for us and our dependents. We are the producers in the industry. Our employers must assume the responsibility of our earning a living.

Brothers and sisters, your struggle is greeted by all the members of our International, and the attention of the whole labor movement is now concentrated upon your struggle. With united forces, with courage and enthusiasm, our strike will be crowned with victory.

NECKWEAR WORKERS WIN LARGE NON-UNION SHOP

The Neckwear Makers' Union has captured one of the largest non-union shops in the industry, that of the Altman Neckwear Company, of Broadway and Thirteenth street, New York city. It is the result of thirteen years of persistent organization work. The workers receive an increase in wages of ten per cent. What is even more significant is that the firm agrees to give up its long-standing practice of having its work done by contractors. This is a great step in ridding the industry of the contracting evil.

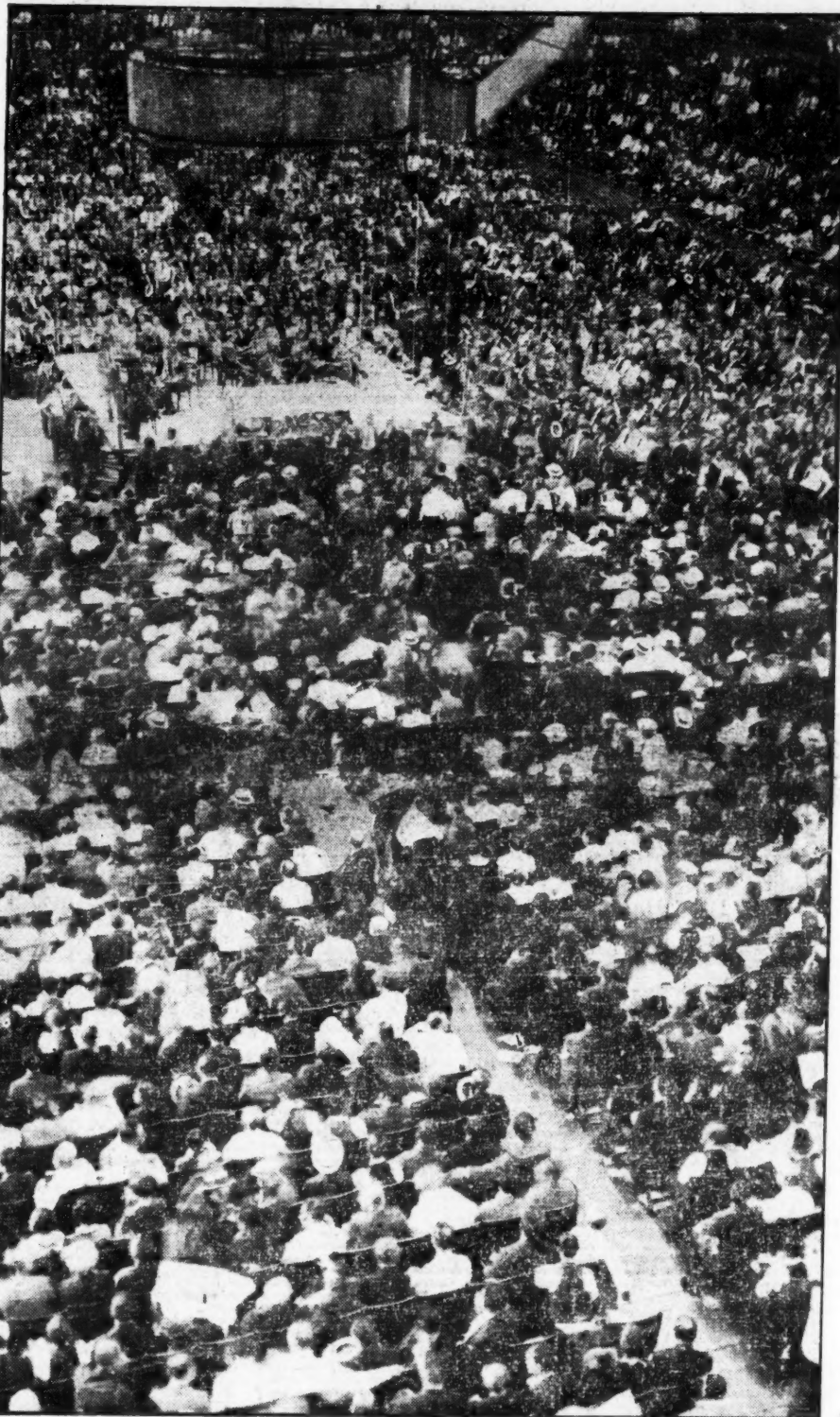
YIPSELS RAISE \$200 AT GENERAL MEETING TO PROMOTE ACTIVITIES

One of the largest meetings of the greater city organization of the Young People's Socialist League was held last Saturday in the Debs Auditorium of the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

Over one hundred and fifty members of the Senior organization attended. The meeting was opened by Benjamin Goodman, Executive Secretary. Following singing of the "International," Lester Schulman, of Circle Two, Brooklyn, was elected Chairman. The most inspiring incident of the meeting was when Executive Secretary Goodman made a plea for financial assistance to the City League. Within fifteen minutes more than \$200 were collected in cash and pledges.

Land Economics and Public Utilities, who is suspected of catering to the business interests who support his organization; approving of school lunch rooms under the control of the educational authorities instead of private concessionaires; supporting the Pullman Porters and strikers of Passaic, the British coal industry and the New York women's garment industry; and, lastly, re-affirming its stand for a Federal Department of Education with guarantees against possible control for purposes of propaganda of local education by the central authorities. The convention has two more days of life.

On to Victory



A small section of the 25,000 garment workers who voted to strike at a great meeting in Madison Square Garden

CONFERENCE TO AID MINERS

Socialist Party and
Unions Call Meeting
for Monday, July 12

A PROVISIONAL conference of representatives of the United Hebrew Trades, Socialist Party, Workmen's Circle and Jewish Socialist Verband was held last Monday, June 28, in the office of the United Hebrew Trades to perfect the organization of a larger body to aid the British miners in their heroic struggle.

The conference sent out a call to all allied and sympathetic labor organizations for a large conference to be held at the Forward Hall, 175 East Broadway, on Monday evening, July 12, at 8 p. m. All trade union locals, Socialist Party, Workmen's Circle, Jewish Socialist Verband branches and Young People's Socialist League circles and other bona fide labor organizations are invited to send two delegates.

The objective of this conference is to organize a drive for funds, etc., to aid the British miners, and to demonstrate in the most effective manner the solidarity of American Labor with their British brothers and comrades.

A Day With the Miners

Impressions of a Day's Visit Through the
Mining Towns of Britain Now Held in
the Grip of the Great Strike

By J. Ramsay Macdonald

I HAVE just returned from a hurried visit to a mining district, where I spent an afternoon with the people. It was a beautiful, sunny day, and the land slept in peace. My feet yearned to mount the green hillsides, and to be on the skyline that I might see the land beyond and breathe the air of freedom. There were more people on the roads than usual, and they were dressed apparently in their Sunday best. In fact, the whole valley had a Sunday feeling about it, and the songs of the birds from the trees that fringed the river far below us came up with the slow rhythm of sacred melody.

Children were rushing about the roads in the villages; youths passed leisurely on bicycles, carrying bunches of blue bells and rhododendrons; the hillsides were dotted with wanderers—black spots upon the green; women, resting from their household work, chatted at their doors and waved a handkerchief or an apron at us as we

passed. The greetings were happy and genial—even more than usual, we thought. Where there were gardens, men were working in them, digging, hoeing, examining, and the smoke of pipes rose leisurely through the still air.

(Continued on page 4)

CALL OF UNION ANSWERED

100%

Workers Fight to Make
Jobbers Shoulder
Their Responsibilities to Labor

THE second day of the strike of the 40,000 ladies' garment workers in New York city finds the workers in a great solid phalanx of solidarity. The entire industry of the city and vicinity is at a standstill, the strike call having been answered 100 per cent.

In scores of mass meetings throughout the city the strikers are meeting and cheering addresses by their leaders, urging them to stand fast for victory.

Lower New York city presented an inspiring picture Thursday morning, when the 40,000 men and women of a dozen different nationalities put down their tools or stopped their machines and marched to the halls in response to the strike call.

There was real joy in a battle for a great and just cause. The strikers formed themselves into orderly processions and paraded to their halls. Within an hour the tie-up had been completed.

The strike is unique in labor annals, for it is not primarily one of union labor against employers for better wages and working conditions, but mainly against the jobbers, who employ no labor directly, but who have garments made for them by sub-manufacturers or contractors employing union operatives. The union demands that the jobbers, controlling 75 per cent of the annual production, explicitly recognize their responsibility to the men and women operating the machines and cutting the garments in the contractors' shops.

Twenty thousand cloak and suit workers in Madison Square Garden Tuesday evening applauded every declaration by speakers of the necessity for a general strike to eliminate outstanding evils in the industry, and unanimously adopted a resolution authorizing the joint board of the officers of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to call a strike.

Speakers at the meeting concentrated their attacks on the jobbers, who, they asserted, continued to evade their responsibility to the industry generally and to the employees in particular. It was asserted in the resolution that the jobbers ignored the union's invitation for a conference to discuss a new contract.

The resolution further recited that the manufacturers refused to negotiate an agreement "that would insure the workers a decent wage," that the union framed a set of demands two years ago aiming to do away with "the chaos and irresponsibility in our industry, where constant unemployment and cut-throat competition is the lot of the cloakmaker," and that in recent years "the standards and conditions of the cloakmakers have been continually reduced, so that the workers are faced with the most dire need and misery, due to the eagerness of the employers to increase their profits at the expense of the workers."

The speakers were President Morris Sigman of the international union; Louis Hyman, manager of the joint board; Abraham Baroff, secretary-treasurer of the international union; Ben Gold, head of the joint board of the Furriers' Union; Hugh Frayne, New York representative of the American Federation of Labor; Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Arturo Giovannitti of the Italian Chamber of Labor, and Salvatore Ninio, manager of Local 45 of the Garment Union.

Mr. Frayne read a telegram from President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, who said that it is a peaceful settlement could not be obtained and a strike was unavoidable he hoped the struggle would be entered into "with the spirit of solidarity and determination to win." He urged the garment workers to be loyal to their leaders, and ended: "Count on me to assist you in every way possible."

Other Unions Pledge Aid
The speakers representing the clothing workers and the furriers' union assured the cloakmakers of their support.

Capitalism Dons the Robes of the Good Samaritan

Newer Defences of the Profit System Under Microscope At League for Industrial Democracy Sessions

CAMP TAMIMENT, Forest Park, Pa.—named, with occasional disagreements, however, as company unionism, "trade union capitalism," industrial combinations, employee ownership of stock, propaganda and economic imperialism—ran the gamut of a trenchant criticism at the annual summer conference of the League for Industrial Democracy held at Camp Tamiment from June 25th to 27th.

Those new tendencies in the industrial world were placed under the microscope by George Soule, Hilmar S. Raushenbush, Jacob S. Potofsky, Robert W. Dunn, Ordway Tead, Stuart Chase, Harry Elmer Barnes, Leland H. Jenks, M. M. Knight, McAllister Coleman, Benjamin Stolberg and others.

Under the chairmanship of Norman Thomas, one of the directors of the League, an unusually high standard of discussion on the part of the audience followed each address. In this discussion joined Abraham Beckerman, Louis Waldman, James H. Maurer, Solon De Leon, Abraham Epstein, Charles W. Ervin, Harvey O'Connor, and many others.

Book Will Contain Speeches
"I think this conference produced the most substantial contribution to a realization of present day capitalism's actual technique as applied to the problem of industrial relations. When the speeches and discussion appear in connected form in a book which the L. I. D. will publish, it will be seen that the subject was treated in a comprehensive and authoritative manner which will make the whole conference of enduring value." Harry W. Laidler, the other director of the League, declared.

The several hundred men and women who attended the conference made the most of the splendid opportunity the Rand School's summer camp offered for recreation. A tennis tournament, rowing, swimming, dancing, hiking were sandwiched in between the conference discussions. Saturday night, we were treated to "Jersey Justice," a delightful bit of burlesque on the textile strike, the scenes of which were placed in "Siberia, New Jersey." Norman Thomas, Harry Laidler, Samuel Friedman, McAllister Coleman, Solon De Leon, James Phillips, Gertrude W. Klein, David Sinclair and others kept the audience in one long howl of glee at their songs and patter in which they portrayed mill owners, strikers and "private detectives."

The conference got under way with a discussion on the problem of carrying the ideas of industrial democracy to the attention of the nation's college students.

The discussion of "The Newer Defences of Capitalism" was begun actually with the reading of a paper on the large scale development of super-power by Raushenbush, secretary of the Committee on Coal and Super-Power.

Public has not been getting the benefit of the large scale development of the power industry, Raushenbush asserted. He pointed out that in the last six years the lighting rates throughout the country had only dropped one half cent while the production has increased by 50 per cent. The operating ratio has improved 21 per cent in the last six years. Large scale production and the improvements in engineering and the earnings of the holding companies warrant further reduction in rates. He pointed to the recent cut in power rates of 28 per cent by the Tacoma municipal plant as an illustration of the need for a few publicly owned developments throughout the country to act as gauges to a nation wide system of private ownership.

Muscle Shoals, the St. Lawrence and Boulder Dam are far more important than they seem to be to the electric light consumers of the nation. It kept in public ownership and operation they are bound to exercise a powerful pressure to keep light and power rates down. Muscle Shoals is now operated and owned by the Government and is already selling power at the rate of 670 million kilowatt hours a year, putting it among the thirty biggest plants in the country. The private companies should have no honest objection to the competition of three or four large publicly owned developments throughout the country.

Two thirds of the power of the country is controlled by twelve holding companies and six of them control one-third of the nation's water power. They are organized on a national basis while the public is still trying to control them through the competition of small municipal plants and through the State commissions. Changes in engineering are making all isolated small plants, both private and municipal, out of date and the public can no longer expect them to keep the rates of the private companies down. Large generating and distributing units such as Muscle Shoals, the St. Lawrence and Boulder Dam must be publicly owned and operated to furnish

the public a check on the power industry.

Public Protection Held Inadequate

The public is now adequately protected through the limited regulation permitted by the courts and will not be protected under private ownership unless statutes are passed fixing all present values at some definite figure and providing that all new companies or all new developments will be valued at cost only. This is the procedure in the Federal Water Power Act of 1920 and is the only way to protect the consumers from the principles laid down in the New Jersey Telephone case in April where it was decided that the customers must pay a return even on all property bought out of excess earnings. The statutes should specify the rate of return in advance and forbid the distribution to investors of excess earnings. Until this is done in all States our system of regulation will remain inadequate, we will have to pay higher rates than necessary or just in the meantime a few large public owned and operated units are essential if we are to get the benefits from the large scale development of this industry.

The efficiencies of the industry are not due to the holding companies but to engineering improvements. The only way in which many of the holding companies can pay dividends and interest on all the paper they are pyramidical on top of the operating companies is to secure valuable long time contracts with the local companies which now seem reasonable but with the growth of the industry will become excessive. Through these contracts they will get enough profit to pay interest on a lot of paper which, as Chairman

Atwill of the Massachusetts Department of Public Utilities says, represents practically nothing at the present time except various goodwills and theories of people that the value of these various properties are such that they should be allowed to issue the paper against them.

Mr. Raushenbush also discussed State and federal control of the power industry and the conflicting claims of the advocates of giant and super-power.

George Soule, editor of the "New Republic" and Director of the Labor Bureau, Inc., on Friday evening discussed the "Changing Relationships Between Property Ownership and Control."

Mr. Soule said, in part: "The general heading for the series of papers of which this is the first—Newer Defences of Capitalism in America—doubtless will suggest to some a certain attitude to the whole series of questions. This attitude may be stated in the form of a syllogism. Major Premise: Capitalism should be abolished. Minor Premise: Employee stock ownership and the like strengthen capitalism. Conclusion: Employee stock ownership and the like are undesirable. Or, vice versa, employee stock ownership and the like do not strengthen capitalism and may therefore be regarded with indifference."

"I wish to suggest that this attitude be laid aside for the moment by one who hold it and another one adopted. You may not agree with the assumption on which I am about to proceed, but I believe it is worth considering. It is this. The present economic order, which we crudely label, 'capitalism,' is a varied and rapidly changing

thing. It is capable of being changed in detail and by degrees as well as by a sudden overturn. The test of any specific change is whether it lies in the direction of the outcome we favor. That outcome is briefly summarized in the title and aim of the L. I. D.—some form of workers' control over the industries in which they are employed, and production for use rather than for profit. This is the test I want to apply to some of the changes that are taking place in property ownership and control.

"Common sense everywhere has taught people that a man is likely to take better care of something which is his own than of another's property. Separate profit and ownership from risk and responsibility and you remove the whole justification of profit—in fact, if the traditional economist was right, you condemn the whole industrial system to dry-rot.

"Queer things have lately been done in regard to the ownership of common stock. Efforts have been made to sell it, not merely to capitalists looking for a return on their money, but to the wage-earners and customers of large corporations. One professed justification for this policy is that it extends industrial democracy by giving representation to the two estates hitherto excluded from business control. Indeed, if the traditional theory of ownership held good, it would seem to do so. To make workers and customers partners in the industry, sharers in its profits and management, is apparently to admit the commonality to the electorate of business formerly occupied solely by the capitalist—large or small. "Any brief examination of the actual cases in which stock ownership has

been distributed reveals, however, that, with a very few exceptions, the company does not actually aim to grant control to employees through ownership.

"Mr. C. A. Bowers estimates that there are at least 250, and probably from 300 to 400, companies in the United States which have employee stock purchase plans, and there are employed in these concerns at least a million and half persons—not all of whom, of course, own stock. Many industries are represented. Mr. Bowers states that of the companies examined, the percentage of employees owning stock varies according to size. In the smaller concerns—those having less than 1,000 employees—all but one report that 30 percent or more participate in the plan. Only one-half of the companies employing from 1,000 to 5,000 report a participation of as much as 30 percent. Out of the thirteen companies examined having 5,000 or more workers only four have, in Mr. Bowers' term, 'general participation.'

"It is thus clear that while the movement is widespread, and significant of something, it is hardly significant of general employee control, for one reason because the majority of employees do not participate. The largest participants are, of course, the officers and administrative forces rather than the wage-earners. It may be added that there is no really important concern in which employees own, or are likely to acquire, a majority of the stock. I know of no important company which is actually controlled by employee stockholders.

"In fact, W. Z. Ripley of Harvard only a few months ago objected to popular stock-ownership as one device for

so scattering shares as to prevent control of business by its owners. Another recent device mentioned by him is the issuance of non-voting stock.

"Three other comparatively recent developments have limited the supposed rights of corporate owners and tended to concentrate the control of business though this was not in all cases their primary object. First, holding companies, particularly in the field of public utilities, control large numbers of subsidiaries in such a way that the small stock holder is separated from power over management by a thick web of intercorporate entanglements. Second, insurance companies, investment companies, and the like hold and vote large blocks of stock which they have acquired with the money saved and entrusted to them by small investors. And third, the investment trust—perhaps the most recent and significant development of all—separates the owner from control of his property.

"I doubt the wisdom of general ownership control under present conditions, even if it could be established. The spectacle of political campaigns among thousands of widely distributed absentee owners, who have no special knowledge of industrial problems and care chiefly for the size of their dividend checks is one that might well appeal to us. It would be an application of the worst features of democracy—without any of the checks of expert knowledge and functionalized administration which exist in the most advanced political systems. I believe we should rather face the fact that modern large-scale industry has developed to a point such that ownership control has lost its reality. We can no longer depend on the simple operation of private enterprise and the profit motive to furnish the drive for good industrial management, as we seemed to do in the old days of small and personal business. We must develop other motives and other institutions, which have perhaps existed in embryo and little suspected within the old order.

"The first of these to which we may direct our attention is the professionalization of management as distinct from ownership. Already most of our great utilities and industrial enterprises are directed by men who, while they may be part owners, are in the main salaried executives managing other people's property. Their chief motive is not actually to amass profits for themselves. They wish also to make good records as executives; to do well according to prevailing standards; to maintain their prestige; to have the fun of directing and developing an undertaking of importance. The class of executives already has a morale and class-consciousness of its own which, because it is young and vigorous, is sometimes an unduly sensitive and aggressive one. Instances have been recorded in which such an executive has defied even the closely held minority ownership which is supposed to control the property in question. Executives of this type may be extremely reactionary in their social viewpoints; they may be so jealous of their power and position that they adopt towards labor, for instance, an attitude more hard-boiled than financiers or bankers want them to adopt. Nevertheless, the point is that we have here a strong motive not directly associated with private ownership, which may be made useful. I believe there is even greater danger to society at this moment from misdirected zeal of hired executives than there is from indolence or graft arising from the fact that they do not own the properties they manage.

