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SUBWAY STRIKERS FIGHT INTIMIDATION

Socialists Ban Coalition to Aid Brian Schemes

TIMELY TOPICS

By Norman Thomas

It is no derogation of the importance of the strikes in which the cap makers and cloak makers are engaged—to them both I wish all success—to say that the most significant labor struggles of the moment are the Passaic and the New York subway strikes. In each of these are involved certain questions of enormous importance to workers everywhere. Both strikes are strikes to organize the unorganized in genuine labor unions; both strikes, in varying degrees, have to fight the company union; both have to contend against the obnoxious doctrine that the cure for a sick industry is low wages. I believe the Passaic strike may still be won if relief funds continue; the case of the subway strikers is more difficult. Win or lose, neither strike will affect only the workers immediately involved.

It is a great pity that these tremendously important strikes, unlike the other strikes, have not had A. F. of L. backing and support from the beginning. Why is it that the various A. F. of L. unions are not so active in organizing the unorganized that there is neither need nor opportunity for "outsiders" to do the job?

For the moment the appalling disaster in New Jersey has taken the center of interest in all our minds. What a grim commentary on human intelligence that in order to "protect" our country we have to make materials of such powers of destruction that a chance bolt of lightning can be the fuse for an explosion vast enough to lay waste an entire countryside! One result of the disaster will doubtless be some improvements in handling and storing these explosives. The best result would be a new interest in ridding the world of the threat of such destruction.

When a man or group of men set themselves to inquire how to get better protection than powder and shells, dynamite and T. N. T. afford, they are likely to be rated not as public benefactors but enemies of their kind! Until the very end of their sessions the young people at the Concord, (Mass.) Peace Conference were subject to annoyance. Eggs were considered arguments to use against them. On a recent speaking trip in New England I went back to Concord and heard more of the story than I have previously told.

Responsible and well informed witnesses told me that the trouble was started by officers and prominent leaders of the American Legion, inspired, there is reason to believe, not only by some of these alleged patriotic or defense societies, but at least indirectly, by the War Department itself. These prominent leaders, according to report, actually talked over with the town hooligans plans for the first night's egging. Then they themselves discreetly kept away and later repudiated the violence they had invited. Still later they helped to organize a "patriotic" meeting with a chaplain, a civilian preacher, a woman witch hunter, and New York's own Freddy Marvin as speakers. Marvin's style was a bit cramped by the presence of a court stenographer. Freddy has a wholesome fear of libel suits. So he contented himself with talking about the Illuminati (of course you all know them) and eulogizing his mother. If you don't see the connection of ideas we haven't time to explain it. You know that if we love our mothers we simply must stop talking peace. Anonymous leaflets were distributed giving more or less incorrectly a Who's Who of speakers at the Peace Conference. A still more inaccurate Who's Who circulated by mail by one of Massachusetts' many Societies for Defending Profits under Cover of Patriotism credits the innocent writer of these lines with being the founder of the I. W. W.! But all's fair bait for making rich suckers bite.

Not the least amusing of this Concord episode is the war record of some of the most valiant patriots. It ap-

(Continued on page 3)

Workers Will Form Their Own Cabinet or Dominate Another, Convention Decides

DURING the recent Cabinet shifts in France which gave Aristide Briand a couple of days rest from his more or less permanent job of reconstructing Governments while Edouard Herriot was vainly trying to stage a come-back, American newspaper correspondents in Paris took occasion to allege that the French Socialists were playing the part of dogs in the manger.

The cabled reports of Herriot's failure to find support and Briand's return to the post of Premier blamed the Socialists for not being willing to assume the responsibility of helping build a Cabinet that might be able to check the fall of the franc and establish a certain degree of financial and political normalcy.

As has been pointed out several times in The New Leader, the French Socialists are guiltless of this charge. They have repeatedly affirmed their readiness to organize either an all-Socialist Government or one in which they hold the leading posts, and they will also back any Cabinet that will take drastic steps toward making the persons who are able to pay do their share toward balancing the budget. But they refuse to be made the tools of Briand or any other bourgeois politician in vain efforts to cure the ills of France without making the bourgeoisie take a dose of what to it is nasty medicine.

Convention O. K.'s Stand

At the national convention at Clermont-Ferrand, which ended on May 26, the Socialist stand was reaffirmed in a resolution reading, in part, as follows:

"The Congress recalls and confirms the two decisions of the extraordinary congresses which have declared against participation in the Ministry, decisions which remain binding on the Party and which determine its collective action as well as the action of each of its members.

"The Congress adopts as its own the manifesto published on March 18 last by the Permanent Administrative Committee and the Socialist group in Parliament, in which are clearly defined the delays, the retreats and the hesitations which have prevented the Democratic Parties from taking advantage of the attempt at support offered them by the Socialist Party.

"Nevertheless, the Party remains resolved to renew this endeavor to collaborate with any government which, while fighting reaction, works towards restoring the financial and economic situation of France without yielding to the resistance of capitalist forces, without unjustly burdening labor and without ever forgetting that the general interest depends on the fuller realization day by day of the claims of the working-class.

Conditions of Support

"The support of the Party, should occasion arise, will be given under the conditions formulated at the Grenoble Congress and based on experience gained in the past; that is to say, without renouncing its independence, without being tied by any permanent pact to other parties or to the Government itself, and without the connections and relations, indispensable in practice, ever assuming even in ap-

(Continued on page 2)

BELGIAN LABOR RESENTS BAN LAID ON RUSSIANS

The Bulletin of the Belgian Transport Workers' Union points out that when a Russian ship calls at a Belgian port the crew is forbidden to go ashore, and asks:

"Are the Russian seamen lepers or criminals, or are they dangerous to our port? Whatever the reason, while other seamen under their articles of agreement are entitled to mix with the rest of the population like free men, the Russian seamen are forbidden to exercise this right. What is their crime, or what is feared from them?"

The Executive Committee of the Belgian Transport Workers' Union has instructed its parliamentary representatives to call the attention of the government to this state of affairs.

NEEDLE STRIKES CONTINUE STRONG

Cloak and Cap Industry at a Stanlstill—A. C. W. Negotiations Progress

THE strike of 40,000 cloakmakers and 12,000 capmakers in New York city continues 100 percent effective, no shops being open. Meanwhile the Amalgamated Clothing Workers appear to be reaching a successful culmination of their negotiations with the manufacturers.

Addressing a mass meeting of garment strikers in Arlington Hall, Manager David Dubinsky, of the Cutters' Union, said:

"Within the first two weeks we have showed the world, our friends as well as our enemies, the spirit of 1910, 1913, 1924 and other years in which we wrested one great gain after another from the employers. We were the first to establish the minimum wage, a week-work instead of piece work system of wages and were the first who began, four years ago, the effort to establish the 40-hour week which is now being enjoyed by 20,000 workers in the dress industry. We are the pioneers in revolutionary activity. If the 40-hour week will not solve the problems of our industry we will take other steps to bring about the needed improvements.

Dubinsky stressed the importance of limiting the number of contractors engaged by jobbers in the industry. The strike, he said, is primarily directed against the jobbers, who control 75 percent of the industry but who owe no responsibility to any group in it. He charged them with demoralizing wage standards, with cut-throat competition and the lessening of the number of weeks during the year that men and women can obtain work. He predicted the success of the strike.

Other speakers included August Claessens, former Socialist Assemblyman from the 17th District, and I. Nagler, business manager of Cutter Union No. 10.

The president of the Wholesale Hat and Cap Manufacturers' Association on Tuesday made public the following proposition to the striking cap makers on strike:

A 6 percent increase in wages; abolition of the unemployment fund; only $1 for holidays; a three-year contract, providing for 44 hours a week the first year, 42 hours the second and 40 the third. Mr. Isidor M. Jaffe, the president of the association, also declared that he preferred to deal with the worker direct and make him independent of the union as far as possible.

J. M. Budish, secretary of the general strike committee, stated in emphatic terms to the representative of The New Leader that the capmakers' union would never go back, would never give up conditions already a part of the agreement and standards in New York.

The employers of the association must stop fooling themselves, for the union will not consent to even consider giving up paid holidays which have existed now for ten years. Nor will the union talk about eliminating the unemployment insurance feature which has already worked successfully for the last two years.

Furthermore, said Budish, no concessions can be made to members of the association as against the independent shops who have already signed up and are doing business with the union.

The matter comes down to a question of whether or not the association is merely bargaining over the question of hours and wages and using the other demands as a smoke screen. The union leaders are perfectly content to discuss questions of hours and wages in accordance with the terms already decided upon with the independent shops.

Leaders of manufacturers, contractors and union in the clothing labor negotiations promise a joint statement later this week on the outcome of conferences for a new agreement in the New York market.

This promise followed a meeting between the representatives of the New York Clothing Manufacturers' Exchange, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the contractors' associations, which took place in the offices of Jacob Billikopf, impartial chairman.

No Stoppage of a general nature will be called this season in New York by the union, it was announced by Abraham Beckerman, manager of the New York Joint Board, although stoppages against individual offenders against union regulations will be put into effect.

SUBWAY STRIKERS THANK LEADER FOR EDITORIAL

HEADQUARTERS OF CONSOLIDATED R. R. WORKERS OF NEW YORK CITY

July 13, 1926.

Mr. James Oneal, Editor,
The New Leader,
People's House,
7 East 15th St., N. Y. C.

Dear Sir:

We, the Consolidated R. R. Workers of N. Y. C., want to express our sincere appreciation and thanks for your editorial headed "To the Subway Strikers: An Appeal," appearing in your issue of July 13.

We realize that an editorial such as "An Appeal" has considerable influence on the public in gaining their sympathy and co-operation in the strikers' aid, and also in encouraging the strikers in their very worthy cause.

Hoping that you will continue to give us your whole-hearted support in the future, we are

Very gratefully yours,

Signed.

EDWARD P. LAVIN,
President.

THE CONSOLIDATED R. R. WORKERS OF N. Y. C.
AM

(The article to which Lavin refers appeared in one of The New Leader's strike extras.)

LEADER ISSUES STRIKE EXTRAS

Subway Strikers Sell Copies of Special Editions at Stations and at Street Meetings

Two special extras of The New Leader were issued by The New Leader last week to give the striking cloak, cap, subway, shoe and textile strikers in and near New York City the real news of their great fights.

Twenty thousand copies were grabbed up by the strikers. In addition, the subway strikers took more than 5,000, which they sold at subway stations or at street meetings as propaganda to tell their side of the story to the traveling public.

With the regular edition of The New Leader, the special strike extras give the New York City workers a paper of their own three times a week. The New Leader will continue to issue the papers every Tuesday and Thursday mornings for three more weeks and longer, if necessary.

Strikers and Socialists who wish copies to distribute may have them by calling at The New Leader office, 7 East 15th street.

N. Y. LABOR PLANS MINER'S AID

Socialist Party and Union Join in Meeting to Raise Funds for British Workers

A LARGE and enthusiastic body of men and women met at the Forward Hall on Monday evening, July 12, and organized themselves into a relief organization to aid the British miners in their great struggle. This conference was composed of delegates sent from some fifty trade union internationals, joint boards and local labor organizations and some two hundred delegates representing Workmen's Circle Branches, Socialist Party, Young People's Socialist League, Jewish Socialist Verband, Forward Association and numerous other radical, labor and fraternal groups. A cablegram was sent to the British miners assuring them that an intensive drive for funds is now under way in the United States. A resolution was adopted declaring our solidarity with our British comrades, sending them our greetings and declaring our intention to do our utmost in supporting them in their struggle.

Some five thousand dollars was collected from various organizations present and sent to England. An executive committee of twenty-five was selected by the conference, and at its first meeting on Thursday, July 15, it will draw up plans for an intensive campaign and a speedy collection and transmission of funds.

DAMAGE ACTION FAILS TO COW MEN

Workers Continue Out Against Low Pay and Company Unionism

HAVING failed by other foul and fair means to persuade its striking employes to return to work, the Interborough Rapid Transit Company is now resorting to open intimidation. Like the other attempts, however, this latest move is meeting the complete contempt of the strikers.

The expensive legal machinery of the Interborough, maintained at a tremendous cost to the city of New York and the nickels of the subway riders who pay for service and not to fight the men who give service, is now to be placed in motion in an attempt to take from the strikers what little personal property or meager savings they may have.

The I. R. T. has laid suit for $235,000 against 62 of the strikers, asked for an injunction and withheld the back-pay of the men pending decision on the suit.

Leading labor lawyers have informed the strikers that there is no grounds for a damage action, and that the move is merely an attempt at intimidation on the part of the I. R. T.

How the workers themselves regard the legal action was shown at their mass meeting in Manhattan Casino.

If Hedley, czar of the Interborough, could have seen the manner in which serving of the papers in the now notorious damage suit, he might have thought he was witnessing a scene wherein he was serving notices that he had lost the strike instead.

The strikers gathered in Manhattan Casino, took the papers as though they were grand prizes of honor. In fact, that is what they considered them.

At 10.30 o'clock a rumor reached the stage.

"An Interborough legal agent is standing outside the Casino. Has some papers to serve. Sixty-two of them."

A member is dispatched to see what's up. He returns to tell Lavin that the man is standing on the sidewalk.

A representative of the American Civil Liberties Union goes out to look him over. The middle-aged man with the white moustache and the professional look informs the Civil Liberties agent that he has no papers to serve. He denies that he is connected with the legal department of the Interborough. He is loath to talk. He seems to be waiting for something or someone.

Curley Flynn meanwhile is telling the men what an injunction is and how no strike is really a strike till the employers get desperate and run to the courts for "relief." The men cheer this information. "A strike without an injunction is like Christmas without Santa Claus," Flynn tells them.

Announcement is made from the platform that the gentleman refuses to be identified and denies he has papers to serve. The workers are told to be ready to receive them individually if the I. R. T. agents refuse to serve them collectively.

Fifteen minutes later as Louis Lifkin, president of the Waiters' Union, is addressing the meeting, enters the gentleman of the papers with the papers as well as three assistants to carry them and help him dispose of them. The strikers greet them with cheers, boos, cat calls and whistles. The leaders signal them to come up front.

They advance to the platform. The strikers thunder their contempt.

"Make them come out in front."

"Let's see what they look like."

"Show us the company agents"—in a half disdainful, half bantering tone from the men.

The elderly legal agents of the I. R. T. drop their big package of summons on a platform chair. "Read 'em off. Who's first?" comes a shout from the floor.

"Edward P. Lavin," the thin voice of the I. R. T. agent begins.

Lavin grabs his summons—a legal booklet of 30 pages—and waves it to quiet the howling, hilarious motormen.

"Boys, I've got my diploma," he shouts.

"The line forms on the right. Step right along. Don't push," chips in Lifkin, and the crowd cheers and laughs.

Harry Bark gets his next and jumps to the front of the stage with the pride of a college cheer leader.

"Look at the document, boys. Some little booklet!" he yells.

The others follow—but the whole sixty-two are not present, and after

(Continued on page 2)

Labor Party Future's Hope, Brophy Says

Portage County, Pa., Organization Holds Inspiring Convention—Fall Ticket Is Planned

PORTAGE, Pa.

"AN aggressive movement to acquaint the people with the need for nationalization" of the coal industry was declared part of the campaign program of the Cambria County Farmer-Labor Party in its July convention at Portage, Pa. Some 60 delegates from United Mine Workers' local unions, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen lodges, from farmers' granges and from local Labor party units participated. The Cambria county party has been active for five years and has elected officials in many communities as well as putting two members in the State assembly and one in the State senate.

Resolutions against outstanding abuses outlined a constructive course of correction for the Labor party's fight in the fall elections. Nationalization and democratic management of the coal industry were declared for. Trial by jury in labor contempt of court cases and legislation to curb the present tyrannical use of injunctions in labor disputes are backed. Labor representation on the Interstate Commerce Commission is called for in a protest against the discriminatory freight rates granted by this body to favor non-union coal operators. Legislation to compel coal companies and other industrial concerns leasing houses to their employes to obey the 30-day eviction notice provision of the tenant law is made another issue for the Labor party campaign.

Denounce Vote Buying

Severe prison sentence is advocated as proper punishment to accompany a Corrupt Practices law which the Labor party demands to stop "wholesale election purchasing" such as the Pennsylvania primary showed. "A mere fine would mean little to men who are able to spend millions in elections," the convention declared. Courts should be compelled to open ballot boxes to verify disputed election results, the Labor party asserts in its resolution denouncing the election steal which deprived its candidate, Warren Worth Bailey, of his congressional seat in 1924.

"The gathering of the Labor party here spells hope for the future," John Brophy, president District 2, United Mine Workers, told the convention.

He urged delegates to make a real fight for their program, asserting that the program would itself attract votes for their candidates. Brophy called attention to the three and five-day eviction notices used by coal operators as a union-breaking tactic. He reviewed briefly the vicious injunction of the Buffalo, Rochester & Pittsburgh Railroad coal interests at Adrian, Pa., which the State supreme court upheld, as a use of government to help operators' union-smashing. He added to

(Continued on page 2)

A. C. W. Starts Drive Among Phila. Shirt Makers

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America are conducting a campaign in Philadelphia among the Shirtmakers and several organizers have been assigned to organize the non-union workers working in the shirt shops.

In the past few months the campaign has been a great success which has made it possible to establish a Shirtmakers Local 153. There are several hundred shirtmakers in the union at present.

This new organized Local is giving a picnic at Maple Grove Park Saturday, July 24. They extend an invitation to all workers of the trade and friends to spend a day out in the open air. We assure a good time to everyone who comes. There will be music, dancing, prize games, and a play, "Beauty," which will be followed by prominent speakers including Alex Cohen, head of the Shirtmakers; Charles Ervin, editor of the "Advance," and Mamie Santora, member of the General Executive Board; Brother Madanick will be the chairman of the meeting.

PAVERS UNION IN CONVENTION

Organization Has Not Called a Strike in Score of Years

By Laborite

THE International Union of Pavers, Rammers, Flag-Layers, Wood Block and Brick Pavers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, Asphalt Workers and Road Builders is distinguished not only by its long title, but by the fact that it has not had a strike in more than a score of years. The union traces its existence to 1860, and with the growth of highways it has, of course, progressed in numbers. It affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in 1905. Today it has a membership of forty thousand, scattered throughout the United States, with two locals in Canada. Its main strength, however, is in Greater New York and vicinity.

During the week beginning July 12, 1926, the International Union of Pavers, Rammers, etc., has been holding its bi-ennial convention in New York city under the chairmanship of its president, Thomas M. Dougherty, of Cincinnati. The two hundred delegates presented a must unusual sight. They were rather elderly men—more so than at the average convention. Nevertheless, they look robust enough. The reason was soon made clear. The building of roads does not attract young men for working in a bent-over position, exposed to the elements, isolated in the rural sections, necessitating very often absense from family, is rather irksome. To the middle-aged and elderly has, therefore, fallen the task of maintaining the nation's highways.

The convention of the Pavers' Union differs from that of other unions in concentrating all its oratory the first day and, then, going into executive session, to conduct its real business. This is no reflection upon the speakers invited to address the convention. In fact, such men as Governor "Al" Smith of New York, than whom there is none other the delegates esteem more highly, were asked to be its guests. The first day, indeed, saw on the platform such good friends as Abraham Lefkowitz, of the Teachers' Union; Michael Murphy and Matt. McConville, of the Engineers; John Coughlin, secretary of the New York City Central Trades and Labor Council; Louis F. Budenz, editor of "Labor Age"; Ernest Bohm, of the Bookkeepers Union; Jeremiah O'Leary, alderman, and Thomas J. Curtiss, president of the International Tunnel and Subway Construction Union, and head of the Compensation Bureau of the Building and Allied Trades of New York City. The rule of the Pavers' Union to conduct its business strictly behind closed doors, arises, literally, from political necessity. The road workers depend for their livelihood upon the good graces of legislators and other governmental officials. Highway appropriations are their bread and butter. They, therefore, believe that their plans of campaign and their heview of past events should be analyzed without the flare and trumpets of the public press, if honest and frank discussion is to be expected.

The trade is one hundred per cent. organized. The union claims that it only requires negotiations to gain its demands. Experience seems to confirm its judgment, for without a strike in twenty-five years, the rate of pay has been increased from $4.50 to $12 per day. The discussions behind closed doors must be effective. Still in New York city proper, even the Pavers' Union has not been able to break down the opposition of the Democratic Administration to paying the prevailing rate of wages. Edward I. Hannon, secretary-treasurer of the union, has been one of the leaders in the fight in New York to force the city authorities to live up to the prevailing rate of wage law. At the convention he explained in detail the existing situation.

A cross section of the opinions of the delegates on current politics can

(Continued on page 4)

"These Follows Must Be Socialists"

Drawn by W. T. Brady

SOCIALISTS PUT BAN ON AID TO BRIAND

(Continued from page 1)

pearance the character of organic co-operation.

"This action must be conducted with a view of obtaining a capital levy, stabilization of the currency, peace in Morocco, the transfer to the League of Nations of the mandate in Syria, the reduction of the term of military service, the introduction of social insurance.

"But the Congress, in studying the political and parliamentary situation as shaped by recent events, in the presence of a government of groups, which is only in reality a Government of social immobility, not only—it goes without saying—consider any policy of support as impossible, but empowers its parliamentary group to follow a clear, vigorous and energetic policy of opposition. This policy of opposition, which can be neither systematic nor demagogic, will be expressed by putting forward, in opposition to the Government's solutions, Socialist solutions inspired by the doctrine and the program of the party, and by trying to get them accepted, even partially, employing for this purpose every means of parliamentary procedure.

Dangers of Not-Voting

"Moreover, the Socialist group will have to refuse its votes to any measures for the status quo by the Government, and if, in certain circumstances, the Congress admits that in order to avoid increasing difficulties in the struggle of the working-class, the refusal of the Socialists should take the form of a reasoned abstention, yet it warns the Socialist group of the dangers involved in such tactics.

"The opposition policy thus defined must be conducted, not only within Parliament, but also throughout the whole country, and the Congress calls upon the Socialist group to make a great effort at propaganda in order to explain to the workers the exact position taken by the party to increase its power of organization, of recruitment, of influence, in order to prepare ultimately the growth of the electoral and parliamentary power of Socialism.

"The Congress considers that a spirit of unity and discipline was never more necessary than now. It notes, however, a definite relaxation in the observation of discipline within the party. Yet in order to pass through the present period, full of difficulties as it is, the party needs a faithful adherence by all its members, individually and collectively, to the decisions arrived at in common after free discussion by its ordinary assemblies."

General Election Sought

The resolution ends by citing some recent breaches of party discipline, and emphasizing the necessity of the party officials making the various groups and the Deputies realize that only through real unity can the Socialist cause be carried to success. There seems no doubt that the best thing that could happen for the Socialists would be a general election, which would probably heavily increase their Parliamentary group of slightly more than 100 Deputies, and give the militants a chance to vent their energy upon the common enemy.

The relative strength of the three wings within the party is shown by the way the Clermont-Ferrand convention voted on the policy resolution. To the large majority that adopted the Leon Blum-Zyromsky resolution, there was opposed a small extreme Left Wing under the leadership of Maurice Maurin, editor of the weekly, L'Etincelle, and a Right Wing led by Pierre Renaudel.

The resolution was first voted on in two parts. In the first place, on a general policy, and in the second place on the section dealing with discipline among members of the party. Renaudel's group declared it would refrain from voting. For the general political section of the Leon Blum-Zyromsky resolution 2,220 votes were cast, with 694 abstaining and 114 absent .For the second part dealing with discipline 1,895 votes were given with 312 against, 395 abstaining and 19 absent. Thereupon the whole resolution was adopted with 2,349 votes, 685 abstaining from voting and 19 being absent.

