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# THE NEW LEADER

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL LIBRARY  
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Devoted to the Interests  
of the Socialist and  
Labor Movement

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# NEW YORK STRIKERS' LINES HOLDING FAST

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ICS

L. Norman Thomas

THE subject of my remarks, ladies and gentlemen, is Tammany Hall. In the interest of Al Smith's campaign for the Presidency, efforts are being redoubled to sell not only Smith himself but Tammany Hall to the entire country as the chief hope of progressive political action. At times even liberal papers like the New Republic and the Nation seem to join in the chorus. Thus they acclaim Gov. Smith's stand on State development of water power without pointing out how comparatively unimportant is State development if distribution remains in the hands of private companies. As for organized labor in New York, its officials are hand in glove with Tammany Hall. What they get out of it as individuals everybody knows or can guess. What does labor get out of it? Ask the garment strikers who were herded in droves to a magistrate's court by the Tammany police because they were peacefully picketing. Ask the subway strikers. Ask the citizens of New York who have had to use the subway.

For about two weeks New York has been suffering from curtailed subway service and the dangers inevitable to the operation of the trains by green motormen. The strikers have a good case in demanding an increase in wages. Even the Interborough officials agree that wages ought to be higher. Yet these same Interborough officials, pleading poverty as an excuse, refused to raise wages while spending money like water to break the strike. Their company union is a slave's organization to force the strikers back. The I. R. T. has refused arbitration and has had the supreme gall to refuse wages already earned by some of the strikers and institute damage suits against them.

Now, the City of New York is in a very real sense the partner of the I. R. T. The State of New York, through the Transit Commission, has large powers to regulate service. What has Gov. Smith done? What has his protegee, Jimmy Walker, whom he put in office, done? What has Tammany Hall to which they both belong done? Precisely nothing. Oh, yes, the Police Department has given protection to the I. R. T. and the Transit Commission mildly suggested arbitration. It also authorized certain emergency methods of transit relief. But none of these things bears on the problem. Smith and Walker, in their official capacities, have power, less power, we believe, than the occasion demands. Beyond their legal power they have enormous influence. They are "friends of the people." They are "on the side of the workers" in every election. They are both committed to the principle of municipal operation of subways—a principle which the World authoritatively announces that the city is about to abandon with regard to new lines. In this emergency these leaders of the new Tammany Hall have taken no

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## Crowe Chief Figure In Huge Vote Steals; 50 Politicians Indicted

CHICAGO

SHOVE over Daugherty, Palmer, Lusk, Fall, and you others who have served your country, not carefully, but too well. Room is needed for another fall 100 percent.

Pat Crowe, steel-bellied devourer of red-hot Bolsheviks, has been caught at the game. His protestations of patriotism avail him nothing. He has been snatched as the central figure in the most crooked election day perpetrated in the city of Chicago, where guns blaze, blackjacks swing and blood flows on normal election days.

Even Chicago is amazed at the wholesale election frauds revealed in the indictment here of 50 politicians. With only a fraction of the recount completed, 100,000 ballots are known to have been stolen.

Such widespread frauds have been disclosed that the popular verdict is that no matter who receives the votes, the side that counts them wins.

After most elections here in the past few years cries of fraud have sounded. Defeated candidates have rushed into

court with petitions for a recount, but have received scant consideration.

This month, however, the frauds appeared so flagrant that some ballot boxes were reopened and the ballots recounted. The recount showed that the official returns certified to on election night by the judges and clerks in precincts had practically no relation to the votes actually cast.

Wholesale Stuffing Revealed Investigation revealed wholesale ballot box stuffing and destruction of legitimate votes cast. In many precincts double the number of registered voters cast votes. Men cast votes in the names of persons dead two or three years.

These revelations threaten to upset the entire result of the primary, and it is possible that the recount now continuing will make winners out of many candidates declared losers in the first count and conspirators in fraud out of many of the candidates declared winners.

Back of the frauds lies a bitter feud (Continued on page 3)

## MASS. SOCIALISTS UNIONS DEFEND NAME TICKET LEFKOWITZ

Walter S. Hutchins to Make Race for Governor—Lewis for U. S. Senator

The Socialist Party of Massachusetts held its convention last Sunday and nominated a strong ticket headed by Walter S. Hutchins, chairman of the Massachusetts legislative body of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, as candidate for Governor. Comrade Hutchins will be able to campaign and the party expects to raise a campaign fund and put him on the road for a month. The other candidates are:

For Lieutenant-Governor, Dennis F. Reagan of Brockton.

For Secretary of State, Edith M. Williams, of Brookline.

For Treasurer, Albert Sprague Coolidge of Pittsfield.

For State Auditor, Leon Arkin of Dorchester.

For Attorney General, John Weaver Sherman of Boston.

For United States Senator, Alfred Baker Lewis of Cambridge.

The preamble of the platform adopted declares "The trouble with our State, as with our nation, is that it is not truly ours. It belongs to the landlords and capitalists, the bankers, textile barons, shoe manufacturers, public utilities and railroad owners." The platform points out that the Demo-

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Central Trades Council Protests to Education Board—Speeches Delay Business

By Laborite

EVEN if great happenings had not been expected at the last monthly meeting of the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York, held July 15, it would still have been a disappointment. Interested persons had been made to expect that the discussion of the prevailing rate of wages and the Leffkowitz case would produce some fireworks. Except for the underlying current of expectancy that something was going to happen, the meeting turned out to be quite ordinary, though significant on that account.

The first order of business was the report of the Committee on Education, of which Abraham Leffkowitz is chairman. The committee recommended that the Labor College of the central body be reinforced by putting the work in charge of a full-time director. The American Fund for Public Service (Garland Fund) was to be appealed to for two thousand dollars with the provision that the college retain complete control. No delegate objected to these recommendations.