"The motive is there; the problem is, as I see it, to surround it with the proper personnel, training, standards of performance, and checks, in the public interest. One great difficulty now is that no adequate distinction has yet been made in our general thought and education between the profit-motive and the management-motive. Though the managers act independently, the standards which they too often apply to their action are the standards held over from the old order of small private enterprises. In cases where social welfare or engineering efficiency clash with the traditional assumptions of capitalism, the executive has, by training, education, and habit, usually been conditioned to respond as if he were a profit-seeking owner. More than that, in the absence of complete personal ownership which would give him a certain amount of discretion, in the absence of the automatic checks to action which appear quickly in a small business but are not so apparent in a giant organization, the executive has been forced to build himself a

code or religion on the basis of which to make decisions, and this code has been founded in too many cases on a strict formalization of the profit and private-enterprise ideology. Hence, 'business is business,' hence the ' soulless corporation.' The hired executive is often more a conscientious capitalist than the capitalist himself. He will sometimes fight labor to the end, because in his view unions are morally wrong and not to be tolerated in the social order, where the managing owner of a small business would come to terms with the unions because, pragmatically considered, it was the more convenient to compromise, and in the end more profitable.

"One great task is, then, to alter the training and selection of executives to penetrate their consciousness with new ideas, such that social efficiency will have a larger place in their scheme of things. This task becomes constantly easier as the science and technique of management develop, as concrete standards, measurements of performance, and tests of results are built up to take the place of the capitalist religion and the inherited prejudice as the basis of the executive's decisions. For this reason I regard the work of the engineering societies, particularly the Taylor Society, as one of tremendous importance, and I even look with some hope on the future of schools of business administration. Economic research also takes its place in this movement. The vast and, in some instances, absurd proliferation of business and economic statistics, of accountancy, of expert business advisers, of courses in business administration, of scientific research into personnel problems and of new engineering techniques in management means in its largest sense that management is developing a pragmatic methodology to take the place of the vanishing profit motive of the managing owner.

"There is also the possibility of applying the standards and checks to management through the agency of public control. One authority on railroad regulation has already suggested that all pretense of the profit motive be eliminated from the industry, that all railroad capital be refunded and issued entirely in the form of securities having a fixed and guaranteed return, that the railroad executives be stimulated, not by the standards of control and profit, but by standards of performance built up from the already elaborate array of railroad statistics built on standard accounting.

"Another movement of great importance that may be substituted for the owner as an incentive to efficiency and a check on slack administration is union-management co-operation, such as has developed in railroad shops. Give the unions a stake in efficient performance, organize their powers to help management improve service, and you have an ever-present, active force stimulating management to eliminate waste all along the line so that the conditions of labor and service to the public may be improved. Experience has shown on the Baltimore and Ohio and other roads that this force is indeed a real one which has improved not only shop practice, but general management materially. It will work under the forms of private ownership; it will work perhaps still better where the private owner is entirely eliminated as on the Canadian National.

"Is it possible, too, that employee or consumer stockholders, if properly organized, and equipped to function, might use the old form of ownership to express their own interest. Suppose, for instance, an investment trust were established by the railroad labor organization and their banks to buy common stock of the railroads. This would furnish a safe investment for the individual; at the same time his organization, by choosing the manager of the trust, could mobilize the voting power of the shares held in such a way as to secure a real voice in railroad directorship. A machinery of this kind would not be open to the objections of ordinary employee stockholdings fostered by the company.

"To summarize: The question is first, whether the function of the owner, as in traditional theory, has not lost most of the reality which it may have had in the past; and second, whether it is possible and desirable to restore that function or develop new motives and institutions more suitable to the problems of modern industry. If the latter is the case, my opinion is that the way to a practicable industrial democracy and production for use rather than for profit becomes considerably clearer."

The report of the L. I. D. Conference will be continued next week. The addresses of Harry Elmer Barnes and Stuart Chase will be printed in full in early issues of The New Leader.

Humanity In Big Business

A Poem by the Standard Oil Company, with Notes by William C. Emory



THE management of the Standard Oil Company (Indiana) believes in humanity for man to man, and practices it.

We will be human.
The grim gray buildings lean against the skies;
And on the left Lake Michigan rolls and sighs;
"We will be human."
Sliding down the boulevard in shiny limousines,
The corpulent directors survey the passing scenes.
Their bellies surge in great content
O'er tender breasts of quail and a digestive pill.
And there was not an argument
On who would pay the bill.
"Now Joe, I'll take care of it
You know I get all my expenses paid."

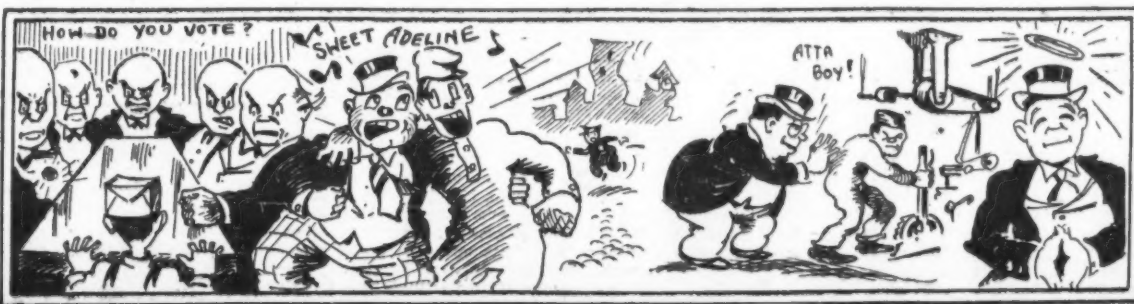
An example of the practical application of this principle is found in the report of the Employees' Stock-Purchasing Plan just made public.
The meeting will come to order.
Remove the bushel basket
From the candle light
Five years ago the management offered all employees an opportunity to purchase shares of the company's stock on the deferred payment plan.
"Well as I wuz sayin' Bill,
Yuh can't have yuh cake an eat it too.
We gotta be human."
With a very sharp knife
The individual employee was privileged to subscribe for stock up to 20 per cent. of his annual wage. For every dollar subscribed the company agreed to add 50c. Subscriptions were voluntary.
We want yu to Understand
That the subscriptions are Entirely voluntary.
But,
The significant result is that 15,000 employees purchased stock in the company by this method, and their holdings under this plan aggregate 330,000 shares.

Onward Standard soldiers,
Fifteen thousand strong,
Shoulders pressed to shoulders
We're a merry throng.
Near four hundred thousand
Shares are in our pants.
This number of shares represents an accumulation in five years of approximately \$25,000,000, or 4.2 per cent. of all the Standard Oil Company (Indiana) shares outstanding.
After five years
Each one of you will have
Nearly TWO THOUSAND DOLLARS.
This sum in a bank
Would bring but a paltry
Eighty dollars interest.
On the other hand
By their voluntary action, the employees, collectively, have made themselves the second largest influence among the 50,000 stockholders, not one of whom owns as much as 5 1/2 per cent. of the total stock issued.
Ten little directors each
With five per cent. of shares
Make a safe majority
That's likely to get theirs.

Remove a thin slice,
It may prevent strife
Among the damn lice.
In case of slack times
We will endeavor, of course,
To take care of those who
Believe in us.
In our hey-day, there's no May-day,
Come and join our dance.
Onward Standard soldiers
How the stock will soar,
With the cross of Jesus
Going on before.

Two THOUSAND DOLLARS
Will allow one to have
A gorgeous funeral
With a motor hearse and tall black plumes,
And a most dignified undertaker.
The sun came up in the morning
The sun went down at night,
And if it didn't rise again
It wouldn't treat us right.

Such an encouraging response justifies the faith of the management in the loyalty of the 28,059 men and women making up this splendid organization. Whoops my dear, there's a ring around the moon,
Some are born with a solid silver spoon;
With the big bass drum and the big bassoon.
It is tangible evidence of the unusual spirit of harmony and friendliness which prevails throughout this great group of men and women, who are bound together by an ambition bigger than themselves—the ambition to serve mankind—and who work with a united effort.
My God! Aggie,
Yuh just shoulda seen
Prexy and Joe the service station guy
Out gettin' lit together.
And when they hit the line
On Thirty-first street,
WOW!
The old man never missed a bet.
It was a scream.
Say Joe, a little
Flurry on the street
Might give us a chance
To pick up something
Real cheap.
No doubt, there are some people who think of the huge organization of the Standard Oil Company (Indiana) as a machine. It is true to think of it as a group of human beings acting together in splendid co-operation. The thousands of shareholders, the management, the employees—all are people like yourself, with a joy in their work and an eager love of life.
The shiny steel muscles
Of the dynamo,
Whirr . . . Whirr . . . Whirr . . .
And a little oil on the bearings,
From time to time,
Will prevent friction,
Friction might cause heat
And the eventual stoppage
Of its glittering
Revolutions.
The Standard Oil Company (Indiana) believes that the eternal foundation of all greatness is human sympathy, based on understanding and high integrity.
Eternally,
We stand to serve,
And from this course
Will never swerve.
We like our bread
And butter too;
God's in His heaven,
What's that to you.
Waved a cheery hand
In answer to the passing smile.
The grim gray buildings
Leaned against the sky,
And from Lake Michigan
There came a mournful sigh,
But the red and green traffic lights
Merrily flicked off and on.
A traffic policeman



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MOURN LONDON IN PORTO RICO

Late Socialist's Defense of Masses Recalled to Attention of Entire Island

By F. Paz Granela

Vice-President, Porto Rican Federation of Labor

San Juan. It was not until I read the New Leader of June 13 that I received the sorrowful news of the death of our beloved friend, Meyer London. When I read the headline of The New Leader that 500,000 persons paid tribute to Meyer London, I immediately translated the news to my friends who were gathered with me in the offices of the Porto Rican Federation of Labor. It made a deep impression. We felt that we were at the funeral.

We are writing of the death of our friend, Meyer London, to the daily Spanish papers of Porto Rico in order that the whole people of this country may know that they lost another friend and fighter for their rights and liberties. A great truth was expressed by Mr. Morris Sigman, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, when he said: "The labor movement has lost in him one of its very best sons. London was loved amongst all parts of the labor movement."

The Porto Rican labor movement may be included with the general labor movement that mourns the tragic death of Meyer London. He never had the opportunity to visit Porto Rico, but he knew the deplorable conditions and sufferings of the working people of our country through our press and information published in American labor papers, as well as through the memorandums and information written by our brother, Santiago Iglesias, President of the Porto Rican Free Federation of Labor, and our beloved friend, Samuel Gompers. Meyer London defended the rights of the people of Porto Rico with heart and enthusiasm.

When London was a member of Congress, representing the Socialist Party, the reactionary political leaders of Porto Rico appeared before Congress to disfranchise almost the entire Porto Rican working class by property and educational tests. But Meyer London opposed this reactionary legislation.

On May 5, 1916, we received a message from Washington which in part read as follows:

"Socialist Representative Meyer London was today the central figure in the most sensational incident of the session in the House thus far. His bitter attack on the proposed reactionaries to disfranchise almost the entire Porto Rican working class by property and educational tests in the Porto Rican Government bill under discussion drew the fire of those who defeated Philippine independence earlier in the week, and whom London had fought on that issue and on militarism."

"These elements had approached him privately, attempting to get London to vote with them."

"In a stinging arraignment of the proposal to take the ballot from 153,000 of the 200,000 voters in Porto Rico, London was warning the House that a people deprived of suffrage would be driven to violence. He cited Dorris' rebellion in Rhode Island as an incident of the struggle to remove the property qualifications of voters in the United States."

"Seizing upon London's statement that deprived of 'civilized method of expressing themselves,' Porto Ricans might assume the right to use violence, Representative Austin of Tennessee, a Bourbon reactionary, excitedly demanded that London be called to order."

"Instantly Minority Leader Mann and other Republicans leaped to their feet with protest, motions and points of order. Speaker Clark was hastily brought in from his office. Democrats and Republicans crowded into the chamber from cloak rooms."

"After a heated parliamentary discussion, the House voted, 75 to 187, that London be allowed to proceed. The vote was taken after London had disclaimed advocacy of violence. The Socialist member directed attention, nevertheless, to the dangers which the proposed disfranchisement of the majority of Porto Ricans must involve."

"The reactionaries and their legislation to disfranchise almost the entire Porto Rican working class in 1916 were defeated, due to the efforts of our

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS OFFERED OPPORTUNITY TO PUBLISH NEW BOOKS

Labor and radical organizations may now have books published at half of their cost of production. This unusual service is announced by the Vanguard Press of New York City, a non-profit publishing house established by the American Fund for Public Service, Inc. Concretely, the offer of the Vanguard Press is to print an edition of 2,000 copies of a book, on good paper, up to 256 pages, and bind it substantially in cloth. The organization offering the book is to pay for only 1,000 copies at the low price of 25c. per copy, or \$250.00, which is less than half what it would cost to have it printed elsewhere. These 1,000 copies will be shipped to the organization for it to distribute, while the remaining 1,000 copies will be circulated by the Vanguard Press by including the book in its own popular series of social science subjects and educational outlines. The title page of a book published under this offer will bear the imprints of both the organization sponsoring it and the Vanguard Press.

Further information may be had by addressing the Vanguard Press, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City. The officers and directors of the Vanguard Press are: Roger N. Baldwin, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Clinton Golden, Bertha M. Mailly, Scott Nearing, Rex Stout, Jacob Baker and Louis Kopelin.

ROCHESTER CLOTHING WORKERS HOLD PICNIC

The most successful picnic of the Italian Local No. 202, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of Rochester ever had, was held in the beautiful Genesee Valley Park on Sunday, June 27.

As early as 10 o'clock in the morning members of the union and their families began to stroll in with baskets full of food and what otherwise is necessary to make a picnic really joyful. By 3 o'clock in the afternoon the crowd was already joyful, and so dense that people had to guess if that which they were witnessing was a picnic or a mass meeting.

At 3:30 the games were started. Races for boys and girls, ball throwing contests, nuptial and pop races and other humorous kinds of sports were enjoyed by young and old. For about two hours the crowd was kept intensely interested in the contest that was going on between boys, girls and men and women, who participated in the games. Valuable prizes were awarded to Teresa Maranda, Ione Cursi, Joseph Gifford, Carlo Rendazzo, Teresa Brancatiano, Patsy Sica, Ernest Ciacio, Sam Sica, Domenic Brancatiano, Edward Gallucci, Max Zipkin, Sara Sica, Pauline Becker, Ethel Needle, Garson Mink and Esther Berkowitz.

A group picture was taken which will be kept as one of the best souvenirs by the Italian Local.

Triestman, Riesel Re-elected By Bonnax Embroiderers

One of the most hotly contested elections in the local trade union world took place last week in the elections for officers in the Bonnax Embroiderers' Union, Local 66, I. L. G. W. U.

All officers were contested with the exception of the presidency. Z. L. Freedman has held the office for a number of terms.

The largest number of members participated in this election as compared with all previous elections. The closest contested officers were those of the secretary-treasurer and business agent.

Nathan Riesel won over his opponent, Rose Auebach, and was re-elected. George Halpern was re-elected by a margin of 35 votes over his opponent, Sam Anhouse. George Triestman, manager, won out against Leon Hattab. The old executive board was re-elected by a very small margin, in some cases as low as four votes.

friend, Meyer London, as well as the numberless fights of President Samuel Gompers.

This is one reason why we regret, from the bottom of our hearts, the death of Meyer London. Therefore, the labor movement of Porto Rico expresses to the whole labor movement of America its deep sorrow, and sympathize with you in this hour of bereavement in which we lost one of our most loyal, intelligent and honest friends and fighters for the rights and liberties of the working class of Porto Rico.

Stay the Hand of Hunger!



Thomas and Miss Flynn Appeal for Passaic Strikers

A conference on relief for Passaic strikers, a report on the relief situation made by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Norman Thomas was read. The report stated that over 16,000 persons, strikers and their dependents, were now getting relief at a money cost of about \$15,000 a week. The efficiency of the relief machinery, the cooperation of the strikers themselves, the fairness of the administration, were emphasized.

"While money has come in in most extraordinary fashion until now, the continuance of the strike and the increase in need compel all friends of the strikers to undertake a far more complete organization and widespread campaign for funds than formerly. The Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief is undertaking to raise a much needed fund for children. In general, however, relief funds should be administered at the discretion of the Relief Committee," the report says.

"The excellence of the work done by the Relief Committee is a tribute to the capacity of the workers."

We have already spoken of stores and children's kitchens. Barbers from New York and elsewhere furnish free barber service. The striking shoe workers of Brooklyn keep the cobbling shop of the Relief Committee going for the repair of the textile workers' shoes. A competent physician is employed to look after all sickness in families of the strikers at the reasonable charge of \$200 a month. For that sum it is estimated that in the last four weeks he has handled about 400 cases.

"In conclusion, we can assure all those who give to the relief of the Passaic strikers, whether out of understanding of the importance of their cause or out of pity for the hunger of thousands of little children, that any money that they may give will be administered economically, efficiently and honestly and applied only to the legitimate purposes of the conduct of a strike in which relief is almost the sole item of expense."

The address of the Emergency Committee is 799 Broadway.

GANEDEN DEDICATES DEBS AUDITORIUM

ON the hills of Cold Spring New York, on the Hudson, the Harlem Socialists and the Jewish Socialist Ferband have opened their Camp on June 26, with an entertainment and dance, dedicating the new Debs Auditorium at their camp which is named Camp Ganneden. All general bodies of the various progressive trade unions and workmen's circles have sent delegations and also the Jewish Daily Forward Association. Spokesman for the United Hebrew Trade was Abraham Epstein, for the general office of the Workmen's Circle A. Druskin. M. Shore for the City Committee of the Socialist Ferband, Dr. Calman, the president of the camp; M. Chanin, the secretary of the Jewish Socialist Ferband, is the chairman. There was a very large representation of talent from the Jewish stage. Mr. M. Gillis delivered a wonderful message of greeting from the Jewish Daily Forward. The letter of Eugene V. Debs was read.

The letter was as follows:

"My Dear Comrade Gottfried: This is to acknowledge with deepest thanks the receipt of your telegram of the 21st inst. in behalf of the Harlem and the Jewish Socialist Ferband, advising me that the social hall erected at the camp recently purchased by your organizations has been given my name and to say in answer that I feel touched beyond the power of words to express by this honoring testimonial of our comrades of the Jewish Ferband and the Harlem Socialists, that I accept with pleasure and gratitude the honor thus bestowed upon me."

"Yours faithfully, EUGENE V. DEBS."

"Cell" Plans Union Policies At Regular Secret Sessions

Recently we considered the activities of a Communist "cell" in the union of the Laundry Hand Pressers, and in this installment our review of its work, taken from minutes of the "cell," is concluded.

At the meeting in the Workers' Party headquarters on July 26, 1925, the "cell" voted to bring charges against members of the "cell" who failed to attend meetings. A new "steering committee" for the union was elected. Its members were Litschick, Marmelstein, Halperin, Scheideman and Donetch.

At the next meeting, on August 3, at the same place the "steering committee" was instructed to work out a program of action and at the meeting the following week it was rumored that the secretary of the union would probably resign. A member by the name of Toland, not a Communist, might be a candidate. The minutes of the "cell" state that Toland "behaved like a dog and will not give any jobs to our comrades." Therefore he must be defeated. Members of the "cell" must get busy on this.

At the following meeting Marmelstein reports on the campaign of the Workers' Party and Halperin reports for the "steering committee." He demands that "from now on all the comrades become active in earnest." Evidently the "cell" was not working to the satisfaction of the leaders. Marmelstein suggests that it may even be necessary to reorganize the "cell" and to get another "steering committee."

Party Members Called

On October 11 the "cell" again met at Communist headquarters and it was decided to call a general meeting "of all the comrades in the party and in the entire laundry trade." Evidently Communists not members of the union were also to join with the "cell" members to determine the business of the union and to shape its policies.

The "cell" met again the following week and Goldberg spoke of reorganizing the "cell." It was not working properly. He said that "the steering committee" has not accomplished anything and that a new one should be elected now that will do the work and will be connected with the organization of the Trade Union Educational League.

Handelman complains that the "cell" had helped to elect the secretary of the union and this secretary "persecutes" Handelman. Because of this he believed it necessary to reorganize the union. Another "steering committee" of three is elected consisting of Litschick, Burstein and Marmelstein. The latter then takes the floor and

complains that "cell" resolutions are not carried out. Evidently the "cell" had by this time caused some dissensions for Marmelstein goes on to say that "the right gang are planning to carry out a scheme not to pay dues, to lure away members and to form bands of their own."

More "Unity" Needed

The "captain system" receives considerable attention at this meeting. Burstein wants more unity in the "steering committee" which would suggest that all was not harmony among these selected generals. The meeting adjourned after electing Halperin and Klein as secretaries of the League.

The next week eight members were present at the opening session. They were Marmelstein, Litschick, Halperin, Shrimson, Burstein, Handelman and Klein. Litschick reported that "he felt the pulse of the organizer and secretary of the union and that they will support the captain system." Evidently Litschick and Burstein had not joined the Workers' Party as a notion was made that they should join.