Renaudel Seats Open

After the decision was taken elections for the chief offices in the party were held. Renaudel and his friends declared that after what had transpired they must forego membership of the Permanent Administrative Committee. The majority decided for the present to leave vacant those seats which would fall to the Right Wing, according to proportional representation. The following were elected to the Administrative Committee: Bracke, Caille, Grandvallet, Gouilard, Le Troquer, Longuet, Osmin, Severac, Zyromska, Delepine, Louis Levy, Graziani, Malher, Courmont. Eight seats for the Renaudel group and two for the Maurin group were left open.

The representatives in the Socialist International remained as before: Bracke, Longuet and Renaudel, with Leon Blum and Paul Faure as alternates.

Nanty-glo, Penna. and Wales, Scenes of Labor Struggles

By Esther Lowell

NANTY-GLO, Pa.

NANTY-GLO, in Pennsylvania, is a town divided. While Nanty-Glo in Wales is struck solidly with the British Miners' Federation's fight for life, Nanty-Glo, Pa., is cut through with a bitter division—mostly union, but part scab.

Nanty-Glo is Welsh for Coal Brook. The American town is a small-scale picture of the whole soft coal industry of the country. The odds are not so favorable elsewhere—the union proportion of Nanty-Glo shifting to a non-union balance when the entire industry is surveyed.

Nanty-Glo is one of the largest coal towns in Central Pennsylvania. Some 7,000 people live in the great circular hollow and up the hillsides forming it. A main street straggles down hill from one scab section, through the little business district, across the railroad track, and up the hill to the other drab scab section. But the heart of the town is union. Through the Labor Party the union is strong politically. It elected a town burgess and other officials, including William Welch, to the school board. Welch is the miners' executive board member and strike leader.

Two Mines Unionized

Two of the town's four mines—Webster (Pennsylvania Coal & Coke Co.), and Springfield (Peale interests)—are union, working two or three days a week. Lincoln mine is shut down after vain efforts to operate non-union. Heisley, No. 3 (Weaver interests of Philadelphia) is where the fight is on. The operators, breaking their union contract, promised the men a year's work if they took the 1917 scale instead of Jacksonville. There was a long hard strike, though the mine had been shut for months.

More guards than scabs—240 company thugs to less than 100 non-union workers—were used by Heisley at first. Local union men were arrested and re-arrested. The former president of one local turned company agent, dragging some union men with him. Southern tenant farmers and backward mountain men as well as unemployed miners from other sections of Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia wandered in—and out—2,000 scabs coming and going in one year. They got the year's work, not always full time, and less than half the normal working force. Now they get at best only three days' work a week. The operators hint that they might give another year's work if the men take the 1914 scale, which is less than half the Jacksonville rates.

A young American woman raking her garden weeps. "I'm all alone now—my old friends won't speak—except to slur me." Her union neighbors' taunts of "Scab!" burn deep. She has lived here 12 years. Other non-union men's wives are hardened and do not feel the social pressure so keenly. They are bitterly disappointed that work in the mines is unsteady, hazardous and poorly paid, despite company promises. Their hardships are as great as ever. Their children run in rags.

Scouts Join Fight

"Scabs!" cries one four-year-old boy to another. Boy Scouts, like their fathers' fraternal orders, feel the union fight. Organizations become wholly union or all scab. Churches are disrupted. One Protestant minister, while proclaiming neutrality, complains that union organizers "preach class hate." He cites the coal operators' figures of what the union pays these organizers. He believes the operators' story that there is "plenty of work at $6 and $9 a day for non-union miners."

Effects of this minister's efforts to teach "brotherly love" show in his children. One son told tales against union children and echoed his father's denunciations of Catholic influence. Because the union miners don't favor his own bone-dry taste, because they like Sunday baseball, and because they hold their labor chautauqua across the street, the distraught parson can't see the miners' real problems.

But he is wise enough not to recognize a certain lay preacher, named William Nimmo, who works around the mines. Formerly Nimmo held forth in various pulpits when regular pastors were absent. He does "outside work" at the scab mine, his wife says. "Welfare work," the union men declare, "visiting miners' homes and telling their women to keep the men away from the union."

Sam Chilton, leader of the scabs, is the most bitterly assailed man here. Despite his former position as head of the local union, he calls John L. Lewis "an I. W. W.—a Russian communist bolshevik." Sam has a new addition on his company-owned house. He and his sons have new autos and an expensive police pup. But Sam goes around with "pussy foots" accompanying him. Plenty of these parasites and company spotters spy on the union men constantly. Still the operators can't keep their scab mines going. And they have embittered the life of Nanty-Glo.

GERMAN SOCIALISTS GAIN IN BOCHUM

Another proof of the steady advance of the German Social Democracy is found in the result of the municipal elections of June 13 in Greater Bochum, where the Socialist vote rose, in spite of the fact that only about 58 percent. of the electorate went to the polls, and the number of Socialist aldermen jumped from seven to fourteen. The Communists lost four aldermen, bringing their total down to nine; the Democrats fell from two to none, and the Centrists from eighteen to fifteen. The combined reactionary groups, labeled "Black-White-Red," managed to hold their thirteen aldermen, the Economic Party rose from two to three, and the Crippled Soldiers' Group won a seat.

In Saxony the strife between the twenty-three Socialist members of the Diet, who insisted upon standing by the coalition Cabinet, headed by one of their number, despite the demands of the big majority of the party membership for the dissolution of the legislature and new elections, and the National Executive Committee, has resulted in an open break. The twenty-three recalcitrants have been expelled from their local groups and have organized a dissident body which they call the "Old Social Democratic Party of Saxony." They threaten to run candidates of their own in the next Diet elections, but the eighteen regular Socialists in the Saxon legislature, backed by the national office, are working hard to hold the rank and file in line, with good prospects of success.

Gustav Bauer, one-time Socialist Chancellor of Germany, who was dropped from the party last year because of his alleged irregular deals with Julius Barmat, the fallen financial "genius," has proved his innocence and been restored to membership by a national investigation committee.

LABOR MEN FORM GROUP TO TOUR RUSSIA

Locomotive Engineers' Editor Announces Plan for Investigating Commission

CLEVELAND.

ALBERT F. COYLE, editor, Locomotive Engineers Journal, releases the following announcement:

"To end the dearth of accurate information concerning labor conditions in Fascist Italy and Soviet Russia by securing first-hand facts about labor conditions in those countries as well as throughout Europe generally, a select group of the leading labor executives of the United States expect to leave this country the last of August for a two-months' tour covering the chief industrial centers of Europe.

"While the labor leaders concerned are undertaking this important mission personally and not as an official delegation, their mission to Europe assumes unusual significance because of the fact that it will break down the isolation that has separated the principal labor groups of the two continents since the war, and will also make possible a reliable statement on the much disputed position of the mass of working people in both Italy and Russia.

Rail Head Chairman

"While further information concerning the detailed plans of the party will not be announced until the middle of July, it was learned that the chairman of the group will be the president of one of the big railroad brotherhoods and that the remaining members will consist of prominent grand officers of at least two other transportation brotherhoods and leading international unions both inside and outside of the American Federation of Labor.

"In addition to first-hand personal observation, the commission will also take along a staff of expert economists under the direction of W. Jett Lauck, long regarded as the ablest labor economist in the country by the railroad brotherhoods, the United Mine Workers and other great international unions. Frank P. Walsh, former joint chairman with ex-President Taft, of the United States War Labor Board, will also accompany the party as expert adviser on legal and political affairs.

"The announcement that a commission of the most reputable and responsible labor executives of this country expects to visit Russia puts completely to rest the fears of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, expressed at their last meeting, that radicals in the employ of the soviet government might endeavor to stampede American labor and support a 'whitewashing committee' from this country.

A. F. L. Men to Join

"Prominent executives of large international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, it was learned today, state that their plans to secure reliable information concerning conditions in Russia in no wise conflict with the refusal of the last American Federation of Labor convention to send an official delegation to Russia at the expense of the federation.

"The present mission, it is pointed out, claims no official American Federation of Labor status, since it is composed of labor executives connected both with the railroad brotherhoods and the A. F. of L. Moreover, since the labor leaders concerned are making the trip on their own private initiative, their plans are not properly a matter of concern to the A. F. of L."

It is not likely that this delegation will give any more satisfaction in its report on Russia than any of the other numerous delegations have given. The New Leader believes, although its report will be awaited with considerable curiosity by many interested people. The only thing that can be said with accuracy is that Russia is not as bad off economically as some paint her or as healthful economically as Communists insist. Russia certainly has not established Communism, which is the aim of the Bolsheviks.

Experience shows that troubles disappear when it is made the interest of the people themselves to put an end to them.—Haldane.

The Cloakmakers' Fight

Edmond Gottesman

Secretary, Neckwear Makers' Union

The late Lord Northcliffe, owner of some of the greatest newspapers of England, on his return from a visit to the United States, describing his impressions of the American people said that they are a docile people. That implies that we are an easily managed people, accept conditions as they are and acquiesce with a Hindu resignation to our fate.

I suspect that Lord Northcliffe got his impression from observing the indifference with which we react to our politicians, who before election shout of their great love and deep concern for the working man and after election votes against every attempt to pass legislation to restrict our judges from breaking strikes by injunctions, for the eight-hour day, to prohibit child labor, for old age pension or for the relief of the housing problem to build from public funds homes to provide the poor with decent rooms for a low rent. Yet when another election comes around the very same politicians dish out the same stuff of their friendship to the underdog, we forget or are indifferent to his record and re-elect him. Only a docile people could behave thus.

A Wave of Unrest

However, in the last few months we are witnessing a steady wave of unrest and discontent manifesting itself in strikes and bitter struggles for higher wages, shorter hours and a guarantee for a minimum annual income. Would another Northcliffe in the face of outbreaks of the Passaic textile workers, the Furriers, Miners, Capmakers, the Interborough subway workers and the Cloak Makers, involving hundreds of thousands of workers, striking for months, call these workers docile people?

The American press subsidized by the bankers, stockholders, manufacturers and the rest of the category of big business is barking day in and day out that ours is the wealthiest, the most prosperous country in the world, which is true. The wealth of our country is over 400 billions, our annual profit is over 60 billion dollars, we have more than half of the world's gold and we have been paying out hundreds of millions in dividends and extra dividends to stockholders. These figures are undeniable, but how does this stupendous production of wealth compare with the glaring figures of low wages received by the great masses of the toilers? It is now a well known fact that the Passaic textile workers average $15-$18 a week, the subway workers $38, $34, and less for a 7-day week, the cloak makers' weekly average is about $32, and so along the line according to reliable statistics the weekly average of the American working men is near the $30 mark, admitted by all honest economists to be below the necessary standard to support a family. In other words, while this country has the most efficient army of workers who produce the greatest income and wealth, they that toil to produce it do not receive enough to live in decency, the result is rebellion and strikes.

The Cloakmakers' Strike

The cloakmakers are now engaged in a struggle with a most unscrupulous vulture class of manufacturers, that hire gunmen to shoot and stab the strikers. This should make the cloakmakers all the more determined, for their fight is a just one. Every self-respecting and class conscious working man should by organized means compel the manufacturers to guarantee a wage that is compatible with a decent standard of living.

The cloak manufacturers have accumulated riches from the industry and now are using their ingenuity and business acumen to evade responsibility for a living wage and sanitary conditions by creating sub-manufacturers and the sweat shop. There is unanimity of purpose, cooperation and class solidarity among the manufacturers to defeat and break the cloakmakers' strike. The cloakmakers are valiant veterans of many a battle. Thus far they fought with admirable valor and won. There is every reason to believe that the cloakmaker of today is as conscious of his plight as the cloakmakers in the past have been. The 40-hour week, an increase in wages and a guarantee for a minimum annual income must be granted and the jobber, the capitalist and real factor in the cloak industry, should be made responsible for these conditions.

The workers of this country cannot remain longer docile. The employing class have hoarded up riches, live in comforts and luxury, while the producers, the toilers, are allowed the crumbs to live in poverty and misery. You can change these conditions. You have your union, you are an army fighting for human rights. It is a great object. Justice is on your side, the Labor Movement is with you, and a big success and great victory will be the outcome of your fight.

"Labor Party Hope Of Future"–Brophy

(Continued from page 1)

the railroaders' arguments that discriminatory freight rates make less work for them, the miners' protest that such favoritism shown by the Interstate Commerce Commission is another weapon against unionism. Improving the miners' position is bettering the common weal of the community, Brophy declared, so that other groups of workers are amply justified in helping along the Labor party program.

"Put Bosses on Defense"

"We can force the operators to be on the defensive," Brophy stated, "by pushing for nationalization." Private management of coal stands indicted by present conditions as well as by competent engineers. When the Labor party helps the union demand nationalization, it is giving an answer to the question, "What are you going to do about depressed conditions in the industry?" Unification, public ownership, democratic management of coal are necessary to get a reasonable security and a fair annual earning to the miners. The United Mine Workers is inevitably compelled to declare for a long term program that spells some hope for the men against the forces making for the destruction of the union.

In present over-development of the industry, ordinary trade union practices fail because they do not go far enough. The strike is seen to be a limited weapon. Trustification or nationalization would reorganize the industry to overcome present inefficiency but only nationalization with democratic management would protect the workers.

Fall Ticket Planned

Fighting for nationalization doesn't mean giving up the old true and tried policies of the trade unions but it is supplementing, adding to, them.

Joseph Washington (B. of L. F. & E.) and Pat McDermott (miner), Cambria county Labor party assemblyman, and Charles Plummer, additional candidate for assembly, spoke to the convention. McDermott talked about the anti-injunction bill which he had introduced in the last legislature which made contempt under labor injunctions an offense for jury trial. Such a bill would curb the court dictatorship set up by injunctions in labor disputes if such use of injunctions could not be completely ended, he said.

James B. Gindlesberger, member Brotherhood Locomotive Firemen & Enginemen, lodge 28, mentioned that two roads hauling non-union coal now have strikes of the railroad men: The Virginian and the Western Maryland. Discriminatory rates of the Interstate Commerce Commission very directly affect the amount of employment of railroad men, he said. William Welch, U. M. W. district executive board member from Nanty-Glo and Labor party executive member, stressed the need of nationalization of coal and urged the party to use its issues to the fullest in the campaign.

The party executive committee was empowered to complete the fall ticket without another session of the county convention until the regular one at the end of September.

An age has dawned in which the desire to make history, to apply human thought with greater effect to the refashioning of the conditions of existence, has arisen with a force hitherto unknown.—Hilda D .Oakley.

The slaves who did not run away helped to fasten the chains of those who did.—Ingersoll.

CANADIAN LABOR FACES NEW ELECTION

Labor M. P. Urges Preparation for New Contest — Farmers Join with City Workers

THE dissolution of the Canadian Parliament brings the workers and farmers up against another general election soon. J. S. Woodsworth, the Labor member from Winnipeg, points out the necessity of immediate organization and preparation for the contest.

Woodworth denounces the two main parties as incapable of meeting the problems that face the workers of Canada, believes that the constitution, drawn up sixty years ago, is not adapted to modern times, and must undergo marked alterations.

Speaking of the need of working class representation at Ottawa, Woodworth says:

"Farmers and Labor men in every constituency ought to lose no time in canvassing the situation and in calling nominating conventions so that there may be placed in the field at an early stage men who will really represent the common people of this country.

"Surely the time has come for Labor to arouse. Sooner than we expect, Labor is being given another chance to send representatives to Ottawa. The past year has demonstrated the power which a small independent group at Ottawa can exercise. A dozen labor men under existing circumstances could force through the legislation for which Labor has been pleading for the last twenty years.

Do not wait for the other fellow to make the first move. The Labor Party in your district may not be strongly organized, but once a candidate is selected there would be a very considerable amount of support. It is true that we have not the finances of the old parties. We do not need them. We have what is worth much more: a definite industrial organization which has certain definite objects in view. It should be easy to show labor men that they have little to expect from either of the two old parties; that they can hope for much more through the activities of men who know the needs of Labor and who are directly responsible to Labor. Send us reinforcements.

Subway Strikers Fight Intimidation

(Continued from page 1)

passing out ten or more then I. R. T. agents decide they have given enough entertainment for one evening.

"Couldn't we get the boys to come down to the office for them?" one of them asks Lavin.

The reply need not be recorded.

Bulky James Dougherty remarked:

"Heavens, the strike will be over before I'd ever get half through the document."

"What a pile of paper," shouts another in the confusion on the platform and floor. "And Hedley says he's poor. Paper costs money. Poor Hedley. Let's pass the hat for him."

"They've sued us for $230,000. Hell, I didn't know we had that much in our treasury," exclaims another busily turning the pages to catch the high spots.

"Some souvenir," says another big moterman, who refuses to give his up to a newspaper man.

"I'll have this bound, framed and preserved in alcohol for my grandchildren."

By this time the legal agents have slipped away with their unserved papers, having provided more vaudeville than the strikers have enjoyed on their own stage since the strike began.

Explaining what it all means by Bark, Lifkin and Lavin:

"The most unique injunction serving I've ever seen in years at the labor game," remarks a hard-boiled newspaper scribe. It was a wild west show and a comic opera rolled into one. Good copy. Good night."

A nation is not made great by the number of square miles it contains, but by the number of square men it contains.—Thomas Jay.

Company Unionism---Is It a Challenge to Labor?

Robert Dunn Condemns Them as a Great Menace; Ordway Tead Finds They Have Virtues

By Robert W. Dunn

THE wide range of welfare expedients now employed by American employers constitutes a definite challenge to the trade union movement. Corporations, large and small, having in recent years adopted a most extensive variety of devices which—taken at their face value—are designed to make the lot of the worker in industry more humane, comfortable, and agreeable, and to make the worker himself more loyal and obedient to the corporation.

Among the activities, usually set up and supervised by a labor manager, a service or personnel director, are such as the following: Employees' mutual benefit associations, with sickness and other benefit features; works councils, shop committees or employee representation plans—these three being known to the trade union movement as company unions; profit sharing and bonuses; company insurance and pensions; company magazines; stock subscription plans; thrift schemes; building and loan plans; safety and sanitation committees, and a hundred more variations of the welfare theme, such as service pin associations, veterans' clubs, athletic teams, payroll propaganda slips, and even country clubs and company brass bands.

Some corporations develop this program very extensively in the attempt to make the plant the source and center of all good things in the worker's social life. In this way they hope to bring in what they term the "new era in industry." The "golden rule" and "the corporation with a soul" are other terms used by enthusiastic supporters of this approach to the "man problem" in industry.

The Employers' Objects

In establishing the various plans and services for the workers, employers are not moved to any great extent by humanitarian or altruistic considerations. They expect from these activities concrete benefits to the business; in other words, bigger profits, more and cheaper production. As a rule they hope to realize such benefits in the form of reduced labor turnover, long service records, enhanced loyalty, contentment and morale, as well as freedom from labor troubles, increased productivity, lessened labor cost, and ample labor supply at all times. The employer may also have in mind the acquirement of a reputation in the community as a "progressive" employer, one who emphasizes the "service" ideal and who may perhaps gain considerable advertising advantage from the proper capitalization of this idea. Witness the excellent copy prepared for the Standard Oil Company of Indiana which appears regularly in the advertising section of the American Federationist.

On one or more of the above counts the expenditure for welfare and personnel purposes usually justifies itself as a quite profitable investment. Unless it does so it is sooner or later recognized as a liability and abandoned, often in connection with a change in management, as, for example, in the case of the American Woolen Company two years ago, and in the case of Morris & Company's consolidation with Armour & Company, meat packers. Persons who have had occasion to look into the cost entailed by specific corporations in carrying what is known as a "well-rounded welfare program" have found that it comes to but a fraction of the amount that would be necessary to grant the workers a 10 percent increase in wages. It may be concluded from this that a carefully conceived and scientific program of service activities is usually a paying proposition if it keeps down agitation and tends to immunize the workers against the temptations offered to them by trade union organizers to seek higher wages, shorter hours, and other substantial benefits to be won through union activity.

"The net result of all these activities in many cases seems to be what the employer expects—an increased loyalty to the firm, a greater dependence upon its welfare features, and an acceptance of these features as a part of the payment for the job. This fixation of loyalty upon the employer in just so far alienates the worker from his fellow workers in the industry at large, and leads him to identify his individual interests with those of the company rather than with those of his class. The result is what the League for Industrial Rights calls 'factory solidarity' as opposed to 'class solidarity.'

Company Unions

One of the major devices now employed to achieve company loyalty and eliminate labor agitation is the company union, a term applied by the trade union movement to systems of 'employe representation' through works councils, shop committees, and industrial assemblies. Any company-devised program for giving the workers some legislative function concerning even the most insignificant matters or grievances arising in the shop, plant, or works is now given this name. Mutual benefit associations, safety committees and a few other types of associations are usually excluded from the category, but any plan that offers the workers any slight participation in conference, even of the most advisory character, on shop problems is now referred to in the labor movement as a company union.

Employer Objectives

What are the employer's objectives in introducing the company union as admittedly, these schemes are outlined, prepared, and introduced through the initiative and force of the company management, and not through the efforts of the workers? First, we may mention the benevolent or humanitarium type of employers just referred to. They have a genuine concern for the souls of their workers, and are convinced that experimentation with the 'freedom and responsibility' permitted under employe representation, is nothing more than their Christian duty. Some of these employers also have a certain scientific interest in seeing the capitalist industrial machine progress with the fewest possible hitches.

Then we have the more hard-boiled types of employers and corporations which, while perhaps varnishing their motives in much the same verbiage as the really humanitarian employer, are chiefly interested in the company unions to dispose of the existing trade unions.

"Then we have a considerable number of companies that have been only sporadically harassed by labor organizers and whose workers have never been successfully organized into trade unions. However, they have been farsighted enough to prepare against the advancing tide of unionism. The Standard Oil interests and the Rockefeller steel mill are of this type, as are the Pacific Mills, the Pullman Company, the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co., and the International Harvester.

Labor's Argument

When the trade unions have awakened to the real menace of the company unions and denounced it at succeeding conventions of the A. F. of L. they have argued correctly that the company union is a weak and ineffective instrument for workers. They contend that:

1. It has absolutely no bargaining power, which, as is conceded, rests upon the ability to strike.

2. It has no treasury or no financial strength, or no backing from the general "world of labor."

3. It concerns itself solely with non-vital matters and petty grievances, and even in these the committees have usually only advisory functions.

4. No separate mass meetings of the workers are permitted under the company union.

5. No experts, statisticians, lawyers and other advisors are permitted to represent the workers in conference and bargaining councils.

6. Control in joint committees is usually held by employers, and in most cases the management has the final veto in all matters.

7. The works committee covers only one plan or company. The employers' unions and associations, on the other hand, cover the industry.

8. In spite of all 'no-discrimination' clauses, agitation for real trade unionism almost invariably results in the discharge of the 'agitator.'

9. Decision of the committees apply only to one plant. Broader factors affecting the whole industry determine wages, hours and basic conditions. No organization in any one plant can have any effect upon them.

10. Workers in company unions have no collective political power, nor can they fight for labor legislation. On the other hand, they may often be used to serve the political and legislative purposes of the employers.

Why the worker in any plant will submit to the company union is a problem puzzling the minds of many a trade union organizer. Some contend that the worker without any trade union background or with only a very shallow wartime trade union experience, sees some advantage in getting a union 'without dues,' and that his Yankee zest for a bargain blinds him to the more fundamental dangers in an employer - controlled organization. Others admit that the company association does give the worker at least a semblance of self-expression in matters concerning his immediate working life, and that the employers' slogan of 'One Big Family' makes a more immediate sentimental appeal, at least in times of relative prosperity and job security, than do the conflicting notes of the current business type of trade union wrangling over jurisdiction and per capita.

Are the Trade Unions at Fault?