A number of other matters were reported by the chairman of the committee and then came the Leffkowitz case. Unfortunately, Leffkowitz was reporting to Leffkowitz and that put him in an embarrassing position. He reviewed the details of the affair as fully explained in the New Leader last week: how after thorough examinations he had attained first rank on the list of appointees of heads of history departments and how he was called before the Board of Superintendents on June 24, 1926, and after a severe grilling, chiefly by Mandel, suddenly found himself stricken off the list.

Leffkowitz's Chief Crime The charges against Leffkowitz were all based upon his activities in the labor movement and, what concerned the Central Trades Council most, one of the chief indictments was that Leffkowitz had subscribed to the Reconstruction Program of Labor of the old central body. Many of the present delegates had supported that program. It had been commended by President Wilson.

Leffkowitz presented his case and then sat down. Modestly, he made no recommendations. That was a bad move. No one else had thought through the problem carefully and while everybody was sympathetic, few were agreed upon a program of action. Then suggestions, diverse and contradictory, began to come in. At first no one was even on the floor. But the recommendations were predominantly of an unfortunate character. The speakers all made the issue a

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## UNIONS OF WORLD ASK PROTECTION FOR ALIENS

London Conference Fails to Reach Agreement on Free Migration of Workers

While admitting that self-defense against lower standards of living justifies, at least to a certain extent, the support by the workers of some countries of legislation restricting wholesale immigration, 120 delegates from two dozen countries and thirteen international labor federations who attended the World Migration Congress held in London, June 22 to 25, under the auspices of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Socialist and Labor International, agreed that under no circumstances must emigrant workers be discriminated against, once they are admitted.

As is shown by the text of the resolutions unanimously adopted by the Congress, after sharp differences of opinion had arisen between the representatives of countries having a big surplus of workers, like Italy, Germany and Poland, and of the newer lands, such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand, no definite stand was taken on the matter of absolute freedom of movement by the workers.

It is expected that by the time the next World Migration Congress is held the situation will permit a more exact definition of the international position.

Many Britishers Absent Due to the miners' strike in Great Britain, many British labor delegates were prevented from attending the Congress, while several other leaders in the international labor movement were held in Geneva by the Ninth Session of the International Labor Conference of the League of Nations' Labor Organization.

The London meeting gave the British Government a chance to make an ass of itself, which it promptly grasped and barred out Edmo Finlay, Secretary of the International Transport Workers' Federation and Jan Oudegeest, one of the Secretaries of the International Federation of Trade Unions, on the ground that they had "tried to interfere with British trade" during the general strike.

The sessions of the Congress were under the chairmanship of Leon Jouhaux of France and C. Mertens of Belgium, vice-presidents of the I.F.T.U. The opening report of the world labor situation was presented by John W. Brown, one of the secretaries of the I.F.T.U. Dr. Frederick Adler, secretary of the Socialist and Labor International, took a prominent part in the discussions.

The results of the congress were summed up in the following unanimously adopted statement:

Introduction "The tendency of capitalist development is towards a rapid growth of the capacity for production which gives rise to a decline in the number of workers needed to produce a given quantity of goods.

"The market has not kept pace with this increase of production. The result is a surplus of workers and a formidable amount of unemployment, especially in Europe, which has suffered heavily from the consequences of the war. This unemployment having chiefly affected those industrial states which had previously reached the highest degree of development.

"The labor market being thus unfavorable, there is increased eagerness among workers to emigrate to countries where economic conditions are, comparatively speaking, more promising.

"Another incentive to emigration, whether temporary or permanent, is the ever-present desire of the workers to leave countries with lower standards of living and go to others, where the standard of life is higher.

"From territories which are greatly over-populated and backward in industrial development there is also a constant stream of emigrants. Yet another cause of emigration which is continually coming to the fore is the political oppression of the workers.

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## SIGMAN RAPS RAID ON PICKETS

Garment Workers' President Urges Men to Face Jail for Right to Picket

Acceptance of jail sentences instead of payment of fines growing out of picketing activities is likely to become the policy of 40,000 striking cloak-makers if the police continue their wholesale arrests.

This was gathered from the applause which greeted such advice given by prominent union leaders at a series of strike mass meetings held throughout the city.

"Let us use our funds to wage our strike successfully instead of paying fines. Two or three days in jail do not matter."

This was the sentiment expressed and applauded.

Morris Sigman, President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, speaking at Manhattan Lyceum, 66 East 4th street, gave expression to the sentiment when he declared:

"As workers you spend a lifetime in the factories, which is equivalent to a jail sentence. What if you have to spend a couple of hours in jail? Why, I was in jail six months, as you no doubt remember, yet I am here with you today. Our enemies, the employers, can only feel our strength on the picket lines and you must, by all accounts, maintain them."

Sigman urged, however, that in exercising their legal rights to picket, the strikers should not congregate in any one spot and should constantly keep moving.

"The picket demonstration Monday in the entire cloak and suit district, for fifty square blocks, was by far the largest and most impressive held in this strike. It is estimated that nearly twenty thousand persons took part in it. It was orderly, well behaved and not marred by any untoward act on the part of the strikers.

"All the more inexcusable, therefore, is the action of the police in having arrested 15 strikers on the 'noisy charge' of 'blocking traffic' on the sidewalks. The only time when the strikers failed to carry out the order of the police to move on was when it was in places literally impossible to move ahead for a few minutes. The calling out of the patrol wagons and the arrests are acts of brutal provocation which the strikers and their union strongly resent. All the arrested were subsequently freed on paying small fines.

"The Industrial Council of the 'inside' manufacturers have inserted another paid advertisement in the Jewish language press addressed to our strikers, in which they attempt to wean the workers employed in their shops from the strike and coax them back to work. It is no secret in our industry that such appeals to cloak-makers by employers over the head of their union usually create the opposite results and bind the workers more strongly to their organization."