Then the election of members of the executive board was considered and the following "slate" was agreed to. Burstein, Krass, Scheideman and Bendich. Whether any of these stalwarts were elected to the board of the union, we do not know as the minutes that came into the possession of The New Leader end at this point.

In the two installments on this theme enough has been shown from the official records kept by a Communist "cell" how its members meet from time to time, plan policies and programs for the union, arrange "slates" for the election of "cell" members to official positions in the union, and call in Communists who have no connection with the laundry trade to advise with the "cell" on how to obtain control of the union.

The data are presented for the consideration of union members and it is for them to say whether they like this sort of thing. If they do, as Lincoln said, well, "they like it."

I say, and I will sustain it against all the powers of the earth, that the slaves are as culpable as their tyrants, and I do not know whether liberty has more cause to complain of those who invade her than of those who are fools enough not to defend her.—Mirabeau.

QUEENSLAND SOCIALISTS WIN BIGGER MAJORITY IN GENERAL ELECTION

BRISBANE.

For the fifth time in succession the Labor government of Queensland won a decisive victory at the elections held May 8. The result is a triumph for the Labor Socialist government.

Prior to the elections, the state of parties was Labor 43, Conservatives 29. The position is now Labor 45, Conservatives 27. Labor's majority has increased from 14 to 18. Labor first came to power in Queensland in April, 1915, and the last 11 years it has had a continuous term of office as a straight-out Labor-Socialist government.

During its 11 years it has eliminated direct taxation of the workers; the profiteers have been muzzled; generous unemployment insurance and worker compensation, maternity homes and clinics have been established, and motherhood and child endowment introduced.

Under Labor rule industry has functioned with renewed vigor; wages are higher, hours of employment less, and working conditions better than in any other Australian state. Unemployment is at a minimum. The cost of living in Queensland is the lowest on the continent.

Unity House Reduces Rates To Trade Union Members

The Unity House at Forest Park, Pennsylvania, one of the most beautiful summer resorts for workers, owned by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, has announced a new rate for members of other trade unions, making it more conducive for them to come out.

The season was started with the special rate of 23 dollars a week for members of other unions. But in considering the fact that many workers of other trades who, because of the fact that they may have been unemployed, or on strike for some time, would find that rate prohibitive, and since the resort is not run for profit, but rather as a means of offering workers an opportunity to enjoy their vacations at a nominal cost, the rate has been reduced to 21 dollars a week. All those who have already paid the higher rate will be refunded the difference by applying to the New York office at 3 West 16th street.

It is believed that this reduction will help in bringing out greater numbers of workers to Unity House, where they will appreciate the fine things that can be accomplished by workers co-operation in this field.

Fine art is that in which the hand, the head, and the heart go together.—Ruskin.

CAMP TAMIMENT SEASON IS ON

Lake, Country, Tennis Courts Offer Splendid Opportunities for Recreation

TAMIMENT'S perfect facilities for "the time of your life" were never better demonstrated than during the three-day conference of the League for Industrial Democracy just ended. The tennis courts, the lake with its beautiful setting, the woods and country about, the dancing hall on the lake front alive with music and joyous dancers each evening, the delicious meals—the entire camp, in fact, was a worthy complement to the conference in which the leaders of radical and liberal thought participated.

Under the direction of Samuel A. De Witt a tennis tournament was held. Ann Rubes was the winner of the women's section, while Arthur Schiller won the prize offered to the men. The courts are in particularly fine shape, as is the rest of the camp equipment. The canoes and boats on the lake made it hard for one to tear himself away from the restful paddling.

With the advent of July 4th, the most interesting part of the Camp Tamiment season is now under way. The guests are noted for their congenial spirit, which goes to give the whole atmosphere a feeling of generous, hearty and comradely fun.

In addition to the regular alluring attraction of the camp, the management has added those of lectures and music. Over the July 4th holidays James Phillips, who delighted the L. I. D. guests with his rich baritone voice, will be the chief musical attraction.

Beginning with the week of July 5 the lecture season will get under way with August Claessens, one of the most popular lecturers in the country, as the speaker for the week.

Reservations for any part of the summer months should be made immediately at the New York office of the Camp, 7 East 15th street.

The whole Marxian system implies the increasing social intelligence and expanding political capacity of the working class. Without this scientific Socialism would indeed be a baseless dream, but given this—and the history of the working class for the last half-century abundantly proves that we are justified in the assumption—we may await with confidence the sounding of the knell of Capitalism and the dawn of classless civilization.—A. M. Lewis.

Inactivity, from fear of committing a fault, is the mark of a coward. O brother, by whom is food renounced for fear of indigestion?—Sanskrit Proverb.

BEWARE OF CLOGGED BOWELS

You shorten your life many years when you carry in your system waste matter that nature intended to be evacuated.

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Beatrice Webb's Story

By Henry Miller

TO American Socialists, reformers, students of social problems, Beatrice and Sidney Webb have long been names to conjure with. Historians and scholars of the British Socialist movement, authors of more than a score of brilliant volumes, they have made American efforts in the same field seem meager and amateurish. But, unlike most publicists, their personalities, at least on this side of the water, are comparatively unknown. For these reasons the appearance of Beatrice Webb's (nee Potter) autobiography of the first thirty-four years of her life, under the title "My Apprenticeship" (Longmans, Green & Co.), is a double boon to the American public.

Beatrice Potter was reared as anything but a Socialist. She grew to womanhood in the latter part of the Victorian age, that era whose characteristic doctrine was expressed by Yeats, "The man who sells his cow too cheap goes to hell." Her father was a "capitalist at large," one of the earliest great railroad builders, and president of the Canadian Grand Trunk Railway. The references to labor in her father's reports, "Water plentiful, labor docile," were hardly Socialist. Most intimate of the great men who frequented the Potter household was Herbert Spencer, for whom Mrs. Webb retained a deep affection until his death. But Spencer, who taught that society was a natural organism, which grew by its own laws and should be let alone, was scarcely a social rebel.

A Conservative at Twenty

Already well in her twenties, Beatrice Potter describes herself as "conservative by temperament and anti-democratic through training." But she had far too resolute and independent a mind to become just another member of "society." In contrast to her seven respectably married sisters, she set her heart on a career. Had she lived in a less troubled time she would have become a psychological novelist, in the manner of George Eliot. However, like many another sensitive spirit of the time, she felt irresistibly drawn to the service of the poor. Her first ideas on the problem of poverty were vague enough. Her earliest contacts with the poor were as rent collector for a philanthropic housing project in the East End of London.

The pictures of degradation and helplessness which she gained in this experience Beatrice Potter never forgot. She relates how, many years later, fatigued by incessant readings of dreary reports, and longing for the healing beauty of a poem or novel, the recollection of the desolate faces of the inhabitants of the East End would chain her to her task.

The most important of Beatrice Pot-



MRS. SIDNEY WEBB

Famous British Fabian Socialist, Who Has Written the First Volume of Her Interesting Life Story

ters' early experience was her participation in the famous study undertaken by her cousin, Charles Booth, "The Life and Labour of the People of London."

This remarkable survey established with statistical accuracy that one million persons, or 30 per cent of the population of London, were living below the "poverty line." The complete failure of relief work as a solution of the problem of poverty was demonstrated as never before, and Miss Potter was driven to think there must be a more radical alternative. She had worked for months in the sweat shops of the East End and had learned that "stealing" was the result of the social anarchy which Spencer had glorified into a natural law. Her study of the casual laborer of the docks had convinced her that the Victorian dogma that the poverty of the poor was due to defective character was a myth.

The first complete vision of an alternative, however, did not come to Beatrice Potter until she undertook the study of the Co-operative Movement. She envisioned the gradual development of the co-operative idea—a non-profit-making organization of consumers—extended to the state; in other words, the Co-operative Commonwealth. In 1892, at the age of thirty-four, she married Socialism in the person of Sidney Webb, "The Other One," leading member of the Fabian Society. Here the book ends, to be followed by another volume, called "Our Partnership."

Bryan's Own People

By Wallace Thurman

I WAS reading "Teetfallow" (Teetfallow, by T. S. Stribling; Doubleday, Page & Co.; \$2.00) when a friend of mine wished to know "what it was all about." I answered that the author was giving a realistic depiction of life among the inhabitants of the Tennessee hill country. "Does he damn them?" my friend asked with interest. "Well," I hesitated, "not exactly . . ." and then sought to formulate my nebulous thought, but before I could do so my friend had interjected, "No, I guess not, for God has done that already."

Teetfallow is to Lane County, Tennessee, what Main Street is to Gopher Prairie, Minnesota, and what Barren Ground is to the decadent backwoods of Virginia. The cover blurb informs us that herein Mr. Stribling "argues no cause, pleads for nothing, suggests no change." He doesn't, but one cannot help feeling that as a creator of characters the author is somewhat akin to the creator of our cosmos, who is to say that once he gets the whole of his book working regularly on one's posterior regions he forgets to remove it.

Abner Teetfallow, the title character,

is a hill-billy raised in the poorhouse, and "with a brain unspooled by book larin', a judge for a granddaddy, and a crazy woman for a mammy." With this auspicious ancestral heritage and environmental influence Abner is precipitated into a typical Tennessee milieu at the age of seventeen, and left to "sink or swim." That anyone could survive in this morass of moral whoremongers, religious fanatics, and uninspired ignoramus is more than one can imagine. Yet Abner, wholly in tune with his environment, does survive, and acts as a catalytic guide for the reader through this hot-bed of fervid fundamentalism. Meanwhile he experiences an adolescent sex affair, a whipping at the hands of the "white-caps," whom he himself had helped to organize, and a second love affair which results in his losing a recently acquired and long withheld fortune.

Bryanism Explained

If the people of Tennessee are "truthfully delineated in this volume, one need no longer wonder about the phenomenal success of Bryanism and other such contemporary humbug. In a land where the solitary school teacher aligns himself with a fanatical preacher to save the young lambs of the land from being taught that their grandfathers were not monkeys; in a land where the church deacon is also the county usurer, and charges two percent above the legal rate of interest on loans; in a land where the chief charity worker and Christian beacon light will go out of her way to inspire mob spirit, and then bound a "fallen" girl to the point of desperation; in a land where as a sequential reaction to a revival, Kluxism, fueled by the fiery fanaticism of frustrated old maids, and non-astiated married men and women runs riot, rides bootleggers and ladies

A Day with the Miners

(Continued from page 1)

dreds of defeats and win in the end was better shown by the demonstration that Sabbath calm than by roistering fust that spent itself in its own demonstration.

The folks crowded the halls to suffocation. The doors and windows were open so that those who could not get in might hear. They were told the story of the negotiations and the strike. When question time came there were none about "the betrayal," "the treachery," and so on. They were in the fight. They knew they had neither appreciation nor thanks for the critics within the gates. Hammersmith was like a sign in the heavens for them, and they knew how other Hammersmiths had been won, and how they were up against a political and an economic system which had to be changed, and they believed in politics more than ever.

I have found the same spirit in groups of men to whom I have spoken on a long journey I took partly by car and partly by train on my way to London from Scotland this week. They wanted information; they resented the victimization that was going on; they were sorry that the general strike did not bring back the miners to work; they discussed the future of their unions with apprehension; but they showed the same fine spirit of unity which they showed when they came out they were pondering over their experiences; they were looking more than ever to politics and the Parliamentary Party. I do not know if that is the experience of others, but that is certainly mine.

The women were particularly fine. They sat in their best gowns, many of them with infants in their arms, and when these little things showed left tendencies and interrupted they received kindly chastisement which, like the general strike, raised new issues. They shook hands, and gave such hearty shakes that the pains of rheumatism were as nothing to their greetings. I chaffed them, and told them what the Tories in the House were saying to their discredit. They

indulged in gorgeous visions of what they would do if these "bodies" would come within reach. And then a look of sadness changed their faces, for they knew better than anyone what all this means. But the miner's wife will be the last to give in.

Away up in the last of the villages, perched on a slope where the sides of the valley come together and the green mountain barrier rises from the end of the streets, the day's work ended. They are hill folk with their can dance and sing with little limbs and sweet voices. We sat down by their fireside, and they talked to us and gave us tea. They had hard times before the trouble. Inefficient management of their pit had made it one of the "uneconomical" ones, but it had been bought by an efficient combination. Capital had been put into it, new plant and buildings had appeared; there is a hard massive appearance in its new form. New seams have been tapped, and it stood this afternoon in the shadow of the hills like a strong man waiting the order to work.

In these places there are few—indeed there is no—signs of distress. It hides itself in the hearts of the people, and only comes out when the outer door is closed. They are careful folks like the best types of our own Scottish people. They put a spotless cloth on the table, and the most comely and cheery of young miners' wives gave us hospitality.

5,000 Pocketbook Makers On Eve of General Strike

On going to press we have learned that the International Pocketbook Workers' Union has made all arrangements for a general strike as the possibility of a settlement with the manufacturers are not very promising.

Conferences have been held for the last few weeks without any understanding being reached. The union originally made a number of demands some of which it had been willing to set aside in order to reach a settlement. The union, however, insisted upon a minimum program of eight points, which include demands for a general

increase in wages of 15 per cent with a similar increase in the minimum scale, the establishment of a minimum scale for helpers, a reduction in hours, unemployment insurance and several others of equal importance.

A statement issued by A. J. Shipplacoff, manager of the union, points out that the union has postponed the calling of a strike since May 1, when the old agreement expired, in order to continue conferences for the reaching of an agreement. The workers are now losing patience and insist upon a strike if the employers do not grant us these eight moderate minimum demands.

The Factory Whistle

The daisied down in the sky,
And the young day still dew and
dream,
When on the innocent morning air
There comes a terrifying scream.

And the four ends of the sad earth
Repeat the hellish dreadful call;
Soft ladies murmur in soft beds—
"The morning whistle—that is all!"

And I, too, turn to sleep once more,
A haunted sleep all filled with pain;
For in my sleep I see the men,
The victims of colossal gain.

Troop in the doors of servitude;
—I see the children weary-eyed,
I see the time-clock, and I see
The endless day that glooms inside.

It is the Moloch of the dawn.
Capital calling for its prey—
Men, women, and little boys and girls,
It's human sacrifice each day.

And, as I hear that dreadful scream,
High in the dawn all filled with song,
I pray within my heart—"O Lord!
O Lord! How long! How long!"
—Richard Le Gallienne.

Man makes his own history, but he does not make it out of the whole cloth; he does not make it out of conditions chosen by himself, but out of such as he finds at hand. The traditions of all past generations weigh like an Alp upon the brain of the living.—Marx.

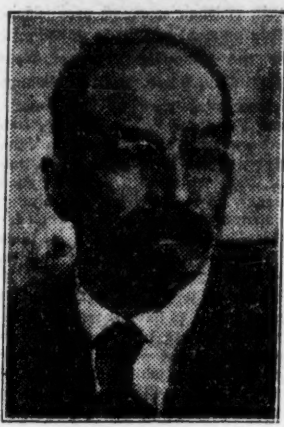
Russia's Hope

By Joseph T. Shipley

A MEMBER of the educational committee of Vienna was in this country recently, telling of the experiments in the schools of the Austrian republic. The work develops a great measure of self-activity; in the high schools that first tried the newer method, all the pupils, parents, and teachers form a unit with representatives on a central committee that determines the work of the class, within the general course for that year. After five years of the experiment, 95 per cent of those concerned voted to continue the method.

Scott Nearing went into Russia recently, to find, among other things, what he could of the educational system. One professor told him to "come back in fifteen or twenty years, and by that time we may have a school system. We have none today." But everywhere he found an intense interest in education; questions were showered upon him as to American methods; and the activities and tendencies recorded in the volume "Education in Soviet Russia." By Scott Nearing. N. Y. International Publishers. \$1.50. Indicate a more hopeful flourishing than in the decay of the system in the United States.

There are operating in Russia, in an experimentation on a nation-wide scale, some 33,000 schools with over 9,200,000 pupils, as well as 5,000 kindergartens with over 300,000 pre-



LUNARCHARSKY

Director of the Russian Government's Educational Activities

school children. The kindergartens, in addition, conduct classes in child care for the mothers who are not reached by other agencies of adult education.

Students Are Disciplinarians

The "Dalton plan" of experimental education has been largely discarded, as stressing too separately the development of the individual; in its place a more social form of activity is planned. In all other respects the schools of Russia—save for their great handicaps of poverty and initial ignorance—start much as many of the experimental schools of this country. The elementary department of the labor school provides what is called "social education." The children are taught by the bookless method, not learning at once to read and write with the artificial symbols of the alphabet, but drawing the objects around them. The class, for example, may decide—for the class decides—to study the village street. They must then find a way of securing paper and drawing materials (Scott Nearing does not tell whether the class goes to work until it earns enough to buy the necessary supplies). Then, on a great roll of paper, each member of the class draws an object that is part of the village street scene. Following a general class outline set by the committee, they then discuss the project of their next undertaking.

In the high schools the students have charge of discipline, and assist in administration and in arranging the curriculum. The school committee consists of the principal and representatives of the teachers, the janitors and the students. It is interesting to note the questions put by a group of student committeemen to Scott Nearing: "First, they wished to know how American students were organized and what kinds of activities were carried on by these student organizations; second, whether the Dalton plan was a success in the United States; third, whether there was any immediate prospect of the United States' recognizing the Soviet Republic; and fourth, what the chances were for the development of a radical tendency in the labor movement."

A Bright Spot

The interest of the teachers and pupils in their work, and especially its relation to their life, is very great. One project, for example, may be to make a sanitary survey of the school district. All work done is followed by a report of observations and accomplishments, the making of charts and diagrams being stressed from early years. In this way clearness of pres-

entation is developed, and the results of any work made of permanent value.

This picture is, of course, a general sketch of a great work that varies widely in efficiency and success; but it is all stirred by a vital interest and a faith that make Soviet education one of the most promising after-effects of the Revolution, one of the bright spots in the work of the world today.

No clearer statement of the difference between the proletarian and the bourgeois ideals in education can be given than the statement of the purposes of student organization made by the Educational Workers' Union of the Soviet Union:

"1. The bourgeoisie places before the school, as objectives, raising a citizen who is docile and little disposed to change the essential forms of the established order. This object determines the character of the work and the internal structure of the school. . . . In such a school the instructor plays the part of an absolute master over the class and over the students. A system of punishments and other devices are added—among them rewards—that are aimed to assist the instructor to reach the desired end. The children are at his mercy. He may double the tasks; he may send children from the class; in him the children see the enemy that must be fought. They struggle against his rules, violate them deliberately, form groups for this purpose. The teacher is the representative of state power, and in fighting against him the pupils are fighting against the orders of the state. Such a struggle unifies large groups of students, weakens the prestige of the authorities, interferes with the realization of the educational objective, arouses a spirit of discontent, intensifies the hostility.

"The introduction of student autonomy in such a school has for its object the elimination of the struggle between teachers and students, to raise the prestige of the teacher, to place upon the children themselves the duty of surveillance, the execution of the teacher's decisions, which is merely a means of subjugating the pupils to the teacher. . . .

"2. In countries where bourgeois democratic republics are solidly established—America, Switzerland—one frequently finds in the schools an autonomy of another type. All at once, or gradually, there is introduced into the school a constitution like that of the bourgeois democratic republic, with all its attributes: Elections, courts, even prisons (see, for example, the George Junior Republic in America). Pupils, particularly adolescents, enjoy a certain liberty of action under this constitution. Such student autonomy has for its object to raise citizens devoted to the bourgeois republic.

"3. The difference which exists between the objects that we propose for the school and those that the bourgeoisie state proposes, exercise a decisive influence on the form and the object of student autonomy.

"4. The object of our school is this: To raise a useful member of human society, joyous, vigorous and able to work, alive with social instincts, accustomed to organized activity, understanding his place in nature and in society, knowing how to relate himself to the march of events, a firm defender of the ideals of the working class, an able constructor of communist society. . . . In our schools self-government is not a means of governing the students more readily, neither is it a practical method for studying the workings of the constitution. It is a means by which the pupils may learn to live and work intelligently. . . ."

Small Town Ambitions

By Madelin Leof

SARAH GERTRUDE MILLIN wrote a forceful treatise in "God's Stepchildren." She writes a vivid character study in "Mary Glenn." (Mary Glenn, By Sarah G. Millin. N. Y.: Boni and Liveright.) In neither volume has she given a sufficient slice of life with all its nuances and fine shades to give her a place among the great novelists of the day. In "Mary Glenn," Mrs. Millin's story is woven about a beautiful, ambitious girl, the daughter of poor store keepers in Lebanon, a very unimportant town in South Africa. Physical attributes Mary has, but her ambition is for social success and recognition. To this end she will go almost any length—sacrificing the man who loves her, giving herself to an inconsequential man because he comes of good English family, and developing in herself an unnatural hardness which brings her defeat and sorrow.