This of course raises the whole question of industrial unionism as against craft sectionalism and the part the latter plays in exposing the workers to the appeals of company unionism. Everyone who has watched the growth of the company union has attributed the ease of some of its advances to the pathetic divisions existing among the workers as a result of the ancient craft unions existing among them. The failure of these craft bodies to fuse into a solid front in order to attract all the workers in a given plant, rather than just a few of the higher skilled or better paid, is one of the important explanations of the rise of company unions. As against this narrow craft solidarity the management offers the "factory solidarity" alternative. All the workers in one company union, no discrimination because of wage grouping, craft, skill, or sex. Certainly, this sounds on the surface better than the old craft-conscious and hesitant invitations of the trade unions. In the General Electric Company, for example, a dozen or more sorts of unions are eligible, under the A. F. of L., to organize the workers. This fact in itself makes it easier for the company to open the door to all workers and to invite them to enter equally into such "freedom, fraternity," and what not, as the company may care to grant them. Practically all the big companies present the same situation, the automobile, the rubber, the electrical and other such industries illustrating the weakness of the old-fashioned craft unions in the face of modern large-scale industry—in the face of the company organization with its many inducements to the workers to be loyal to the company rather than to some petty guild of skilled draftsmen to which only a fraction of the workers are eligible in any event.

Another weakness in the present trade union situation is, of course, the persistence of dual unionism particularly in such industries as textiles. The conflicts between the various unions competing for the same jurisdiction either in or out of the fold of the A. F. of L., has had the same effect upon the growth of company unionism as has the persistence of the antiquated craft unions mentioned.

To this weakness should also be added the general hesitation of the eligible trade unions and their lack of militancy when faced with the problem of organizing the unorganized, particularly in company union territory. Such railroad unions as the clerks, and the maintenance of way men can be said to have put up something like a real battle to resist the company union and reach the unorganized. The electrical workers and, to some extent the machinists, have also faced the problem; but the mass of the unions with jurisdictions touching company union territory have shown appallingly few signs of life when confronted with the employers' substitutes for the trade union. Many, like the steel workers' union, seem scarcely to be aware of the number, types, and strength of the works councils now functioning in such great plants as those of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation. It is hoped that these trade unions will awaken to the danger of the company unions that threaten to wipe them out altogether, and that they will devise some strategy for effectively counteracting their influence.

Tactics for Meeting Company Union

This raises the whole question of the tactics to be pursued by such unions as have the will or the desire to challenge the sway of the company organization. There seem to be open at least two clear-cut methods of fighting the company union, depending on the strength of the company union and the conditions existing in the challenging trade union, as well as in the plant or corporation involved. One is open struggle and exposure, such as attacks in the trade union press, and the circulation of shop papers such as have recently been edited by trade union elements in company union strongholds like the Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Co. By this tactic, if properly carried out, the whole company union farce may be shown up and the workers made to lose confidence in it and to join the trade union instead.

The other tactic is the now quite popular one of boring from within. Mr. William Green and Mr. William Z. Foster both approve of it so there ought to be no questioning its value as an effective trade union answer to the company union situation. The idea, of course, is to have all loyal members of the trade union work as energetically as possible within the works council in order to bring real demands before the joint conference and show up the inability of management to grant these demands. Instead of permitting the shop committees to remain merely passive and advisory bodies called together at the whim of the labor manager to discuss inconsequential matters and to find out "what's on the worker's mind," the borers within it should strive to make it serve the workers in adjusting their real grievances concerning wages, hours, and other vital matters.

An address before the League for Industrial Democracy.)

A Defense of Company Unionism

By Ordway Tead

ONE would be wholly lacking in realism who did not realize that a certain amount of deliberate intention and organized activity of a repressive sort has been behind certain of the employer efforts mentioned above. But to explain the amount of activity which all this change in the last 15 years represents as due to cool calculation, selfish motives, cunning foresight on the part of a little group of super-men, tends to give an unduly simple picture and one much too flattering to the groping, random, puzzled and experimental activities of a great number of scattered and baffled employers.

May I ask that you try to view these activities, for the moment at least, not as a conspiracy but as the experiments of frankly puzzled and groping individuals who have found themselves charged with large executive responsibilities.

Personnel Departments

The activities are as follows:

I. Personnel Departments. In the management of industry today there are specially designated managers giving full time and attention to the conduct of all the numerous affairs which relate to the effective application of labor by the workers. Several hundred of the largest companies have extensive budgets devoted to the conduct of this work, and the personnel executives are definitely charged with the responsibility of keeping in the forefront of all managerial thinking the problems of the workers' attitudes and conditions. I make no extravagant claims for this development. I merely say that to an unprecedented degree factories and stores in this country are being run by people who are mindful of the rights, interests, desires and aspirations of the rank and file. And I further point out that under any scheme of industrial ownership and control this type of executive consideration and functional organization would have to obtain. Indeed, in government employment much of this work has already been taken over and copied from industrial management procedure.

Employee Representation

II. Employee Representation. One special phase of personnel management has been the encouragement of organized group activity under which conference and negotiation could take place with employees in an organized way. In a certain few labor unions which have for some time conducted collective dealing with employees the use of some form of shop committee has been recognized as a sound part of the plan. This has been true in the printing trades and the garment trades where it was recognized from an organizational standpoint that it was sound structure to have a conference group at each level beginning with the shop, going next to the local district, then to the state, and then to the national organization.

The critics and opponents of employee representation offer it as an objection that these organizations have been almost 100 percent initiated by employers. This is true and it constitutes, for the present at least, a real limitation upon their power and influence. But a truly realistic analysis must admit that there have been many industries and literally many millions of employees who have not been organized and who have never had the benefit accruing from collective bargaining.

May I make it quite clear that I appreciate fully that employee representation cannot bring about equality of bargaining power. Also I agree fully that equality of bargaining power is a fundamental condition of sound relations. But it does seem to me that where no union has ever entered or tried to enter and where employees have never had sufficient initiative to organize and affiliate with a trade union there is a substantial educational gain in the institution of a joint conference plan even if the employer initiates it. For the experience with these plans is conclusive that their educational value is tremendous for both managers and men and that they facilitate the negotiation of terms of employment and the prompt adjustment of grievances.

From my point of view it is as idle to disparage employee representation plans in comparison with trade unions as it would be idle to say that we do not need state government because we have city government. Functionally viewed, the shop committee has its area of jurisdiction, and the labor union has its area of jurisdiction. And they are complimentary and not opposed.

Stock Ownership

III. Stock Ownership and Profit Sharing. These plans represent also an implicit recognition on the part of employers that employees have a right to something besides their weekly wages out of the income from industry.

Group Insurance

IV. Group Insurance. This activity does represent an effective protection from anxiety and destitution for thousands and thousands of manual workers who could never have afforded to purchase the quantity of insurance and free attendant service that the group basis allows.

V. Provisions Against Unemployment. This whole drive to get work on to a regular basis which minimizes seasonal slumps and assures steady employment is one of the most encouraging evidences of what can be done by persistent education work among industrial managers. And the fact that it happens to be good business in no way detracts from the equally important fact that it is a splendid thing for the employees involved.

VI. **The Changing Uses of Scientific Management:** The idea that wages should be paid not merely for the time spent at work, but in more definite relation to production seems simple enough, but it has gained headway very slowly. When anything but old-fashioned piece work is done, payment for production can only be undertaken satisfactorily when production methods have been studied and measured. Under scientific management it was first applied; this studying and measurement of production took place under exclusively employer control. And there is no doubt but that its use was abused at the start. In the last few years, however, there has been a notable development of experiments where the whole determining of production standards as they are called has been under a joint supervision of either trade unions and employers, or shop committees and employers. And the result has been that the use of scientific management methods is now going forward with much more satisfactory results to all concerned. I might well take considerably more time than is possible to set forth the educational values for the workers which their sharing in the determining of production standards have brought about.

Prosperity and Democracy

There is one big question which this whole discussion raises which should be frankly faced. If all the present activities which assure the present amount of prosperity and the current heightening of the material comforts of people dull their interest in self-determination in industry, will a wholesome state of affairs be brought about? Put another way, may prosperity be the enemy of democracy? The answer to this question seems to me to be clearly 'yes.' But we are confronted with a condition and a tendency which seems as irresistible as the tides. It would be a bold man who would suggest that it would be better for this country to have a succession of Passaics rather than a succession of intelligently run plants like Dennison's or Filenes, or many others which might be named. Most people would agree that there is no issue here, that we have to go on acting as intelligently and as humanely as we can with the processes of industrial reorganization. Whether or not as industry is more intelligently organized in another generation, there proves to be less democracy than there is today characterizing its operation, is not a question for us to answer. It is rather a problem of the spiritual integrity of the next generation. I suspect, however, that it will be found as experience develops that intelligent organization and a reasonable degree of democratic organization in industry will come to much the same thing, and be two different ways of saying the same thing.

I am not claiming in short, that a millennium is soon coming out of the new tactics of employers. I am contending, however, that these tactics represent the setting at work of a number of educational forces the like of which have literally never been seen before. And I am quite clear that whatever industrial democracy may turn out to be if and when it comes, it can only arrive if it operates through the efforts of an informed and understanding electorate—an electorate brought to understanding by the kind of participation in affairs which the matters here under review have brought into existence."

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

pears that several of these heroes managed to avoid the draft until just before the Armsitice or got a safe berth in the Navy on this side of the water. But how bravely they can curse pacifists!

This New England trip of mine was undertaken primarily to talk to the big Finnish picnic on the Fourth of July. It was held at the really beautiful grounds owned by the Finnish Socialists near Maynard, Mass., and was as well run as Finnish affairs always are. I inspected the Finnish co-operative enterprises both at Maynard and Fitchburg. Why haven't the rest of us the intelligence and ambition to do as well as these Finns? In Maynard the co-operative supplies furniture, groceries, milk, bread — the creamery and bakery are a joy to see—and coal. At Fitchburg the society has several fine grocery stores, a beautiful creamery and bakery, and sells clothing, too. There is also at Fitchburg a successful Finnish credit union conducted on co-operative lines. These enterprises are well run, charge rock-bottom prices, and pay a dividend to members of the society on their purchases at the end of the year. They pay the farmers a little better than the prevailing rate for milk.

The most interesting story I heard was about the beginning of the co-operative sale of coal in one of the towns. The local dealer, during the strike of 1922, not only charged high prices but was arrogant and unreasonable about delivering the orders of the workers. One Saturday some Finnish workers who had gone to try to get coal saw him reject the prayers of a Polish woman for prompt delivery of coal to her home, where a child lay sick. She had her money in her hand. It made no difference. Finally, irritated by her importunity, although the woman was obviously soon to have a child, the dealer hit her no gentle blow. In the long run that blow cost him dearly. It was one of the acts that led the Finns to establish a co-operative coal yard which today does about half the business of the town.

If the Finns can do this sort of thing, why can't other workers? Co-operatives of themselves bring no millennium but they are a mighty useful, practical aid to the workers when they are well run, and they are a splendid training in one form of democracy.

A Finnish leader, proud of what his people had done, sadly told me he doubted if it would last in the next generation. The Finnish cultural life, organized around their Socialist locals and their co-operatives, will go. With it, he thought, the co-operatives would go. I hope he is too pessimistic. The co-operatives are already in many respects well Americanized. If the final result of the Americanizing process means their elimination, then it is time Americanization means a loss of some of life's richest values. That is a problem for the workers to think over.

How much alike are the lords and masters of men under the skin! Outwardly, Baldwin of England and Mussolini of Italy are Poles apart, but both of them know only one cure for sick industry. Add an hour to the working day! It's the miners in England, it's all the workers in Italy, who must pay the price for the recovery of "prosperity."

And here are some rules for students that the Minister of Education would like to enforce in Japan:

1. Any society or association in which dangerous thoughts are to be studied or read is absolutely prohibited, irrespective of what name or form it takes.

2. Private studies are also prohibited if they promote dangerous thoughts.

3. Students are barred from reading books and periodicals to be named by the authorities.

4. No matter whether they be scientific or not, students are prohibited from delivering speeches outside the classrooms.

How many of our chambers of commerce would like to enforce just such rules?

But take courage. These things are not a sign of the strength but of the weakness of the lords of things-as-they-are.

Let every dawn of morning be to you as the beginning of life, and every setting sun be to you as its close—then let each of these short lives bear its sure record of some kindly deed done for others, some goodly strength or knowledge gained for yourself.—Ruskin.

ADDRESS WANTED
Information wanted regarding present address of ERNEST D. CONDIT, a stenographer, formerly employed with the law firm of Hyian & Zabriskie of New York. Information how he may be reached will be appreciated. Write to A. H. care New Leader, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

"Wishful Thinking"

The Substitution of Thinking For the "Hobbing" Habit

By Henry Miller

"WHEN a person thinks without curiosity, has an Opinion because he likes it, Believes what is handy—then he THOBS."

In these words, Mr. Henshaw Ward (Thobbing. By Henshaw Ward. Bobbs-Merrill Co.), describes what psychologists call "wishful thinking," more popularly known as rationalization. A student of science, author of "Evolution for John Doe," Mr. Ward applies the gauge of scientific method to the imposing speculations of the intellect. Mankind does not think, he says, it "thobs." In witness of his thesis, our author parades before us the galaxy of learning—religion, morals, sociology, philosophy, psychology, education, economics, law—these and others in as many chapters. Then like the legendary Cadmus he throws the stone of dissension among his warriors and gleefully watches them destroy each other.

In some instances Mr. Ward is more successful than in others. In the chapter on philosophy his task is an easy one. He uses John Dewey to demolish all previous philosophers and then unfeelingly demolishes Dewey himself. With great skill and wit he shows the great philosophies of the past each to have been merely "a private way of imagining the future" without any general or scientific validity, exalted into a position of authority by "those who think it nobler to fish up pearls of speculation than to grub for facts."

Philosophy has been called the mother of all other branches of knowledge, and Mr. Ward makes clear that in this case at least the children have inherited the defects of the parent. He accepts the dictum of Thorstein Veblen that economics "is a spokesman for a competitive system," and quotes Professor Wesley C. Mitchell who described economists as showing "an astonishing capacity of not finding what they were looking for."

In the chapter on psychology, we might expect the criticism to be appreciative and sympathetic, for the conception of "thobbing" is in a certain sense a discovery of modern psychology. But Mr. Ward is even more vehement than usual. He asserts that psychology has become the latest Pretender to the Throne of Reason. He charges it with carelessness of method, a love of display, and a desire to dominate the other sciences. One school of psychology has supplanted another in a series of "bloody revolutions." The field is now held by Watson and the Behaviorists and it is at them that he directs his special derision. "Thus everything that was psychology fifteen years ago was wrong, and psychology becomes right only when it converts itself into biology. That sounds to me like saying that psychology becomes right only when it disappears."

Thus far it may appear that our author regards all thinking about society as "thobbing." But there are a few rays of hope. As an example of social theory based on scientific observation mention is made of the conception of the mores, or folkways developed by William Graham Sumner in his book "Folkways." The folkways are the adjustment of a particular society to its environment and form the basis of its institutions, morals, philosophy, laws.

On the subject of how we are to supplant "thobbing" by scientific thinking in a world of conflicting groups, interests and passions, Mr. Ward is no wiser than other men. He is far too keen a thinker to believe that we will ever live in a "thobless" world nor would he think it desirable, for it is "thobbing" that makes the joy of life. He asks merely that we be aware of the process. That we shall become aware of "thobbing" in ourselves is perhaps too much to hope. But for those who would become aware of "thobbing" in others this book, vividly and charmingly written, will prove a rare treat.

Old Age's Reward

An Aged Pennsylvania Soft Coal Miner and His Wife. His Reward for a Lifetime of Labor Has Been a Wage Cut Against Which He Is Now on Strike.

Decadent places of learning like Oxford and Cambridge Universities will soon be handed over to the Office of Works for preservation as ancient monuments.—J. Maxton.

Mirrors of Experience

Durant Makes a Start at Telling Philosophy's Story

By Arthur W. Calhoun

ONCE in a long while a reviewer reads a book, but it must be an extraordinary book to merit such application. So with Will Durant's "Story of Philosophy" (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1926), which in the space of a few weeks has gone to its fifth printing. At last we have a manageable record of the gropings and the surges of human thought in quest of reality. Now the sociologist has a basis on which he might begin to work out an interpretation in terms of social stages and social forces and to exhibit the processes of the mind as reflections of individual and collective experience.

Not that Durant fails to realize that philosophy is something more than the uncaused fermentation of fecund brains. He pictures Greek philosophy springing up with the expansion of trade, on the principle that the meeting "of many races of men and of diverse cults and customs . . . begot comparison, analysis and thought." On the same principle of economic interpretation, Voltaire and Rousseau "were the two voices of a vast process of economic and political transition from feudal aristocracy to the rule of the middle class. When a rising class is inconvenienced by existing law or custom it appeals from custom to reason and from law to nature . . . So the wealthy bourgeoisie supported the rationalism of Voltaire and the naturalism of Rousseau; it was necessary to loosen old habits and customs, to renovate and invigorate feeling and thought, to open the mind to experiment and change, before the great Revolution could come. . . . Philosophy is to history as reason is to desire; in either case an unconscious process determines from below the conscious thought above."

Following out the same key to interpretation, the author sees in Schopenhauer's pessimism a reflection of the economic and social prostration consequent on the Napoleonic wars. Again, "The priority of mathematics and mechanics in the development of modern science, and the reciprocal stimulation of industry and physics under the common pressure of expanding needs, gave to speculation a materialistic impulsion, and the most successful of the sciences became the models of philosophy. Despite Descartes' insistence that philosophy should begin with the self and travel outward, the industrialization of Western Europe drove thought away from thought and in the direction of material things." Likewise with the American pragmatism of William James, who sounds "as if he were recommending long-term investments with high dividends."

It is thus apparent that our author has a sense of the principle of social relativity in the realm of philosophy. He does not, however, follow out the clue to any extent, and thus the history of philosophy that he gives is not essentially different in outlook from the characteristic attempts, with their picture of self-sufficient mental processes floating like detached clouds at greater or less height above the work-a-day landscape. What Durant has done is to make the story clear, readable, and human; but it would take infinite work in addition to make his work sociology, which is what a history of philosophy suited to the requirements of today will have to be. The present work does little more than clear the stage for a real beginning. Nevertheless it does a worth-while job. It makes philosophy live, so that it may seem worth while to a competent social scientist to try to find out how and why it lives, as a mirror of common experience.

Dr. Durant has been judicious in his selection of personages and systems and has happily accomplished the difficult task of weaving them into a continuous tale by means of skillful transitions through the lesser lights. Thus on the background of Plato and Aristotle, representing the peaks of thought of the classic world, we pass to Bacon, the precursor of modern scientific method; Spinoza, who tried to see the universe whole as a spiritual system; Voltaire and the French Enlightenment that cleared the ground for the Revolution; Kant, with his demonstration "that the external world is known to us only as sensation; and that the mind is no mere helpless *tabula rasa*, the inactive victim of sensation, but a positive agent, selecting and reconstructing experience as experience arrives." Then we survey the pessimism of Schopenhauer; the cosmic sweep of Herbert Spencer; the pathologic flights of Nietzsche; the current philosophizings of Bergson, Croce, and Bertrand Russell; and finally the American contributions of Santayana, James, and Dewey. The peak of the story comes, perhaps, in Dewey's contention that—"What serious-minded men not engaged in the professional business of philosophy most want to know is what modifications and abandonments of intellectual inheritance are required by the newer industrial, political, and scientific movements. . . . The task of future philosophy is to clarify men's ideas as to the social and moral strifes of their own day. Its aim is to become, so far as is humanly possible, an organ for dealing with these conflicts."

The publishers have done their part in making "The Story of Philosophy" a delightful book, bright and beautiful. The illustrations bring us face to face with the human forms of the minds we meet, and the whole workmanship is such as to make the reader prize the book and wish to keep it as a permanent guide to the ways of thought.

A Veil About Swinburne

AFTER reading this biography, (Swinburne, by Harold Nicolson, New York. MacMillan, $1.25), we are more than ever convinced that no one should be allowed to dabble in biography until he has mastered the rudiments of phsycoanalysis. The author points out that Swinburne's development was arrested at the age of twenty, and spends the rest of the book marveling over this fact. He offers no solution, though everything he writes points to a strong fixation of the poet in the direction of his grandfather who died when Swinburne was 23. In effect, the two had severed a long and intimate relationship three years before when the elder man quarreled with the young poet. All through his life Swinburne favored older men, men old enough to be his grandfather.

The author is further mystified by the young poet's claiming relationship with the Marquis de Sade and noted warriors and adventurers. Swinburne was physically weak, and that this childish boasting was merely a wish-fulfilment never occurs to Mr. Nicolson. Once understanding Swinburne's affection for his grandfather and the lad's strong inferiority complex, his strange life ceases to be a mystery.

The author wanders far from verity when he attempts to criticize Swinburne's work. He regrets the poet's love poetry on the ground that eroticism can never be a permanent subject for lasting verse. He says that the evocation of the love experience "can produce no fine emotional vibration, no permanent appeal, and the poems which deal with such matters become inevitably but 'fugitive things not good to treasure'." One pauses to wonder if the author ever heard of Sappho. It is not sensuousness but too great indignation that marred Swinburne's work. With the reasons for the indignation removed, the reader is naturally out of sympathy with the dead dynamite.

The book has much excellent material in it. We only can regret that this valuable material was not illuminated by a deeper insight into the realities that prompted the poet, and coupled with his physical frailty, warped his living.

Gloria Goddard.

Overselling One's Hero

By McAlister Coleman

EVEN in these days when salesmanship has become a fine art it is possible to oversell your product. This, it seems to me, Dr. Isaac Goldberg does in his new book, "Havelock Ellis: A Biographical and Critical Survey." (Published by Simon & Shuster, New York. Price, $4.) For, granted that Havelock Ellis has done invaluable pioneer work in his studies of sex; granted that in "The Dance of Life" he has put forth a vastly engaging, if not world shattering, philosophy, just the same it is difficult to swallow such adulation as "Ellis is an intellectual Titan of our modern Renaissance," and other encomiums which the author heaps on the modest head of his subject. Even about his Shavian beard an aureole is cast.

In the preface the author tells us that he has not "attempted to write a conventional biography or a conventional critique," and he is constantly flirting with the "psychological-biographical" style, but he does not hit it off as well as he did in "The Man Mencken," his other biography, and there is nothing unconventional in his professed hero worship of Ellis.

It may be that much of the disappointment that the reader feels when he has set this book down is due to the fact that Dr. Goldberg has no such colorful character as Mencken to write about. Ellis has led a secluded, uneventful life, far from the Menckian every-day hurly-burly. While the author assures us that his subject is by no means "bookish," Ellis is certainly no man of action, and his biographer, in despair, has to fall back upon long excerpts from Ellis' writings (including some perfectly atrocious juvenilia) to present any sort of picture.

Interest in and curiosity about Ellis is, however, widespread, particularly among our young "intelligensia," and this assures the book an audience. If you want to know the principal facts about Ellis, what he looks like, how he lives, what he wants from life, this is your book—principally because it is the only one on the market.

Russell Tells the World

By Raymond Fuller

Bertrand Russell

THERE is no use talking—Russell is right. Any sort of social progress at all worth hoping for must come through education—education of the young. The importance of bringing up children properly—i. e., with common sense strengthened by science—cannot possibly be over-estimated. When will most socially forward looking people unite together on this one issue? It is worth all other agitation and protest and relief measures put together.

"There is only one road to progress, in education as in other human affairs, and that is: Science wielded by Love. Without science, love is powerless; without love, science is destructive. . . . The power of moulding young minds which science is placing in our possession is a very terrible power, capable of deadly misuse; if it falls into the wrong hands, it may produce a world even more ruthless and cruel than the haphazard world of nature. Children may be taught to be bigoted, bellicose and brutal, under the pretense that they are being taught religion, patriotism and courage, or communism, proletarianism and revolutionary ardor. The teaching must be inspired by love and must aim at creating love in the children. . . . The very individuals who lavish care on children cherish passions which expose these same children in later life to death in wars which are mere collective insanities. Will the lovers of children learn to follow their later years with something of the same parental solicitude? Having given them strong bodies and vigorous minds, shall we let them use their strength and vigor to create a better world? Or, when they turn to this work, shall we recoil in terror, and plunge them back into slavery and drill? Science is ready for either alternative; the choice is between love and hate, though hate is disguised beneath all the fine phrases to which professional moralists do homage."