Sigman said the manufacturers were showing signs of weakening. Their appeals to Governor Smith, District Attorney Banton and Police Commissioner McLaughlin, as well as their pleas, through advertisements in the Jewish press, to the strikers to return to work were evidence, he said, that they were pressed to the wall. The fact, also, that textile corporations and banks have been forced to extend credit to even some of the largest manufacturers, was another indication, Mr. Sigman claimed, of their complete defeat.

"The bootleggers in the industry must go," Sigman told his audience. The industry must be quiet forever—those who come into it to make money and then leave to enter a 'respectable' business. We do not want our beautiful, artistic work, the work of our hands, at the mercy of irresponsible."

Other prominent speakers were Louis Hyman, chairman of the General Strike Committee; Algoner Lee, director of the Rand School of Social Science, and Ben Gold, manager of the Furriers' joint board.

Out-of-town activities of the strikers are proving productive of results. Two non-union shops were closed in Hackensack, N. J., two others in Guttenberg and West New York, and one shop, operating 50 machines, in Millville, N. J.

## Miners' International Meeting in Paris to Aid Striking British Miners

PARIS.—The International Miners' Federation which assembled on Wednesday is considering methods of helping the British miners to win their strike. The United Mine Workers of America are represented by Percy Tetlow and Christ J. Golden, who stated that the British miners were waging a magnificent struggle that deserved the hearty support of all American miners.

The international conference is considering plans to prevent the importation of coal into England, and it is expected that a decision will be reached in a few days. Delegates are present from Great Britain, America, Germany, Belgium and Czechoslovakia.

On Wednesday it was reported that among the contributions from other countries in support of the British miners was \$2,100,000 from the Soviet Government, and the total from all sources has reached nearly \$3,500,000.

## CAP CONFERENCE NEAR

Many Manufacturers Capitulate to Demands of Hat Makers' Strike

The latest development in the New York capmakers' strike which has affected nearly 3,000 men and women is that a conference is likely—according to a persisting rumor—at which the association and the employers will meet with the union leaders to find a basis for settlement of the strike.

The union has been successful in signing up the independent houses, that is, those not belonging to the manufacturers' association.

It has made a dent in a number of those who were even members of the association. While it has not yet officially given out the nature of the settlement, the union has won an agreement with the New York Manufacturing Company, the largest jobber in the New York market.

The steady drive of the organization, the solidarity of the workers, and the drawing in of the unorganized houses in New Jersey are sobering up the employers.

Only Monday, from 50 to 75 workers in the firm of Kessner and Rabinowitz in Union City, N. J., went on strike to compel recognition of a union in a place which has been unorganized for six years. The workers there have suffered long hours and with the exception of a few speeders, have enjoyed the privilege of low wages, lower than those of the organized New York capmakers. The spread of the strike as well as the effective picketing and activity of the New Yorkers augur very well for the success of all concerned, in New York and New Jersey.

## Labor Conference Urges Aid for British Miners

THE drive for funds in the United States to aid the British miners in their heroic struggle against longer hours and starvation wages is on in full swing. Following on the appeal of the American Federation of Labor, the Conference of Jewish Unions, the Socialist Party, Workmen's Circle and other fraternal organizations and their numerous branches have perfected a relief drive for the speedy collection of funds.

At the first meeting of the committee of 25, an administration sub-committee was elected and empowered to obtain publicity, and to circulate and visit all trade union organizations and Workmen's Circle branches.

Notice has been given to all Socialist branches and Y. P. S. L. Circles to do their share in the collection of funds. All moneys collected should be speedily turned over to August Claessens, executive secretary, Socialist Party, 7 East 15th street.

"We must demonstrate our solidarity with our British comrades and the contributions coming from the United States must be sufficiently large to encourage the British miners in their

## I. R. T. SERVICE CALLED A MENACE

Strikers Ask Mayor to Investigate Use of Inexperienced Hands as Motormen

By Edward Levinson

Will Mayor Walker make the Interborough Rapid Transit Company live up to its contracts with the city—contracts which call for safe and efficient service to the people of the city?

Or will he invite a catastrophe which will be measured in death and injury?

These are the questions brought to the fore by the conference at City Hall between Mayor Walker, representatives of the Transit Commission, the city's law and engineering departments and the subway strikers.

The Interborough is not rendering normal service, as it agreed to do in its contract. That has been admitted every day for the last two weeks by Frank Hedley, President of the I. R. T.

Many Accidents Are Concealed

The Interborough is not rendering safe service. That has been shown by the appalling number of accidents reported (and unreported) since the strike began.

Strike leaders assert that dozens of accidents of minor character on the subway have been concealed from public attention. That this secrecy is intentional on the part of the Interborough may be inferred from the fact that newspaper reporters who attempted to get news of the first accident during the strike were ejected from the subway by personal representatives of Mr. Hedley.

Hedley's excuse for this dangerous and inefficient service which has discommoded hundreds of thousands of persons and endangered the safety of other hundreds of thousands who did chance a ride on the subway is that a strike is in progress.

This is not an excuse that Mayor Walker, the Transit Commission or the people should accept. The cause of the bad service is not the strike. The cause of this disregard of the rights and safety of the subway passengers has been the outrageously low wages paid the men now on strike. An additional cause has been the withholding from these men of their American right—the right to join any legal organization of labor they wish to. Through a "yellow dog" contract, the employees of the Interborough are forbidden to join any labor organization but the company union, organized and directed by Mr. Hedley.

Low wages and the servile company union have brought about the daily menace to the safety and comfort of New York's citizens who need the subways. These low wages and the "com-

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## 4,000 Scotts Run Strikers May Tie Up Big W. Va. Area

By Art Shields

Morgantown, W. Va.

SCOTT'S RUN is on strike and it is telling the world. Mass picketing and parades, and singing girls are doing the telling along the seven-mile road that runs past the tipple of this field. And empty coal cars along the Monongahela tracks are helping with the tale.