Mrs. Millin seems again to have chosen the petty ambitions and struggles of a small town, pitiful in their smallness in relation to the big world outdoors, and yet just as heartrending for the persons who feel them. Mary Glenn could have been the wife of the most successful business man in the town, but she found herself the wife of an unsuccessful British clerk, forced to live by the help of the man who was formerly in love with her, her only remaining joy in life a beautiful boy whom she loves when he is ten years of age.

The boy is shot by mistake while on a hunting trip with his father. The poignant tragedy of Elliot Glenn.

Mary's ineffectual husband, when he finally tells her how he accidentally killed their child, makes Mary lose much of her acquired hardness.

Mrs. Millin writes clearly, concisely, with no minding words. If anything, her story is too bare of any semblance of colorful detail. She gives the cold facts, and draws her conclusions from these facts. The colors of the picture are left entirely to the reader. That Mrs. Millin can write forcefully and clearly is evident in "Mary Glenn," which is at all times interesting, but that she is a great artist, we are unwilling to concede, because her thesis novels lack that very warmth which made of Mary an unfeeling person and not a lovable one.

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SESQUICENTENNIAL DEBATE
GEO. HIRAM MANN
National Security League
JAY LOVESTONE
Workers Party

Resolved: That the present form of government is not in the interests of the American masses.
Central Opera House
67th St. and 3rd Ave.
Friday, July 16, 8 P. M.
ADMISSION 5c.
Auspices of THE WORKERS SCHOOL.
Tickets on sale at The Workers School,
168 W. 14th St., City.

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

Going, Going, Gone

TELL you, folks, this government of the people by the people, etc., is getting to be something fierce. Take that Pennsylvania election, for instance, when dry Pepper, bone dry Pinchot and wet Vare contested for the high honor of becoming U. S. Senators. According to all reports, Pepper spent a couple of million bucks. Vare spent nearly as much, while Pinchot, who came in at the tail end on account of his predilection for honesty, frugality and purity, blew in nearly two hundred thousand.

Frederick Beutel, the chairman of Pinchot's speakers and meetings committee, told the honorable Senators who are investigating the Pennsylvania election that the Vare and Pepper headquarters in Pittsburgh was besieged for days after the primary by long lines of watchers and ward workers demanding pay for their service.

The scene resembled nothing so much as a run on a bank, he declared, and there was considerable merriment when he described how paymasters and workers in the Vare headquarters tumbled out in the street when a tear gas bomb placed in a bag of money by a bank exploded when said bag was carelessly opened by one of Vare's paymasters. The bomb was placed in the sack as a protection against robbers who, it was feared, might swipe the Vare payroll and thus deprive honest patriots of their hard-earned boodle. And, say, don't it beat all how careful the banks are getting nowadays in their endeavor to reward only the right kind of robbers?

But let Brother Beutel continue his tale of woe:

At times the confusion about the Vare headquarters, which were next door to his own office, became almost riotous, Beutel said, because the system of paying was not nearly so methodical, although the payments apparently were larger than those at the Pepper-Fisher headquarters. During the day following the primary the workers were formed six abreast before the door and the line extended for a full city block, Beutel said.

Vare paymasters were struggling with similar crowds at two other headquarters in the city at the same time, Beutel continued, and, according to the testimony offered yesterday by Vare leaders, the payments continued for nearly a week.

At this point of the ceremony, Senator Reed basted in with the question: "How can money be used to sway an election—how is it used in Pittsburgh?"

"In Pittsburgh," answered Beutel, "anybody who spends enough can swing an election. During this campaign many people came to us offering to work for our ticket, but when they found there was no money available, they quickly left. There was talk all over town of the price for carrying certain wards."

"Then the system is to get the ward leaders first, is that it?" asked Senator Reed.

"Yes."

"There are leaders who are out for the coin and will swing their wards to the highest bidder?" continued Senator Reed.

"Yes, that is the general understanding," said Beutel.

"Am I right," asked Senator Reed, "in saying that it is hopeless for a man to seek office in Pittsburgh unless he has a lot of money and is willing to spend it?"

"Perhaps it is not altogether hopeless," answered Beutel, "but the balance of power can be bought."

"Was the last primary bought?" asked Reed.

"I am absolutely convinced that it was," answered Beutel. "In fact there were enough paid workers in the Pepper-Fisher and Vare organizations to swing the election to any one of the candidates. I estimate that not less than 20,000 persons were on their pay rolls. It has been testified by a Pepper-Fisher manager that his organization in Pittsburgh had 17,000 on its pay roll alone. I saw at least 10,000 people paid at the two headquarters. Many at the Vare headquarters received money in handfuls. Pepper seemed to have the most money, however, at least he paid in \$10 bills, while Vare paid in \$5 bills."

"One candidate could buy an election by buying the ward leaders and employing ward workers and watchers, is that it?" asked Senator Reed.

"Why I think that even the organization leaders would admit that," answered Beutel.

Why, certainly, this is the way the game is played, not only in Pittsburgh in Pennsylvania, but in virtually every strategic political point and balliwick. Of course, accidents will happen in the best regulated campaigns and so it comes about that once in ever so many "coons' ages" a poor but honest man actually slips into the American house of Lords.

Neither did the abolition of nominating conventions and the substitution of the direct election of senators improve matters. The only change was to increase the expenditures of cash, for it is obvious that it is cheaper to buy a convention than to buy a whole state!

For my part, I am in favor of abolishing all elections and set up in their place public auction sales in which the plums go to the highest bidder. Why all this fuss and bother of campaigns when the whole business could be settled by one man, and that an auctioneer? "Gentlemen," cries this functionary from the steps of the State Capitol, "I am offered two million dollars for a ten thousand dollar a year Senator job. It breaks my heart to see this honor go for such a measly sum. Make

A Conference of the League of Nations



Peace: "Verily, Verily, I Say Unto You One of You Shall Betray Me"

Democracy and Socialism

THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

BERNSTEIN relies on the method of democracy rather than on proletarian dictatorship for the attainment of Socialism. Among the democratic forces in the community he gives a prominent place to the trade unions. They tend to destroy "the absolutism of capital and to procure for the worker a direct influence in the management of industry. . . . There are socialists in whose eyes the union is only an object lesson to prove the uselessness of any other than political revolutionary action. As a matter of fact, the union today—and in the near future—has very important social tasks to fulfill for the trades, which, however, do not demand, nor are even consistent with, its omnipotence in any way."

To Sidney and Beatrice Webb and other English writers he gives the credit of being forcibly before the world the fact that the trade unions are indispensable organs of democracy and not merely passing coalitions. That does not mean that the trade union should be the controlling monopolist of industry under the democracy. The trade union, "as mistress of a whole branch of production, the ideal of various older Social-

ists, would be only a monopolistic productive association, and as soon as it relied upon its monopoly or worked upon it it would be antagonistic to Socialism and democracy, let its inner constitution be what it may."

Universal Suffrage and Democracy

Bernstein defines democracy as an absence of class government, though it does not yet involve the absolute suppression of classes. "The right to vote in a democracy makes its members virtually partners in the community, and their virtual partnership must in the end lead to real partnership. With a working class undeveloped in numbers and culture the general right to vote may long appear as the right to choose the 'butcher.' With the growing number and knowledge of the workers, it changed, however, to the implement by which to transform the representatives of the people from masters into real servants of the people."

"Universal suffrage in Germany could serve Bismarck temporarily as a tool [continues Bernstein], but finally it compelled Bismarck to serve it as a tool. . . . In 1878 it could bring Bismarck into a position to forge the weapon of Socialistic law,

but through it this weapon became blunt and broken, until by the help of it Bismarck was finally beaten."

. . . Universal franchise is, from two sides, the alternative to a violent revolution. But universal suffrage is only a part of democracy, although a part which in time must draw the other parts after it as the magnet attracts to itself the scattered portions of iron. It certainly proceeds more slowly than many would wish, but in spite of that it is at work. And social democracy cannot further this work better than by taking its stand unreservedly on the theory of democracy."

Dictatorship Antiquated

Bernstein asserts that social democracy in Germany has always in practice taken such a stand. However, many of Socialist theorists have adopted phrases used by Socialists in the days when political privilege ruled throughout Europe, and have treated them as though the progress of the movement depended on these phrases rather than on an understanding of what can and should be done. "Is there any sense, for example, in maintaining the phrase of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' at a time when in all possible places representa-

tives of social democracy have placed themselves practically in the arena of Parliamentary work, have declared for the proportional representation of people and for direct legislation—all of which is inconsistent with a dictatorship?"

"The phrase is today so antiquated that it is only to be reconciled with reality by stripping the word dictatorship of its actual meaning and attaching it to some kind of weakened interpretation. The whole practical activity of social democracy is directed toward creating circumstances and conditions which shall render possible and secure a transition (free from convulsive outbursts) of the modern social order into a higher one."

The dictatorship of the classes belongs to a lower civilization, and apart from the question of the expediency and practicability of the thing, it is only to be looked upon as a reversion, as political atavism. If the thought is aroused that the transition is to take place by means of agencies utilized in an age which knew little or nothing of the present methods of passing and enforcing laws a reaction is sure to take place."

(To Be Continued Next Week)

GOVERNOR MINTURN A Labor Novel of the Northwest

By M. H. HEDGES

3.
(Continued From Last Week)
"TAKE this house business," he thought. "Ever since that time I gave in on the Hawthorne place, we have never agreed on the subject." This is what had happened. . . .

They came home from Chicago, vibrant with happiness. In the hotel at Mackinac, and in the days spent at the Drake, they had won something more than a harmony of limbs and lips; they had grown into a comradeship—a league of youth, cemented by the joy of discovering like tastes. To their heightened senses, Chicago had been like some romantic, foreign city, where men like daffies existed only as a background against which to project their passion. They had been alone amid luxury, color and the stir of life. They had shopped extravagantly at Field's; they had seen the "Follies" at the Olympic, and Warfield at the Blackstone. They had explored the new Latin quarter above the Rush Street Bridge and had drunk

it two million one hundred thousand."

"Good, the honorable gentleman hanging to yonder lamppost offered two million one hundred thousand. Two million one hundred thousand once, twice—ah, the gentleman sitting on the cracker box is offering two million five hundred thousand. What's that—three million?—bully for Admiral Newberry—the gentleman offers three million and cheap at that, cheap as dirt. Who will make it four million? Make it four million, gentlemen. Think of the honor you are bestowing upon yourself and family. Think of the unborn descendants who will go thundering down the corridor of time as the sons and daughters of Senator Whatawad, the patriot who paid four million dollars for a seat in the Senate of this glorious democracy. Only four million—how can you hesitate—four million for a niche in the American hall of fame—four millions for a

tea out of cracked tea cups at one of the tiny tea rooms along upper Michigan avenue, kept by the widow of a famous poet. They had visited private art collections, and had purchased several pictures, expensive ones. Twice Agatha had telegraphed home for money.

Dan had lost his reason, it had seemed. It had been an orgy for him of pent-up instincts and desires. He had not cared for expense. He found himself wanting, wanting. His soul had seemed big enough to embrace all the beautiful things in the world. How crazy he and Agatha had been for each other. They had had frequent trips to their room during the day, ostensibly to rest, in truth, to be alone together. Poetry had lain about them everywhere.

On their last night at the Drake, they had lain awake looking first out over the lake, with its soft, enfolding mystery, and then out over the Drive, with its clinking, whirling traffic, and something of the greater mystery of the crowd had stolen into their room and sobered them. They had talked

seat made sacred by the imprints of Daniel Webster, Mark Hanna and—

"Four million. Hurry up, gentlemen, make it five. The ladies of the Bethel Baptist Aid Society will serve a four-bit chicken dinner at the close of the sale. Don't let the ladies wait."

"Five millions. Thanks. Make it six. Make it six. Who will offer six? Do I hear six? No. Well, then, five and a half—thank you, Mr. Gotrox. Thought you were too wise to let a bargain like that slip by you. Five and a half—five and a half—do I hear another bid? Five and a half, going—gone. Here, boy, take this toga to the 'We live to dye and dye to live' cleaning and dyeing emporium and have bundles and bills delivered to the residence of Senator Gotrox."

Government of the people by the people, etc.—Oh, rats!!

Adam Coaldigger.

passionately, then, about life, and the perplexity of inequality, about the rich and poor.

"Here, far away from the city; here by the yellow dunes, I will lie and soothe my heart where the sea croons."

For what can I do with strife, or what can I do with hate?

Or the city, or life, or love, or fate? So Dan had read to her from a book he had purchased by a new Chicago poet.

"Or the struggle since time began of the rich and poor? Or the law that drives the weak from the temple's door? Bury me under the sand so that my sorrow shall lie hidden under the dunes from the world's eye."

"It's so beautiful, it hurts," Agatha had said. She threw her bare arms impulsively round his neck. "I want to be good to you, Dan. I want to be good to you."

He had read to the end.

"I have learned the secret of silence, silence long and deep; The dead knew all that I know, that is why they sleep. They could do nothing with fate, or love, or fame, or strife. When life fills full the soul, then kills life."

I would glide under the earth as a shadow over a dune. Into the soul of silence, under the sun and moon. And forever as long as the world stands or the stars lie.

Be one with the sounds of the shore, and one with the sea. Long after Agatha had fallen asleep, he had lain there thinking about his mother and what he would do when he had returned to Minneapolis. Somehow excitement had flown; the orgy had spent itself. . . .

So they came home to Matt Gaylard's house on Pillsbury, or, rather to Susie McEwen's house. Senator Gaylard's wife, Susie McEwen, had been a music teacher in Rush City. When she married Gaylard, then a Representative from Chicago county, and came to the metropolis to live, she refused to employ a decorator, or seek any advice about fitting up the shore home. She wanted to do it herself, she said, as a housewife should. She wanted none of these new-fangled indelities of the mod-

ern woman. She did it. The house never recovered. The tiger skin with the gaping jaws on the floor; the innumerable vases; the stiff, heavy furniture; the stiff, heavy oils, not one of them by a master—these things made the Gaylard house about Susie McEwen at one when one entered.

Agatha hated it, and Dan—but for different reasons. Agatha longed to have her own house to play with, and Dan wanted to escape into a sphere of independence.

Dan went house-hunting without confiding in his wife. Diverging sharply off a busy retail street, he found a neighborhood of lost gentility. Old, imposing houses, many of them now turned into apartments, lined a shady, genteel street. Dan found a good-looking house with a reasonable rent, with the added advantage of being within walking distance from the newly-opened law office.

Agatha finally consented to go and inspect it with him.

"Just to humor you, you monkey."

So it was that one summer afternoon they drove up before the house chosen by Dan. He was at the wheel and waited for her to get out before him. She did not move. Her full lips had set in a determined line; her eyes glowed angrily, and her hands were clenched in her lap.

"Well," he asked. "Must I crawl over you?"

"Is this the place?" Her voice quavered. "Someone already lives here."

"Yes; but they are going to move," he explained lightly, ignoring her evident distress. "Why, come to think of it, Agatha, their name is Morreson, too."

She winced.

"Yes, that is odd," she answered with unnecessary bitterness. "There are only a dozen Morresons in the city directory."

But she had not moved. When he had climbed over her playfully, she had suddenly slipped behind the wheel and driven off, leaving him alone and perplexed in the quiet street. Two blocks away she drew up to the curb and waited.

"You have a damn funny way of being funny," he had told her, on retaking the machine. Then he had seen her face tear-swept, suffering.

(To be continued)

Thoughts on Immortality

WE ARE about to have thoughts on moral behavior; so hold your complexes, boys and girls, and let's go.

The crux of the moral problem is the same old crux as that of the social problem and the transit problem, and the economic problem, namely, unequal distribution. If morals, or the lack of them, were spread around a bit more, this would be a better world. Here's what I mean. Jim Scroggs is a high-minded, well-meaning young man with a social conscience and an Adam's apple. He devotes what spare time the bank gives him to reading improving though radical literature on economics, history and philosophy; is in bed as a rule by ten (except for Saturday nights, when he sits up until quite a late hour playing parcheesi with his aunt); and he does not smoke, drink or chew, use words that appear in stories in *The New Masses*, play the ukulele, dance the Charleston or neck. In short, Jim Scroggs is a credit to the Socialist Party, a hard-working Higgins, honored by all who know him and the godawfullest bore in Christendom, or Zionism either for that matter. His appearance will empty a room quicker than a fire. When he button-holes you and begins kneading your arm to find out how strong you are, when he slaps you on the chest and says, "Comrade, you ought to come up to the gym with me some afternoon and play a little hand-ball, you are getting as flabby as a bourgeois," then you can understand what fun it must have been for the Romans to have watched the early Christians entering the arena. Scroggs happens to be a Socialist because that is just one other way of making things over. He is also a vegetarian, a New Thoughter and an earnest bicycle rider. He loves gruesome performances such as getting up hours before any decent folk are about, breathing deeply before open windows, practicing with other dumbbells, sitting down to a hearty meal of a handful of oats, some lettuce and a toasted nut and reading one of Haldeman-Julius's blue books on the subway on his way to work.

Now this would be all right with me, if Scroggs didn't insist that I, too, indulge in all these unnatural practices. Myself, I usually have to be threatened with manslaughter before I arise in the mornings. I love thick greasy foods made from the flesh of dead animals and despise most vegetables; as I have no hankering to be a strong man in vaudeville I cannot see the advantages of breathing deeply or pushing dumbbells about. And I like Scotch whiskey, Fatima cigarettes, and have spent hours trying to learn the Charleston. Were it not for the Scroggs of the world my personal habits would be of interest to none save myself and immediate family, except, of course, when the attention of the police is attracted to them.

But in the myopic eyes of Scroggs I am a brand to be plucked from the burning, not mind you, because Scroggs believes in the "old-fashioned moralities," no indeed, but simply and purely because Scroggs believes that every man owes it to himself and the cause to be "fit."

When I ask Scroggs, "Fit for what?" he becomes a bit vague and makes muttered references to "the Revolution." I confess I don't exactly see what good it will do the Revolution to have me all bulging with odd-looking biceps. A sixteen year old militiaman on the right side of a machine gun could shoot me just as easily if I had had Shredded Wheat for breakfast as if I had partaken of my customary bacon and eggs. And it will take a lot speedier vehicle than a bicycle to get Scroggs out of the range of a bomb-dropping aeroplane.

But let's be fair about this. There is no question in my mind and apparently none in the minds of my loving friends, that I could swap a lot of my moral behaviors with Scroggs and greatly benefit by the act. Whether Scroggs could take on any of mine to his betterment is still open to debate, but I have a sort of hunch that a couple of drinks now and then might not harm Scroggs any. Again, it wouldn't hurt him a bit to read Scott Fitzgerald or Sinclair Lewis or any of the other young writers who are spreading the American scene before us. Even *The Saturday Evening Post* might give Scroggs a better idea of what men and women in 1926 are like, than Spengler's "Decline of the West" or "Trends Sociological, Anthropological and Teleological," by Herr Professor Hinunterbahnwagen of Munich. In short, I would be willing to make this bargain with Scroggs. If, once in awhile, he will read something in a newspaper besides the book reviews, if he will go to at least two professional baseball games a season, one big football game, six or seven saloons, travel each month at least fifty miles beyond Fourteenth Street, New York, and take in a couple of musical comedies, I, in turn, will agree to read straight through "Kapital," attend lectures by Thorstein Veblen, ride a bicycle occasionally, and talk about my sub-conscious to old ladies with suppressed desires. That's fair, isn't it?

Of course, there's no danger of this ever happening. Scroggs would immediately point out that while his moral behavior was impeccable, mine was unspeakable. But what I want to know is, how does Scroggs know that?

I have discovered my Mission at any rate. While it may be a life-long job, I am going into this matter of the more equitable distribution of morals with a vim. Any morals to swap?

McAlister Coleman.

Capmakers to Strike; Amalgamated Preparing; Needle Trades in Ferment

The Field of Labor

THE needle trades now take the central position of interest in the labor movement of New York city—and, for that matter, in the country. The summer season, about to begin, brings its inevitable clash between employers and employees. It is the irony of fate that those very unions which have been the stronghold of Socialism and have had a reputation for an intelligent rank and file have been confronted with an industrial situation that contradicts dogmatic Marxian theory and calls for a solution which the officials have had the hardest time in making clear to the members and in exciting their emotions and imagination.

According to all rules of prophecy the clothing industry should have developed larger and larger units of production with an ever-increasing concentration of capital. This has not been true in the wearing apparel trades. There the small amount of capital required to set up in business and the presence of short busy seasons due to demands of weather and style have thrown theory header-skelter. The small shop has been characteristic, and the very control of militant unions has only increased the tendency. The result has been twofold: (1) the development of the business enterprise, which markets the goods and has the actual labor performed in contract shops, and (2) the working of the employer and his friends and relatives themselves. The business of the unions has been to control the contractors and eliminate the self-employed. In recent years the realization has grown that the irresponsible jobber, as he is known in the ladies' garment industry, is the key to the situation. The report of the Governor's Commission recognized this evil.