As for Russell's latest book ("Education and the Good Life." Bertrand Russell. New York, 1926. Boni & Liveright. $2.50): It was once remarked that no new theorem of science or history or no profound generalization of philosophy could be considered as established until it had been reduced to terms such as the man in the street could understand. In other words, when that abstraction was resolvable into ethics and rules of practice for the race to steer by, then its baptismal name of Theory could be supplanted by the label, Law. Until which time the man in the street could, with Ring Lardner's nonchalance, ask: "Well, what of it?" Suppose the Aztec culture did have its roots in the Nile valley? Or Einstein's geometry demolish Euclid's? Or the Quantum theory explain the physical nature of light? What about it? Now, Bertrand Russell seems to know everything—even how to be humble—and in his "long awaited book on education" he is translating the jargon of the educational laboratory and clinic into streetese. With a colossal amount of common sense and his customary complete ease of diction, he has set forth all that is most meaningful in "modern education." Moreover, he has with pellucid persuasiveness written largely in terms of actual practice—what to do, how to go about it. No one implicated enough in the social madness of today to possess offspring, and therefore obligated to plumb their children and lay their futures somewhat can possibly turn from Russell's treatise and exclaim "Well, what of it?"

One Safe Rule

One cannot say Russell has created much of anything new in concept; he has mainly translated surpassingly well the whole foreign tongue of what is to the layman an over-technically worded science—Modern Education. Naturally, he stresses education for character, for qualities, rather than for fact absorbing and test passing. And quite as naturally, he insists that we must, and can, eliminate repressions, inferiorities, narcissism, spoiled childness, those terrible inheritances of mankind, who is his own worst enemy.

Not so very far removed from the stage of savage "taboo," man sets about himself such obstructions and hazards that are as deadly as they are nebuluos. Or, rather, he does these crimes to his helpless infants, and they pass them on. But talk about the mystic signs of astrology! Repeat to yourself these four aims of true education, as given by Russell, and see if you can't fairly see a bigger and better order of things emerging from children: Vitality, courage, sensitiveness, intelligence.

So far as your reviewer can gaze through the murk, it is only the gambling possibility that some time—pray soon!—the remotely human race will at last truly rear its cubs so that the vision of the liberated few (like Russell) may become the possession of the many, which keeps him from moving to Denmark and renouncing the world entirely. In conclusion, there is one rule safe for every open-minded person: When Bertrand Russell writes anything, read it!

A Novel Of Pressures

By Norman Studer

IT WAS inevitable that a university which came into being in the crudest of raw young cities in the burgeoning industrial period of thirty years ago should reflect the dominant ideals of the business world. Chimes, an autobiographical novel, is the history of such an institution. (Chimes, by Robert Herrick. The Macmillan Co. $2.)

The first president of this university (The University of Chicago) fits precisely into his job. A Barnum in cap and gown, he was eminently qualified for coaxing coin from the dyspeptic old Baptist for putting on the monstrous vaudeville show which an irreverent wag dubbed the "University of Standard Oil." Here learning became a dismal process of piling up credits. Those studies which shaped the students into useful cogs in a great industrial machine were pushed at the expense of "useless" learning. The industrial autocracy had created a university after its own image and placed at the helm what Veblen has aptly called a "Captain of Erudition."

But the faculty contained a fringe of dissenters—the "Harvard crowd," products of a more leisurely, mellow and human culture. Among them was Herrick himself—defiant, embittered by the growing forces of academic efficiency and regimentation. A consciousness of the futility of this minority defiance saturates the pages of this novel.

Chimes abounds with shrewd insights into the inner workings of the professorial mind. A capital example is the analysis of the fervor with which the professors unreservedly threw themselves into the war, and the childish optimism with which they greeted its close:

"For once the university had been in touch with actualities. To be academic, with a professor or doctor before one's name, had not been a cause of tolerant contempt, on the part of the men who do things. To be academic had not been a reproach; often a recommendation. Faculty members felt they had to come to us with some of their problems—they did not know—and on the whole we did our part well, certainly as well or better than those cheeky men of affairs who bungled ships and aeroplanes and grafted scandalously. The university, they felt, had acquitted itself handsomely in the national crisis, had proved its worth, its importance, and they meant that never again should the university slump back into insignificance. In this new world, which they had helped to make, their place should be both more honorable, with enhanced prestige and more comfortable, with higher salaries. Just how, they did not know."

This autobiographical novel might well be called a novel of pressures—a novel setting forth the one thousand and one subtle pressures by which an acquisitive society moulds educational institutions and individuals therein to its purpose.

Some Interesting New Books in Brief

Helen Keller's Optimism

I SUPPOSE the reason why I shrink from letting loose on such a juvenile treatise on optimism as this ("My Key of Life, Helen Keller, N. Y., 1926, T. Y. Crowell Co.) is the same that used to deter me when I was a lot younger from arguing with sweet old ladies and soothing elderly patriarchs who were wrapped up, crutched, braced, foundationed, sustained, even healed, by the mumbo-jumbo of the (so-called) Protestant church creeds: namely, that I felt it mattered very little what a person believed so long as he believed it with sufficient ardor so that it actually was a guide and consolation. Here in these three essays bound in suspiciously Christmas-booky looking covers, the singular and unique Miss Keller allows T. Y. Crowell Co. to distribute her feelings about Optimism. How such pale pearl-gray generalities in the finest Pollyana-Rotarian manner can possibly be an inspiration to serious-minded and well-informed people is a mystery to me. But obviously te dear little woman lives cradled in such a sweet-scented and symphonied world that it somehow does seem ruthless to be frank and direct to her about it, and to put searching and particular queries for her to answer. From the wording of them, she seems to have read little outside the Browning-Emerson-Carlyle-Whittier type of literature and history; nothing of honest and scientific history appears known to her, and of the fabric and practice of business the lady is likewise ignorant—or willfully disregardful.

Working-class people must not be even momentarily taken in by such untrue and shoddy rhapsodies! It may suffice beautifully for her—for she is one soul out of a hundred million that can safely be guided by dreams like these. But for us, our salvation and our creed must come from richer realities. Not one radical, healthy move for humanity can possibly emerge from dainty beliefs like hers. Born deaf, dumb and blind, there is, in my judgment, no greater credit due to her attainments than that due thousands of our comrades who born and raised just as essentially deaf, dumb and blind to the facts of history have somehow seen a truer light and have thereby gained a sounder Optimism in an actual world of humanity.

Raymond Fuller.

A Sound Study

WE HAVE come to expect from the author of "The World's Illusion" a searching analysis of a soul in conflict with an environment or, as more conventional minds might view it, a temperament opposed to a duty. And in "Oberlin's Three Stages" (Oberlin's Three Stages, Jacob Wasserman; Harcourt, Brace, $2.50), fluently translated by Allen W. Porterfield, Jacob Wasserman gives us another of his keen and profound books. In the preliminary story, indeed, "The Unknown Guest" is Christian Wahnschaffe himself, hero of the earlier book, returned to present a later and more comprehensive view of life.

Oberlin is a sensitive young man, whose life Wasserman traces through the adolescent influence of a radical teacher, who stirs the youthful idealism of the lad, through the sex-urgings roused by a base woman, to the full realization of his powers, is his love of two sisters who are involved in a weird murder and curious psychic identification through intricacies on the spiritual plane of the story's conflict. Through it all runs the relationship of the boy—then the man—Oberlin and his mother, perhaps the most effective study in the book. The dreams of Oberlin play a part in his development; they are handled skilfully, and do not obtrude, although they are interpreted in acceptance of the theory of Freud. While the tremendous scope and social survey of "The World's Illusion" are not the portion of "Oberlin's Three Stages," in its more personal consideration the book is a true and valuable study of a sensitive being in our complex world.

Indian Song

"THE Navajo feel that only through the ecstasy of singing can contact with the holy ones be gained for any desired end." These words, from the preface of Miss Walton's translations of Blackfoot and Navajo songs, (Dawn Boy—Indian Songs by Eda Lou Walton. E. P. Dutton, $2.50) are the complete rationalization of the impulse to sing that marks all religious groups from Anabaptists to Zoroastrians. But among the Indians the sense of the possibility of control of the gods, and the belief in magic, in the power of associated objects, led to more frequent ritual than among less superstitious races.

The earth is my home,
It is powerful.
Water speaks in foam,
It is powerful.
There sits a hill,
It is powerful.
I go now to kill,
I am powerful.

This song for a war dance indicates how, by a sly association, the power of earth, of water and mountain, slips into the warrior.

Miss Walton has, apparently, done a good job in her renderings; most of them are fluid and picturesque.

MAGPIE SONG

In the white of his wings
Are the footsteps of mornings.
Here is beauty, too.

Joseph T. Shipley.

Speak out fearlessly at the right moment to strike down that which is demonstrably false.—Huxley.

Novels That Fail

HEAT (By Isa Glenn. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50. The Birth of the Gods. By Dmitri S. Merezhkovsky. E. P. Dutton & Co. $2.00) is written apparently out of a fullness of knowledge of the degradation that life in the Philippines means to the American officers and soldiers quartered there. Its realistic touches are accurate and impressive, without being emotionally moving. The hero, Vernay, a fresh West Point graduate, and Charlotte Carson, who comes out as a schoolteacher, fail to act upon their attraction for each other; whereupon Vernay sinks into something lower than the gutter, while Charlotte remains untouched by the tropic mire. Something is out of drawing in the picture: Only the exigencies of the plot prevent Vernay's and Charlotte's marriage and subsequent joint subsidence into the tropics—which might have been pleasant for both. The realistic touches, while not inspired, are depressingly effective. The book just fails to come off.

Merezhkovsky's novel is the most obscure and tangled writing I have ever encountered. The brief preface utters such astounding misstatements as that (1) Christ is historically real, and that (2) all universal history is about Christ. Jesus of Nazareth may or not have had a historical existence; but the Christ of the New Testament is Washingston's cherry tree upon the back of Baron Munchausen. Not that the novel is about Christ: It is simply a badly written and mangled hash of mythology and semi-history, containing one of the most obscene (in Sumner's eyes) scenes in all literature. Even the "obscenity" cannot save it from oblivion.

Clement Wood.

When man seized the loadstone of science, the loadstar of superstition vanished in the clouds.—W. R. Alger.

PAVERS UNION IN CONVENTION

(Continued from page 1)

be secured by considering three resolutions which they adopted with much pride and enthusiasm. One announced their departure, for the first time in the history of the American Federation of Labor, from the traditional policy of non-partisanship in national elections. The resolution came out wholeheartedly for the nomination and election of Alfred E. Smith as President of the United States. A second declared themselves in favor of real beer and light wines, and a modification of the Eighteenth Amendment to disqualify "any representative who was or is now on the payroll of the Anti-Saloon League from any consideration or participation in the liquor question." A third resolution called upon the New York city authorities to appoint a Board of Inquiry to investigate the conditions existing on the surface lines. Probably most of the real political discussion takes place in executive session.

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

My General Strike

NOW that the British general strike has been settled to the satisfaction of everybody concerned, including capital, labor, government and opposition; and nobody is striking any more except the miners who got so used to starving while working that they can no longer detect the difference between working and striking, I'm going to say a few words about my general strikes.

* * *

My first general strike came in 1886 when the Knights of Labor went out for the eight-hour day and a 20 percent increase in wages. I was sweet sixteen then and so full of pep and ginger that I could have turned the Atlantic Ocean into ginger ale by simply blowing in the water.

The particular slave pen I was starving in was a chair factory belonging to a bullet-headed Dutchman by the name of Uchterman. Uchterman was a good boss for anyone hankering after lots of work and fired by an ambition for the simple life. But as my wages were only five dollars a week most of my mental equipment was devoted toward reducing the surplus value claimed by Mr. Uchterman, which was no mean job in itself seeing what a little I had to work on.

So when the "Knights" came along with their gospel of less work and more pay I was their huckleberry off the bat.

Their formula was really simplicity in itself. "If all the working people belonged to the Knights," said the organizer, "and all of them would strike at the same time the bosses would have to pay anything the workers demanded or they, and everybody else ,would starve to death."

Well, anybody could see that and I, being just a little smarter than most anybody, got the idea at the first glance, especially as a five dollar a week strike benefit was to be thrown in with the millennium.

Of course, old Hornickel, who worked on the bench next to me and who once had worked with August Bebel, said we were a lot of fools for the only way to achieve the immediate abdication of the capitalist system was through the ballot box as the German Social Democrats were doing then (1886).

But why should I be paying dues into a party and memorizing Hornickel's jaw-breaker like matrialistic conception of history, and his theory as to the emancipation of the proletariat, and wear a red necktie instead of a green one (which harmonized so much better with my general makeup) when all I had to do was lay down work, which was no trouble at all, and after that show up at the factory only on pay day to draw my tribute from capital, after having drawn my weekly five spot from labor.

Well, to cut a long story short, the general strike started with a grand parade of the embattled toilers which struck terror to the hearts of the exploiters, as one of the speakers put it. And so it should have. For the parade was headed by a band playing the Arbeiter Marseillaise, followed by a huge red flag, followed by a working man's battalion, armed with five hundred Springfield rifles. These were followed by red-clad maidens distributing red-hot labor papers, printed in red, followed by tens of thousands of militant proletarians, some of which were decorated with red roses and red noses. Others with red noses were followed by myself with a dagger made from a wood rasp, swiped from exploiter Uchterman, strapped to the crossbar of my suspenders ready to be driven into the quivering body of the "expiring capitalist system" (one of Hornickel's favorite expressions).

A week later the capitalist system was still expiring but as the five dollars strike benefit promised actually materialized, I concluded to let the poor thing linger for another week. At the end of the second week the strike benefits received a serious reduction. Married men were cut to three dollars, single men to nothing. But at the end of the third week both classes were again placed on a basis of equality by the simple process of eliminating strike benefits in toto.

In the meantime Chicago anarchists had bombed a number of Chicago coppers into a better world, for which they should have received the undying gratitude of all the peace, order and property loving citizens of that burg, but were hung instead. And after that there started an anarchist hunt matched only by the Palmer and Daugherty red hunts thirty odd years later.

Subsequently it turned out that these so-called anarchists were hung by mistake inasmuch as they were several miles from the place where the bombs exploded. Moreover, from what I have since learned of Chicago coppers, I am convinced that they threw these bombs at each other in the hope of reducing the number of blackmail collectors of the red light district. But, however that may be, when that ancient anarchist hunt started every striker became a gore and blood dripping anarchist and every baker, butcher and boarding house keeper joined the chase with a loud and piercing whoop.

Then it came about that after the elapse of six weeks the most of the Knights of Labor in Uchterman's chair factory were again laboring from morning to night and for the same old wage which, as Hornickle had often expressed it, was not enough to live on and too much to die on.

For myself, I did not return to work. In the first place I had given a solemn oath that I would not work again until the eight-hour day and the 20 percent wage increase were achieved. In the second place, while on the picket line, I had thrown half a brick in the general direction of the bullet-head of my boss, Mr. Uchterman. Had Mr. Uchterman remained in the erect position he occupied when that half brick departed from my hand it would have hit him in the pit of his stomach, but as he dodged his head to escape the brick the two made a head-end collision.

Any fair-minded grand jury would have brought in a verdict of contemplated suicide with malicious intent to discredit peaceful picketing on the part of Mr. Uchterman. But as I was not present when the jury met, having been called out of the city on urgent business, I am unable to say what the outcome was.

I will state, however, that even after my return I never violated my oath by asking Mr. Uchterman for a job, and as Mr. Uchterman had presented my record to all the other bosses in the city, I remained on strike until this very day.

My first and only general strike has proven to me that one can go through this vale of tears without the divine guidance of a boss and that if all the working people would only strike long enough, as I have done, for instance, they could have anything they ask for.

Unfortunately, few people have the cast iron perseverance I may justly boast of and so any movement which is based upon the two little words "If" and "all" is bound to run into serious difficulties by and by.

So there you are.

Adam Coaldigger.

O, JOYOUS SUMMER!

But to the children working in the cotton mills, the coal breakers, and cooped up in the city tenements, Summer is not much different from other seasons.

Marxists' Replies to the Revisionists

THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

FROM the time of the publication of Bernstein's criticisms in the late nineties until the outbreak of the world war, a battle royal was waged between the upholders of the Revisionist point of view and the Marxists. Various critics within and without the social democratic ranks joined forces with Bernstein in their attacks on certain phases of the Marxian philosophy. These included Tugan-Baranowsky, Jean Jaures, Werner Sombart, Th. G. Masaryk, first president of Czecho-Slovakia; Paul Barth and Franz Oppenheim.

The chief protagonist of the Marxian point of view in Germany was Karl Kautsky. Henry Hyndman, Louis B. Boudin, I. M. Rubinow and a host of others also rose to the defense of Marx. In their writings, however, Kautsky and others were careful to take the position that the orthodox Marxian was not he who thoughtlessly followed Marx, but he who applied the Marxian method in order to understand the facts.

Mark and Engels Wrong On Time Element

Marx and Engels, they admitted, were fallible and erred in numerous analyses. While they were correct in their prophecies concrning the direction of social progress, they were wrong in foretelling the time when the social revolution in various countries would take place. It was a rare thing, it is true, for them to set down in black and while the exact year when a particular crisis would occur. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that "Marx and Engels expected a far reaching and violent revolution in Germany in 1847, similar to the great French upheaval that began in 1789. Instead of this, however, there was but a wavering uprising that served only to frighten the whole capitalist class so that it took refuge under the wing of the government. The result was that the government was greatly strengthened and the rapid development of the proletariat was stifled."

Forty years later, in the eighties, Engels looked forward to a revolution in Germany, which did not materialize. "Marx and Engels," declared Kautsky, in 1902, "were able to determine the direction of economic development for many decades in a degree that the course of events has magnificently justified. But even these investigators would strikingly err when it came to the question of predicting the velocity and form of the development of the next month." For, in the final analysis, in determining great social developments, "geographical peculiarities, racial individualities, favor and disfavor of a neighbor, the restraint or assistance of great individualities, all these and many other things have had their influence." Many of these cannot be foreseen, "but even the most recognizable of these factors operate upon each other in such diverse ways that the result is so extremely complicated as to be impossible of detrmination from a prvious stage."

And, yet, despite the errors of Marx and Engels, an extraordinary number of prophecies have come true in whole or in large part.

The Rejoinder of Marxists on the Theory of Value

The Revisionist attacks on the labor theory of value and the theory of surplus value have been met variously by Marxists. Kautsky, as late as 1924, in dealing with the labor theory of value, maintained that it has "stood the test, inasmuch as it has afforded us a closer insight into the laws of capitalist enterprise than any other theory. We may, therefore, regard labor-value as a reality."

"All the same," he continues, "it remains merely a tendency. It is real, but not tangible and exactly measurable. Measurements are only possible in the case of temporary phenomenal form, price. All attempts are doomed to failure which aim as constituting the value of each separate commodity, that is, to determining exactly the quantity of labor contained in it."

While not rejecting the theory of final utility accepted by many economists as a more adequate theory of value, Kautsky maintains that "the subjective value of the final utility theorists is something quite different from value in the sense of a Ricardo or Marx. The former is a relationship of an individual to the commodities that surround him, while the latter is a phenomenon, which, under given conditions of production, is the same for all persons, who find it already in existence, however, varied their subjective needs, inclinations or circumstances may be.

"These two kinds of value have, therefore, nothing in common except the name, which is not precisely an aid to clear thinking.

"The value which Marx had in mind arises from and reacts upon specific conditions of production. It forms the starting point for the comprehension of these conditions. Subjective value, on the other hand, is a relation of a single individual to the things which surround him, whether they are produced by human labor or not; it contributes absolutely nothing to the knowledge of definite social conditions of production."

On the other hand, Dr. Rubinow, in his defense of the general Marxian thesis, affirms that all socialist students admit that commodities or even services are not actually exchanged in direct and exact proportion to the amount of socially necessary labor. Nor can the Marxian formula permit of a proof, as "the amount of labor represented in any one commodity cannot be measured, let alone the amount of socially necessary labor."

The time consumed in producing a certain commodity, he continues, seems to offer a convenient measure of labor quantities, but the admission by Marx that "skilled labor counts only as simple labor intensified, or, rather, as multiplied simple labor," altogether destroys the utilization of time as a method of measuring values, for, instead of the objective measure, "time," there is substituted a subjective measure of comparative valuation of direct different kinds of human effort. This, alone, entirely irrespective of the famous "Marxian puzzle," makes impossible the proof that commodities to exchange proportionately to the amount of labor, for the one mechanical method of measuring labor falls away.

Nor does the impossibility of proving this theory affect the socialist movement one way or the other. Marx's demand for social justice, as some critics maintain, never depended on the ability to prove the correctness of his theory of value. "The demand of the hand and brain workers for the ownership of what they created is very much more important socially than any logical, mathematical or metaphysical proof of the economic accuracy of the theory."

While the labor theory of value cannot be proved, Rubinow continues, it is easy to realize its popularity with the masses, irrespective of the criticisms of the economists. In this connection it must be realized, concludes the author, that every theory of value is a class theory. "That is why it is so easy to criticise the numerous theories of value and so hard to prove any one of them."

Boudin, on the other hand, defends the labor theory of value in toto against its critics, maintains that the "Great Contradiction" between Marx's explanation of value in the first and third volumes of Capital is no contradiction at all and that the law of value is a vital and integral part of the Marxian structure. Nor does he regard it as an objection to this law that it does not show the formation of prices and is no guide to the actual prices paid for commodities. "A theory of value need not show that," he maintains, "and, as a matter of fact, could not." He quotes Professor Carl Diehl, an opponent of Marx, as saying, "The price of a commodity is a concrete quantitative determination: it shows us the quantity of goods or money which must be given in return for this commodity. Value, on the other hand, is an abstraction. When we speak of the value of commodities, we mean the regulative principle which lies at the bottom of the formation of prices."

(To Be Continued Next Week)

ARGENTINA KNOCKS AT AMSTERDAM'S DOOR

Reports from Amsterdam tell of the filing of a formal application for membership in the International Federation of Trade Unions by the Argentine Federation of Labor, the new national labor body organized last winter, with an initial membership of some 80,000. There is every reason to believe that the application will be approved and that Argentina will be the first Ibero American country to join the regular world-wide organization of trade unions. This will bring the extreme southern end of the American continent into line with the extreme north (Canada), leaving a wide gap to be filled, with Mexico the most probable candidate for early admission.

If all mankind minus one were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind.—J. S. Mill.

GOVERNOR MINTURN

A Labor Novel of the Northwest

By M. H. HEDGES

4.

OVER the glossy ebon pavements Minturn drives his car towards the office. He turns down a cross street and feeds in the power. "That house business!"

Sitting with him in his Stutz is a phantom passenger, a ghost of an unknown man, who has haunted him since that summer afternoon when Agatha had gone to inspect the old Morreson House on Hawthorne Place. Agatha's father. He appears today, as he has so often before, at the bar of Dan's judgment and pleads for a hearing. "Look at me," he seems to say. "Hear me. It is all so different. Please." . . .

From that day to this, Daniel Minturn and his wife have never referred to the elder Morresons again. That is one of those delicate subjects that contrive to get folded away in human hearts to remain untouched until some crisis forces them out again.

Coming home from the Country Club that fateful day, they had planned their new house—that is, Agatha had begun to erect in fancy the "House of Minturn" on the knoll overlooking the river, where she had told him about the abandoned parental roof.

5.

State Representative Daniel Minturn does not go directly to his office yet. He braves the March sleet to have his thinking out. There is another episode to which his mind returns again and again.

6.

There was that law office business. Dan had picked out a modest place in the building where George Kimberly had his suite. Agatha had objected, not on any personal grounds.