The four thousand strikers of Scott's Run are setting the pace to the whole Fairmont district of northern West Virginia. They gave the first big response to the general strike call issued July 3 and their example may bring the desired general walkout. There are about 40,000 miners in this part of the state, on whom only a few hundred were working under union contract when the call was issued.

The Scott's Run strikers get up early in the morning to fight the bosses. Every a. m. at 4.30 the local picket leaders make the rounds and pound the doors. Out the workers and their wives tumble from the company houses, and descend the hillsides to the road that runs by the tipple.

Every morning the numbers of pickets have been swelling and the number of the scabs ebbing. There are still some 20 to 25 percent of the working force along the Run to be picked out. Most of these are "company" or day-men, or imported scabs of doubtful coal experience. Nearly all the coal diggers are out, and the companies are not shipping many black diamonds any more, as the "empties" and the three-or-four-car trains hauled by dinky-engines show. But the strikers want to make a hundred percent job of it and every day shows a gain.

Scott's Run strikers have fresh grievances. The loss of union job protection too recent for them to have gotten used to scab conditions. Till last April some of the leading companies in their valley continued to do business with the union at the three-year contract rate which in this district fetches \$7.26 for day men and corresponding prices for the tonnage miners. Then the Cleveland-Morgantown company (Paisley interests), and the Gilbert-Davis company and smaller concerns, joined the ranks of contract-

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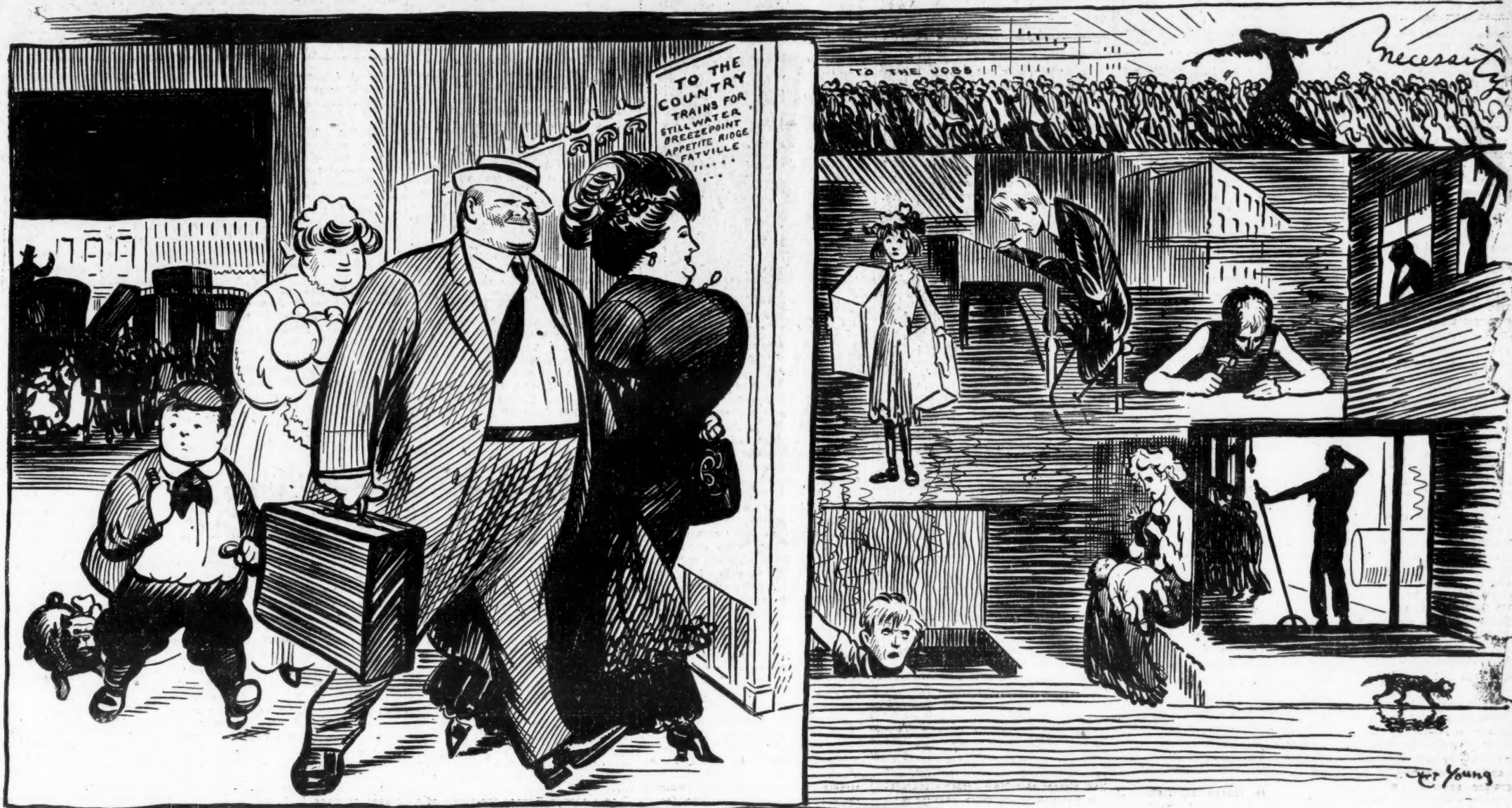
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# "There's Nobody Left in Town"—Society Note



## CROWE IS NAMED IN VOTE FRAUDS

(Continued from page 1)

between two local Republican factions, one headed by State's Attorney Crowe and the other by followers of United States Senator Charles Deneen, who fought it out for control of the party in Chicago.

The "key" position was the office of county judge, for that office in Illinois law exercises judicial control over the election machinery. At present it is held by Edmund Jarecki, Democrat, and the Crowe Republican faction put up Joseph Savage, assistant to Prosecutor Crowe, as its candidate. The Deneen Republican candidate was Daniel Trude, veteran municipal judge.