At the present time in New York city the cloak and suit workers have gone out on strike, the hat and cap union officials have been authorized to call a strike, when they deem it most expedient, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers is planning a series of demands for the men's clothing industry which will involve stricter control over the registration of contractors. The tragedy of the situation is that the workers cannot respond with great warmth to solid analyses of the evils of their industry. It is not a subject for cheering, hat throwing and applause. One must listen and contemplate. Talk to them of "sweat shops" and they burst into a pandemonium of appreciation. The strike of the garment workers and, to a less extent, that of the hat and cap makers will be educational. It will bring to the fore the necessity for control of the slippery jobbers, and for a guaranteed period of employment. These are industrial problems of a larger nature. Mere wages and hours are not involved, although the forty-hour week is bound to be a big talking point. It is a natural consequence of the tradition of the needle trades that the workers have a concern in the

industry and that if they do not take steps themselves to eradicate the roots of the evils that oppress them, then their employers will not be moved by profit considerations to do so themselves. The needle trades workers deserve and have our support. We wish them a mighty victory.

WATCH THE MOTORMEN AND CONDUCTORS!

The Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America are forcing themselves continuously upon our attention. First it is New York city, then Philadelphia, and now Indianapolis. The motormen and conductors are especially afflicted with the company union evil, but they are making inroads here and there. In New York city the subway company's union made a slight demand for increased wages, and at the last moment, June 30, decided to behave. The union men, especially among the motormen, are biding their time. In New Jersey organization work is making fair progress. In Philadelphia the Mitten interests, with their "collective bargaining and co-operative welfare" plan, are being exposed. In Indianapolis the union has been stumped by an injunction preventing a strike, under penalty of contempt of court. The union has replied by bringing suit against the city's officials, including its chief of police, for \$220,000 damages for false arrest of its organizers. One judge has already issued a temporary restraining order against the persons accused by the Amalgamated Association. The union is doing excellent work under most difficult circumstances.

THE OFFICE-WORKERS' WEEK-END

The Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union of New York city announces that it has added to its program of establishing the check-off the additional demand of establishing the five-day week during the summer months for office workers. This is a wise and practical move. The closing of offices on Saturday during the hot months is becoming increasingly more prevalent. It is the kind of demand that will make an appeal to "white collar" workers. It is within the limits of accomplishment, especially in those shops that the union already controls. Organization work is quietly and steadily proceeding. The local union officials are being enlisted in approaching office workers in families of union men and women. The five-day week should go a long way in arousing interest in the bookkeepers' union.

L. S.

It is a well-provisioned ship, this on which we sail through space. If the bread and beef above decks seem to grow scarce, we but open a hatch and there is a new supply of which before we never dreamed. And very great command over the services of others comes to those who, as the hatches are opened, are permitted to say, "This is mine!"—Henry George.

Can you tell me, stranger, where the law or the reason is to be found which says that one man shall have a section, or a town, or perhaps a country to his use, and another have to beg for earth to make his grave in? This is not nature, and I deny that it is social law. That it is legal law I grant, but nothing more.—Fennimore Cooper.

The Story of the Painters Union

The New York Painters (1914-26)

By Louis Silverstein

WHAT HAS COME BEFORE

On the wave of the enthusiasm for national craft unions, the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers was founded at Baltimore in 1887. Its leader was John T. Elliott, formerly of New York. A feud soon broke out between Elliott and his successor, J. W. McKinney, with headquarters at Lafayette, Indiana. It was not until Elliott had retired on account of ill health that the two factions could unite in 1901. The Brotherhood now set out to bring into its ranks the independent painters' unions that had sprung up in various parts of the country. The strongest of these, the Amalgamated Association of Paint-

ers and Paperhangers of New York, later known as the National Alliance, capitulated in 1908.

No sooner had this been accomplished than another problem arose in the New York market. The immigrant painters, neglected by the Brotherhood, were forced to undertake the undesirable alteration work on all buildings. Being class-conscious, they organized a union of their own, until, as the International Painters and Paperhangers, they exceeded the Brotherhood unions in their number of members. In November, 1914, they were admitted to the A. F. of L. organization. They entered the Brotherhood locals as individuals and took control of several of them through numerical predominance.

When the International Painters and Decorators consolidated with the Brotherhood in 1914 the now united New York painters bent their efforts to complete the formal unification.

The International Painters, controlling the alteration jobs, had been working at \$3.25 per day, while the Brotherhood Painters had been enjoying a \$4 wage. The problem, then, was to raise the level of pay of the newcomers to that of the old Brotherhood members. A campaign of education was undertaken. The alteration painters began to demand the four dollar wage. In the case of some shops they were successful by merely voicing their demands emphatically, in others, strikes were necessary. It was not until the spring of 1916 that the settlement was strong enough to warrant a united drive. On the first of May of that year a general strike order was issued. The response was magnificent. Organization work among the non-unionists was aided by lowering the initiation fee from twenty-five dollars to almost ten and granting amnesty to those who had fallen out of membership on account of fines imposed. It was the usual union procedure in the case of an organization campaign.

Within a month the employers had been brought to terms. On June 1, 1916, an agreement with the Association of Master Painters and Decorators of the City and County of New York was signed. It was important enough that an increase in wages of one dollar a day, making the minimum five dollars, was obtained. It was more significant, however, that the association signed an agreement at all. Its thirty odd employers controlled twenty to twenty-five per cent of the new construction work in the city. It was a powerful organization and for the dozen years preceding this strike, since the days when it broke the back of the Amalgamated Painters, it had refused to sign any formal agreements with the union. Nevertheless its members all employed union men, about one-half of them even observing the "closed shop." The association, however, as a body never recognized the Brotherhood. The general strike of 1916 compelled them to do so. It was a great victory for the union, imbued with the militancy that the new members had introduced. The independent employers, of course, submitted to the union's terms with little resistance.

Employers Break Pact
Negotiations followed thereafter. On May 31, 1917, the old rate of \$5 was continued for a year; then, from June 1, 1918, to December 31, 1918, it was increased to \$5.50. During the months approaching the busy spring season negotiations dragged along in the accustomed manner until a new agree-

ment went into effect on April 1, 1919, which established the \$6 per day rate for the remainder of the year.

The summer was well under way when suddenly hostilities broke forth again. The cause was the unwarranted discharge of several union painters by the Bernard Brindze Company, engaged in work on a church being constructed at Seventy-second street and Broadway. The union appealed to the Joint Trade Board, which had been established by the 1916 agreement. This was a body consisting of equal number of representatives of the association and District Council No. 9 of the Brotherhood. The Trade Board upheld the union's contentions, but the Brindze Company refused to comply with the decision. The association brought no pressure to bear upon its recalcitrant members to live up to the rules of the agreements. Consequently, the union issued an ultimatum giving the Brindze Company twenty-four hours in which to come to terms.

The association replied by declaring a lockout on August 13, 1919. The union had been intending to ask for increases at the expiration of the agreement, but when this opportunity arose it responded by declaring a general strike, demanding a two dollar jump in day wages. With the approach of the September-October painting season (blessed be moving day!) the association had to surrender. The agreement of October 16, 1919, made the members of this proud organization bite the dust. They received terms hardly any better than the weaker independent "bosses." The wage rate became \$8 per day and the number of days of work per week five. There was even declared, for the first and only time in the relationship of the Association with District Council No. 9, that "a sympathetic strike shall not be considered a violation of this agreement." Previously only the independent employers had this clause in their agreements. This 1919 strike went down in history as the "40-40" strike, for the men had demanded and won forty-hours per week of work and forty dollars in wages.

Brindell On the Scene

Helped by the war boom, the union, along with all others in the building trades, was able to gain another dollar increase in wages on May 1, 1920, making the day rate \$9. And thereby hangs a tale. Robert P. Brindell, czar of the building trades, enters upon the scene. He had organized the New York Building Trades Council, with himself as president. Contrary to the rules of the Building Trades Department, of the American Federation of Labor, but with their tacit consent, he had set up a set of laws to maintain himself in power. He had declared that delegates to the council might be none other than business agents, that their unions would have to guarantee their term of office for three years, and that their salaries would have to be seventy-five dollars. The unions of District Council No. 9, of the Painters, insisted that those who were not business agents were eligible to be delegates, that a term of one year of office

was legal and more democratic, and that they could fix any salary they pleased, which happened to be sixty dollars at the time. Brindell hoped to gather about him "walking delegates" responsible to no one but himself. It was when the workers in the building trades were becoming dangerously restless that Brindell called a conference with the Building Trades Employers' Association and arranged for "a voluntary increase" of one dollar per day.

At the same time important gains in working conditions and in control over non-union material and men were sacrificed. The rate of \$9 per day, however, was a balm to the rebellious workers. Brindell remained enthroned. The protests of the painters to the A. F. of L. authorities were in vain. Along with the plumbers and the plasterers they were expelled from Brindell's Building Trades Council. This severance of relations had a telling effect on subsequent events.

In August, 1920, District Council No. 9 presented demands to the employers for another increase of a dollar per day, making the minimum wage \$10. On September 2 the inevitable strike broke out. It was one of the most gruelling experiences in the history of the New York painters. Brindell organized a scab organization known as the Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers' Union, No. 1, and had it admitted to his council, despite the fact that it had not been chartered by the A. F. of L. Persons could join the new union upon payment of \$5. They, then, could receive wages of \$9 per day and work for forty-four hours a week. The Association backed up Brindell.

Industrial Slump Hits Union

Even these scabs, however, might have been ineffective in injuring the Brotherhood painters in their struggle, had not industrial conditions turned for the worse. Nobody had taken account of the impending depression. The years 1920-21 hit all labor unions very hard and prevented the painters from accomplishing their purposes. Their struggle became a defensive one to maintain the conditions which they were already enjoying.

They were helped somewhat by the exposure of Brindell by the New York Lockwood Legislative Investigation Committee. Subsequently the A. F. of L. repudiated the Building Trades Council and chartered a new one. To this very day, however, both bodies exist side by side. The painters, naturally, belong to the official Council. An attempt to break the strike by judicial action failed because an injunction was denied the association. In February negotiations were resumed. On March 22, 1921, just before the spring season was to get under way, a settlement was reached. The \$9 a day wage rate was continued, but in the case of the five-day week a concession had to be granted. Employers were permitted to require work Saturday forenoon in case of emergencies. This latter provision led to difficulties. The union insisted that "emergency" only referred to matters of life and health;

the employers that the term included sudden industrial necessities. The question taxed the capacity of the Joint Trade Board and finally was submitted to arbitration to State Supreme Court Justice Charles M. Hough. The judge's final decision leaned too much in the direction of the employers' contentions. The union found this unsatisfactory and started negotiations in December, 1922, for the abolition of the clause permitting work on Saturdays in case of emergency. An increase of wages to \$10 was also demanded.

Strike Call Is Issued

In view of the obstinacy of the employers, a general strike call was issued to take effect Monday morning, May 21, 1923. Directions had been issued to strikers to report at specified meeting halls for registration. All was in readiness. This solid front made the association realize the seriousness of the situation. At 2 o'clock in the morning, six hours before the strike was to take effect, an agreement was signed. The morning papers brought the news of the settlement to the anxious painters. The agreement was a complete victory for the union. A new feature was also introduced. For the first time a set of health rules were embodied in the agreement, based upon the famous Health Report prepared by the newly-founded Workers' Health Bureau. This document also gave conclusive testimony as to the urgent need for the five-day week for painters. Since 1923 the union has retained what it has won and gained wage increases through negotiations. On January 13, 1924, the day rate became \$10.50, on April 30, 1925, this was renewed and on March 8, 1926, the present wage of \$12 per day was established.

Much of the advance that District Council No. 9 has made has been due to the ceaseless efforts of its secretary, Philip Zausner. He entered the Brotherhood in 1914 as an active member of the International Painters and Paperhangers Union. He served as a special business agent for locals 1011 and 442 for several months; then in December, 1915, was elected business agent for one year. During the strike of 1916 he was an indefatigable member of the general strike committee. He, then, returned to the trade. On August 8, 1918, he was installed as secretary of District Council No. 9 after a special election held under the auspices of the Brotherhood. An election in June, 1918, had to be nullified on account of irregularities. Following the discouraging strike of 1921, he deemed it wise to retire from office until the heat of criticism and the spirit of factionalism had spent themselves. He was confident that his absence would serve the interests of the union best. For a year beginning July 1, 1921, while he returned to work at the trade, Thomas McMurray held the office of secretary. In July, 1922, Zausner was re-called to his old post. He has remained at it since.

Many Problems Still Ahead

The organized painters of New York city are faced with several serious problems at the present moment. The first is one of unifying the three district councils that have jurisdiction in Greater New York. The district councils, it will be recalled, are the executive authorities in their respective territories. Receiving a per capita tax of 25 cents per member per month, they finance the organization work and office expenses of the component locals. Each refuses to permit members of another district council to invade its territorial jurisdiction. Recently, District Council No. 9 (Manhattan, the Bronx, and Richmond), has agreed with District Council No. 29 (Queens and Richmond) to recognize each other's working cards and make a united effort to eliminate the use of non-union material and the employment of non-union men. At the Montreal convention of the Brotherhood last year No. 9 submitted a plan extending the same arrangements to District Council No. 29 (Brooklyn). Negotiations are now being conducted. The hitch has been in inducing the Brooklyn organization to agree, as the others are willing, to furnish a bond of fifteen hundred dollars to be forfeited for non-compliance with the agreement. In Brooklyn building is a highly speculative business and it has made the District Council there develop a catch-as-

catch-can policy that has resulted in a lack of uniformity and stability.

The second problem of the New York painters concerns the alteration painters. The building boom has led the union to concentrate its efforts on the desirable new construction jobs to the neglect of the repair work. On the other hand, due to the presence of so many new buildings, landlords have fallen into the practice of renovating old apartments thoroughly in order to induce new tenants to occupy them. This has made the alteration work important.

To meet this need an independent union known as the International Progressive Alteration Painters and Paperhangers Union was organized in the trade in 1924. It has been chartered by the State of New York since April 1, 1925. While originally it consisted of ex-Brotherhood men of the undesirable type, it is claimed that to-day this element hardly exists. This is, however, strongly denied by the District Council. Harry Riback is its president, James Roth its secretary. It has one office in Manhattan and another in Brooklyn, but its activities are highly centralized. It claims a membership today of about 1,500 in good standing, the largest racial groups among them being Jews and Germans. It makes agreements with employers, establishing a rate of \$10.50 for inside painters and \$12 per day for outside work, a work week of five days with work optional on Saturdays, and the prohibition of the discharge of a worker during the continuance of a job after one day of trial. It claims that its agreements meet the realities of the situation.

The existence of the International Progressive Alteration Painters is a symptom. The Brotherhood unions have refused to recognize its legitimacy. Instead, District Council No. 9 is laying plans of its own to organize the alteration and maintenance painters. It proposes to call a one-day stoppage in the latter part of August or early in September of this year to register all its members and their places of employment. The scheme is to follow this up by organizing non-union shops and jobs in a systematic manner. In order to facilitate matters the Organizing Committee is to have power of accepting new-comers who agree to pay their initiation fee of \$75 in weekly installments instead of in a lump sum as at present. The independent union on its own account also announces an organization campaign. This means a duplication of effort and a source of friction. Perhaps it will be possible to work out some plan of harmony.

Finally, the most serious question confronting the painters is the rushing system, the practice of employers of demanding from their employees greater and greater quantities of production. Particularly is this true on new buildings, where speculation is apt to be the motive for building rather than permanent investment. This evil cannot be eradicated while the employer has the right to hire and fire, for while the worker is in constant dread of being discharged any day—it is provided that this must occur before fifteen minutes of quitting time—he has no alternative than to keep up with the pace set by those workers who are given a "bonus" for speeding up. The result very often is either inhuman rushing or the secret acceptance of a lower than the minimum rate per day. The other building trades, however, still look upon the limitation of the right to fire as "Bolshevistic" and the painters cannot hope to wage the battle alone and win.



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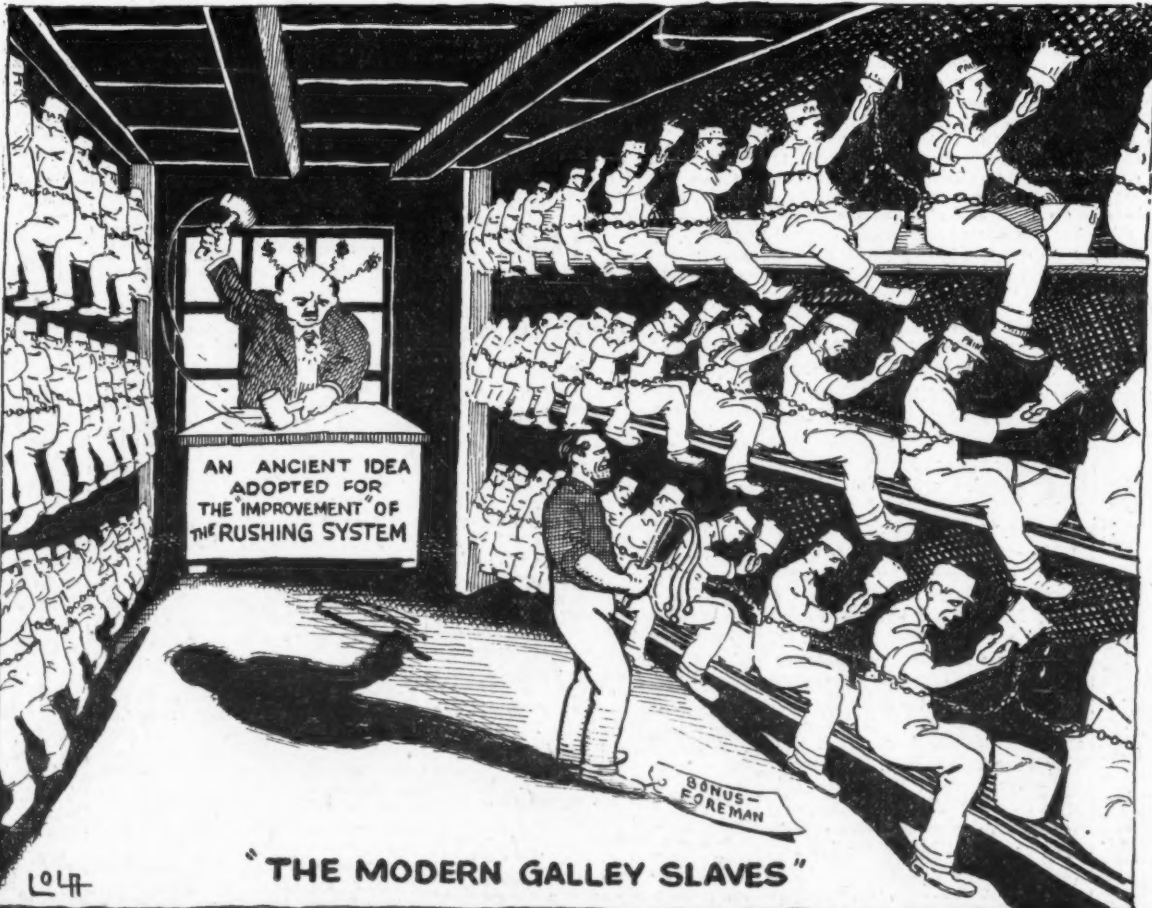
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An evil of the painting industry, the rushing system, satirized by an artist-member of the Brotherhood. (After the gallery scene in "Ben-Hur"). See text.

The New Leader Mail Bag

Editor The New Leader:

In your issue of June 19 you have an article on Brookwood which is in many ways excellent. For what it says in commendation of Brookwood's achievements and aims we are duly grateful. There is, however, one aspect of the article which seems to me exceedingly unfortunate. I am not now referring to the attempt of its author to interpret certain trends in the workers' education movement. Everyone is entitled to speculate on that subject as he chooses. A discussion of it would not be in place in a brief communication, as this must be. I am referring rather to what amounts to a misrepresentation of fact. (In using this last phrase I do not, of course, mean to imply deliberate and insincere twisting of facts.)

Differences Are Denied

The impression is given by certain portions of the article that there is a pitched battle on between Brookwood and the Workers' Education Bureau. In the first place, reference is made to a resolution passed at the Annual Conference of Teachers in Workers' Education, which met at Brookwood in February. The resolution, as your article correctly suggests, placed the individuals in attendance on that conference on record as opposed to having workers' educational enterprises accept contributions from foundations or organizations hostile to the fundamental aims of organized labor. The article then states that the resolution "was aimed at the W. E. B." I cannot profess to read the mind of every individual at the conference, of course, but I can state emphatically that neither the persons who conceived the idea of introducing the resolution nor the resolution at the W. E. B. They were not interested in an "attack" on the W. E. B. They were interested in discussing and placing themselves on record with regard to a problem that has confronted every workers' educational enterprise in some form or other. They were moved in arriving at their decision by considerations similar to those which move the New York State Federation of Labor, e. g., in placing on its educational program a demand for the revocation of the charters of certain educational foundations such as the Carnegie and the Rockefeller. Now, while there is, or was, some difference of opinion apparently as to the advisability of workers' educational enterprises accepting funds from these sources, to give the impression that the deliberate aim and animus was an attack on the W. E. B. is to serve the ends neither of truth nor of justice nor of progress in workers' education. Where Brookwood stands on the problem under discussion has been made abundantly clear, but it would be a great gain for that cause if there could be no talk of a pitched battle on between Brookwood and the Workers' Education Bureau. The Teachers' Conference above referred to does not represent or speak for Brookwood officially in any sense. Brookwood serves as its annual host.