"It is this way, Dan," she had explained. "It's all a matter of business. You go into that old building where Mr. Kimberly is, and clients associate you with his type of practice, and you get his kind of clients. That's all right, if you want them, but that isn't where the money is. You might just as well be getting the bigger cases. They are no harder to handle. . . . Oh, honey, I do so want you to succeed," she had added. "I know how big and fine you are, and I want others to know it, too."

Agatha had been right—as usual. When he had opened his office in the Tollefer building, business came.

One morning when Minturn had entered his own office, he found ensconced in his swivel chair, comfortably and genially surveying him, none other than Senator Goodnite. The fat man's face was wreathed in smiles, smiles that spoke of a maddening intimacy of Dan and Dan's affairs.

"Clients usually wait in the outer office when they want to see me," Dan had spoken, coldly.

Goodnite laughed jovially.

"And your friends?" he asked.

"They have the good taste to wait for invitations." The irony was lost on Goodnite. It had no other effect than to make the fat man more casual, if anything, in his assurance of a welcome.

"I don't suppose if a friend of yours walked into that door bright and early some morning with a nice, fat remunerative case for you, Mr. Minturn, you'd exactly slam the door in his face, now, would you?" the visitor inquired, as he leaned back in Dan's chair and surveyed the ceiling at which his newly-lighted cigar pointed militantly.

"I want no cases from you."

"Slow up, slow up, my boy," Goodnite had replied, with loss of his accustomed aplomb. "Maybe if you'd take the trouble to find out whom I represent you would sing a different tune."

"There's the door," Dan had thundered.

Goodnite blinked, shuffled his 280 pounds in the creaking chair, turned his sobered face toward Dan and said, "Well, now, this is unusual."

Dan did not wait for further negotiations. He jumped toward the bulky intruder. There was a sharp, hard, ludicrous struggle, and Senator Goodnite, huge and red-faced, was soon sprawling on all fours on the office floor.

Dan had the door open. As Goodnite arose, grunting and fuming to pass out, Dan had said, "You thought that you could get away with that old double-crossing stuff, didn't you? Go get another woman to pull your chestnuts out of the fire."

"Why, you damn young fool!"

This did not close the episode. A half-hour later Senator Gaylard himself appeared. He was plainly troubled. There was a long consultation in Dan's office. Uncle Matt explained the serious import of Dan's hasty action. Goodnite represented—here he named a powerful corporation — and was bringing Minturn business. It was a grave error, a grave error. Dan must realize the enormity of his blunder, and as soon as he saw the enormity of his blunder, he would no doubt take steps, like every other gentleman, to rectify his mistake. Dan insisted that he had made no mistake. He had rightly acted toward an "unspeakable crook" who had used a "girl to frame" a political opponent. Uncle Matt brushed that allusion by. Business is business, you know, he pointed out. Goodnite may have distorted notions of what a practical joke is, but he is a fine fellow, a fine fellow, a man of parts. All that a young attorney just starting into business could do, was to call him by telephone and apologize. This, Dan swore, he would not do. There was more consultation. Agatha happened to arrive at the office about this time, and the upshot of the affair was that Dan sent off a letter of bare apology to Goodnite, and the case finally came, sans Goodnite, via a different route. But Dan felt besmirched by the whole miserable business. He felt besmirched now as he drove along the boulevard facing the washed air of the March day.

7.

Representative Minturn arrived at his office perplexed yet refreshed—hours late. As he enters the typist nods toward his private office. He starts. On such a morning as this, he had found Goodnite waiting for him. There is someone in his office chair. It is Agatha. She rises, smiling, discharging a glow about the place.

"You're late, you naughty boy," she says.

"To what do I owe the honor of this visit, Madame?"

"Oh, Dan, I just couldn't have you go off that way."

She comes toward him; her hands are on his shoulders. He discreetly closes the office door.

(To be Continued Next Week)

All About Nature

WELL, girls, we shot those rapids that we told you about last week and they are ours. Not without some losses on our part, however. A good deal of the coverings of our handsome feet may be found by interested parties decorating the bed of the Delaware River between the towns of Callicoon and Narrowsburg, N. Y.

And we hereby serve notice an all those who contemplate a canoe-trip on the Delaware River this summer that it is the consensus of opinion of the natives of Callicoon that they "have never saw the river so low as she is now." To you in city pent this may have a great significance, but to a veteran canoeist like myself it means a helluva lot. It means, for example, that instead of sitting in a canoe like a picture by Frederick Remington, dipping an occasional contemplative paddle into the pellucid blue of the river waters rippling under your prow, what time beautiful women tinkle mandolins and the pine trees on the banks croon softly, you have got to get out into gooey water every ten feet or so and push a couple of hundred pounds of canoe, duffle bag, etc., over sharp rocks, abandoned sardine cans and such despondent Germans as committed suicide during the winter when the river was high. I am no great booster for water as such, but believe me, girls, a little water in the river is indispensable to any well-regulated canoe-trip. When the Delaware is as low as it is now, canoeing is about like taking off your shoes and stockings and pushing an ice-wagon without wheels up the unpaved sections of Eleventh Avenue.

At that, the trip did us a lot of good. Both physically and mentally. It took several thicknesses off our 1909 belt line and it greatly widened our knowledge of Natural History.

Birds, for example. Hitherto we had always regarded birds as pretty little things, flitting hither and yon in a carefree manner, singing occasionally for the pure joy of song. This is the hokum. We have developed such an antipathy for birds that now we just don't give a darn whether Isabel, our black cat, catches and devours entire that English sparrow which she has been patiently stalking in our backyard for the past six months. Birds are all right in their place but their place is in cages in Fifth avenue stores, not in the country when you are trying to sleep out of doors. Of course you understand that when you are trying to sleep out of doors in the country, you toss about until at least five o'clock in the morning. Your blanket prickles you, the bed of ferns which looked so romantically comfortable when you laid it at dewey eve turns out to be about as restful as a mattress of barbed-wire and thumbtacks and you lie awake looking up at a sky that is filthy with stars wondering in what moment of insanity you were lured from your metropolitan Ostermoor and cursing the name of Zane Grey. Around five, sheer exhaustion presses down your wearied lids and you fall into fitful slumber shot through with dreams of encounters with mountain lions and froth-dripping jaguars. But only for an instant. Suddenly there explodes upon your startled ears the gosh-awfulest outburst of noise imaginable. You sit up, your hair on end, your breath gone, sweat starting out on your forehead. And then you discover that it is only the dear little birdies starting in on the day shift. All through the woods they are hollering, shrieking, screaming, yawping, yelping, caterwauling, meeowing, peewitting and throstling, until the countryside is about as quiet as a meeting of a needle-trade local at which the rights are expelling the lefts. What an early morning altercation between two crews has a Pittsburgh smelter works faded off the map as far as sheer noise goes.

When the birds get up, you give up. You might as well try to sleep in an alarm clock factory when they are testing the products. No sir, for a good quiet sleep in the mornings try a furnished room alongside the Sixth avenue elevated in preference to the country full of rowdy birds.

We also met a weasel on our trip. It was a very small but very inquisitive weasel that came and peered over the edge of our blanket at us as we lay moaning for lack of sleep. Desiring to make the acquaintance of the weasel, we lay and thought about how best to approach him. And to save us, we could not remember any weasel calls. To be sure we know plenty of weasel words, as the late Theodore Roosevelt would have said. We even read out loud to the weasel the latest statement of James L. Quackenbush, general counsel of the Interborough, saying that the strike on the New York rapid transit (maybe) lines was a complete failure. But the weasel only wrinkled its nose and started away with a pained expression as though to say that there are some things that any self-respecting weasel will not stomach. We tried singing, "Pop, goes the weasel," at him but that line is apparently a chestnut among the weasel tribe and the wee beastie only looked bored. So everything else lacking, we gave him a mouldy Uneeda Biscuit which he ate very much in the manner of a chipmunk, sitting up and gazing on us with big bright eyes; and then he went on about his serious business undoubtedly chuckling under his whiskers over the dumbness of humans who haven't sense enough to crawl into a good dark hole when they want to sleep but go and lie out under wool blankets on bayonet-like ferns.

Outside of weasels and birds we did not come up with much other fauna. What we thought was a deer or at least a Caribou turned out to be a Holstein on closer inspection. We heard again from the naturalist of the party the story of how eels from all parts of the world go down to the Sargossa Sea every summer and lay their eggs there and how the little eels go back the next year to their own

(Continued on page 6)

Labor Unions Withstand Depression in Austria; Russ Labor Is Restless

Labor Doings Abroad

DESPITE the worst period of unemployment since the World War, the number of idle workers on the official list last year sometimes nearing 200,000, the report of the Austrian Trade Union Commission for 1925 shows a loss in membership of only 2½ per cent., against about 8 in 1924, and 15 in 1923. The membership at the beginning of 1926 was 807,515, against 823,088 a year before. The average membership for the year, which includes only those who have paid their dues in full for the whole period, was 642,334, against 687,376 in 1924.

The slight falling off in membership was compensated for by the success with which attempts by the bosses to take advantage of the economic crisis were resisted and the improvement in the financial status of the unions. Not a single strike collapsed, not one wage movement failed completely and hardly any of the conflicts resulted in defeat for the workers. Unemployment benefits paid by the unions were advanced to a minimum of about $2.50 per week, from $1.10 in 1923. After having been wiped out during the inflation period, the property holdings of the Austrian unions, not including the defense funds, amounted to about $2.25 per capita at the end of 1925, against $1.35 in 1924, and 65 cents in 1923.

The metal workers, with 114,619 members, lead the list of unions; the railroaders, with 86,399, come next, and the building workers, with 62,249, are in third place. The women in the unions number 185,922.

RUSSIAN UNIONISTS SEEK MORE POWER

According to reports from Russia on union activities summarized by the Amsterdam Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions, many unionists are trying to free the trade unions from their subordination to the Communist State Power and their position in the Russian economic system. It is sought to make them real representatives of the workers as against the conceptions of State control and the plans of State undertakings. In various speeches delivered by President Tomski this new tone is already to be perceived, and at the congresses of different trades a similar note is sounded.

At the May Congress of the Textile workers, the Union Executive Committee was charged with having failed to interest the workers in their union, and with having failed to give adequate representation to the interests of the members. Both the Executive and the local leaders of the union, it was said, had made the vital mistake of forgetting that their chief duty was to represent the views of the organized workers. Statements by the leaders that although wage increases were undoubtedly necessary they were nevertheless impossible on account of the difficult state of the industry placed the local unions in an awkward position and needlessly sapped the confidence of the members. There was a spirit of mistrust abroad which often enough took the form of a breach between trade unionists and their organizations. The union leaders were too much concerned with falling in with the wishes of the directors of the industry and too ready to form a "United Front" with them at the expense of their members.

At the miners' Congress in May similar complaints were voiced. The principle of trade union democracy was decidedly not observed in every quarter. Often the trade union officials lost touch with their members, once they had been elected, and neglected to report on the carrying out of decisions arrived at by past conferences. In many cases trade union democracy had turned into trade union bureaucracy, and the union leaders frequently brought pressure to bear on the local unions in order to effect the election of persons suitable to them. Members who tried to criticise the activities of the union were often deprived of the opportunity of expressing their views.

GERMAN RAILROADERS WIN COURT VICTORY

German railroaders have won a victory in the Railway Court of Arbitration over the German National Railway Company, the semi-private organization of Germany's railroad lines, which is being operated under the Dawes plan principally for the purpose of paying reparations.

The managers of the Reichsbahn, backed by some of the Allied experts, have been contending that their company is not bound by the general German arbitration and other labor laws because of its peculiar character as part of the reparation machinery. Consequently, when the Ministry of Labor's arbitrators ordered an increase of from one-quarter to one-half cent per hour last January to railroaders more than 24 years old, the company plead poverty and refused to accept the award.

The railroad men's unions and the Ministry of Labor took the matter to the courts, and on June 9 the Leipzig tribunal handed down a decision upholding the Ministry and pointing out that the arbitrators had full power to act in the case of railway employees as well as of other workers. Now the railroad unions and the company have reached an agreement making the new rates effective from July 1 and providing for the payment of back wages since January 1, under the award, in lump sums.

Ever since the change in the form of the organization of the German railroads, nearly two years ago, their management has apparently been looking for trouble with the unions and has banked on the support of the Allied against its own Government and people.

NOW LABOR'S SINGERS HAVE INTERNATIONAL

The Labor Singers' International is the latest recruit to the ever-growing ranks of international working class organizations. It was founded in Berlin on June 5 by representatives of labor singing societies in Germany, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary and France on the eve of the opening of the sixth general convention of the German Workingmen's Singing Society.

Communications were read from labor singing societies in Holland, Belgium, Great Britain, Denmark and Switzerland approving the objects of the new international and expressing a desire to join up. The main aims of the Labor Singers' International, as expounded by Dr. Guttman of Berlin and laid down in the constitution adopted at the meeting are the publication of songs and music filled with the spirit of internationalism and the reconciliation of the peoples and the general linking up of the workers' singing societies on a Socialist basis.

The headquarters of the new international is in Berlin at the office of the German Workingmen's Singing Society. Dues are 2 pfennigs (½ cent) per member per year. International congresses are to be held biennially. National organizations may be admitted by majority vote of the managing committee. It is expected that the new body will soon be in a position to carry the songs of labor around the world.

The Story of the Painters Union

V—Recent Years (1914-1926)

By Louis Silverstein

AS in the case of most international unions officiated with the American Federation of Labor, especially those in the building trades, a large portion of the energy of the Painters' Union has been expended on jurisdictional disputes. The A. F. of L. tries to draw lines of demarcation between the different crafts, but industrial progress constantly upsets any rulings that are made. The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers have been no exception to the rule and the last dozen years of its history has found its officials squabbling just as hard as anybody else for what it judges to be its field of jurisdiction. Every claim won means so many more members enlisted in the union, so much more work available for its membership.

The Brotherhood has had a fruitful jurisdictional career. It had added the word "paperhanger" to its title in 1894, but it was not until 1901 that it actually chartered the local unions of the National Paperhangers' Association. Later the National Sign Painters' Union was incorporated in the Brotherhood, while the A. F. of L. granted the latter jurisdiction over glaziers, hardwood finishers, carriage, wagon and automobile painters, gilders and allied trades.

For several years preceeding 1915 the Brotherhood was being confronted with its first major dispute in a decade. The Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association had been chartered in 1900 with jurisdiction over art-glass work. In 1903 a decision of the A. F. of L. Executive Council differentiated this from putty-glazing, which was conceded to belong to the Brotherhood of Painters. Eight years later this position was reaffirmed. The matter came to a head again soon afterwards, however. A dispute had arisen in Chicago between the Brotherhood and the Building Trades Council, which was endeavoring to set up arbitration agreements, whereby sympathetic strikes to enforce the employment of union men and materials would have become illegal. District Council No. 14 of the Painters in Chicago refused to comply with the new arrangements and pulled out its glaziers on the Continental and other buildings in the city, where building trim was used, made by non-union painters and finishers. The Building Trades Council fined District Council No. 14 two thousand dollars, and under the protection of the former, members of the Amalgamated Glass Workers stepped in and replaced the Brotherhood putty-glaziers. In 1913 the convention of the Building Trades Department and of the American Federation of Labor sustained the position of the Painters and directed the remission of the fine and the withdrawal of the art-glass workers.

The controversy had one good result, however. It brought home the silliness of the situation. The officials of the Brotherhood and the Amalgamated eventually got together and worked out a plan of consolidation. The arrangement called for the chartering by the Painters of the Amalgamated locals, unless in such cases where the latter agreed to fuse with existing bodies in the Brotherhood. These newly admitted groups were to retain complete autonomy over their trade as previously. In addition, the individual members were to become entitled to the benefits of the Brotherhood for the period during which they had been in good standing in their old organization but not to exceed two years. During the spring and summer of 1915 the Amalgamation was carried thru successfully.

Other jurisdictional disputes of the Brotherhood have not been scarce. There as been a standing quarrel with the Brotherhood of Carmen over painting done in railway car shops. This has not been a unique situation since the Plumbers and Steamfitters, Carpenters and Joiners and a dozen other international unions have been similarly affected. The carmen have been responsible for excluding these unions from affiliation with the Railway Employees Department of the American Federation of Labor. Conferences have been held in the last dozen years in vain. Other disputes have been with the sheet metal workers over glazing metal sash and skylights; with the carpenters over corner beads and window strips; with the longshoremen over painting ships; with the asbestos workers over tacking muslin and canvas for decorative purposes (and not as non-conductors of sound) and with bricklayers over setting glass used as mural decorations.

The most recent controversies have been with the Bricklayers and Masons over work with various types of opaque glass, and with the Electrical Workers over painting telegraph poles. The former has been settled through a compromise; the latter has been referred in the usual manner to the American Federation of Labor convention.

The last general assembly of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, held for the first time since 1921, took place at Montreal, Canada, early in September, 1925. President George F. Hedrick reported that in September, 1921, the membership had reached 110,000 but that due to the depression of that period the number dropped to 94,872. By June, 1925, however, a recovery had been made and a new high point of 117,889 was reached.

Secretary-treasurer Chas. J. Lammert made some interesting observations concerning finances, which have been the subject of permanent discussion in the Brotherhood since the beginning of its existence. Death and disability benefits since 1921 have been paid as follows:

GEORGE F. HEDRICK

General President, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers

Death Benefits

Year	No. of Claims	Total Amt. Paid	Av. per Claim
*1921.....	287	57,900	202
1922.....	735	129,500	171
1923.....	709	158,553	224
1924.....	733	163,200	228
†1925.....	434	96,000	221

*Last six months.
†First six months.

Disability Benefits

*1921.....	91	18,225	200
1922.....	198	41,525	210
1923.....	191	44,375	232
1924.....	211	54,300	257
†1925.....	114	29,750	261

*Last six months.
†First six months.

Up to the middle of 1925 more than three and a half million dollars had been paid out from the death and disability funds, certainly an enormous amount of business. It is one of the factors that has kept the organization together. The Brotherhood's income during the four-year period amounted to $2,833,569.17. It started with a balance of $441,599.47. That made a total of $3,275,168.64. Its expenditures were $2,674,331.88, leaving a balance of $600,836.76. These figures are quoted in order to show what large financial transactions have to be dealt with in a big union like that of the Painters. Nevertheless, the convention decided that the receipts were insufficient and voted to increase the per capita tax to sixty cents. Since then a dispute has arisen as to the legality of this action. It has been claimed that the matter was never voted upon by the convention Investigation has proven that the printer inadvertently omitted the procedure relating to this matter from the daily proceedings furnished the delegates.

The Montreal convention endorsed the principle of a labor party. During the La Follette campaign the union had supported the A. F. of L. stand. Years ago, when the Socialists were stronger in the union, the labor party cry was constantly raised in strong terms. In 1913, at the beginning of our period, the Brotherdood delegates to the A. F. of L. convention followed the instructions of their national convention and introduced a resolution declaring "in favor of the collective ownership and democratic management of mines, railroads and all other industries upon which the people depend in common and which are so organized as to make their immediate transfer from private to public ownership feasible and desirable." But these days are gone.

An important step taken by the last convention was to amend the Constitution to exclude Communists. Provision was made as follows:

"No member shall at any time belong to more than one local union of the Brotherhood or become a member of any dual organization of painters, decorators, or paperhangers, or a member of the Communists' organization opposed to the principles of the American Federation of Labor under penalty of expulsion."

This action was taken in face of the efforts of the Trade Union Educational League, affiliated with the Workers (Communist) Party, the so-called "Left Wing," to push through a progressive program, calling for a universal five-hour day and a five-day week, direct election of officers, and election of vice presidents by districts to facilitate organization work. These proposals were easily defeated.

The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers has in recent years devoted a good deal of attention to health matters. It has been fighting lead poisoning and the increasing use of the spray gun. The more progressive members, however, consider these health moves mere camouflage to hide more important economic matters. They claim that the clauses providing for sanitary conditions are not lived up to anyway. As long as the employer has the right of hiring and firing whenever he pleases, they feel that the so-called "health clauses" will not be enforced. They are much more concerned about the "rushing system" whereby the "boss" employs pace-setters at a bonus and thus places the other workmen in a position either to keep up with them or to accept a rate of pay below the union scale. These problems will require solution within the next few years.

All About Nature

(Continued from page 5)

homes, American eels to America, English eels to England, Czechoslovakian eels to Czechoslovakia, and so on, but no matter how often we hear that story and no matter how many eminent scientists vouch for its authenticity, we flatly refuse to believe a word of it. And we are gullible enough, God knows. There was once a time when we thought John Spargo was a real guy and that the Trade Union Educational League had something to do with education and that you couldn't organize the unorganized. But to expect us to swallow such a yarn as that eel one is too much. Just how do those little eels that have never been anywhere outside of the Sargossa Sea find their way home and how do they know they are home when they get there? Besides, supposing some of them went radical before they started home. Isn't it a safe bet that they would be met at the shore by a lot of old eels who would tell them that if they didn't like this country they should go back where they came from?

McAlister Coleman.

The notion that mere expenditure does good to the poorer classes or adds to the general wealth is a fallacy.—Stopford Brooke.

* * *

They conquer who believe they can. He has not learned the lesson of life who does not each day surmount a fear.—Emerson.

* * *

The chattel slave owner got all the slave's time for nothing. Whoever gets any of another's time for nothing has that much of a slave.—"Equitist."

* * *

The majority of the people in "happy England" spend their lives in one long tussle, not for luxuries, not even for comforts, but simply for food and clothing.—Lord Knutsford.

* * *

The great end and aim of humanity in the field of political economy is not the production of commodities for which a price can be obtained, but to satisfy with its labor the actual organic wants of the body.—Max Nordau.

Unemployment Insurance Tested in N. Y. Courts; City Employes Win a Strike

The Field of Labor

The first test of the legality of unemployment insurance funds, that are being established by agreement between employers and employees, is now under way in the New York City cloak and suit industry. There the manufacturer contributes 2 per cent of the weekly payroll, the jobber 3 per cent and the workers 1 per cent of his weekly earnings. Since the beginning of payments in June 1925, about a million and a half dollars have been distributed to about thirty thousand workers. Now, come two former members of the jobbers' association who have since left the business. They refuse to pay the money they owe to the Unemployment Insurance Fund on the grounds that first, the contract between the union and the association was not binding upon them, and secondly, that the Fund is illegal, since it constitutes an insurance business carried on without a proper license from the authorities of the State of New York. The trustees of the fund, the three employers' associations involved, the international union and the joint board have brought action against the recalcitrant jobbers. In one case, tried before Municipal Court Justice Genung, judgment has been against the jobber but the latter has appealed; in the other, briefs are now being filed and an opinion of the court can be expected within two or three weeks. The officials of the Unemployment Insurance Fund are prepared to carry the cases to the highest courts.

There is even a limit to the nonsense that it is the civic duty of governmental employees not to strike. That limit is abominable economic conditions. The technical employees of the city of Chicago reached that point, went out on strike and in twenty-four hours were back on their jobs victorious. A year ago the same men engaged in a four days' walkout. But nobody took them seriously. They were represented by a mutual benefit organization known as the Municipal Engineering Employees' Association. Mayor Dever lured them back to work by promises of future adjustments. A year went by and these pledges were not redeemed. The discontented employees then affiliated themselves with Local 14 of the International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects' and Craftsmen's unions. They now had American Federation of Labor backing. When they first appeared before the municipal authorities this year scant attention was paid to them. Then, their new connections became known when John Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, showed up in their behalf. Immediately the tables were turned. A strike was called June 30. Ten million dollars' worth of local improvements was tied up. The Municipal Engineering Employees' Association joined the union. New members flocked to headquarters. The result was that the city fathers who had until midnight to fix the budget, had to stop the clock to give themselves time to catch their breath. An appropriation was made sufficient to cover increases for the last three months of the year. Then the men returned to work.

ELECTRICAL UNION'S KNOTTY PROBLEM

A situation has arisen among the electrical workers in New York City, which requires the attention of every good trade unionist. New York Local 3, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, has for some time had its membership books closed. Its purpose, of course, has been to give its members a monopoly of the desirable electrical work in the city and so restrict the number of available employees that it can control the labor market in its field. Such a condition is not at all new.