### Democrat Orders Probe

When the votes were counted election night Savage was declared winner by a sizeable majority and the Trude faction howled "fraud" so loud that Democratic County Judge Jarecki, having nothing to lose by the revealing of "dirty work" among the scrapping Republicans, ordered some of the ballot boxes into which the votes had

been sealed after they were first counted election night reopened and recounted.

The first three boxes, selected with care from the "boss-ridden" Twentieth Ward, where twenty-five riots, three sluggings, two kidnappings and a murder were reported Primary Day, showed that precinct officials made no effort to count the votes, but merely made returns giving a comfortable majority to the candidates "the boss wanted in."

More ballot boxes revealed similar disclosures. Whichever side happened to have support of the polling place officials seemed to be declared the winner in that precinct. To date boxes from 194 of Chicago's 2,321 precincts have been opened and by the recount of the votes they contained Trude has gained 2,400 votes on Savage. This large gain is at a ratio which may make Trude the winner when all the votes of the city are recounted if the same type of fraud is discovered with the breaking of seals on the as yet unopened ballot boxes from remaining precincts.

### 100,000 Votes Stolen

The same type of frauds were revealed when the votes were recounted for other offices in which there was a contest between the Crowe and Deneen Republican factions. So far more than 100,000 stolen votes have been revealed by the recount and only a fraction of the ballot boxes of the city have been reopened.

Civic and reform organizations denounced the frauds and a special Grand Jury was impeached to investigate, but here another snag was encountered. Grand Juries are under the jurisdiction of State Attorney Crowe, who is involved in the frauds. Finally a special prosecutor, Charles A. McDonald, former judge, was appointed to present evidence to the special Grand Jury. Some Chicagoans said this was just and others loudly shouted that McDonald was a political ally of Crowe and the jury would merely "whitewash" Crowe.

However, after days of hearing evidence, the Grand Jury has indicted half a hundred persons for the frauds. Most of them are minor precinct election officials and the "higher ups" have not been reached.

Meanwhile the recount goes on and the Grand Jury continues to sit. It will be months before the end of the investigation.

## Appeal Issued by Labor Unions for Funds to Aid British Miners

(Continued from page 1)

mine means more than two hours in any other trade. Their work is dangerous. Death lurks in every nook and corner of the mine. That is the reason why miners demand a seven-hour day. An additional hour in the mines increases the risk of the miner's life.

"The coal barons want to place the entire burden on the shoulders of the miners. The workers want to hold their previous positions which they gained by hard struggle through years and years. They will not allow their condition to become worse. They believe that the evils of the coal industry can be abolished when the mines will be nationalized, when the mines will be taken away from private ownership and administered by the government, when the profits of the mines will not be for the interests of the individual, but for the benefit of the entire community.

"It is ten weeks now that the strike is on. The coal barons are powerful. They are using every conceivable means to break the resistance of their wage slaves. The conservative government of England is helping the capitalists with all its power against the working men. The English Parliament issued a law whereby the miners will be forced to work eight hours instead of seven. With its political power, it is forcing upon the workers a lower standard of living.

"Ten weeks since the strike is on. The funds of the strikers are exhausted and the miners are in dire need. Their wives and children are hungry. The outcome of the strike depends upon the endurance of the strikers. The leaders of the strike say that the strikers will not give in unless they are on the verge of starvation. It is the duty of all their brethren throughout the world to come to their aid.

"All workers through Europe are aiding the miners in England in spite of the fact that they are poverty-stricken themselves. Therefore, help must come from the working class of America, where conditions are comparatively more normal.

"JEWISH WORKERS OF AMERICA, the miners in England who are on strike are looking to you for aid and help. The working class of Europe is looking forward to you. They are

not asking for charity, but the fulfillment of a debt of solidarity.

"The working class throughout the world is as one human being. When one part of the body is hurt, all other parts are immediately affected and feel the pain. If the English miners will lose their battle, it will encourage the capitalists to further oppress the workers. Despite the distance between the United States and England the effect of the strike will be felt here as well as throughout the world. If the English miners will win their fight, it will inject new life and spirit into the working class the world over and bring their battles to a glorious triumph.

"The English strikers with their wives and children are looking to us for aid and assistance and we must not disappoint them. Every working man should tax himself according to his means. Let us arrange corner meetings on the street, theatre benefits, and let the unions, workmen's circle branches and all other fair-minded organizations respond to this urgent call with liberal contributions from their treasuries.

"REMEMBER! Quick aid is urgent. Every day may mean death, and sickness to the starving wives and children of the miners. It may mean failure for the miner's strike. Every dollar given in time may save a life, and bring about quicker success. Give yourself and every friend of yours as much as he can, and more.

"THIS IS AN IMPORTANT OCCASION. THERE IS NO TIME TO STINT.

### Workers' Conference Executive Committee

"J. Baskin, M. Brown, A. Bruskin, A. Beckerman, N. Chanin, A. Claessens, Ph. Cruso, Fannia Cohen, I. Corn, H. Ehrenreich, S. Epstein, M. Feinstein, F. Geller, R. Guskin, Samuel Goldstein, J. Goldstone, A. Litwack, S. Margolies, A. Miller, D. Pearlberg, M. Pine, M. Sigman, A. I. Shlipacoff, J. Segaloff, R. Schwartz, J. Schlossberg, M. Tigel, M. Wolpert, M. Wolf and M. Zuckerman.

"P. S. Send all contributions to the treasurer, Joseph Baskin, 175 East Broadway, New York, N. Y."

### Tourist Club Hike

Sunday, July 25, we hike to Woodbury Falls, Sutherland's Pond and Monroe, N. Y. This hike takes us through the Upper Ramapo Mountains and is one of the most beautiful in this section. Bring your pup tents and bathing suits along as we camp near a large lake which affords fine swimming. Meeting place, Erie R.R. Ferry, Chambers street and Hudson River; time, 2:45 p. m. (Saturday afternoon); fare, \$3.00; walking time, about 5 hours; leader, Herman Ursprung. All nature-loving proletarians are welcome to participate.