It is important also to bear in mind that while there may be differences on many points in the officially recognized workers' education movement in the United States these differences exist within the W. E. B., the W. E. B. tolerates them. This tolerance is provided for by its constitution, which requires that control of affiliated organizations must be in the hands of representatives of A. F. of L. trade unions, but for the rest grants complete local autonomy to such affiliated organizations. I have heard no complaint that any attempt has been made to interfere with such autonomy.

Labor's Educational Department
The point just made is of importance in connection with the insinuation as to control of policy implied in the statement in your article that the W. E. B. has "practically become the

Educational Department of the A. F. of L." and in that same connection it seems to me of some importance to make another point. As I have already stated, insofar as the author is seeking to provide interpretation of trends I have no present disposition to argue with him. As a matter of fact, however, the W. E. B. has an executive committee of eleven members; of these three are designated by the executive council of the A. F. of L., three are elected by the representatives of international unions affiliated with the bureau at the biennial conventions thereof, two are similarly elected by representatives of state federations, local unions, etc., two by representatives of affiliated workers' educational enterprises, and two, the president and secretary of the bureau, by the convention as a whole.

Also, on this point of the W. E. B. practically becoming "the Educational Department of the A. F. of L." I am not blind to the possible evils of "official control," but without going into the matter at length, may I suggest that there are at least two sides to the question? Does any one contend that the official labor movement should have no share in the "control" of the education of its members? And would not some of our good friends who now belong to the A. F. of L. for its interest in the "control" of workers' education labor it for its lack of interest if things were otherwise?

W. E. B. and Brookwood Cooperating
Now, as to the pitched battle between the W. E. B. and Brookwood that the author of your article seems to envisage, both organizations doubtless can find better use for their time. The W. E. B. has cooperated with Brookwood in numerous ways. A glance at the May number of "Workers' Education," the quarterly official journal of the W. E. B., might be illuminating to some. Of the six leading articles, one is by a Brookwood exchange student of the past year, and two are by members of the Brookwood staff, Miss MacKaye and Dr. Calhoun. One of the five books reviewed is by another member of the Brookwood staff, David J. Saposs, the book itself being one in the W. E. B. series. In the news notes mention is made among many other things of the weekly educational service issued by Brookwood (BLES) and of the very Teachers' Conference referred to in this letter, as evidence of increasing interest and activity on the part of the trade unions along the line of workers' education. Brookwood on its part has cooperated in numerous ways with the W. E. B., which is the clearing house for workers' education under trade union auspices in the United States.

Four of the executive committee members of the W. E. B., Brothers Maurer, Brophy and Saposs, and Sister Fannia M. Cohn, are also members of the Brookwood board of directors. Brother Maurer is president both of the W. E. B. and of Brookwood, Inc.

Educational Union Urged
May I express in conclusion one of my firmest convictions? It would be indeed ideal if all the educational enterprises under the auspices of workers' organizations in the United States could be affiliated in one body and work unitarily. Such unification the British workers' education movement seems now in process of achieving—but only after many years of strife. In the United States all workers' educational enterprises under A. F. of L. trade union control at any rate, through the W. E. B., affiliated in one body and able at any point to work unitarily. Differences of opinion, emphasis and tendency there are bound to be, as there always have been in the American labor movement, but, so long as these are not suppressed, so long as freedom of activity and discussion prevail, this unity must be maintained. I for one am constantly at a loss to understand some who cry loudest for unity, but who seem perversely bent on disrupting what unity there is. Even as between the W. E. B. and its affiliated organizations, on the one hand, and workers' education enterprises not affiliated, on the other hand, it will surely be more profitable for the workers that each engage wholeheartedly in his educational work rather than in wordy controversy with the other.

A. J. MUSTE,
Chairman of Faculty,
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Laborite will offer a few comments on the above next week.—Editor.

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Amusements



DRAMA

The Swiss Theatre

THE theatre in Switzerland is unlike the theatre in any other country in Europe; and in the same degree as it differs from other countries, so does the theatre of German-Switzerland differ from that of French-Switzerland, as both from the theatre of Italian-Switzerland.

In the principal German-speaking towns of Zurich, Basle, and Berne the theatrical season begins in September, and continues to the end of May. There is a double company in each town—one for dramatic performances, and one for operatic performances. At St. Gallen there is one company which gives a six months' season of drama and comedy; and a company that gives a three months' dramatic season in each town operate between Winterthur and Schaffhouse. Another working under a similar arrangement provides seasons at Bienne and Soleure. At Constance the local orchestra organizes a short opera season, and the troupe then visits other towns in German-Switzerland after the regular company has finished its season.

The German actor, even more so than his French colleague, insists upon signing a contract for the duration of the season, and seeks employment on to termination at the various German summer resorts, often returning for the winter months to the same town in Switzerland for many years in succession. He is (and this of course includes the German actress) thrifty and clean-living. The pace is too fast and the competition too keen for any luxury. The struggle for existence here, as elsewhere, is very real, and no risks are taken.

Although probably the best paid of all actors in Switzerland, the work of the German-speaking actor is much more exacting than that of the artists in other parts of the country. From forty to forty-five plays are often produced during a nine months season, seldom more than five or six representations being given of any one play or opera.

Modern comedy or drama is the least popular with a German-Swiss audience. They demand the classics, and a season without two or three Shakespearean plays and others from the pen of Goethe, Schiller, and other favorites would prove failures, as would an opera season without Beethoven, Schubert and Verdi. Opera is more popular than drama; and this preference of the German-speaking Swiss is not difficult to understand. It is because of the accepted tradition that speech is a minor consideration in opera, whereas in drama it is of the first importance.

portance. A French actor plays before his audience in Geneva, Lausanne, Montreux, or Neuchâtel with the knowledge that his speech and accent are in almost every respect the same as that of his hearers, whereas a German actor is always face to face with the fact that he is speaking a language that sounds unnatural to the ears of his broad and dialect speaking audience. Born and school-trained as his audience is to speak a dialect, it is not unnatural that the pure German of Berlin and other German towns is unsympathetic to their ears. For a similar reason the classics are preferred to modern plays, as the life of Berlin is altogether out of tune with the outlook of the Swiss people, whose temperament is simplicity and whose life that of the country.

This brings me to a reference to the position of the Swiss actor, who, before the war, was a negligible and almost unknown quantity in his own or any other country. Today, happily, things are changing, and slowly but surely this phlegmatic artist is coming into his own before a public that asks nothing better than to encourage its own countrymen in a legitimate employment.

With the aid of a strong association and a solidarity that commands respect, the rights of Swiss actors are at last being recognized. Swiss actors do not, however, at the moment claim the right to play the principal parts. The German actor is, by his personality and his superiority, too strong, and even in Switzerland art is not sacrificed to national sentiment. A recent experiment of producing a play acted by a company composed entirely of Swiss professionals has, however, proved very successful, and gives hope for the future.

Such, briefly, is the position of the theatre in German-Switzerland today. The tone is healthy; much solid and meritorious work is being done; and although further great advancement cannot be immediately expected, we may look with hope to the future and feel that the theatre is an established and living factor in the lives of the people.

The final result is an artistic success but a financial failure, even in spite of the municipal subsidy, which is in some cases considerable.

It is interesting to note that the old Sackbarianism has yielded to the influence of modern life and ideas. The term "day of rest" is interpreted in a much more liberal spirit than formerly. The Swiss people have come to realize that a sermon on life preached from the boards is often more telling than a prosy one delivered from the pulpit.

HAZEL DAWN



The famous screen star is featured in the Shubert revue, "The Great Temptations," now crowding the big Winter Garden.

Playshop Planning an Interesting Season

THE Playshop, which sprang into existence last winter under the direction of Sanford E. Stanton, is already making extensive plans for next season, when it will produce six plays by American authors in its own theatre, which it will lease for the season. A new piece will be presented every six weeks.

The first production will be "White Collie," by David Sturges, in which Helen Menken will be starred. The first play produced by the organization was "Not Herbert," by Howard Irving Young, and the piece enjoyed a run of 145 performances in three different theatres. This was followed by "The Trouper," by J. C. Elliot Nugent, and "Beau Gallant," by Stuart Olivier, starring Lionel Atwill.

Scripts from which the season's plays will be chosen include "Almost Albert," by the author of "Not Herbert," "Herman's Harem," by Arthur Stern; "Blood," by David Sturges; "The Widow He Left Behind," by Thompson Buchanan; "Simon," by Lawrence Eyre, author of "The Merry Wives of Gotham"; "The Quadrangle," by George W. Ward; "The December Goat," by Fred Ballard, and "Part Time Lady," by Isabel Leighton, who played in "Not Herbert." "White Collie" goes into rehearsal August 10 and will open September 1.

Provincetown Group to Include Two Operas

FOLLOWING the venture of intimate opera which the Provincetown Players made with "Orpheus," next season's play will include two operas, chosen from Gluck's "Paris and Helen," Handel's "Rheindinda," and an opera by Mozart, Richard Hale, who sang "Orpheus," will again be at the Provincetown.

The three remaining bills will consist of two new plays, and either Aeschylus' "Seven Against Thebes," the long awaited "Book of Revelation," if completed by Eugene O'Neill, or a new O'Neill play. In addition, the Provincetown Players hope to develop the repertory idea by reviving "Orpheus," "Fashion" and "The Emperor Jones." These would be given in addition to the five new bills.

Fifty thousand dollars is needed for operating expenses, it is announced, and of this sum \$15,000 has been collected. Leo Bulgakov, a former member of the Moscow Art Theatre Company, has opened a dramatic school at the Provincetown headquarters, which will be affiliated with the Playhouse. Henry G. Alsberg, who made the English version of "The Dybbuk," has joined the staff of the theatre.

Movies to Be Used in Teaching History

PUPILS in the public schools of several cities in Connecticut, including Bridgeport, Fairfield and Southport, will be able to benefit in the near future from the use of motion pictures in connection with instruction given them in the field of American history. This became known through the announcement that the Yale University Press would soon deliver, as gifts, prints of the fifteen pictures thus far completed and released in its series of "Chronicles of America Photoplays," for use, rent free, by the boards of education of the above-mentioned cities. This unique series of American historical motion pictures is being produced under the direction of the Yale University Press and under the supervision and control of a committee of Yale University. When completed it will comprise in all thirty-three individual films, each of which recreates with absolute accuracy an event or historical sequence of outstanding significance in the annals of America from its discovery to Appomattox.

The Marvelous Transportable Theatre, invented by Richard Pietri, will soon be adopted for practical use by several vaudeville and picture corporations. The theatre is made in Germany and shipped complete to this country.

International Actors Meet in Berlin

FOR the first time in the history of theatricals, a group of actors and actresses representing organizations and unions of no less than eighteen nations, gathered in Berlin last week at the first meeting of the new Actor's Internationale, organized to protect the interests of the profession all over the world.

John Emerson, president of the Actors' Equity Association, represents the United States.

Another aim of the new union is to arrange for the international exchange of actors, both soloists and ensembles in the belief that it will further international understanding. This idea was strongly supported by James K. Hackitt, who is a member of the congress representing the British Drama League of London. Hackitt expressed his belief that actors in a foreign country form the best emissaries a country can have. The union also hopes to improve relations between producers and actors and solve the knotty problems which have grown up through the installation of radio-broadcasting stations. Actors desire to meet the film problem squarely, recognizing the inroads the movies have made in the business affairs of the legitimate stage.

The German Government sent representatives to welcome the delegates to the German capital as well as express its approval of the ideals of the organization. The diplomatic corps also presented their compliments and especially praised the proposals that a general exchange of actors be undertaken. During the four-day session special performances will be given in Berlin theatres.

At the final meeting, held on Sunday, June 26, Gustav Rickert, President of the German Actors' Alliance, was chosen president; Andre Allard of Paris, vice president, and Adolf Eiser of Vienna, general secretary. John Emerson, of the Actors' Equity Association, was elected a member of the Executive Committee.

Vienna was chosen as the seat of the new international in recognition of its centuries-old theatrical traditions. The idea of a world theatre, put forward by Firmin Gémier, the French actor-manager, is to be realized for the first time next May, M. Gémier said amid thunderous applause, when an international festival play week is to be held in Paris, where the affiliated associations of the new international will produce characteristic plays of their countries.

Hampden to Appear in Modern And Shakespearean Plays

Walter Hampden will begin his second season at Hampden's Theatre early in October with a new play by a contemporary author, the actor-manager announced yesterday.

Mr. Hampden intended to devote a good portion of next season to modern works, but as some of the material was still in the process of development he could not state at this time what his opening program would be. Classical drama will also be a part of his repertoire, and he plans to appear in one or two Shakespearean characters in which he is not familiar to New Yorkers.

Mr. Hampden reported that his first season at the playhouse bearing his name had been satisfactory. His engagement lasted thirty-two weeks, during which time four productions were presented—"Hamlet," "The Merchant of Venice," "Cyrano de Bergerac" and "The Servant in the House." In the first two of these plays Ethel Barrymore co-starred with him.

Western City to Build Its Own Community Theatre

Impatient over the unfulfilled promises of local capitalist promoters to provide the town with a suitable theatre, the enterprising citizens of Kirkland, Washington, have raised a \$50,000 fund and are building their own house. This instance of community enterprise is said to be one of the fundamental reasons for the growth of Kirkland and the territory immediately surrounding the town's slightly situation on Lake Washington.

THEODORE KOSLOFF



One of the principals in "The Volga Boatman," which will be shown on the Broadway Theatre screen beginning Monday.

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"FULL OF SENSATIONS."
—Burns Mantle, News.

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West 44th St., Eves. 8:30 Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:30
POPULAR MATINEE THURSDAY

WINTHROP AMES presents GILBERT & SULLIVAN'S

IOLANTHE

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

MARY DUNCAN



Plays the role of Poppy in "The Shanghai Gesture," John Colton's engrossing melodrama at the Shubert.

August 30. The show is slated for the Knickerbocker Theatre in September.

DeWolf Hopper will play the role of William Penn in "Freedom," the spectacle which R. H. Burnside is producing for the Sesqui-centennial Exposition at Philadelphia. Belle Story will have the principal feminine part.

The Guerrero-Mendoza company of Spanish players, which recently appeared at the Manhattan Opera House, will return for a fortnight's engagement here next November. Afterward it will make a ten weeks' tour of the country.

The Australian company of "Able's Irish Rose" sails Tuesday from San Francisco for a two years' engagement in the antipodes. The Jane Nichols comedy opens in Melbourne, Australia, July 3.

Scholarships have been contributed to the Theatre Guild School of Acting by Winthrop Ames, Dr. Percy Barker, Otto Kahn, Antoinette Perry, George C. Smith, Jr., the Theatre Guild, Theatre Guilders, Dwight Deere Wiman, Jr., and the Theatre Club, Inc.

Abrams Chasins, a young Russian-American composer, formerly a pupil of Ernest Hutchinson, and now traveling abroad with Josef Hoffman as his protegee, has composed a Chinese piece called "A Shanghai Tragedy," with the theme of "The Shanghai Gesture" as its motive. It will be played as incidental music at the Shubert Theatre.

The Theatre Guild announces that Clare Eames will be a member of the board of managers next year. In addition Miss Eames will be a member of the Guild repertory company.

Music and Concerts

STADIUM CONCERTS
N. Y. Philharmonic Orchestra
WILHELM VAN HOOGSTRATEN, Conductor
LEWISohn Stadium, Amst. Ave. & 138th St.
Every Evening at 8:30. Beginning Wednesday, July 7

OPENING NIGHT
BEETHOVEN FIFTH SYMPHONY
Schelling—Boris—Rosenlight
ARTHUR JUDSON, Master of Ceremony
Prices 25c., 50c., \$1.00

Seattle Union Organizes Its Own Symphony

SEATTLE will have a symphony season by local players in the coming winter, when a newly-organized Philharmonic Society will make its debut under the leadership of Karl Krueger and sponsored by the local musicians' union and a committee of leading citizens. This announcement was made recently by a group of local men, headed by W. J. Douglas, following a series of conferences with T. H. Wagner, president of the Musicians' Association of Seattle.

The orchestra, as now planned, will consist of some sixty-five local musicians, who are members of the latter union. In addition to a series of evening concerts, it is proposed to give a number of popular programs throughout the winter.

The statement issued by these members is in part as follows: "The only way in which organization may proceed is to go ahead with or without financial guarantee. Our members are ready to do the work required. We have an orchestra of sixty-five artists ready for rehearsal and we will give Seattle a permanent symphony."

The impetus for the long-desired orchestra came from the local players. The plan proposed by the musicians is a practical one. In order to facilitate organization, it is planned that each section of the orchestra will elect its own chief player. Thus the first violins will choose the concertmaster, and so on throughout the ensemble.

Mr. Krueger, who has been chosen conductor, is a native American and for several years was assistant conductor at the Vienna State Opera. He was born in New York and during his early career was active as an organist in America. He then went to Vienna, where he studied for several years and then became attached to the staff of the opera.

The premiere of a new opera, "Das Lied der Nacht" (The Song of the Night), by Hans Gal, the young Vienna composer, whose "The Holy Duck," a legendary opera of China, has achieved popularity on several European stages, was a recent event in Breslau at the City Theatre. The new opus, by K. M. Levetzow, one of the co-authors of the other libretto, is fashioned rather sentimentally. It recalls the ultra-Romantic poems of Uhland in which the previous century took delight.

Art Theatre Groups Form Clearing House

THE permanent organization of the Independent Theatres Clearing Committee, formed at a recent meeting at the Hotel Baltimore, will soon be incorporated under that title. Sheldon Cheney was chosen director of the Clearing House.

These theatres include the newly merged Actors' Theatre-Greenwich Village group, the Stagers, the Provincetown Playhouse and, to a certain extent, the Neighborhood Playhouse. The Clearing House will not change the method which each individual theatre employs in collecting funds, but will merely aid any of these groups should their subscriptions fall short. The original plan was that the Clearing House would act as a bank, but that idea has been abandoned.

The Neighborhood Playhouse, following an especially successful season, already has enough money pledged to carry it through next season, but the Grand street group may enlist the aid of the Clearing House in financing some educational work, the nature of which has not been divulged.

According to Sheldon Cheney, "The Theatre Arts Monthly" will ask the Clearing House for help in raising the remaining \$15,000 of a \$50,000 fund to be used in furthering the cause of the little and art theatre organizations outside of New York. As announced, the Clearing House will serve as a national information and service bureau to cooperate with little theatres and independent playhouses throughout the country. Mr. Cheney will go to Europe late in October to complete the survey dealing with the differences between the Continental art theatres and the type of independent theatre now developing in this country.

The specific purposes of the Clearing House include sound methods of underwriting, directors freed for uninterrupted attention to their productive work, inspiring confidence among art theatre supporters, widening sources of support and combatting the idea that independent theatres must always pay their way through box-office receipts or close their doors.

Fay Bainter will star in "Sour Grapes," by Vincent Lawrence, which William Harris, Jr., will place in rehearsal next month. This play, which requires only four people in the cast, will be Mr. Harris' first production of the season. Miss Bainter's last Broadway appearance was in the revival of "The Two Orphans." Lawrence is the author of "Two Fellows and a Girl" and "In Love With Love."

LYNN FONTANNE



In C. K. Munro's amusing comedy "At Mrs. Beam's," now in its third month at the Guild Theatre.

Lakewood Players to Try Out Four New Productions

Four new plays will be tried out this season by the Lakewood Stock Company at Skowhegan, Me. It was announced yesterday. This week "The Man Who Forgot," by Owen Davis and S. N. Behrman is being presented with Eric Dressler in the title role and Arthur Byron as a member of the cast. "Sammy Helps Himself," by Howard Lindsay, a new play by Samuel Shipman and a comedy by William Slavens Patterson and McNeill are also scheduled for production by the Lakewood organization. During the season Don Marquis may appear for the first time in the title role of his play "The Old Soak."

Leo Fall's 3 Operettas

It has now been disclosed that at his death Leo Fall had left three complete operettas. The farce with music, "Rosen im Schnee" ("Roses in the Snow"), with a book by Warden, is being changed, and will be brought out with a libretto by Schanzer and Wellsch. An operetta composed for America has a book by Willner and Reichert. A third operetta without chorus. It is called "Liebst Du Mich?" ("Do You Love Me?"), and has a libretto by Ernst Marischka and Bruno Granichstaedten. It will have its premiere next season at the Theatre an der Wien.

Outside of these, Fall has left a large notebook, which has not as yet been disposed of.

MUSIC

Stadium Concert Season
Begins Next Wednesday

GEORGE MacFARLANE



Who will present his newest production, "Honest Liars," at the Sam H. Harris Theatre Monday, July 12.