Unfortunately, the result has been a cessation of organization activity among the unorganized electrical workers. The latter are found not only in the building trades, which Local 3 controls, but also in the public utilities. The organized workers monopolize the attractive jobs on new buildings, where they are protected by the affiliation of their union with the Building Trades Council. The B. T. C. stands ready to take all the workmen off a building if it finds a non-union man employed. This power is not defied by contractors who cannot afford to jeopardize the punctual fulfillment of their agreements. The Local 3 members are kept busy on "new" work and they are contented. It is satisfactory to them to pay the two hundred dollar initiation fee and the seventy-five cents per week dues in return for the opportunity to work at twelve dollars per day. On the so-called "T. and M." (time and material) contracts, the employers compensation is based in part on a percentage of his pay-roll. It makes no difference to him how much time is wasted; in fact, his profits are greater. By tacit understanding union men benefit from this system.

But now come the unorganized electrical workers. They are beginning to undermine the monopoly of Local 3. Where they can get employment, as on repair jobs, they must accept wages below the union scale, since they must bargain individually. On work that does not involve new buildings and the consequent protection of the Building Trades Council, they underbid the union men. In addition, they are numerous in the public utilities.

Forced to the wall by the short-sightedness of Local 3, they have formed within the last three months the Electrical Workers' Association of Greater New York. Their president is Carl Brodsky and their organizer, Joe Crisa. They have organized two thousand electrical workers and they are demanding admission into Local 3.

The A. F. of L. union has been compelled to take some action. An organization committee has been created to organize—not the workers—but the contractors. A contractor is approached and he is told that the union will unionize up to one half of his working force. If he agrees, he is sent the stated number of union men whom he pays twelve dollars per day. The rest of his employees he treats in any manner he pleases. The newly organized union members receive temporary working cards for which they pay fifty dollars. For two years thereafter they continue to pay weekly dues, as if they were full-fledged members. At the end of that time they may complete their initiation fee. Meanwhile, they are permitted to work for no one except the contractor to whom they are assigned, so that what they gain in wages they lose in freedom of seeking employment when work is slack. The Electrical Workers' Association wants to put an end to this procedure. It claims it is not a dual union. It is willing to dissolve as soon as its members are admitted into Local 3. Conferences between the two parties to the dispute may be expected in the near future.

THE CIVIL SERVANTS GET A "TREAT"

Little attention has been paid to the Federal civil service pension law which was ground out of the Congressional legislative mill within the last few minutes of the session that has just closed and signed by the President without much ado. At first sight it looks like a generous measure. It increases the maximum annuity of retired government workers from $720 to $1,000. It affects immediately 12,500 persons already receiving pensions, retroactive to July 1. Further investigation reveals that this is accomplished by increasing the rate of contribution to the retirement fund of present employees from 2½ to 3½ per cent. The cost of Coolidge magnanimity is borne by the active workers. The Government, according to the Budget Bureau's scheming, actually saves $29,000 a year. The Federation of Federal Employees and other governmental workers' organizations put up a gallant fight in vain. Meanwhile, plans are afoot to establish a commission to study the whole problem. How Coolidge economy will permit any equitable solution, it is hard to see.

The Early Labor Movement

IV.—1840 to 1857

By Sam Fisher

THE first attempt to organize a national organization was made in New York in 1834. Trade unionists came together for two years until they realized the time was too premature. They were finally convinced that before a national union could be built each trade had to have its local branches in all manufacturing centers, and these local unions or branches had to be federated into a national union of each craft. During 1835-36 five separate crafts (different trades) held national conventions. These were the cordwainers (shoe makers), printers, combmakers, carpenters and hand loom weavers. These unions organized nationally in order to meet the competition of other cities and to support each other in time of strikes. The growth of transportation and of railway facilities made it possible even for workers to organize national conventions with small means.

The forming of national unions was accompanied by demands for higher wages and by strikes. These demands were met with resistance on the part of the employers, who were now better organized and equipped with large funds to protect themselves against the unions. Various efforts were made to crush the unions during these periods; eight important prosecutions for criminal conspiracy took place. In some trials the unions won, but for the most part they lost, and strong agitation followed. The newspapers were filled with discussion for and against the workers; the official organ of the trade unions saw nothing but tyranny in the court decisions against labor. This was a signal for another battle in politics and at the polls.

In the panic of 1837 the unions were almost wiped out; wages were cut on all sides; plants were closed, and the workers were driven to starvation. The union leaders found themselves powerless to hold together the unemployed. Out of work and out of funds the unions fell to pieces. The workers again turned to politics.

Thus the workers suffering from panic sought a remedy for the disease. They found that certain corporations had been chartered in recent years. So they thought that monopolies were the chief cause of their trouble. They declared that the monopolies drove masters, employers, mechanics and small tradesmen out of business. As the companies used to pay the workers in notes and the workers had to cash these notes in the banks for a considerable discount, the bank corporations were denounced by labor. Thus the courts, corporations and banks fell under the pressure of the leaders in the industrial world.

Humanitarianism (1840-1860)

The depression of 1837 continued until the gold discoveries of 1849. During these years of unemployment aggressive trade unions almost disappeared and the field was occupied by philanthropy and schemes of speculative reform. Similar conditions existed in Europe during the revolution of 1848.

The unemployment, or "over-supply" of labor, which resulted from the panic also revived the old antagonistic feeling of native Americans against the European immigrants. The newcomers were Irish Catholics; labor leaders feared that an attack would be made upon their new public school system in the interest of religious schools.

In 1847 a "Native American Party" was formed to uphold Americanism against alien influence. It won labor support and elected a few members to Congress. A presidential candidate was also put forward in 1856 and a large vote was polled in the industrial States as well as in the South and West.

During the period of industrial depression the attention of labor was forcibly drawn to the opportunities offered by the public land of the West which awaited settlement. In 1840 George Henry Evans began to advocate the division of the land among the people on the ground that it was the gift of nature and belonged of right to all. Evans formed an "Agrarian League" with the object of stopping the sale of public land to speculators and securing it to actual settlers without charge. In 1862 the "Homestead Law" was passed, according to which settlers could take out 160 acres of land. The land reformers became so powerful in New York that they threatened to dominate the labor unions. A resolution was introduced to exclude them from membership in the unions. One year later the agrarians were expelled; the trade unions cast aside the reformers and went over to Tammany Hall.

About the same time that the agrarians attached themselves to the labor movement another group of reformers appeared. One was Robert Owen, founder of the "New Harmony Colony," whose scheme failed. Another was Fourier, who denied the theory of the class struggle and rejected political action on the part of labor. The Fourierists proposed to substitute the Communist colony in which labor would be associated with science and all things would be owned in common. Prominent intellectuals like Horace Greeley, Albert Brisbane, A. Dana and John G. Whittier, moved by the poverty and misery of the masses, took up this radical idea. Papers were founded, sermons preached, lecturers sent through the country, and many communities were organized, using "Brook Farm" as their model. None of them lasted very long. Trade unionists did not want Fourierist colonies; they prepared to win concessions in the form of shorter hours, better wages, and protective laws to cover their organization. Neither did they believe in the co-operative schemes which the intellectuals offered; they were suspicious of profit-sharing schemes as a panacea.

From 1845 to 1856 Industrial Congresses were held. These were suggested by Horace Greeley. Their purpose was to give the workers a share in the government of industry. The employers were invited but they never responded and these Congresses disappeared in 1856.

Unsuccessful strikes were the result of co-operation, particularly among the German workers. Producers' co-operation was tried and failed for lack of capital and markets. Consumers' co-operation and building associations were quite a success. If the Civil War had not occurred we probably would have had a great co-operative movement similar to the one in Great Britain.

During this period attention was immigrants into the union ranks. With given to drawing the newly arrived the growth of "pure and simple" unionism came labor leaders of national standing and influence, men of ability as organizers, writers, and strike directors. Among them were W. H. Sylvis of the Iron Molders and Jonathan Fincher of the Machinists. They went from coast to coast enrolling thousands of members and carrying on constant negotiations with employers for the betterment of working conditions.

The decade between 1850 and the Civil War was marked by strikes of greater frequency, in spite of the fact that collective bargaining was becoming more and more common in the leading trades. In the two years 1853-54 it was estimated that there were about 400 separate strikes.

In 1857 another panic came and paralyzed business. Disasters again faced the labor world. Unemployment, wage reductions, loss of membership, dissolution of local unions, hopelessness among those that survived.

Before industry had recovered from the disaster of 1857 the Civil War between the Northern States and the Slave States burst upon the nation.

TOURIST CLUB HIKE

Sunday, July 18, we hike to Surprise Lake and Mount Peter near Greenwood Lake. Surprise Lake is one of the most beautifully situated lakes in this section of New Jersey, where we camp Saturday evening. Sunday morning all those who care to can bathe or swim in the clean water of this lake. Later we climb to the summit of Mount Peter, where a view of the countryside, including numerous mountain ridges within a radius of twenty miles, offers every one a rare treat. As this is a camping and bathing hike, bring your pup tents and bathing suits along. Meeting place, Erie R. R. Ferry, Chambers street and Hudson River; time, 4.15 p. m. (Saturday afternoon); fare, $2.50; walking time, 6 hours; leader, Emil Plarre.

UNION DIRECTORY

Woman's Freedom

Female Progress and the Future of Civilization

By Nathan Meyrowitz

FROM time immemorial, when our long-tailed ancestors held their congressional sessions on top of giant trees, and solved their social and public affairs by means of sanguinary, savage debates, the place for woman was preserved beside the hearth and within the boundaries of her father's or husband's hut.

In the days of yore, the woman did her cooking, spinning, weaving and sewing while her mate either with bow and arrow terrorized the peaceful forest creatures, or eagerly investigated the phenomena of Nature. The woman was the man's complete physical and mental slave, while he was the complete master of all affairs. He invented the various contrivances to facilitate his daily life, while the woman carried the infant on her back, as she kneaded the dough in the barrel. In addition to developing his mechanical ability, he sowed the seeds of philosophy, art and literature, whilst the woman was deprived of the privilege of cultivating her mental faculties.

Through the dark ages, the same phenomenon took place. The man still kept the woman at home, while he engaged himself in religious and political struggles.

During recent years the position of woman has been vastly altered.

Considering her station within the last two centuries, we shall have to confine ourselves to a discussion of the rise of the American woman only. As our time is limited, it is, therefore, impracticable to record the history of her European sister, although the development there largely parallels our own.

Although the woman of the new world had a little more personal freedom than Eve's daughters of the Eastern Hemisphere, nevertheless her condition in America at the beginning of the nineteenth century was not much better than in earlier years.

The church continually reminded her that her sole place was at home within the ever-functioning culinary department that defies the Fourth Commandment: "Remember the Sabbath Day, to Keep it Holy."

The man tilled the soil and attended to other important matters which the woman was thought neither physically nor mentally adapted to perform.

In the days of Fulton (1810—the first man who applied steam to propel a boat), woman still continued to spin, weave, bleach, dye, sew clothes, can vegetables and fruits, in addition to cooking and baking for her ever-increasing family and taking care of her offspring. She even supervised burdensome employment connected with the farm she was able to do, such as taking care of the chickens, milking the cows and so forth.

In those days of yore all women were expected to marry (this ancient, honorable custom is not altogether out of style even today) whether fit or unfit for such a great and noble task.

It was taken for granted that those women who conscientiously objected to matrimony were wilfully and wickedly acting not merely contrary to the wishes of their families, but even against the dictates of the Bible and the conventions of the entire community. The semi-attractive spinsters, or the age-stricken virgins who had no means of livelihood, were usually given a license to work in a tavern.

One of the first occupations that took women away from home was printing. Many wives of printers turned to the care of their husbands' shops when their bread-winners took their last breath. The women were able to do the work because almost every man who was a printer taught this family the trade.

The establishment of public schools gave women a wider scope for activity. A still greater epoch was marked by the appearance of the cotton gin, which opened the channel for industry to women and led a large number of them to leave their homes for the factories. This machine had been invented in 1793, by Eli Whitney. The sending of women into the factory was the commencement of her liberation from the culinary department, as it was in another sense the enslavement of woman as well as man.

By 1835, the American woman had a strong foothold in industry. With the steady influx of immigrants, however, wages began to slide down the scale with the greatest hurry imaginable, and then feminine communities started to strike.

The first strike affecting women occurred in 1828, in New Hampshire, where 300 girls left their work; the second took place in 1836, in Lowell, Mass., where 1,500 working women marched out. In both cases the strikes were won, but, as happened many times subsequently, as soon as the strikes were over the workers left the unions, whereupon the manufacturers seized the opportunity to again reduce the wages of the female workers.

The employers have taken advantage of the changeability of the feminine employes. The manufacturers were profoundly versed in feminine psychology. The factory owners have realized that women do not stand together as men do; that many of them think of only one thing—getting married; and because women are more docile and submissive than men, and do not intend to acquire a name in the profession.

Eventually, men began to realize that no amount of preaching, exhortation, sympathy or benevolence will render the condition of our working-women what it should be, so long as the culinary department and the needle are substantially their only resources.

Our democratic relation towards women shows us that most of their faults, such as smoking and masculinity, women owe us, whilst we are indebted to them for most of our better qualities, such as pacifism, sober habits and selected poetical phraseology—in their present, at least.

Recently we—the men—have returned to the indisputable conclusion that woman is the highest, holiest and most precious gift to man. Her mission and throne is the family, and if anything is withheld that would make her more efficient, useful or happy in that sphere, she is wronged.

We—the men—must remember that women bring us and the future generation into being. The more women are enlightened, the more profit we shall derive and the better our offsprings of tomorrow. On the cultivation of the mind of women depends the wisdom of men. It is by women that Nature writes on the hearts of men.

Richter said of women: "Nature sent women into the world with this bridal dower of love, for this reason, that they might be, what their destination is, mothers, and love children, to whom sacrifices must ever be offered, and from whom none are to be obtained."

At present, co-education is making colossal strides with the speed of an airplane. Every girl, as well as every boy, should be given an opportunity to grow into a physically healthy and morally sound adult. In every girlish heart are implanted the seeds of dignity, respect and self-reliance, a love for the beautiful, a passion for the truth, and the will to pursue justice and bring about social peace and harmony.

Such mature women in conjunction with men, their equals, can drive away ignorance, immorality, poverty and misery. The formation of universal literary and culture clubs would make the education of men more interesting, and, above all, accelerate the growth of mutual comprehension among us.

Let us stop blaming and antagonizing each other, men and women. Rather, let us join hands and combine our physical and mental faculties along every line of progressive activity. Not unless we do this can we expect the maximum progress.

Modern invention has banished the spinning-wheel and the wooden plow, and the same law of progress has thoroughly broadened the vision of modern men, and has made the woman of today a different woman from her grandmother.

The mentally balanced girl of the present generation believes in delaying no nuptials because the purse of

Grant complete rights to women! her lover is not quite so full as her heart.

Accident Conference Not to Take Up Gary Explosion

WASHINGTON, July 15.—Discussion of the explosion in the by-products plant of the steel trust works at Gary, Ind., where fifteen workers were killed and sixty injured, is not on the program of the Industrial Accident Prevention Conference, summoned in Washington by the Department of Labor.

PA. MINERS HOLD CHAUTAUQUA

Speeches and Entertainment Round Out Spirited Gathering of Union Coaldiggers

DAGUS MINES, Pa., July 14.—Over the hills from Kersey and up the hollows from the strung-out settlement of Dagus Mines, even from non-union Byrndale, 12 miles away, miners and their wives and children trooped to the Labor Chautauqua in the hall of Local 2044, United Mine Workers. The season's fourth Chautauqua sponsored by District 2 came to this isolated community where formerly 600 men worked. The three mines of the Northwestern Mining & Exchange Co., an Erie Railroad subsidiary, have been closed since April 1.

The youngsters' eyes nearly popped out watching with delight the clever volunteer entertainers—most of them from miners' families themselves. The "sweethearts of the Labor Chautauqua," the Waugaman sisters, Leila and Maude, lived up to their name with their singing and recitations. Joe Martina did a fast Charleston to the tune of Steve Bacha's mouth-organ and Alec Macready and John Marusa put on a funny mock boxing match—all four boys coming up from Madera. The Noel sisters and brother, the Phillips father and sons, Vivian Ballet the dancer—all of them cheered the crowd. With not a movie nor a radio in town and only three telephones (two for the company), Dagus Mines couldn't help enjoying the treat!

Speeches sandwiched between the entertaining during three days all tended to show that the soft coal industry can no longer be run chaotically as it is and give the miners a living. John Brophy, president, District 2; James Mark, vice-president; Paul W. Fuller, educational director in charge of the Labor Chautauquas; and Clara Johnson, assistant to Fuller, spoke—all urging the miners to study their problems, to learn about the nationalization-of-coal program to which the union is officially committed. Brophy quoted the engineers' indictment of the present management of the industry. He told the miners to work with other groups of workers for the accomplishment of nationalization when Democrats and Republicans turn them down.

Many of the younger women and girls of 16 to 20 attended the special women's meetings and joined the new Women's Auxiliary, Local 3, formed with Miss Johnson's assistance. How America Lives will be studied by the group. Local 1, Coalport, has 59 women learning about Industrial Relations, while Local 2, Madera, has 30 devoting themselves to Public Ownership. Miss Johnson is the young Sagamore school teacher who wrote songs for the strikers' choir to sing to scabs when picketing was banned.

Coalport, Madera and Grass Flats have each enjoyed the Labor Chautauqua this summer. Other mining towns are clamoring for their chance, but funds for the Chautauqua have to be raised outside of miners' pockets. The district union treasury cannot finance even this important work when so much relief has to be paid. Last season Fuller held 10 Labor Chautauquas, all over the district. The response is always worth the effort, bucking up the spirit of the miners and their families in this trying period. Fuller is hoping that enough friends of the miners can be found with the means to give for carrying on Labor Chautauquas throughout this region for the rest of the summer.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

National

The national office is in receipt of information from Morris Hillquit to the effect that Miss Tony Sender of Germany will make a brief tour of the United States in the near future. We are desirous of hearing from organizations of the party and others who may be interested in having meetings with this well known and able Socialist.

Miss Tony Sender, Socialist member of the German Reichstag, plans to come to the United States on a visit. She will be available for lecture engagements in September and October, and possibly the early part of November. Miss Sender has the unique distinction of having been active in the Socialist movement of Germany and France. She is equally at home in the languages of the two countries and she also speaks English fluently. She is an experienced, forceful and eloquent speaker and the leading position which she occupied in Germany during the revolution in 1918, and which she has ever since maintained in the Councils of the German Socialist Democracy, and in the Reichstag, lend interest and authority to her views and statements.

She is prepared to lecture on all vital phases of the Socialist and Labor movement of Europe and particularly of Germany.

Comrade Hillquit states, "I know Comrade Sender quite well and am convinced that she will do a lot of good for our movement if we can secure for her a safe number of speaking dates in the various party locals. She will be prepared to go as far west as may be practicable."

In view of the large expense incurred by her in the travel from Europe, it will be necessary for the national office to make a charge of $50 per lecture. This will cover everything. There is no reason why meetings cannot be made a big success, both financially and morally. Locals will please take this matter up and write national headquarters at once.

There is seldom a week that we do not hear from students in various universities. This week we have an urgent letter from a student in Kirksville State Teachers' College, Missouri, asking for assistance in the way of literature, for pushing the propaganda in that school. The national office has complied with the request.

A real live man interested in the Socialist movement in the department of political science, University of Michigan, asks for Socialist Party literature, its constitution and by-laws, so that they may proceed to propagate and organize their forces.

Montana

Doris Morris, working under the auspices of the National Office and the State Office, is making a good start. She has reorganized the local at Florence with eight members, and has organized a new local at Milltown, with nine members. She is now working in Flathead County. After covering a number of points in Montana, she will move into Idaho.

Utah

O. A. Kennedy, secretary of the Mountain States organization, writes that the State Chairman of their party, E. G. Locke, of Salt Lake City, has called a State convention of the Socialists of Utah to meet July 24 at 2 p. m. in the committee room of the City Library Hall, half a block south of the Eagle Gate on State street. Every reader of the American Appeal and The New Leader is urged to be there. Kennedy further reports progress in the Mountain States district in the coming campaign.

New Mexico

The Socialists of New Mexico are favorable for placing a State ticket in the field for this fall's election. Thomas S. Smith of Estancia, State organizer, is working hard to rally the old guard, and is being ably supported by the new local at Roswell, of which W. F. Richardson is secretary. Readers of the American Appeal and The New Leader should get in touch with Smith and assist.

Wyoming

A number of Socialists are desirous of having a Socialist ticket. It seems, however, that there are some who are not so enthusiastic. We urge the Socialists to get busy, get a ticket selected and filed. There are about 50 days yet to get the work done. Roy Nicodemus of Local Cheyenne is working to have a ticket nominated.

Arizona

The Socialists of Arizona are discussing the matter of placing a ticket in the field. There are a number of live Socialists in this State, including Lawrence McGivern, C. E. McEwen, C. J. Johnson, Lester W. Woolever, John R. Kemp and Alec Lucy, who are all working hard.

Kansas

Arthur Bridwell, State secretary, writes that their State ticket has been filed and they are now making preparations for a vigorous campaign in Kansas. We hope all American Appeal and New Leader readers will get in touch with Bridwell and give him whole-hearted support.

Connecticut

The Socialist State convention will be held at Arbeiter Maennerchor Park, top of Allingtown hill, on the New Haven and Bridgeport bus line, New Haven, Sunday, July 25. Convention opens at 10 a. m. All delegates should be on hand. A strong State and Congressional ticket will be nominated and a platform ratified which will be presented to the convention by a committee headed by Edward P. Clark of Hartford.

It is expected that a number of prominent Socialists of the State will be put forward by their Locals as candidates for Governor. Among them will be Jasper McLevy of Bridgeport, Karl C. Jurseck of Greenwich and Martin F. Plunkett of Wallingford.

The State Executive Committee has had invitation cards printed and are mailing them to all known Socialists and sympathizers, inviting them to attend the convention.

Dinner will be served by the ladies of the Arbeiter Maennerchor Singing Society at the small price of 50 cents. Those wishing to take dinner must notify the State Secretary, Martin F. Plunkett, Room 2, Wallace Block, Wallingford, at least four days before the convention.

Alfred Baker Lewis of Boston will address a mass meeting at the park at 3.30, rain or shine.

Refreshments will be served by the Maennerchor.

New Jersey

Since the Legislature changed the date of the primary election from September to June, the New Jersey Socialists have had more or less difficulty in holding satisfactory street meetings during the summer months. In former years, when the primaries were held the latter part of September, there was much political activity during July, August and September, and immediately after the primaries the campaign for the November elections got under way. Now the primaries are held in June and there is practically a cessation of political activity during the summer and until well into the fall.

However, New Jersey Socialists are not allowing themselves to be discouraged and are now arranging for their summer campaign. Two successful meetings have been held in Newark, in the Central Market Plaza, and meetings will be held there every Friday night.

On Saturday night, July 17, the Rev. Ethelred Brown will speak at Washington and 4th Streets, Hoboken, and meetings will continue at that corner every Saturday night. During the next couple of weeks, meetings will be started in various other cities to continue every week to Election Day.

Comrade Newman, who has done such effective work as Organizer of Essex County, is going to put in some time in Trenton, and is very hopeful about putting the state capital back on the Socialist map.

Leon A. Malkiel, who has long been active in the movement in New York, now resides in Keansburg, N. J., and has volunteered his services in his part of the state. The State Committee has elected Malkiel Organizer for Monmouth County and the State Secretary will send him a list of prospects in that county to work on.