The fate of every member of a Capitalist community to-day depends less and less upon his own individuality, and more and more upon a thousand circumstances, that are wholly beyond his control. —Karl Kautsky

## FRUHAUF STRIKE CALLED

### Amalgamated Members Out Against Leader of Notorious 1920-1921 Lockout

The clothing workers in the establishment of Henry Fruhauf, one of the leaders in the famous lockout of the clothing workers in 1920-21, which resulted in the destruction of the Impartial Arbitration machinery in the New York market for a period of three years, are on strike.

The chaotic condition in the great New York clothing market for the next three years, with a great loss in business, resulted in 1924 in the formation of a new Clothing Manufacturers Association, which entered into an agreement with the Amalgamated re-installing the Impartial Arbitration machinery.

Mr. Fruhauf declined to become a party to this agreement and when a strike took place in his establishment used his honorary office in the Police Department, which had been bestowed upon him by former Police Commissioner Enright, to prevent peaceful picketing of his establishment by the strikers. One of the first acts of the present Police Commissioner, Mr. McLaughlin, was to confiscate the diamond-studded shield of Mr. Fruhauf which had given him the right to give orders to the police.

The newspapers of New York told the story of this usurpation of police power on the part of a private citizen, but as Commissioner Enright did nothing to prevent this misuse of a police shield Fruhauf was able to bring about wholesale arrests of peaceful pickets. Even the denunciation of his act on the part of the magistrate who discharged those arrested did not prevent the honorary captain from pursuing his tactics. The police were compelled to obey him, and he was thus enabled to prevent the carrying on of the strike against his establishment.

The present strike has been called by the clothing workers to secure the same conditions in the struck shop as exist in those of the other manufacturers with whom the Amalgamated is in contractual relations. The demands include all the protection which is thrown about the workers through the union agreement with the employers and the avoidance of friction through the Impartial machinery governing the relations of the manufacturers and their employees.

We have to declare war on social wrongs and bad customs, not on human beings. . . . So let us go on battling against worn-out customs and habits that are anti-social in character, and do all we can to rouse the people's will to throw off the yoke of every kind of slavery, and to make a bid for freedom, for equality of opportunity, for social well being. —Stanley Oxley, in "Freedom"

The world has never yet known a time when the increase of wealth and the consequent growth of refinement and civilization in the upper section of the community did not lead to degradation and injustice in the lower.—A. E. Zimmern, in "The Legacy of Greece."

The very light of the morning has become hateful to me, because of the misery that I know of and see signs of where I know it need not be.—Ruskin.

Progress is the law of life—man is not man as yet.—Browning.

## BEWARE OF CLOGGED BOWELS

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

# EX-LAX

The Sweet Chocolate Laxative

evacuates your bowels, regulates your liver and keeps you hale and hearty. Good for young and old.

At all drug stores—10, 25 and 50c.



More than half your teeth are under the gums. Here lodge bits of food and the solid substances from tooth paste and powders. Here pus and pyorrhea develop.

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# Debs Dreams On

By Ruth Crawford

A CHALLENGE to the modern world to let him operate a prison with no disciplinary or controlling force except that of love is to be made in the forthcoming book, "Walls and Bars," the work of Eugene V. Debs, idealist yet at the age of 71, who, after his own years in Atlanta penitentiary, has turned the force of his personality, his intellect, and above all his dreaming, to the betterment of prison conditions.

Not mockery, as once might have been given, but a sad toleration comes from the people who realize, of course, that the challenge will never be accepted. It is tolerance tinged with regret perhaps, but more with a failure of a modern world to understand how this 71-year-old dreamer can still remain a dreamer, for what a little has come from the dreams of a better day for mankind which this man Debs has tried to make not dreams, but realities.

He sat in a low rocker by the library table. Perhaps it was the way the light was falling on his face which made it seem as if it were radiant, as if a bright mask had come before his face obliterating his features.

"It isn't real, they say. It is a dream, only an illusion," Debs spoke. "That is where the world makes its mistake in thinking that illusions are not real. They are the real things in the world. One generation's illusions become the reality for the next. As real as anything in the world to me is my dream, my illusion, my vision of what is to be. It will come true. I know it."

"When will my dream of the brotherhood of man come true? It is the selfish person who asks. 'Yes, but when?' He can see no farther than his own life, his own few years, and on that basis and that basis only will he bend his efforts. He thinks of his own life, his own few years, instead of the life of the race."

Time No Consideration

He paused to make the contrast more effective, "but it is the enlightened selfish man who will give his life to his dream, and ask no further compensation. He never asks, 'When?' It makes no difference to him that he won't see the change brought about through his efforts, small though they be. It makes no difference to him that his children, perhaps, won't even see it. Nothing makes any difference to him except that he is satisfying his inner-self, the God within even the lowest form of human being. That urge will make him work for a better day."

There is something, in fact a great deal, of Walt Whitman in this man Debs. There is something of Abraham Lincoln in him. Incidentally, the plans to democracy as sung by the former, and the accepted doctrines of the latter on the glorification and worth of the individuals are a big part of that library with which Debs has surrounded himself. There is something of the two of them in the epitomizing of his ideal.

"My ideal can't be put in so many words," he answered simply my question. "It is simply my belief in the evolution of the race answering the God within the lowest. But I believe it finds its nearest expression in that creed of mine."

He pronounced that well-known Debs creed: "While there is a lower class I am in it. While there is a criminal class, I am of it. While there is a soul in prison, I am not free."

A contrast to the usual way of planning and building, to society which bends all efforts to get in "with the right people." Debs, too, it is accented by his most bitter enemies, has a personality of such force and power that had he chosen other than he did, his name could have been written large with those who achieved power for its own sake. Yet Debs, humbly recognizing and knowing himself to those same enemies, could do only one conscientious thing and be true to himself. "What power I had," he explained, "I could only use to confer power upon my fellowmen." It seems to have made no difference to him that recognizing and knowing himself to those same fellowmen either did not want that power or if they did wanted it for its own sake.