Bach's 'Aeolus Satisfied'
Staged in Vienna

An attempt has been made by the Vienna Konzerthausgesellschaft to produce Bach's "Der zufriedengestellte Aeolus" (Aeolus Satisfied) on the stage. The work, which was composed in honor of the Leipzig professor, August Friedrich Müller, is a piece of sheer baroque. At times the music strikes one as realistic, as in depicting the winds of the god, and there is many a touch of humor and even satire, but whether the work, written for a special occasion, is fitted for the stage, is doubtful. The mis-en-scene by Hans Brähm proved interesting, although not quite satisfactory. Aeolus behaved coquettishly, Pallas Athena wore spectacles, and the winds were represented by a number of youthful dancing girls from the Hellerau school. Paul von Kienau conducted.

On the Stadium grounds, preparations are now being made for the season's opening. With an additional eighty feet, or 160 feet in all, the back wall will be doubled in length, whereby good acoustic conditions are expected for every seat in the Stadium.

Season books are now available. These come in two sizes, fifty-six admissions to the 11 field seats for \$50, or twenty-eight admissions for \$25, and can be used any evening and in any quantity desired. The books can be bought or ordered from the office of the Stadium Concerts, Steinway Hall, 113 West Fifty-seventh street; checks should be made payable to Stadium Concerts, Inc.

"Faust" will be given this Saturday night in Starlight Amusement Park, by the Lyric Grand Opera Company. "Rigoletto" will be given Sunday night.

Mme. Jeritza will sing the title role in "Turandot" when Puccini's last opera is given in Vienna. Franz Schalk, who was present when Toscanini directed the premiere at La Scala, will direct the first German production of "Turandot."

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PROPOSED STATE
SOCIALIST
PLANKSNew York Delegates
Will Consider These
Planks at Convention
Here

HERE is the second section of the proposed New York State Socialist platform which will be considered at the State Convention today in New York City:

A Labor Party
The workers must bring about their own emancipation by their own organizations. Their labor unions, co-operatives, farmers' leagues and their own political party. The old parties are the twin puppets of the owners of America. The difference between them is that one has office and the other wants it. Every election time sees the amusing hunt for an issue with which to divert the people. Meanwhile Republicans and Democrats unite to pass the infamous Mellon tax bill. In New York, in districts where the Socialist vote is large, they unite to steal it.

Popular discontent, expressed in former years in Socialist victories, has compelled Tammany Hall to expose some popular causes and to take over in emulated form some Socialist issues. The Tammany tiger may have been combed and brushed; it has not changed its stripes.

The Socialist Party pledges itself to work with every labor group which in good faith and with honest belief in democracy will unite to establish a genuine party of all useful productive workers.

This is the chief of the issues before us.

Coal

The inefficiency of both old parties and their subservience to the profiteers was strikingly shown by their conduct in regard to the great anthracite coal strike last winter. The President and Congress did nothing to avoid or terminate a strike caused by private owners of a great natural resource. The Governor of New York State did nothing to protect the consumers against the rapacity of coal wholesalers. Next year a soft coal strike is likely. Still nothing is done. We pledge our candidates for State and national office to work in their respective fields:

(1) To nationalize coal mines and provide for democratic management, with representation of consumers and producers on the governing board, and recognition of collective bargaining with the union.

(2) Failing the inauguration of effective national machinery, to set up in New York State machinery whereby the State will become a wholesaler of coal with the approach of emergency and so protect consumers from paying to private wholesalers an increased profit ranging last winter as high as 300 percent.

Giant Power

The private owners of giant power will be our masters. We reaffirm our conviction that the nation, States and cities must co-operate in working out an effective giant power system, publicly owned.

Muscle Shoals should be retained by the Federal Government and operated for the public good—not leased for a song.

New York State's water power must not only be developed, but the resultant electric power must be distributed by the State. Governor Smith has followed the Republican plan to give away our last remaining natural resource to an alliance of the Mellon interests, the General Electric, and others. If, however, under the Governor's plan the power is produced by the State only to be turned over to private distributing companies, little or nothing will have been gained. During his life the great engineer, Charles P. Steinmetz, in co-operation with the Socialist Assemblymen, drew up a plan for the production and distribution of hydro-electric power. We declare for the Steinmetz Plan as against either the Republican plan or Al Smith's proposal.

Housing

The Democratic-Republican housing law in New York State is a grudging and belated recognition of enormous and shameful evils which the Socialist Party long ago pointed out. It is inadequate. It cannot meet the need. We must have not the limitation of profit on housing for the workers, but the substitution of efficient building by the state and municipal corporations, publicly controlled, for use at cost, and not for profit. We pledge ourselves to continue our fight for such legislation, including, if necessary, a constitutional amendment as will permit municipalities to undertake large scale housing enterprises of the sort that have been successful abroad.

Labor Legislation

We heartily endorse the demands repeatedly made by the State Federation of Labor for legislation to end the injunction evil, give better protection to women and children, and make the state's own insurance system the sole legal body with which employers can take out workmen's compensation insurance. We also pledge ourselves to work for unemployment insurance and old age pensions.

Farmers' Relief

Farmers are workers engaged in what is the most essential of all employments. It is as workers rather than as capitalists and landowners that they must seek their reward. We do not believe that a subsidy is the solution of the farmers' ills, but we pledge ourselves to work with the farmers for all sound legislation in states and nation which may make easier the path of co-operatives, facilitate the transportation and marketing

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

National

The following letter was received by the National Office from the Chairman of the Mid-West Student Conference, held in Kansas City on June 13, 14, 15:

"My Dear Mr. Henry:
"We wish to thank the Socialist Party heartily for the literature which it sent to the Conference, and for suggesting Comrade Phifer, who addressed us, as you will note from the enclosed program.

"Most of us, as you will remember, belong to the L. I. D. and want to do everything in our power to further the understanding of the Socialist movement by the college students especially. I am president of the Sociology Club of Kansas University and in charge of speakers for the Y. M. C. A. If you have a national organizer in this vicinity any time during the coming school term, will you please let me know, so that I can have him speak to some of the groups here? Mr. Blanchard, L. I. D. field secretary, will not be through here next year and I want to keep the ball rolling.

"If you could send us a copy of the American Appeal which contains the Conference story, we would like to have it for our publicity file."

Indiana

Indiana Socialists are trying to get party activity by rushing in subs to the American Appeal, and they will succeed. Many farmers are signing up. Plans are under way to organize a chapter of the I. L. D. in Oakland City County.

Illinois

Illinois Socialists are planning some big work. State Secretary Snow is in Chicago assisting the Cook County Socialists to get a county ticket elected at a convention which will be held on July 11 at Douglas Park Auditorium, Kedzie and Ogden streets, Chicago.

Oklahoma

Oklahoma is going to have a Socialist ticket this year and expect a big vote.

New England

Norman Thomas, well known to all Socialist Party members as a candidate for both Mayor of New York City at various times, and also Governor of New York State, will be in the New England District July 4, 5 and 6. On July 4 at 2 o'clock he will speak at a Finnish picnic in Maynard. He also speaks behind City Hall in Worcester at 7:30 p. m.

The following day, Monday, July 5, at 3 o'clock, he will speak at Front and Commercial streets, in Worcester. On Tuesday, July 6, he will speak at the Parkman Bandstand on Boston Common from 12 o'clock until 2 p. m. In Lynn on Tuesday evening he will speak at the Lynn Laborers' Hall at 8 o'clock. Comrade Thomas' subject is "The Rebirth of Americanism," with special reference to the Passaic strike.

Joseph F. Viola, one of our former national organizers, spoke behind City Hall in Worcester and had a very fine crowd. Viola has consented to speak as a volunteer as long as he is around Boston. He held two meetings in Lynn at Blake street and Central square on Wednesday and Thursday, June 30 and July 1. He will also speak on Boston Common from 4 to 6 p. m. on Sunday, July 4. Viola is a vigorous and forceful speaker and, very well worth hearing.

to give legal efficacy to this advisory popular referendum.

The People's Liberties

Democracy without freedom of speech and assembly is a meaningless device for counting noses. The control of the means of communication, the press, movies and radio by and for great vested interests is one of the most serious evils of our time. The courts and the judicial process are too generally friendly to employing interests and great wealth. We still have repressive legislation such as the so-called criminal anarchy law. Add these agencies of thought control together and it will be apparent how far we are in this 150th year of American Independence from realizing the conception of liberty which underlies Jefferson's immortal document. We pledge ourselves anew to the fight for civil liberties as against all attacks by religious prejudice, autocratic officials or vested interests.

Specifically, we urge in the national field legislation to protect the radio from the political censorship, monopoly control and profiteering which make it today a powerful weapon in the hands of the few for the control of the minds of the many.

Foreign Policies

Socialist foreign policy may be summed up in the demand that we substitute co-operation of free peoples for the jealousies of rival imperialisms. The policy of the present national administration in Haiti and Latin America generally, in the Philippines and in China, has been dangerously imperialistic. Powerful interests seek to make our solemn promises to the Philippines a mere scrap of paper. Mexico is never safe from the threat of American intervention. No

Connecticut

New Haven

The regular monthly meeting of the Local will be held Wednesday evening, July 5, at Jos. Freeman's Photo Shop, 235 Congress avenue. Delegates will be elected to represent the Local at the State Convention, which will be held in New Haven Sunday, July 25. Committees will also be elected to assist in arranging the convention.

Alfred Baker Lewis, the district organizer-secretary of the New England District, will be the main speaker at the Socialist State Convention Sunday, July 25. It is expected that Lewis will also speak at an open air meeting in Hartford, Saturday evening, July 24.

New York State

The following delegates and alternates to the State Convention have been accredited from Local New York: Delegates—Morris Hillquit, Algonquin Lee, Julius Gerber, William Karlin, Jacob Panken, Norman Thomas, Edward F. Cassidy, G. A. Gerber, Louis Waldman, Joseph D. Cannon, Morris Bernan, Frank Crosswath, Samuel R. Berdsey, Harriet Stanton Blatch, Olga Long and U. Solomon. Alternates—Leonard C. Kaye, Wilho Hedman, W. W. Brunn, A. Brailowsky, George McMullen, W. E. Fitzgerald, Nina Frey, Adolph Salmi, J. A. Vilator, Eli Cohen, M. Ravitch and Andrew Rigaldi.

The State Secretary requests that all delegates be on hand promptly at 1 p. m. Saturday, so that the convention may be organized without delay and convention committees appointed.

The State Executive Committee will meet at Finnish Hall at 10 a. m. Saturday. The unofficial State Committee meeting will be held at Peoples' House at 10 a. m. July 5.

The State Secretary asks delegates to the State Convention to take copies of the June 25 and July 3 issues of The New Leader to the convention with them, as they contain the rules of the convention and the tentative State platform, and will be valuable for reference during the convention.

Local New York

City Central Committee

The City Central Committee met Wednesday, June 23. Thirty-six delegates were present. Fred Paulitsch was elected chairman; G. August Gerber, vice-chairman; Arthur Robins, recording secretary. The larger part of this session was consumed in adopting the report of the Committee on Rules and Methods of Procedure.

The following are some articles adopted: Regular meetings shall be held on the first Wednesday of each month. Special meetings may be called by the City Central Committee, or on demand of one-third of the duly accredited delegates by a signed statement addressed to either the Executive Committee or the Executive Secretary. Such statement shall give the order of business for the special meeting. A permanent chairman shall be elected to serve for the term (one year), the vice-chairman to be elected at each meeting.

The seat of any delegate who is absent without excuse from two consecutive meetings shall be declared vacant and the branch notified to elect a new delegate.

The Committee on Nominations presented its report recommending nominations for City Executive Committee, permanent chairman, auditor and recording secretary. The Central Committee elected Julius Gerber permanent chairman; Herman Volk, auditor, and Louis Weil, recording secretary.

The following Comrades were elected members of the City Executive Committee: Morris Hillquit, Julius Gerber,

Samuel E. Beardsley, G. August Gerber, Louis P. Goldberg, Patrick J. Murphy, Algonquin Lee, Adolph Held, William Karlin, Adolph Warshaw, Albert Halpern, Jessie W. Hughan, Emil Bromberg, David Rubinow, Sarah Velovick and Morris Bein. Two seats were reserved for delegates from Queens and Richmond.

The question of organizing County Committees was left to the incoming Executive Committee. It was also decided that the Executive Committee appoint a committee to prepare proposals on City Planning and appear at public hearings on these questions before the Municipal Assembly. This motion arose out of a suggestion by the delegates of the 23d A. D. Kings, supplemented and amended by Julius Gerber. Its purpose is to air the proposals of the Socialist Party on municipal problems before the Municipal Assembly.

Street Meetings
Manhattan

Friday, July 2, Clinton street and East Broadway. Speakers: Ethelred Brown and Dr. Leon R. Land.

Tuesday, July 6, 112th street and Lenox avenue. Speakers: Ethelred Brown and George J. Friedman.

Wednesday, July 7, corner Seventh street and Avenue B. Speakers: Samuel E. Beardsley and Ben Goodman.

132d street and Lenox avenue. Speakers: Ethelred Brown and V. C. Gaspar.

Thursday, July 8, corner Wilkins and Intervale avenues. Speakers: Ethelred Brown and Dr. Leon R. Land. Chairman: Mathilda Tillman.

Brooklyn

Wednesday, July 7, corner Monroe street and Broadway. Speakers: Hyman Nemer, Samuel H. Friedman and A. N. Weinberg.

Friday, July 9, corner Havemeyer and South Fourth streets. Speaker: Samuel E. Beardsley.

Corner Pitkin avenue and Bristol street. Speaker: Ethelred Brown.

Bronx

The Meyer London Memorial meeting was well attended and the speakers, Esther Friedman, James Oneal and Samuel Orr, were well received. As each speaker detailed some service for labor on the part of the deceased comrade, the applause was both hearty and spontaneous.

Dr. Leon Rosser Land, on behalf of the Bronx Free Fellowship, gave the hall free for this occasion. The Bronx County Socialist Party extends its sincere thanks to Dr. Land and the Fellowship for their kindness. Several new members were enrolled and, all in all, the meeting was a pronounced success.

The Central Branch, comprising Districts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, will meet Tuesday evening, July 6, at 1167 Boston road. Members are urged to be present. Important business, including action on applications, must be transacted.

Branch 7 will meet Tuesday, July 13, at its clubrooms, 4215 Third Avenue. As reported in last week's Leader, the July 4 holiday is responsible for the change of dates. Members are urgently requested to be present, as very important business is pending.

Delegates to the City Central Committee and to the State Convention should be present and submit reports of the respective bodies to which they are delegated.

Bronx members are urged to attend the State Convention and also the banquet to the state delegates which will be held July 3, 7:30 p. m. in the Finnish Hall, 2056 Fifth Avenue, near 127th Street.

Queens

The first step toward building up a big circulation for The New Leader in Queensboro and at the same time promoting the reorganization cam-

quarter of the globe but feels the onward march of our economic imperialism. We live on terms of cordiality with all the swashbucklers of Europe but refuse recognition to Russia.

We pledge our national candidates to stand for recognition of Russia, generous co-operation with European nations in undoing the inequities of the peace of Versailles, the refusal to put national force behind the collection of private debts in Latin America and elsewhere, justice to Haiti, Porto Rico, the Philippines, China and Mexico.

Military Training

In Europe, Asia and America the growing militarization of the United States is causing alarm. By its own armaments are menaced. Military training in high schools and colleges exists only to promote that psychology of militarism which menaces at once the peace of mankind and the cause of the workers at home. We pledge ourselves to every effort to keep education in our democracy free from the taint of what we once called Prussianism.

In Conclusion

These specific planks do not and cannot indicate precisely the attitude of Socialism on all the pressing problems of State and Nation. They indicate the way in which the Socialist Party approaches the task of making government our servant in the fight against exploitation, war, poverty and waste. In the fight before us the Party pledges its aid to all economic organizations of the workers who seek emancipation. It bespeaks their support on the political field. By united, intelligent action the Co-operative Commonwealth can be established. It is a time not for cynicism or despair, but for new and valiant effort.

Yipseldom

YIPSEL DRAMATIC CLUB

Services Free to Socialist Camps
Upton Sinclair's play, "The Second Story Man," was acted last Saturday night at the Debs Auditorium of the Rand School by the Yipsel Dramatic Club, under the personal direction of Isidore Pollstein, of the Bronx Central Branch, Socialist Party.

The performance was well received and an ovation was given to Elizabeth Friedman, Seymour Singer and Irving Smith. They are all members of Senior Circle 6, Brooklyn. This play gives a clear insight into the real economic conditions of the working class, and vividly portrays the sort of legal trickery resorted to by the employing class in order to cheat their workers. Unlike the ordinary plays, it brings the labor question to the front, and because of this, it should be utilized for educational purposes and propaganda.

The services of the Dramatic Club are available, free of charge, to any Socialist Camp within 50 miles, during July and August. Requests should be sent to Ben Goodman, the Yipsel Executive, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

The next play is now being rehearsed by another group of this club, and announcement of details will be made in due time.

Capitalism is the most terrible scourge of humanity. It fattens on the misery of the poor, the degradation of the worker, and the brutalizing toil of his wife and children. Just as capitalism grows, so grows also pauperism, that millstone around the neck of civilization; the revolting cruelties of our factory system; the squalor of great cities and the presence of deep poverty seated hard by the gate of enormous wealth.—Karl Marx.

Critical
Cruisings

(Continued from page 10)

gestions and admonitions as to its attainment, are always interesting and in instances, perhaps, instructive; but they are as limited in their application as are the theories of the two men he attacked, Locke and Rousseau. Virtues are dependent upon conditions, as Mr. Russell himself must admit, and the conditions of life that can be made to instill and encourage such virtues are the conditions of life that Mr. Russell and his children have known, but not the conditions of life under which the overwhelming majority live.

Educational theories and practices have always been closely dependent upon social conditions and forces. In fact, they have always reflected the nature of the social process. Pestalozzi's revolutionary contributions came only when education demanded a practical twist. Dewey's theories came at a time when they were needed to fulfill a necessity. Aside from emphasizing the attitude of co-operation instead of competition, Mr. Russell's book reveals a tragic detachment from the social forces at play in our subterranean universe. Arguing that only by giving the child a "wide outlook," a "multiplicity of vivid interests" and the impulse to conquer fear "can you make him a free citizen of the universe," Mr. Russell indicts himself of a sentimentality that is deprived of both beauty and meaning by the unworldliness of his premise. And claiming that it is only the "lack of love" that prevents us from making our children millionaires and our world a millennium, Mr. Russell, inveigled by a phrase, turns preacher instead of scientist.

The Good Life may be excellent for those who can attain it, but in a world of social and economic unattainability we need education that is real and radical, that is purposeful and inclusive. Only in that way can the Good Life ever become universal.

THE
CAROLINA INDEPENDENT

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Champion of Labor
Enemy of Reaction

A New Voice from the Most Progressive State of the New South—North Carolina

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The Carolina Independent

RALEIGH, N. C.

MODERN
MARRIAGE
PROBLEMS

SEX TALKS

For Women Only, Tuesday Evenings,
For Men and Women, Thursday Evenings

By Dr. Cecile L. Greil

at the
"CULTURE CLUB"

432 Lafayette St., Mr. Astor Pl., N. Y.

THE NEW LEADER

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Editor.....JAMES ONEAL
Assistant Editor.....EDWARD LEVINSON
Manager.....U. SOLOMON

Contributing Editors:

Eugene V. Debs
Victor L. Berger
Abraham Cahan
Harry W. Laidler
Joseph E. Cohen
Clement Wood
John M. Work
Joseph T. Shipley

Morris Hillquit
Algeron Lee
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The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the struggle of the organized working class. It is not a newspaper of the day, but a newspaper of the future. It is not a newspaper of the past, but a newspaper of the present. It is not a newspaper of the future, but a newspaper of the future.

SATURDAY, JULY 3, 1926

GARMENT WORKERS' STRIKE

ANOTHER strike begins in the ladies' garment industry, a strike to obtain reasonable demands and to check certain tendencies in the industry that are becoming intolerable. An industry where contractors are a big factor in employment and yet refusing responsibility for standards of health, wages and hours, is an industry that requires radical organization if responsibility is to be fixed. "Passing the buck" from one group to the other in the manufacturing end of the industry simply means that contractual relations are impossible. Chaos is the result.

The women's garment industry developed through the notorious sweat-shop, a war of petty contractors, disease-breeding holes in basements and garrets, measureless exploitation of workers, long hours, and living standards unfit for human beings. The industry was a welter of chaotic forces and tendencies until the slaves of the old system came out of their holes, organized, and called the competing masters to account. Out of a number of such revolts came the powerful organization of workers in the industry.

Since this assertion of self-respect the workers have brought some order into the industry, reduced the hours of labor, made the workshop a place fit to work in, increased wages and gave hope and inspiration to the workers. In recent years certain tendencies have been at work to bring back some of the worst features of the old sad regime and this march backward must be halted. If necessary the workers will again assert their power in organized solidarity and it remains to be seen whether the anarchy of the industry will hazard such a struggle.