New York State

The State Executive Committee will meet in the State Office, Albany, next Sunday at 10.20 A. M., and put in a day disposing of the matters referred to it by the State Convention. The Committee will also designate the dates for the official conventions, State and Judicial, to be held in September. The present personnel of the State Executive Committee is as follows: Arland of Westchester County, Feigenbaum of Kings, Gerber of New York, Hilsdorf, Jr., of Monroe, Kobbe of Rensselaer, Newkirk of Oneida, Orr of Bronx, Sander of Onondaga and Wiley of Schenectady.

Organizer Emil Herman has made an excellent start in Rochester, collecting nearly $90, including $42.50 in dues for the Local, adding 17 new members, and speaking at a street meeting—all during his first week in that city.

State Secretary Merrill has urged Locals to get candidates in the field early. Designation petitions must be filed on or before August 17. Not only candidates for public office must be designated, but members of the official State Committee, one in each Assembly District, and delegates to official conventions. Members of official county committees have to be elected at the primary this fall, unless the party rules in force in counties provide for biennial elections of county committees in uneven numbered years.

Queens

Branch Jamaica will meet next Friday evening, July 23, at 57 Beaufort Avenue, (near 138th Street, south of the L. I. R. R.), Jamaica. Tickets for the joint picnic on Sunday, August 1, will be distributed and members and Socialist sympathizers are invited to be on hand.

Local New York

STREET MEETINGS

Manhattan

Monday, July 19, 159th street and Broadway. Speakers: Ethelred Brown and Dr. Leon R. Land.

Tuesday, July 20, 7th street and Avenue B. Speakers: Ethelred Brown and Ben Goodman.

Wednesday, July 21, 133d street and Lenox avenue. Speakers: Ethelred Brown and V. C. Gaspar.

Friday, July 23, Clinton street and East Broadway. Speakers: Ethelred Brown, I. Korn and Abraham Scall.

Bronx

Friday, July 23, 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers: William Karlin and J. G. Friedman. Chairman, Mathilda Tillman.

Brooklyn

Wednesday, July 21, Monroe and Broadway. Speakers: Hyman Nemser and Samuel H. Friedman.

Thursday, July 22, Tompkins and Hart. Speakers: Ethelred Brown and I. M. Chatcuff.

Friday, July 23, Havemeyer and South 4th street. Speakers: Samuel E. Beardsley and Em'' Bromberg.

Bronx

Party members listed as enrolled Socialists are urged to call at headquarters, 1167 Boston Road, and sign petitions placing our candidates on the official ballot.

Owing to pressure of business, D. Kasson resigned as organizer of the Central Branch, comprising Districts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Fred Paulitsch was elected organizer and has already started constructive work.

This party unit with a large membership composed mainly of workers should make rapid progress under a veteran like Paulitsch. A better dues collecting system, a continuous distribution of the party press and leaflets on prominent questions will be started after our candidates are placed on the ballot. Members inactive and in arrears will be visited by committees who will urge renewed interest in party matters.

The Bronx County Committee met Monday, July 12. Both branches were fully represented. The Verband branches had no representation. The committee organized with Paulitsch as chairman. Reports submitted by Secretary Murphy showing financial condition of Bronx County were received. A sub-committee composed of Orr, Gross and Hoffman was elected to take up the matter of headquarters and of heating during the winter months, which was especially stressed.

The Bronx County Committee will meet again Monday, August 2, at local headquarters. Branches of the Verband are especially urged to be represented at this meeting.

All vacancies on the political ticket will be filled August 2. All subdivisions are urged to govern themselves accordingly.

Branch 7

Branch 7 met Tuesday, July 13, at club rooms, 4215 Third avenue, and started real constructive work. The Educational Committee, which supervised the series of lectures last winter, will again function. A new program will be arranged and the most prominent lecturers will be communicated with and, if possible, arrangements made for their services. Members and sympathizers can rest assured that the program as presented last winter will be improved upon.

The financial secretary presented a report on the condition of Branch 7, which was satisfactory and referred to the Auditing Committee.

Yipseldom

All members of the League should immediately fill out entry blanks for the Yipsel field day, to be held July 25 at Pelham Bay Park. According to the rulings of the Athletic Committee entries will not be taken after Monday, July 19. The League Athletic Director will visit all circles for the final settlement of all business pertaining to field day.

The Dramatic Society will meet Friday evening at the Rand School. New plays are being selected in which comrades will have the opportunity to play. Those wishing to do so are to get in touch with the City Office of the Y. P. S. L.

Circle 8, Manhattan, 137 Avenue B, is now conducting a membership drive throughout the East Side. Open-air meetings of the Yipsels have proven a great success. Over a hundred people per week are being circularized.

This week the circle will celebrate its fourth anniversary. An excellent program has been arranged by the committee. A play by the Dramatic Society will be one of the features of the evening. Letters inviting old members have been sent out.

"Are Women Inferior to Men?" was the topic of a debate held at Circle 7, Manhattan, 8 Attorney street, last Saturday night. Ida Watkins upheld the negative, Hyman Gitzis the affirmative. Leonard C. Kaye presided. Aside of the fact that it was very warm, and the preparation was not very extensive, the debate met with the approval of the audience despite lack of debating experience by the contestants.

Despite the Blurb

"BANZAI," by John Paris (Boni & Liveright, $2.50), is the story of a young Japanese who, as our alleged cousins, the English, would say, and as the author actually does say somewhere on the pages of his present book, is a thorough little rotter. But somehow, when you have come to the last page you put the book down with a distinct liking for Takao Ono. What is possibly still more curious, you finish also with a friendly feeling for the Japanese as a people. Mr. Paris hands the Japanese no bouquets and attempts to excuse none of their faults, many of which he depicts in considerable detail. He does, however, write of them with a sympathetic understanding, an understanding which he manages to get across to the reader.

Mr. Horace Liveright, the publisher, explains in a blurb on the somewhat hideous jacket that Takao Ono is a real character, and that the book "is not a novel although it reads like one." Well, sweetheart, what's the difference?

Frank D. Halsey.

Amusements

DRAMA

The Many-Sided Genius Of George Bernard Shaw

By C. E. M. Joad

WHEN Mr. Chesterton published his famous study of Bernard Shaw, the latter greeted it with the comment, "The best work of literary art I have yet provoked." That was in 1912; the number of books about Shaw had not yet run into double figures, and his greatest plays had still to come, yet I doubt if he would wish to recall his verdict today. One thing is certain: he would not be moved to do so by Mr. Braybrooke.

Bernard Shaw

The genius of Shaw has as many facets as a diamond; as a consequence you can consider him, and consider him fruitfully, in many aspects. Patrick Braybrooke, in his bood ("The Genius of Bernard Shaw," Drane's, London) succeeds in saying something foolish about each of them.

For instance, there is Shaw the Socialist, going as a young man into serious training for his vocation by studying Marx and mastering statistics. He is present at the birth of the Fabian Society, and is a leading figure during its great days. He speaks at street corners and suburban debating societies, contributes to Fabian Essays, serves on committees and contributes in the prefaces to "John Bull," "Getting Married" and "Major Barbara," a series of political pamphlets which contain the most brilliant and subversive writing of our time.

Shaw in this aspect is the bogy of the middle classes; the man pictured by Max standing on his head and waving his legs in the air. He pricks the bubbles of Victorian morality, lets air and light into the Victorian home, thaws the rigor of the Victorian family system, and advocates Communistic proposals fo requality of income and the abolition of private property. All this he does with a cogency of argument and sustained brilliancy of invective which rank him among the foremost satirists in the history of literature, and incidentally he establishes himself as the greatest master of English prose since Swift.

Mr. Braybrooke's reaction to this magnificent achievement is to comment upon "the underlying sneer that is so large a part of the method of Shaw," of which he tells us "that it is far from a pleasant attribute."

Take another side of Shaw. He is a thinker of great force and originality, who has made an important contribution to the theory of creative evolution. This contribution is set forth explicitly in the prefaces to "Man and Superman" and "Back to Methuselah," and is implicit throughout these plays. It places Shaw in the front rank of contemporary philosophers, so that, if the whole sum of his achievement were confined to his philosophical work, he would be entitled to rank with Bergson and Nietzsche among the great thinkers of the age.

Mr. Braybrooke's acknowledgment of the Shavian philosophy consists in talk about the persistence of "the huntress women" in Shaw's plays, conveyed incidentally in a chapter of generalized nonsense about women, of which the sentence,

> "Women dress in the most disgracefully blatant fashion possible, their whole ideal is an appeal to sex, and the spectacle of woman's highly lifted skirt is filling our lunatic asylums and keeping our prisons in a state of perpetual overcrowding."

is a fair specimen.

Shaw, again, is a great comic playwright, who in the sheer exuberance of his talent has created a series of characters—such as William in "You Never Can Tell," the Doolittles, father and daughter, in "Pygmalion," 'Enery Straker in "Man and Superman"—who place their creator in a direct line of descent from the great comic geniuses of English fiction, the line of Fielding, of Smollett, and of Dickens.

Mr. Braybrooke's way of treating Shaw's characters is to get himself entangled in a discussion about individuals and types. He first tells us that Shaw treats characters very largely as types, and secondly, that ordinary typical individuals are no use to the dramatist, who must needs deal in eccentrics and abnormals. Then he proceeds to the assertion that Shaw's soldiers and doctors are hopelessly exaggerated because Shaw knows nothing about soldiers and doctors—and this, ye gods, in face of glorious creations like Bluntschli and Sir Ralph Bloomfield Bonnington!

He ends up by completely misunderstanding the character of Clara in "Pygmalion." This misunderstanding, which is so gross that one wonders how it can have contrived to get itself into print, arises over the use of the famous word "bloody." It will be remembered that when the elegantly-mannered and beautifully-appointed flower-girl says, "not bloody likely," the middle class ladies Clara and her mother receive it with unction as the latest catch-word in fashionable circles, and Clara, in her character as social climber, presently brings it out with eclat to Higgins. On this Mr. Braybrooke comments:

> "Unless Clara had been in the habit of using 'bloody'—and I cannot see from the Shavian interpretation of her that she would have been likely to—the line is merely silly, whereas in the case of Eliza Doolittle it is a stroke of undoubted genius."

What a book for a great man to have provoked!

ROBERT WOOLSEY

Will be featured in "Honest Liars," a new comedy coming to the Sam H. Harris Theatre Monday night.

Conscience on The Stage

TWO new Czech plays have just been produced on Prague stages: "The Banner of Mankind," by Jaroslav Hilbert, at the National Theatre, and "Revolt on the Stage," by Jan Bartosh, at the Stavovske Theatre. These two dramatists are well-known Czech writers.

Jaroslav Hilbert is a typical writer of the old school. Ever since the war his work has dealt with the problems arising from the conflict of the two worlds—post-war and pre-war. He has not neglected to declare his allegiance openly to conservatism. He feels that modern society is basing its life too much on material and physical needs instead of spiritual ones. In a dramatic trilogy, known as "Conscience," of which this play is the second part, he points his moral. He has built up his case by making people in public life commit despicable actions; for instance, a president of an aeroplane factory which has produced some bad machines, but which will sell them to the State, falls into a bribery scheme, but repents his action at the end. The author has been daring enough to bring on to the stage three times an unknown gentleman known as Mr. X. He represents the conscience—the physical embodiment of the inner voice.

With "Revolt on the Stage" we turn to metaphysics. It deals with the question of a life after death. The problem is debated through a rather complicated plot by two characters, a sentimental neurasthenic and a rationalistic cynic—the Faust and Mephistopheles of our time. Naturally, the author has been accused of being influenced by Pirandelle, but this he denies.

Prague is to have two more ape plays this season. The Czech National Theatre is to produce Luigi Antonelli's "L'Isola delle Scimmie," while the German Theatre is to produce "Die Insel der Affen," by H. Ungar. Last season Prague saw "The Monkey Talks," "The Hairy Ape" and "The Man in the Cage."

Berlin Censor Forbids Showing of Kaiser Film

THE recent vote on the bill for the expropriation of the ex-Kaiser and other German former royalties was exceedingly exciting and bitter.

The Berlin film censor took a hand and has forbid the showing of a film entitled "Not a Penny for the Princess." It was to have been shown in all the cinemas in preparation for next Sunday's voting.

The censor's objection was that the sub-titles of the film mentioned the facts that the ex-Kaiser now receives from the Republic the equivalent of $425 a day, the Duke of Mecklenburg, $305, the Duke of Meiningen $250, and the Grand Duchess of Weimar $70.

The censor wanted the sub-titles to include also what he regards as the fact that the ex-royalties have very large and highly expensive families to maintain. The producer refused to make this modification, pointing out that the princes and dukes who compose these families also receive large pensions as ex-officers, and have wives who draw large revenues from estates. So that the total income of these ex-royal families is really very much larger than the film shows.

However, it seems a pity that he did not concede the censor's wish, and at the same time add to his film a picture of the ex-rulers engaged in maintaining their "large and highly expensive families." That would surely have been instructive to the working-class parents of Berlin.

Horace Liveright Plans Include Seven Plays

THE forthcoming productions planned by Horace Liverright for the coming season will include:

"An American Tragedy," by Patrick Kearney, from the novel by Theodore Dreiser: The dramatization closely follows the book. The play will be directed by Edward Goodman, director of The Stagers.

"Black Boy," a three-act comedy-drama by Jim Tully and Frank Dazey, Jr., in which Paul Robeson will be starred. The piece is being directed by James Light.

"The Wild Man," a three-act comedy by Marc Connolly and Herman J. Mankiewicz.

"Balloons," by Edwin Justus Mayer, author of "The Firebrand." This new Mayer opus is described as a fantastic comedy in six scenes, the locale of which is New York City. The play will be directed by Mr. Mayer and Mr. Liveright.

"When the Devil Was Sick," by Arthur Pollock, the critic of the Brooklyn Eagle, based on a scenario by Horace Liveright. This play will have its premiere in November.

"Cover Charge," by Samuel Shipman, based on a novel by Cornell Woolrich.

In addition to the above very definite schedule, Mr. Liveright is contemplating the production about the holidays of Edwin Justus Mayer's adaptation of Christopher Marlowe's "All for Love." Early in January he will produce "The Taming of the Shrew" in Modern Dress.

THEATRES

Music and Concerts

DOROTHY SANDS

Whose excellent work is an outstanding feature of the new "Grand Street Follies," now in its second month at the Neighborhood Playhouse.

Vaudeville Theatres

MOSS' BROADWAY

The international dancing star, Melissa Ten Eyck, in a colorful terpsichorean presentation, assisted by George Boyce and Joe Evans, will head the vaudeville program at B. S. Moss' Broadway Theatre, beginning Monday.

The surrounding bill will include B. B. Joyner and Clarence Foster, in a comedy "Running Him Ragged"; the tiny star, Jeanie, in a one-act comedy entitled "Just a Sweet Child"; Kemper and Bayard, in "Hokum But! Hokum"; Alan Coogan and Mary Casey, in a playlet by Eugene Conrad, "The Shrinking Violet"; Lillian Roth, and Vee and Tully.

The screen feature will be Marie Prevost in "Up in Mable's Room," the screen picturization of the stage play. Harrison Ford, Phyllis Haver and Harry Meyers are in the supporting cast. A special screen feature for the week will be the official pictures of the Delaney vs. Berlenbach championship fight, taken from a ringside seat.

PALACE

Albertina Rasch presents the "Pompadour Ballet" with Norree, Sam Krevoff and Evelyn Groves and eight Albertina Rasch dancers; George Wiest and Ray Stanton, with Gladys Gerrish, Allen Forrest, Idyle Shaw, Sandre Straal, and Elsie Davis, vaudeville debut of Eddy Brown, violinist; Adler, Weil and Herman; Willie, West and McGinty; Willie Solar, Tom Davies Trio, and Jack Joyce.

ALBEE

"The Red Follies;" Harry Delf; Eddie Conrad and Company; Moss and Frye; Shone and Squires; Pasquali Brothers; Athlone; Lottie Athertone; Travers Brothers.

Broadway Briefs

Claiborne Foster will have a month's vacation before "The Patsy" begins its tour of the principal cities the latter part of August, the run of Barry Conners' comedy at the Booth Theatre will end this Saturday night, after playing 421 times.

The premier of Richard Herndon's production of J. P. McEvoy's "Americana" has been postponed to Monday night, July 26, when it will open with a midnight performance as orginally planned.

"A Night in Paris," scheduled to open next week, will be delayed one week. The second edition of the revue will open at the 44th Street theatre the week of July 26.

"The Querida Girls," a new unit of twelve girl-musicians, has been added to the "Querida" scene of the new Winter Garden revue, "The Great Temptations."

Jed Harris' new production, "Broadway," by Philip Dunning and George Abbott will open a three days' engagement Monday night at the Broadway Theatre, Long Branch.

Charles K. Gordon will produce "A Regular Girl," a musical comedy, with book by William Cary Duncan; the lyrics by Irving Caesar, and the music by Stephen Jones and Winthrop Cortelyou.

The New York premiere of "Gentlemen Prefer Blondes," now playing in Chicago, will take place on September 28 at the Times Square Theatre with a cast headed by June Walker as the blonde, and including Edna Hibbard, G. P. Huntley, and Frank Morgan.

MUSIC

Beethoven's Ninth With Chorus of 200 at Stadium

TWO performances of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony with a chorus of 200 voices and soloists, a first hearing at the Stadium of Casella's "Italia," and four of the classic symphonies—Beethoven's first and third, Brahms' second, and Tchaikovsky's fifth—are among the features of the coming week at the Lewisohn Stadium.

The Ninth Symphony is scheduled for Wednesday and Thursday evenings, under the direction of Willem von Hoogstraten, with a chorus recruited from the Oratorio Society by Francis B. Marsh. The soloists will be Amy Evans, soprano; Doris Doe, contralto; Lewis James, tenor; and Fraser Gange, baritone.

The program for the week:

Sunday: Symphony No. 1, Beethoven; L'Arlesienne Suite, Bizet; Till Eulenspiegel, Strauss; "Benevenuto Cellini" Overture, Berlioz.

Monday: Negro Rhapsody, Goldmark; Victory Ball, Schelling; "Meistersinger" Prelude, Wagner; Symphony No. 5, Tchaikovsky.

Tuesday: Academic Overture, Brahms; Italia, Casella (first time at Stadium); L'Oiseau de Feu Suite, Stravinsky; Symphony No. 3—Eroica, Beethoven.

Wednesday and Thursday: Leonore Overture No. 3, Beethoven; Symphony No. 9, Beethoven.

Friday: Roman Carnival Overture, Berlioz; Caprice Espagnol, Rimsky-Korsakoff; Pacific 231, Honegger; Symphony No. 2, Brahms.

Saturday: Rienzi Overture, Wagner; Peer Gynt Suite, Grieg; Marche Slav, Tchaikovsky; Impressions of Italy, Carpentier; Tales of the Vienna Woods, Strauss.

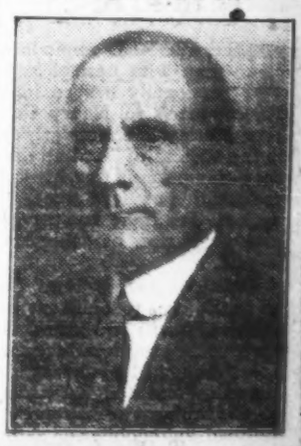
Metropolitan Engages Nine New Artists

FOUR American singers, one American dancer and four foreign singers have been added to the personnel of the Metropolitan Opera Company, according to the statement of General Manager Gatti-Casazza. The American singers are Martha Attwood, soprano, who has been heard in concerts; Louise Lerch, soprano; Elda Vettori, soprano, who has appeared with the Chicago and San Carlo Opera companies; Joseph MacPherson, basso. Ruth Page, American dancer, will be seen in numerous solo dances during the season. Miss Page first attracted attention with her appearances in the Adolf Bolm Ballet Intime in New York, and last year achieved success in Chicago, also in South America, and this summer will appear as principal dancer at Ravinia Park, Chicago.

Other new singers include Editha Fleischer, soprano, formerly of the Wagnerian company and more recently with the Hinshaw English Opera Company; Walther Kirchoff, Berlin tenor; George Cehanovsky, baritone of the San Carlo Company, and Pavel Ludikar, basso, who has been with Mr. Hinshaw's opera forces for the last two years. The new conductor, Vincenzo Bellezza, is well known as a leader of opera in Italy and South America.

Of the new productions but three are announced thus far, and these include "The King's Henchmen," the opera written by Deems Taylor and Edna St. Vincent Millay, which will be given in English; "Turandot," Puccini's opera, and "La Giara," one-act ballet, the music for which is by Alfredo Casella. The revivals announced include the "Magic Flute," by Mozart; "Fidelio," by Beethoven, which will be given in memory of the hundredth anniversary of the composer's death, and "Mignon," by Thomas.

ERNEST LAWFORD



Plays the Lord Chancellor with abandon in "Iolanthe," the Gilbert and Sullivan operetta now in its fourth month at the Plymouth Theatre.

"A Night in Paris" New Edition in Rehearsal

Rehearsals were begun last Thursday morning for the second edition of "A Night in Paris." Jack Pearl and Harry O'Neal will have entirely new material; Maurie Rubens and Fred Coots have three new songs on which dance ensembles will be based; three new sketches will supplant those now in use and the entire production will be revamped. Norma Terris, Katherine Ray, Jack Osterman, Catherine Gallimore, George Dobbs, Norma Terris, Barnett Parker and Lucita Corvera. The Gertrude Hoffmann girls will have entirely new dance routines. The Messrs. Shubert will bring the revue to the 44th Street Theatre in a week or so.

Gilbert and Sullivan's 'Iolanthe' Breaks American Record

Winthrop Ames' production of "Iolanthe" is now in its thirteenth week at the Plymouth Theatre, thereby breaking all previous records for this popular Gilbert and Sullivan opus in America. "Iolanthe" was originally produced at the old Standard Theatre on lower Broadway November 25, 1882, where it ran an even twelve weeks, the longest run it has ever had, until now, in this country. Incidentally, this Thursday matinee was the 100th performance of Mr. Ames' presentation.

Grace Griswold has been engaged by A. L. Erlanger to appear in "Service for Two," the comedy by Martin Flavin.

CLAIBORNE FOSTER

The star of Barry Connors' amusing comedy, "The Patsy," now in its final week at the Booth after a run of eight months.

"The War of the Worlds" By Wells to Be Filmed

A news item coming from Los Angeles says that the Famous Players-Lasky will make a picture of H. G. Wells' war fantasy, "The War of the Worlds." Arzen Decserepy, Hungarian technician, is said to have instruments to overcome the technical difficulties which have held up production on stories of this kind.

The story tells of the invasion of this world by armies from Mars.

THE NEW PLAYS

MONDAY

"HONEST LIARS," a farce by Robert Weenolsen and Sherrill Webb, with additional scenes and dialogue by Frank Smithson, will open at the Sam H. Harris Theatre Monday evening. Robert Woolsey is the featured member of the cast. Others are Kathleen Lowry, Alfred Kappeler, Jay Wilson, Adelaide Rondelle, Neil Pratt, Ainsworth Arnold, Margaret Walker, Francis Murphy, Harriet Harbaugh and Vincent Strain. George MacFarlane is the producer.

"PYRAMIDS," a drama by Samuel Ruskin Golding, will open Monday night at the George M. Cohan theatre. The cast is headed by Carroll McComas. Wallace and Martins are the producers.

The Parable of the Magic Words

A CERTAIN man had two sons. One day he called them unto him and said:

My sons, I grow old and must soon rest with my forefathers. Now, I have two playhouses. To each of you I give one, to manage how you please, and to him who thereby findeth the magic words I will leave the rest of my treasure.

Now the brothers wot not which were the magic words, nor cared they, for they had their own ideas of management.

The elder brother was a great student of the drama and loved art for art's sake. Moreover, he would fain educate the common people so that they should take the drama seriously and profit thereby.

Therefore produced he a weighty play, one to make the people think and to raise the status of the drama.

But on the first night the critics said: Behold, this is such a play as we must take seriously, and therefore criticise adversely (or we be not real critics and may lose our jobs).