That would have been as contrary to what Debs has wanted for his world as would the present control of power, for he has stated many times that there was nothing to be gained simply by an exchange of power from one group to another. Malignant as he has been on that point, abused by both sides, he has maintained and does maintain that the consummation of his dream means the building up of man rather than tearing down; in other words, the harmonious development of the best in the race to the spark of

## The Great Socialist Leader Considers Prison Reform

Godhood which he believes lives in each.

World Getting Better

"What basis do I have for thinking that the world is growing better? I simply translate my own experience into that of my fellowmen. As I have grown older I have grown better. The years have brought tolerance, faith, clearer vision and greater love. The others of my generation must have learned these things, too, as they have grown older. So, don't you see? The world, from generation to generation, must advance."

There was Debs again, translating the world into terms of his own great heart.

He spoke again, just musing, "Christ was perfectly human." The emphasis fell on perfectly, not on human.

"For that reason Christ could understand. He knew our weaknesses and He knew our heights. If only we understood we could not find it in our hearts to hate any one. We could pity, but we could not hate. Then some day we would learn that there is only one thing for us to do—to love one another."

"He not only believes in it, but he practices it. He told simply the story of one Sam Orr, a Negro prisoner with him in Atlanta, a man considered so low that even the prisoners ostracized

him. They told Debs to stay away from him, but that was not Debs' way. 'I went to him; I put my arms about his shoulders, and I let him know that we were brothers.' Debs could do that and mean it, too. 'I did not patronize him, for I meant it.'"

Debs was successful and Sam broke down under the influence of that love. Such stories leaked out. When the prison warden was asked how Debs worked his way into the hearts of the Sam Browns, he replied, "Why, 'Gee just loves them.'"

When the time came for Debs to leave Sam in prison his tears fell together as Sam held in his hand a pair of house slippers which had been given him. It was all he had for the first man who had thought his soul worth loving.

And now Debs, the poet, the dreamer, after one of the most colorful, dramatic careers ever an American had, like a Don Quixote, challenges a world to let him operate a prison on love, with only one creed needed as he said. Then he repeated that creed, a little poem he had learned long long ago:

"So many gods, so many creeds,  
So many paths that wind;  
When the only thing the whole world needs  
Is just the art of being kind."

## "Pitchfork Ben's" Movement

By James Oneal

ONE of the most striking phases of the class struggle in American politics was dramatized in the Southern States in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. After the Civil War came the reconstruction rule of the Republicans. When this rule fell the old aristocratic class of politicians returned to power. They were lawyers and planters, polished gentlemen representing the culture and graces of the old slave system. Many had been impoverished by the war and office-holding was one method of restoring their fortunes.

The small farmers in the interior of the Southern States had never received the representation in the legislatures to which their numbers entitled them while public power was administered in the interest of the aristocracy of the coast and the old sections of the former great slave owners. Unequal taxation also weighed against the upland farmers. To induce them to submit to the rule of the old aristocratic politicians the latter always warned against political division in the Democratic party, which would disturb "white unity" and invite the ascendancy of the Negro.

Professor Francis Butler Simkins (The Tillman Movement in South Carolina, Duke University Press, Durham, N. C. \$2.50) tells the story of the overthrow of the aristocrats in the nineties and the rise of the small farmers to political control. Tillman himself was a small farmer who organized and led his hosts against the ruling class by appealing to the class interests of the farmers. It was the first time that the old aristocrats were challenged and they were shocked. The prospect of the "wool hat" boys of the uplands turning polished lawyers out of office appeared to be the last thing in impudence. Had not the "well born" gentlemen of the South ruled for generations, except for the brief interval when "carpet-baggers" and "scalawags" controlled with the aid of Republican bayonets?

Tillman's manners were also alarming. His coarse language, violent denunciations, and his very appearance were typical of the illiterates of the uplands. He and his followers showed no respect for the culture, conservatism and refinement of the elder statesmen. They frequently prevented a representative of the old aristocratic traditions from speaking. They appeared at political gatherings armed,

prepared to demonstrate their political prowess with the knife or pistol if necessary. Nothing like this had ever been observed in the South before.

Of course, Tillman was eventually successful and his type appeared in other Southern states, voicing the interests of the same class and retiring the old aristocrats. The tax burden of these small farmers was lightened and the burden shifted to the corporations. A reapportionment of representation was made to the advantage of the upland farmers. The railroads were brought under the control of a commission. A heavy tax was placed upon farm lands from the state. The legislative program was designed to aid the white farmers against the old ruling class.

But while the "wool hat" boys defeated the old aristocracy they hated the Negro even more. It was the Tillman movement that finally obtained the constitutional and legislative changes that eliminated the Negro from politics in South Carolina. It was an illiterate agrarian democracy that had overthrown the old regime. If it passed some legislation limiting the hours of labor in the cotton mills it was not because of any affection for wage workers, but because of its hatred of bankers and capitalists. Tillman himself referred to the wage workers as the "damn factory class."

The Tillman movement itself gradually came under the control of the corporation lawyers as capitalism developed, but it had bred a type of politicians modeled after Tillman who survive to this day. Tillman himself was a demagogue. He was once asked by a friend why he insisted in raising "so much hell," and his answer was: "Well, if I didn't, the damn fools wouldn't vote for me." This was said with reference to the farmers who had been drilled and mobilized by Tillman against the old aristocracy.

Tillman earned the name of "Pitchfork Ben" in the United States Senate, where he was violent in the use of language. The small farmer class prospered in after years and became more conservative with the result that this "radical" movement promises nothing of advantage to the thousands of mill workers and tenant farmers of South Carolina. As a phase of American capitalism and American politics, it teaches us little that is good and much that an intelligent movement of the workers must avoid.