If the strike occurs it must and it will have the support of hundreds of thousands who know the grave issues involved.

MUSSOLINI'S PROGRAM

WHAT will Judge Gary and other members of our ruling class, who have slopped over with affection for Mussolini, have to say of this act after reading his latest orders for the slave population of Italy? This so-called "economy" program of Mussolini is a confession that the much lauded "efficiency" of the castor oil statesman is so much hokum. As a statesman he might make a good member of a kraut band, but in pulling Italian capitalism out of the hole he is a failure.

In ordering the working class of Italy to add an extra hour to each day's labor, Mussolini will please Gary, for this means the extraction of extra values from Italian labor and the bishop of the steel trust is an old hand at this game. For the rest Mussolini orders a suspension of the building of expensive houses for a year, no more cafes, saloons, etc., and mixing of gasoline with alcohol for motor cars. Newspapers are also to be reduced in size.

This is the program to realize a more favorable balance of trade and to save the lire. Although not stated in the headlines, it is also intended to save Mussolini, but Time and the remorseless grind of evolution will take care of him and his black shirt morons. We have not abandoned our view that Mussolini's regime is doomed to slide into the pit, carrying with it Mussolini himself, who will be fortunate to save his carcass out of the wreckage.

Fascism, you are about to die. Mr. Gary, prepare to mourn the passing of your dear friend.

THE HAITIAN POODLE

WITH "President" Louis Borno of Haiti being entertained by bankers and imperialist office holders and Borno himself making speeches urging "closer relations" with Haiti, we have an example of how capitalist imperialism markets its hypocritical rule. Borno is a native poodle kept in office by American bayonets. He would not hold his job twenty-four hours if the Haitian population had a free choice in selecting an executive. The Haitian people would tie a tomato can to Borno and drive him out of the island.

"Some individuals," said Borno to bankers and other investors in Haiti at the Bankers' Club, "try to convince themselves that the United States has sinister designs toward Haiti, that it is depriving Haiti of its rights and in other respects acting in an unscrupulous manner." Borno assured his owners that these Haitians are entirely wrong. The United States is ruling Haiti as a venture in philanthropy.

Perhaps the relatives of dead natives who

were hunted down by American marines and killed are wrong. Perhaps those who are chafing under the rule of American banks and slaving on plantations to help American bankers enjoy a summer vacation do not know what is good for them. Borno knows what is good for him. As long as he wears the collar of American despoilers and barks as an obedient poodle when ordered to be his safe, but any person with any knowledge of the crucifixion of Haiti by American armed power can have only contempt for Borno and the role he consents to play.

HELP THE MINERS

REPORTS that reach The New Leader indicate that there is intense suffering in the mining regions of England. The miners have for months been on short rations because of the heroic struggle to avoid descent to degradation. The women and children are the chief sufferers. The struggle continues to avoid conditions that mean a beggar-standard of living, and virtual servitude to absentee owners.

Trade unions and the Socialist and Labor parties are sending financial support to the British miners. The trade unions of this country are now contributing funds. This international sympathy and support will give the miners renewed courage to hold out and provide bread for their families.

American Socialists throughout their history have never failed to respond to such appeals from abroad and the distress of the British miners is another appeal to their generosity. Much as we need funds for our work of rebuilding the Socialist Party and extending its educational work, each of us can spare a contribution for the British miners.

The New Leader therefore urges party members and sympathizers to give what they can to help the miners in the most trying situation they have faced in decades. Send your contributions to the National Office, Socialist Party, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

IMAGINE!

THE Department of Commerce at Washington keenly senses its duty. Its agent to Batavia, the Dutch East Indies, has returned home and the department sends out a statement of his advising American manufacturers to combine their sales efforts. "The head of this combined sales organization," he says, "should be a qualified American representative, employed and paid by the manufacturers jointly" and he should be located in the Dutch possessions. A survey is given of the rich pickings for American manufacturers in that part of the world.

Fine. Now imagine the American Government sending its agents to all parts of the world to watch for and protect the interests of workingmen, especially when they are involved in strikes. Imagine—it is hard, of course, but try to imagine—these agents keeping the organized workers informed of matters of interest to them. Imagine a government department sending out reports from these agents that will help the organized working class. Imagine an agent in England during a coal strike here informing this government department that a British coal company intends to ship coal here and to warn the striking miners. Imagine this department sending the report on to the miners' organization.

Well, there are many things we can imagine, but we cannot imagine a government at Washington with agents all over the world nursing and protecting the welfare of the American workers. However, many can read Mr. Hoover's speeches and imagine that Coolidge and Company represents no class in particular but mankind in general. Just imagine!

PARCHMENTS

PRECISELY at eleven minutes after 11 o'clock last Monday morning, Eastern Standard Time, a chain of bells from the White House to Philadelphia and throughout the nation pealed the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. Rockefeller's church in Park Avenue chimed in. The bell in the tower of City Hall joined the chorus while Tammany celebrated below. "Jimmy" Walker signed a "loyalty pledge" handed to him by a school girl. Even Cardinal Hayes could find a kind word for Jefferson, Deist and author of the Declaration. All is well.

This reminds us of another celebration in 1919 at Washington. It was the one hundred and thirtieth anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution. A few thousand political prisoners were in jail. Hundreds of publications had been thrown out of the mails. Thousands of communities were terrorized by local bands of "patriots." To think out loud was a crime unless the thinker echoed the oligarchs in Washington. In that case it was a virtue. War was being waged against Haiti without a declaration of war by Congress. The nation was filled with spies. Conscription had become a fact.

Some evil persons said that the Constitution had been abolished. The Secretary of State and other notables at an hour appointed opened the box in which the document reposed. Yes, it was there. Where was the miscreant who could say that the sacred charter was no more? The oligarchs gazed with reverence upon the parchment. The thinkers remained in jail, Haiti continued to bleed, terror raged, spies spied, publications were killed and meetings were suppressed.

The parchments survive, but we hope to be preserved from those who have these documents in their custody.

The New York Port Society will sing "God Save the King" instead of the "Star Spangled Banner" on July 4. The society does not want to offend England. But if we are to please the British Crown Prince we will offend the American Crown Prince, John D., Jr. Why not combine the two royal houses and end the competition?

The News of the Week

The Illinois Vote Exchange

This week attention has been diverted from the Republican voting exchange in Pennsylvania to its sister exchange in Illinois. It appears that about \$2,000,000 was spent in the Senatorial primary of that State. William B. McKinley has for a number of years represented public utilities in the Senate, but there are other public utilities in Illinois aside from his own. Frank L. Smith, representing another utility, crowd, won the nomination. The primary was a contest between two utilities alliances to determine which agent should go to the Senate. This is unfortunate. Both should combine and agree on this matter of representation at Washington. Gas, steel, textiles, railroads, oil, coal and other commodities are represented at Washington, and utilities should avoid these vulgar quarrels. Besides, it is expensive, and when the bores who are rounded up in each camp find that the primary is merely a speculation in cattle, they may kick the traces. We have just celebrated the "Independence" of the glorious republic, and to have such things thrust upon our attention at the moment when we are singing a hymn to "the Burd o' Freedom," as Whittier would say, is shocking. So, there!

Actors Form International

Now come the actors of the world with an international all their own. It was born in Berlin at a meeting attended by delegates from actors' unions in eighteen countries. Gustav Rickelt, head of the German Actors' Alliance, was chosen president; Andre Allard, of Paris, vice-president; and Adolf Eisler of Vienna, secretary. John Emerson, president of the Associated Actors and Artists of America (Equity), was elected to the executive committee. The representatives of the Russian actors refused to join an international embracing unions in which theatre managers might hold membership, so they were left outside. Answering the Russians' contention, Emerson pointed out that in the United States the positions of actors and managers were subject to frequent changes, and that some actors were also directors. Consequently, it would not be fair to bar them from the union. The great majority of the delegates agreed with Emerson's views. The Berlin meeting was hailed by the public and in theatrical circles as marking a big step toward final reconciliation among the former belligerents.

erent nations, as well as a move for more power for the stage folks. Firmin Gémier, the French actor-manager, announced, amid great applause, that his idea of a world theatre was to be realized next May in Paris, when the affiliated organizations would join in an international festival play week. The headquarters of the new international will be in Vienna.

Spain Rattles Her Chains

Although it looks as if Primo de Rivera will be able to dominate the situation created in Spain by the discovery of an army officers' plot against his dictatorship, the fact that a number of well-known Republican and Liberal leaders and literary men were ready to line up with such anti-Democratic groups as the one headed by General Weyler in an effort to rid the Peninsula of its incubus is regarded as significant. Judging from the censored reports, a considerable body of officers in various parts of the country was about ready to start a revolution when their plans were betrayed and wholesale arrests prevented them from carrying them out. Although the Spanish Government alleges that all sorts of anarchists, syndicalists, et al, are mixed up in the plot, thus far no names of known labor men have been cited, nor is there any indication that the real trade union and Socialist leaders are involved in the movement. This is not because they have any love for the dictatorship, but it is due to the fact that they are not inclined to ask their followers to start something unless the chances of success are better than just at present. The suppression of the plot, if it has been suppressed, was apparently done without bloodshed.

British Miners Helped Abroad

The British mine strike continues while Parliament considers the Government bill to increase the hours of labor from seven to eight in the mining industry. A Labor amendment proposing to unify the coal industry under public ownership was defeated by a majority of 189. In the face of this threat to increase the hours of labor the friction between the miners' executive and the General Council of the Trades Union Congress is giving way to united action against the common enemy. Meantime, the laws Pilsudski demands, the Sejm has managed to retain a semblance of existence and will probably be allowed to dissolve itself.

and Poland the miners have agreements with the owners not to ship coal to England. This is fine, but news also comes from London that twenty-six steamers have been chartered to transport American coal to England. It is estimated that the shipping arrangements contemplate the importation of 1,250,000 tons of American coal. American miners have sent some substantial sums to help their British brothers, and it remains to be seen whether they will permit the coal they mine to go to England to nullify their contribution of funds. It is an interesting situation as well as a call to international duty. With European miners sending funds and also prohibiting the shipment of coal to England the American miners and transport workers occupy a strategic position in this struggle. Their action is vital.

Pilsudski Now Shows His Hand

Dictators seem to be as ungrateful as republicans are alleged to be. Turning against his former comrades in the Polish Socialist movement, Marshal Pilsudski is reported as planning changes in the election laws calculated to reduce their chances of making gains in the elections supposed to be held in October for a Sejm to succeed the one due to end within a few days. According to the reported plan, candidates receiving fewer than 1,000 votes are to be heavily fined, the voting age is to be raised to 24 years and the system of representation so altered as to cut the total membership of the Sejm and the Senate to about 300, in place of 555. These measures are alleged to be aimed at the Communists, but they will hit the Socialists equally hard. Following clashes last Sunday at Socialist protest meetings in which police fired upon the people and killed several demonstrators, a state of practically martial law has been proclaimed. Pilsudski has forced the budget through Parliament at the point of the bayonet and is now being supported by the reactionary elements which he originally declared he was going to curb in the interest of the masses. The Socialists are solidly against the Marshal, as are the Communists, who have been reproved by the executive of the Communist International for having at first supported him. By agreeing to enact whatever Pilsudski demands, the Sejm has managed to retain a semblance of existence and will probably be allowed to dissolve itself.

Critical Cruisings

By V. F. Calverton

Bertrand Russell Education and Reality

THESE are days that try, torture and terrify men's dreams and illusions. Ours is a period of transition that we may conveniently and correctly call an Age of Confusion. The age is fraught with realities that must be faced and controlled. The philosophies have become hardened, the sciences have become dehumanized. Under capitalism, with the consuming nature of its competitive ethics, the sociality of attitude that characterized the philosophy of the Middle Ages, that inspired the opposition of the feudal order to usury, the rack-renting of land and the cutting of wages, that made Thomas Aquinas maintain that a contract is only valid when both parties derive mutual gain from its substance, and the medievalist Bucer declare that "the Church of Christ nor a Christian commonwealth ought to tolerate such as prefer private gain to public weal"—this attitude has almost entirely disappeared. Only in Russia has the canorous, competitive philosophy been curtailed, and only among the vestiges of old communes sparsely dotting obscure farmlands of Europe and Asia can it still be discovered in its ancient forms. The world today, driven by its individualist economics and industrial technology, is being steadily stilted into struggle and strife. American prosperity, for instance, erected upon such uncertain and quivering foundations, instigates a deceptive optimism. The roll of revolutions, the spread of militarism and the perfection of armaments, frighten few and illuminate fewer. The class-struggle, criss-crossing Europe with chaos and catastrophe, is played with a sentimentalism in America as a parlor pastime for artists and orators, while those who emphasize its significance are ridiculed and blasphemed. Yet it is only through this class-struggle and its direction in effecting a reorganization of the economic basis of society that a salvaging of western civilization can be achieved.

Bertrand Russell

Education is one of the fundamental needs of our paranoic society. We need direct, definite education as to the world we live in and the social realities that surround us. We have no time for the astray media of cultural delectabilities or the dreamful nirvanas that avoid pain by the delusion of metaphysical pyrotechnics. In our struggle to control realities that are basically destructive, man has become handicapped by the very medium that first insured his progress: language. Verbal behavior has become as much an ensnarement as an accelerator. We are captured by words, deceived by them, crucified by them. It is words that so often frustrates our grip on phenomena, weakens our capacity for control and prediction. The physical sciences have accomplished their objective advance through the quantitative medium of numbers; the social sciences too often, alas, accomplish their confusion through the qualitative medium of words. In his work on "Symbolic Logic," Bertrand Russell is profoundly aware of this verbal danger; but in his recent volume on "Education and the Good Life" (Boni & Liveright, \$3), as in many of his analyses of social problems, he is the victim of his verbal vagaries and predilections.

"Education and the Good Life" is a vaporization of the exquisitely nebulous and "spiritual." Except as a poem of endeavor, it is a beautifully hopeless and an elegantly useless book. The book deserves attack not because its author is not a courageous soul and an inspiring Yea-sayer—he is—but because it is so fundamentally unreal, so conspicuously contradictory and impractical, so unsparingly sentimental and indefinite. For the bourgeois liberals of today, those who have escaped from the morasses of Babbitt as well as the sufferings of the class-struggle, those who have become utilized by the plutocracy of protest and inspired by the grand inevitability of the gradual, the book is ideal. But for those who are oppressed by the class-struggle, those who are desperately aware of the dangers of our social situation, the book is without passion and without value.

Mr. Russell begins his work with a criticism, that is as admirable as it is keen, of the educational theories of Locke and Rousseau, and then proceeds to stumble into the same trap that had ensnared these thinkers. Both Locke and Rousseau "consider only the education of an aristocratic boy, to which one man's whole time is devoted," says Mr. Russell in condemnation, and adds that, "however excellent might be the results of such a system, no man with a modern outlook would give it serious consideration." Mr. Russell, it must be admitted, is not concerned with the education of the aristocratic youth. Nor can he be concerned with the education of the proletarian youth. Therefore lies the first difficulty. Mr. Russell is interested in education in a world of as if. The Good Life becomes a kind of abstraction for him into which he tries to breathe the loveliness of a perfect reality. The book is like a beautiful shadow that betrays its lack of substance the moment you begin to analyze it. Mr. Russell, it is true, knows what the Good Life is, but he knows little of The Bad. In other words, despite his prison experience, he has never seen the darker phases of existence with sufficient intimacy to realize the fullness of the Good Life until the conditions of the world have changed. Mr. Russell reflects upon the nature of the Good Life, with its four virtues—vitality, courage, sensitivity and intelligence—and his sug-

(Continued on page 9)

THE CHATTER BOX

THIS is going to be a sort of contrib week. The L. I. D. conference at Lake Taminant has put us in a vacationing mood. We have never met such a lot of men and women that are veritably salt of earth, as those that gathered at Bertha Mailly's hostelry last week end. They make one feel that the cause in which we struggle on and sometimes waver a bit is worth all we put into it. Such splendid men as Norman Thomas, Harry Laidler, Hilmar Rauschenbush, Stuart Chase, and the lesser but no less luminaries, and such women as Margaret Daniels, Birdie Dubrow, Mrs. Laidler, and the retiring Jane Higgins who do the bulk of the routine work, make us proud to just belong. It will take some time, we fear, before we can get back into lambasting harness and take a few more uppercuts at the shams and sorrows of the world. Just feeling Pollyannish with the world is a sort of vacation for us.

How Can I Sing?

How can I sing of long, cool lanes where birds awake and cry,
When underneath these molten skies the reeking tenements lie?
How can I think of dawns and sunsets and the songs of nightingales,
Here where the young life is blasted and the old heart fails?
How can I touch the golden lyre and scale the peaks of song,
When the Ghetto heaves its bloody tale of infamy and wrong?
How can I thrill to Beauty's touch and walk her roads again,
When Beauty lies profaned and torn beneath the feet of men?
How can I drug my soul with visions of a newer world to be,
When here the heart of life beats out its living agony?
How can I sit and ponder idly, safe behind closed doors,
When Truth calls out to me to rise and fight her desperate wars?
—Max Press.

The Jew

What is the Jew? A morbid anchorite
Beating his breast in agony of sin?
A suave, serene and gentle sabbatarian,
Whose smile and placid manner take you in?
A dirty, swartthy vendor of the street,
Selling his tawdry goods with raucous noise?
A merchant prince in finely furnished suite
Receiving clients with a quiet poise?
A cold logician with a thin, fine smile?
A dull barbarian, dead to all the arts?
A secret schemer buried deep in guile,
A poet skilled in knowledge of our hearts?
The everlasting Jew, bizarre and strange,
Knowing one law alone—the law of change.
—David P. Berenberg.

Progress

Keep not standing fixed and stotted,
Briskly venture, briskly roam;
Head and hand, wherever thou foot it,
And stout heart are still at home.
In what land the sun does visit,
Brisk are we, what'er betide;
To give space for wandering is it
That the world was made so wide?
—Goethe, "Wilhelm Meister."

Disillusion

Frail was the thread that wove my cloth of dreams,
The tapestry was flimsy—and is frayed,
Will tear at each new touch and parts at seams,
Is useless, will not serve though it was made
Painstakingly, with tenderness and care . . .
Bright hopes are vanished and my loom is bare.
I wove my faith into that whimsy cloth,

And fragments of my spirit's wings of flight—
Low music from afar, the gleams of light,
Pale silver sands, a blue-green ocean's froth,
A garden's chiselled white struck by moonbeams . . .
It could not hold though wrought with the divine,
I blame not bitterly—the fault is mine,
Flimsy the thread I used to weave my dreams.
B. A. H.

Premature

All day long, all day long
He pulls and pulls a lever.
A monotone in song:
Changing, changing—never.

One day he sank like lead
Upon his bed. This time
He did not rise. Some said,
"He passed out in his prime!"
—Joseph Palchik.

The World Will Not Fail for Lovers

The world will not fail for lovers. Peace
Will surely drip on them from overflowing
Moon and stars. The breeze will flaunt caprice
And they will lean the closer for its blowing.

For lovers earth will make perpetual South
And Spring will brew a fresh, unique distillation;
And they will turn each to the other, mouth
To mouth—afraid, almost, of their fulfillment.
—E. Ralph Cheyney.

Jim Oneal complains to us bitterly about music and the radio. Says he: "Just as I am enjoying a delicious program of classical music, and the golden strains are lifting me above the soup and statistical sums into a realm of midsummer night dreams, along comes the announcer bellowing, 'This program, ladies and gentlemen, is given under the auspices of Snoop and Sniff, manufacturers of World-Famous Wart Pickles!'"

Says we to Jim: "Imagine, old dear, Beethoven listening in on one of his symphonies somewhere in Paradise Alley, and just before the cymbals crash into the finale, a rotarian-tongued person grunts in, 'Ladies and gentlemen, this program is given through the courtesy of Grezzo and Flop, makers of shoe polish and hair glue. The next number will be a saxophone solo of the latest dance hit from the Giggles of 1926, entitled, 'Beethoven Blues.' This is station 'S. A. D.'"

A Cradle Song

Soft, soft, and deep,
My darling, sleep.
Thy father spoke a fearless word,
And cruel tyrants overheard—
In dungeon far away lies he,
Far, far from me—far, far from thee.

Soft, soft, and deep,
My darling, sleep.
Thy father's life is worse than death,
For shame and want he suffereth.
His friends far off his trouble see,
And look askance on thee and me.

Soft, soft, and deep,
My darling, sleep.
Thy father's heart is brave and true;
Good hap to all such deeds that do!
May'st thou one day as bold and free
As thine imprisoned father be!

Soft, soft, and deep,
My darling, sleep.
Sleep out the country's darksome night;
Sleep out the term of tyrants' might;
Sleep all our bitter woes away;
Sleep on till dawns a brighter day.
—Hoffmann von Fallersleben.
(Translated by J. L. Joynes.)