Therefore, slated they the piece, so that they who read their writings said:

This play is not even worth queueing for. We will go elsewhere.

So the elder brother produced another play (the similar withal), and yet another and another, but the common people would have naught of them, even when (on rare occasions) the critics were united not in condemnation.

So he found not the magic words and grew exceedingly sorrowful.

And it came to pass that one day he said unto himself: 'Tis many moons since last I saw my younger brother. I will go and see how he prospereth.

And when he came to his younger brother's playheuse he saw a great multitude of people entering therein, and his younger brother came out and saw him and said:

Welcome, my brother; enter and see the playacting, tho thou will have to stand, for lo, there is not a vacant seat in the house.

Thereat the elder brother marveled greatly, saying:

What manner of play is this that it so attracteth the people? Is it, perchance, by some great writer, another Shakespeare, or doth it deal with some important problem that agitateth the people's mind?

Nay, answered his brother, 'tis the nether portions of the body that it portrayeth rather than the head. For the cry of the multitude is: "Amuse us. Do not seek to teach us or to make us think. 'Tis amusement only we want."

And what mean those two words in letters of light? asked the elder brother. Biff! Bing! Are they the magic words for which our father bade us seek?

They mean naught, said the younger brother. They are but the title of the play. Yet do they please the common people, for they show the manner of fare provided.

Then, said the elder brother, thou has not yet found the magic words?

Verily, verily, I have, his brother answered. And, taking him by the hand, he leadeth him to the entrance of the playhouse, and, pointing to a board placed without, said:

Behold the magic words: House Full!

H. V. H., in "The Curtain."

THE NEW LEADER

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SATURDAY, JULY 17, 1926

MR. HEDLEY SUES

WHETHER the suit for damages brought by Frank Hedley for the Interboro Rapid Transit Company against the strikers of the company is a "bluff" we do not know. The suit at least indicates that Hedley is very much concerned about the strike and that it is sufficiently effective to worry him. On the other hand he has not paid the workers of the company a wage sufficient to enable them to have any homes or savings which the company can attach in a suit and, fortunately, the debtors' prison belongs to a past age.

Mr. Quackenbush, attorney for the company, chimes in with the statement that "any newspaper that attempts to further the strike" will "be proceeded against in the same manner." Evidently, this corporation with its "company union" wants to make the newspapers "company" publications as well. But this is not enough. Why not go on and obtain an order of the court to prohibit any citizen from saying anything "to further the strike?" Having accomplished this it is an easy matter to make Mr. Frank Hedley official distributor of gags for all impious persons who criticise his holy corporation.

Of course, Hedley has a precedent in the Danbury Hatters' case and the decision in the Hitchman case of the miners. In the first case a corporation actually levied on the homes and savings of strikers and American trade unions contributed funds to pay the damages awarded by the court. It was a decision like this that brought the British trade unions into politics and induced them to establish the Labor Party and through their party they have succeeded in protecting their funds from seizure by corporations.

The arrogance of the company is only equalled by its maintenance of a fraudulent "union" which is controlled by its central office.

THE BARBARIANS

CIVILIZED human beings who disagree as to what is the truth gather evidence that will enable them to find it. Barbarians use a club or pass a law to determine what is what. When the club is used to knock down an opponent the clubber may enforce his view but it isn't likely that the view will be the truth. If the barbarians enact legislation declaring that a particular view is the truth they will be no nearer to it than the clubber.

The Rotarians and Fundamentalists of Texas know how to ascertain what is the truth. Pass a law and there you are. No need of gathering evidence or sifting it. No need of study or investigation. No need of experiment or research. Pass a law declaring that this is the truth and that is not. Once you have the law signed, enforce it. Easiest thing in the world. It saves an awful lot of trouble. You do not have to know anything and you do not even have to think.

Texas lawmakers have heard something about biology. They don't know what it means but they know that the word "evolution" also appears in a number of text books on biology. They vote evolution out of these books and order New York publishers to strike it out. There you are. Evolution does not evolve. Raus mit 'em. It is dead. Texas law says it is dead. What more do you want?

And this in the "sweet land of liberty" in the same month that these barbarians gathered to celebrate the adoption of a certain declaration in 1776. Our anti-Socialists have charged us with desiring to establish intellectual slavery. What have they to say of their barbarian troops in Texas?

THE "UNIQUE" FORD

THE WORLD reminds us too often of a man with normal intelligence who occasionally has an intellectual collapse. Its comment on Henry Ford in relation to Karl Marx was particularly stupid. The theme is the success of Ford as the flivver king and the assumption is that his vast enterprises are the creation of Ford alone. "It can hardly be argued that if he had never lived some one else would now be doing his work," says the World.

Centuries before Ford lived men learned to smelt ore, to build ox carts, to establish villages, towns and cities. In transportation there were countless inventions from the two poles dragged by a beast to the invention of the wheel on through a variety of conveyances to the sailing vessel, stage coach, canal boat, railroad, automobile and aeroplane. Hundreds of thousands of related inventions and discoveries and the labor of countless millions established the civilization in which Ford was born.

Did Ford make all these things possible or did they make a Ford possible? Had he appeared in Kansas in the third decade of the nineteenth century would he have appeared as a flivver king or would he have died on the frontier an obscure small farmer wearing homespun and eating corn bread? Does the economic progress of society account for Ford, as Marx would contend, or is Ford a god with powers to shape society and history as a potter would clay? If Washington had been born in 1776 instead of in 1732 would he today be known as a leading founder of a nation or be hardly remembered as a Virginia planter?

To hold to the view of the World one has to forget the labor and genius and inventions of millions in all ages and ascribe them all to a few oligarchs.

MORE "HISTORY"

WE cannot resist calling the attention of our readers to another contribution to an understanding of history which one of our terrible "militants" offers in the Worker of July 3. Commissar Thurber Lewis tells the faithful about Alexander Hamilton, one of the "fathers" of the Constitution. Lewis writes: "One needs only to read the 'Federalist,' an organ of the banking and manufacturing interests in which most of the writing was done by Hamilton."

All of which is good history with the following exceptions: (1) Hamilton did not write for the "Federalist." (2) There was no "organ of the banking and manufacturing interests" of that name. (3) Lewis never read an organ of that name although he implies that he did. (4) He could not read it for, as stated, it did not exist.

What he really has reference to and what he does not understand is that Hamilton, Madison and Jay contributed a collection of essays to the New York Packet, the Independent Journal and the Daily Advertiser urging the ratification of the Federal Constitution. These essays were afterward gathered into one volume and published under the title of "The Federalist," and they have appeared in numerous editions, the first one in 1788.

A few months ago another "historian" of the "militants," Brother Wicks, told them that Jefferson was re-elected in 1804 because he extended the suffrage to the masses. Brother Lewis follows with the above contribution. Certainly, the hopefuls are being "educated" by their profound thinkers.

SOCIALISM

RECENTLY The New Leader was asked to answer a dozen or more questions regarding Socialism and an answer would have required writing a small book. It is surprising that this letter should be received considering the excellent contributions of Harry Laidler which have been appearing for months and which are considering every phase of Socialist thought and history.

If we were to attempt a tabloid statement of the aims of the Socialist movement much would be missing, but in brief it may be said that it is founded on the claims of the working class for a reorganization of society. The Socialist demand for reorganization would be absurd a hundred years ago. It is intelligent and necessary today because capitalist society has reached a stage when fundamental change is possible.

Industry has developed out of the small shop of colonial times into the factory and on to the great manufacturing plants of our time. Once independent in the shop which he possessed, the workman is today dependent in the plants owned by the capitalist class. Once possessing cheap hand tools, he does not possess the costly machinery of today. Once making and marketing articles for sale, he still makes but does not own or market the products he and his class produce.

Revolutionary changes in industry have divorced him from ownership and control of the plants, tools and produce. He sells labor power for wages. When he cannot sell it to owners of industry he must remain idle. He is a commodity like the raw material which he transforms into the finished product. The plants of production have expanded into the great industries that are so large they can be publicly owned. Public ownership of a little colonial shoe shop would be absurd but public ownership of a great steel industry is possible and necessary.

Each of us cannot own a big industry as many of our grandfathers owned a small shop. But we can collectively own the great railroads, mines and industries and dispense with private owners and thus unite ownership with useful labor. Ownership and useful labor are now divorced. With the great productive powers possessed by society the workers will cease to be a class dependent upon owners. The useful workers will have power to manage industry for the welfare of all. The problems of distribution, hours of labor, quantity and quality of production, will be theirs. We may look into the future and suggest some solutions, but it will be the task of the emancipated workers to solve the problems of a Socialist society.

This, in brief, is the Socialist view of modern society.

Tuesday morning papers carried a full page announcement paid for by the New York Sun. "The Outstanding Leader," reads the caption in large, bold letters. Thanks, many thanks, for the ad.

Among the many blessings not promised by the guardians of the capitalist system are suits to plunder trade union funds, wage reductions and injunctions. We are not promised what we get but we get what we are not promised.

Suppose all the thousands of workers who are on strike and the many other thousands who want them to win were as united in opinion and action for their own candidates, their own platform and their own party in the election next November? In that case, who would rule New York City next year?

-:- The News of the Week -:-

Lefts Admit Heavy Losses

Several weeks ago we were taken to task for the assertion that when the Workers' Party reorganized on a "shop nuclei" and "street nuclei" basis it had lost many members. Our information was derived from the organ of the party itself. Now comes I. Amter in the same organ of July 10 with the same admission. "The reorganization," he writes, "cost our party a large number of members and no comrade should shrug his shoulders and say there is no loss to the party if the members who left should not rejoin." This was to be expected. Our "Lefts" are compelled to accept orders from Moscow and the latter ordered this folly of "shop nuclei" and "street nuclei." The only thing that Amter can offer to remedy the situation is "four slogans." What our "friends" did was to break up their branches and reorganize by shops, streets and neighborhoods. Because Communists organize in this way in Russia they have been ordered to do so in all countries. In France and other countries they have suffered big losses as well as here. It remains to be seen how "slogans" will win the brothers back. Announcement is also made that the Industrial Unionist of Portland, Ore., has suspended publication till December 15. It represented a faction that split from the I. W. W. in the West. The Chicago faction is heavily in debt and the fight between the two groups has materially weakened the "wobblies."

Italian Labor Stirs Itself

While Mussolini was reviewing Italy's battle fleet off Ostia and the puppet king was laying the corner stone of a "victory monument" in Bozen in Southern Tirol, reports continued to seep out of the country indicating that Italian labor had sensed the import of the nine-hour day edict and was preparing to resist its enforcement, to a certain extent at least. In the lead came the heroic farm workers of Molinella, who refused to recognize the black shirt union and its chief's commands. Near Milan 1,000 mill hands were reported out against the nine-hour day. Then the Executive Committee of the General Confederation of Labor (which has continued to exist in a more or less quiesent state under the Fascist regime) came out with a sharp protest against the order in which it pointed out that Italy's economic troubles were not due to high labor cost, but to high tariffs, over-capitalization, low wages and similar "blessings" of capitalism. Recent tables showing that more than a score of the big Italian manufacturing concerns and banking houses paid dividends last year ranging from 11 to 85 per cent, compared with from 9 to 65 in 1924, prove the Confederation of Labor's assertion that profits were increasing at an unprecedented rate while the masses of the people are worse off than ever before. One report said that the institution of the nine-hour day was to be delayed, while others told of the arrest and jailing of strikers. In the meantime, "il duce" is shouting for economy, while Italy's adverse trade balance grows and the lira continues to fall, despite optimistic statements by Minister of Finance Volpi.

The Death Toll Of Militarism

The disasters that have occurred in the army navy service within a year have brought a sad death toll. The Shenandoah disaster has been forgotten together with the stupid orders of bureaucrats that sent its crew to their death. The submarine that was rammed last September has at last yielded its gruesome output and the blowing up of the Naval Arsenal has added other victims in killed and wounded. Thus we pay the cost of militarism in human life even though no war is raging. Senator Edge contributes the year's prize stupidity by intimating that pacifists are in some way responsible for the New Jersey disaster. It is worthy of a member of the upper chamber of Congress. As for ourselves we are inclined to think that a warless world would have no use for great stores of explosives, undersea war boats and war ships in the air. Perhaps Senator Edge is too dull to comprehend this or does not want to. Meantime the stricken area of the explosion is a scene of desolation and death, a grim reminder of the fact that capitalism cannot be reconciled with peace and that it stores destruction that occasionally comes home to plague us.

Polish Puzzle Still Knotted

The "eternal Polish question" has not been simplified by the Pilsudski coup d' état of May 12, judging from late reports from Warsaw. Unless the Marshal is "playing possum" and is biding his time to set up a real, 100 per cent. dictatorship, it looks as if he would soon be practically out of the picture, while the Cabinet he organized goes ahead working with the commission of foreign financial experts, headed by Professor Kemmerer, of the U. S. A., on a plan to get Poland out of its immediate financial difficulties and make it safe for foreign and domestic investors. The Marshal seems to be caught between the devil and the deep sea, as the Socialists, who at first were inclined to hail him as the slayer of the Fascist dragon in the name of Polish Nationalist-Socialism, are now scoring him for his lack of initiative, while the reactionaries are still a little fearful of giving him their united support. New York contractors and bankers are reported to have undertaken municipal reconstruction work in Polish cities running into many millions of dollars, for which they are to be paid with Polish bonds to be marketed here. Hopes entertained abroad that the advent of the Pilsudski regime would spell freedom for some 6,000 political prisoners in Polish jails have been dashed and a committee of French Liberals has come out with a demand for amnesty for these victims of oppression and for the restoration of civic rights.

Labor Athletes Take Vienna

Vienna, the biggest Socialist-ruled city of the world, was an easy prize for the host of husky young workers from Austria and eight other European countries that invaded it for a great athletic carnival held under the auspices of the Lucerne Sports International. While this event was not a regular Olympiad, like the one in Frankfort, Germany, last July, it drew many thousands of contestants and spectators and was another striking demonstration of the increasing part being played by out-door sports in the labor movement. Cabled reports told of hotly contested sporting events and of a great parade staged last Sunday in which nearly 20,000 members of the "Reichsbanner" (the militant organization of German Republicans) played a leading part. There will be other big labor athletic carnivals this summer in Latvia, Finland and Switzerland, and similar international events will be held every year up to the great world-wide Labor Olympiad scheduled for 1931. Labor sports are becoming big features of the union and Socialist movement in Argentina, judging from the accounts of the activities of the numerous clubs of young working class athletes found in the Socialist press of that republic. It looks as if the American continent will be properly represented at the big affair of 1931.

-:- -:- THE CHATTER BOX -:- -:-

THEY that have no music in their souls these dog nights are fit for Congress or a cabaret. The air is laden with the essences of seraphic sound. The Campus at New York University, the Stadium at C. C. N. Y., and even the Mall at Central Park, hold forth in melodic glory. There is a spiritual surfeit in reach for the most sensitized Ariel among us. Perhaps a little word painting of a nightly scene at the Stadium Philharmonic concerts might help in giving some form to our inchoate urge to say here what were just as well left unsaid.

Like pilgrims to a rare shrine, the people gather at the four gates to the semi-coliseum on West 137th Street. How the $1.00 seaters, the 50-cent stone perchers, and the 25-cent side squinters manage their varied entries furnishes only a study in the vanities of humankind under the caste of prices. Too puny indeed to mention here against the colossal portent of our brochure. "After all, we are interested only in music, the language of heaven and the literature of the gods. How the cosmopolitan Gothamite reacts to its enchantment is indeed significant.

Imagine then the star-spiked rafters of the night above the amphitheatre, the glittering ensemble of manikins busily bowing away in curious unison before the insistent rhythm of the baton; an exotic circus of shape and sound held in the cupped hand of the acousticon. Imagine, too, how you have already been squeezed into your proper pigmy proportion by the multitude about you, and that you have been lulled into an intellectual anaesthesia by your unknown neighbor's dissertation on the leit motif of the Gotterdammerung. This accomplished on your part, and the baton writhing through the opening bars of Tschaikowski's "Pathetique," and you are perfectly prepared to consider the emotional reactions of Sonia and Vladimir, the 100% Russian-Hebrew-American characters of our little drama.

Sonia is seated at the top tier last aisle seat of the 50-cent side. Vladimir crosses his balloon-cuffed limbs just opposite, top tier first aisle 25-cent seat side. Sonia's head is thrown back to the stars, eyes half lidded with the dazzle of sound perhaps, her breast heaving in slow undulation to the pain that throbs on the air. Vladimir is poised like Grief, his curly head of hair clasped under his interlocked hands, and his closed eyes turned to the stone between his knees. The music from the field comes like a pilgrimage of weeping penitents before the walls of a Holy City. A wind of tremuloes mingling with staccato blasts tears at the heart of night. The pangs of a thousand sorrows stab the dark body of the sky and every star gapes like a fresh wound. And then from behind a cloud comes the tear-spent moon, speaking her consolation of calm and benediction in beams and a glow of white silver. The night air lies stilled for a moment under the last sob. Somewhere the flutes and piccoloes thin out a wavering wail, a muted string picks up a faint smile of hope, a bass string starts the sobbing again. Anew, the grief and lamentation mount to the planets, again the poignancy rends and rasps—and the moon pauses behind the curtain of a cloud to weep alone . . .

All through the movements of the symphony they sit their glorified postures of closed eyes and clasped hands in enraptured study. And all through the divine variants of harmony, Sonia is wondering if Vladimir is noting her soulful distraction and her silken-sheathed calves. And all through the beatific profusion of song, Vladimir is wondering if she will snub him if he speaks to her. And then if she should find him acceptable, will $2.20 be enough to buy a snatch of something or other at the Russian Caviar Cave—and supposing she lives in Brooklyn . . .

To a Lady at a Concert

In lavender and faded lace
That sets your beauty off,
To strange perfection,
You languish in your box
With passive hands,
While there below in breathless rows
People are straining,
To the rebellious striving of an orchestra,
And faces peer down tensely
From the balconies.
On the brave current of the melody
These people are swept on
To dream and to defy.
But you?
What do you know of passion and defiance?
What do you know of the rebellious striving
That surges through this master's score,
And stirs the hearts of these tense auditors?
You, who look as if your life were spent
Beneath a peaceful and cloud-dimpled sky,
Which has not known the mystery of night,
Nor the passion of stars.
In lavender and faded lace,
You are like a bit of Dresden china-ware,
Set on an elaborate mantle-piece,
Or like a Reynolds portrait,
Hung on a lofty wall.
I wonder,
Can you descend from the gold border
Of your frame?

—Lucia Trent.

Limitation

My heights are only little hills,
My depths are little valleys;
My gardens, flowered window sills
Overlooking alleys.

My stars are wistful fire-flies
That in the twilight glimmer;
For who am I to rob the skies
Of their golden shimmer?

Kate Herman.

Rather than scab on the I. R. T., striking workers, we suggest that you all move down to Greenwich Village from the Bronx and Brooklyn, so that you will be quite close to where you spend your days and evenings. It has always been a puzzle to us why people will persist in travelling so many weary, sweaty, and ugly miles just to sleep eight hours of a day.

But since there are economic as well as mathematical impossibilities to our suggestion, would it be too much to ask all true workers in the cause of the underdog in this hard life, not to use the subways even under the pain of an hour loss at work and blistered feet. We assure you the strikers in giving up the few comforts their underpaid employment afforded them are doing a great deal more for the world of greater happiness—about which we all dream.

Every little bit that the people who travel do toward encouraging these publicly important strikers, will hasten their victory against the traction gang that has been mulcting them and us for so long. Too damn long—we dare to say. Heave to laddies and lassies, and see if we can't help the Subway Strikers Scuttle the Hell-Ship of Starvation.

S. A. de Witt.

Critical Cruisings

By V. F. Calverton

RELIGION AND REALITY

CIVILIZATIONS pass and perish, while the wreaths are still unfaded on the heads of their heroes. Humanity flounders and fumbles from success to disaster and from disaster to death, unconfident of purpose, and unprepared of direction. In no society in which man has lived has he been more abjectly a slave to social and economic phenomena than in the industrial society of his recent creation. Avid for happiness, he erects criteria that foster misery and pain; eager for progress, he invents technique that further destruction and chaos. It is the capitalist trend that is morbifically devouring the rational life and undermining the social instinct.

No book of our generation has more soundly and scientifically portrayed the philosophic rise of this capitalist temper and trend than Tawney's "Religion and the Rise of Capitalism" (Harcourt, Bruce & Co. $3.00). Tawney has contributed an analysis of the transition from feudal society to commercial and industrial civilization that is marked by thoroughness of detail, acuteness of insight and brilliance of conclusion. In no other book has this change of philosophy been traced with such assiduity of application and such completeness of vision. The method is genuinely scholarly, genuinely scientific and genuinely radical.

Feudalism, with its basis in an agrarian system of production, had its castes and its fixities of organization, its static economics and rigid metaphysics, but about its philosophy was a sociality of attitude and a communism of sentiment that gave unity to life and co-operation to endeavor.

"There is no place in medieval theory," writes Tawney, "for economic activity which is not related to a moral end, and to found a science of society upon the assumption that the appetite for economic gain is a constant and measurable source to be accepted....would have appeared to the medieval thinker as hardly less rational or less immoral than to make the premise of social philosophy the unrestrained or less immoral than to make the premise of social philosophy the unrestrained operation of such necessary human attributes as pugnacity or the sexual instinct." In other words, riches, in the words of St. Antonio, exist for man, not man for riches. The Christian hierophants of the Middle Ages, reflecting the ethical outlook of the feudal order, were opposed to avarice and competition. The ideal system, wrote Gratian, is communism. Usury was condemned and private gain at the expense of public benefit was considered social sacrilege. Gratian's statement:

"The man who buys (something) in order that he may gain by selling it again unchanged and as he bought it, that man is of the buyers and sellers who are cast forth from God's temple,"—

is illustrative of the feudal attitude toward cupidity and exploitation. The "lust of gain" was inevitably scourged.

A schoolman of the fourteenth century expresses the same attitude in even more illuminating detail:

"He who has enough to satisfy his wants, and nevertheless ceaselessly labors to acquire riches, either in order to obtain higher social position, or that subsequently he may have enough to live without labor, or that his sons may become men of wealth and importance—all such are incited by a damnable avarice, sensuality or pride."

The common need was paramount. Usury was categorized with adultery and fornication, and no usurer "could become mayor, councillor or master of the guild." It was described as an unpardonable sin. The relief of the poor was one of the fundamental duties of those who had escaped poverty. In brief, it was the social character of wealth that was at the basis of the medieval doctrine of feudal religion.

The change that occurred with the rise of commerce and capitalism, which can be but touched upon in this article, is described in detail that is extensive and enlightening. In no other volume of this century is the process of social rationalization so excellently revealed. How changing economics alter ideas and sentiments is illustrated with copious quotation and reference. Few studies in historical materialism are as thorough in this respect. The disappearance of sociability and the rise of individuality, the evanescence of communism and the rise of individualism, with the coming of the new social order, are treated with competence and cogency. Calvin's justification of interest and defense of the merchant, now a classic in sociology, is bared to its economic basis in the new system of production. Religion now becomes the anodyne of capitalism. Money-making is now justified as virtuous and profit defended as a form of religious wisdom. The economic virtues become predominant. Prudence and piety are now considered "the best of friends." And the discharge of "the duties of business" becomes "the loftiest of religious and moral virtues." Profit-making becomes an attribute of the good life. Success in business, according to the preacher, Richard Steele, becomes "a proof that a man has labored faithfully in his vocation, and that 'God has blessed his Trade.'"

Thus religion justifies capitalism, defends and exalts the bourgeoisie, hallows the exploitation of the many by the few, sanctifies wars and is made to bless an industrial plutocracy.

Without inflammatory denunciations or dialectical quibbling, Tawney has written a book, in style stately as Gibbon's and limpid as Taine's, that is signal for its protest and memorable for its profundity.