## Not Quite a Philosophy

By Louis Waldman

ACCORDING to the author, this book ("The Philosophy of Labor," by C. Delisle Burns, N. Y. Oxford Press), "is a statement of the point of view of manual workers." The author also trusts "that the readers of this book will not think of the doctrines of Marx or Mill, but of the experience of workers in factories and mines, on roads and on railways." It was also his express intention not to discuss any program or policy, but rather to set forth the attitude of labor which arises from their experience.

These avowed intentions and hopes of the author have not been materialized as many portions of the book are clearly doctrines of Marx; some of them, those of Mill, and substantially, all of it, is not the point of view of manual workers. His chapter on "freedom" is reminiscent of some pages of the philosopher Mill, and much of the rest of the book reads like pages, culled haphazardly, from pamphlets on Marxian Socialism.

Often the author makes bold assertions without an attempt to support them; he often draws conclusions which do not flow from the premises. In discussing the men, women and children of the civilization of tomorrow, the author asserts as follows:

"But, above all, they must be able and eager to think freely and fearlessly; for it is reason, and not emotion, which has inspired men to build civilization. Reason has exalted our power over the world and chastened our arts. Reason is the basis and reason is the crown of the labor which makes men civilized. Reason will find the way to extend her gifts."

No proof is offered in support of this assertion that reason and not emotion has inspired men to build civilization. Emotion, according to this author, played no part at all in the building of civilization. Upon what authority is this pronouncement made? None that I know.

The dogmatism with which the author sweepingly excludes "emotion" as a builder of civilization, giving sole credit to "reason" is characteristic of the rest of the book.

The book does not set forth a philosophy of labor, but rather a collection of disconnected essays on labor. As a synthetic statement, it fails.

A real Labor Party should have for its objective the overthrow of the capitalist rule and the emancipation of the working class.—M. Quelch.

## A Leader of Men



THE LATE MARY MACARTHUR

By Bertha Tigay Saposs

MANY events presage the coming of a new social order. Not an insignificant one is the many labor biographies which have appeared in the last few years. Certainly every new movement has its early fathers whose lives and works are an inspiration and guide to the innumerable disciples who carry on. Mrs. Hamilton's Mary MacArthur (New York: Thomas Seltzer) is not only a monument to a working class apostle but is also a pen sketch of England of the last quarter of a century. For so intertwined were Miss MacArthur's activities with the industrial and political movements of England that to write her story is to write the story of these movements as well. Since labor leaders do not seem to find time to tell their own story it is hoped that Mrs. Hamilton will continue in her serviceable task of writing labor biographies.

Mary MacArthur reached her majority at a time when British industrialists were at their maddest in their pursuit of profits and in their total disregard of human lives. England of 1860, the time "Mary of Ayr" appears as a girl in her twenties, was in the slough of its darkest industrial history. It is hardly necessary to recall the cruelties perpetrated upon men, women and little children working unhealthily long hours in most unsanitary conditions for starvation wages. Thus while these wretched creatures toiled with not a glimmer of hope, Miss MacArthur was pining away for lack of work of a nature to fill her with a sense of service. An accidental attendance of a meeting of shop assistants was the significant event which blighted her forceful personality to labor's cause. As a gifted speaker, able to inspire her hearers with a sense of hope, she was able to lead and successfully organize large numbers of working women. Under her leadership the British Women's Trade Union League took on its working class character and rose to fame. She mainly was responsible for organizing the National Women's Federation as well as the Anti-Sweating League. She was responsible for some legislative measures affecting the lives of workers, but every social legislative measure found in her a staunch supporter and indefatigable worker.

While her early death is no doubt a great loss to British labor, her work will be continued by the innumerable disciples whom she left behind.

"The Life of Joan of Arc. By Anatole France. Translated by Winifred Stephens, in 2 vols. (The Bodley Head, London.)

Two problems confront him and all serious students: (1) Did three beings called St. Michael, St. Margaret, and St. Catherine constantly speak to Joan and sometimes appear to her? He answers, No; she only thought she heard and saw them—the same answer as Shaw's, though phrased more uncompromisingly. (2) Did Joan raise the siege of Orleans, crown the King at Reims, and perform other

Valuable mental exercises have been performed of late years upon Joan of Arc. There is Shaw's noble and beautiful play, and here is its predecessor, Anatole France's "Life," in a convenient though rather uninspired English translation. Both these writers have approached the Maid with open minds and with the sincere desire of discovering what she was like and what she did. Shaw perhaps does not quite escape the snares of devotionism; it is tempting, when treating a saint sympathetically to stop a minute and play the organ just like a true believer, and his epilogue in particular suffers from this. Anatole France is more sure in tone. He, too, is sympathetic, but his fingers do not stray from their task of disengaging. Erudite and temperate, with his malice in check, he has produced—not a very brilliant book, but a trustworthy one.

More Americans, Etc.

THE deliberately colorful prose of Rosenfeld (Men Seen, Paul Rosenfeld: Dial Press, \$2.50) here splashes vigorously over twenty-five recent literary figures. The enthusiasm of the writer seems all-embracing; he finds something good to say for almost everybody (otherwise, he might protest, why preserve one's consideration?), but he says little else, and says that good very emphatically. "Neither his master, D. H. Lawrence, nor Joyce, Richardson, Cummings, nor any other modern stylist, possesses a talent for verbal orchestration essentially richer than—Waldo Frank's! Such verve may detract from the critical value of a man's writings, but it lends power and adds interest for the not too exacting, and—what is more important—rouses desire to read the work discussed."

Mr. Rosenfeld's language, as usual, roves along the far strands of impressionism. Of Jean Toomer: "Momentarily the prose of 'Cane' is artificially exalted, hooked to the Franklin pitch as a nail high up in the wall. And night is the soft belly of a pregnant negress, and 'her mind' a pink mesh bag filled with 'baby toes.' Allowing that this may be a parody of its subject, we read that 'the world lies mellow in his novels like light caught on surfaces of highly waxed old wood.' Not only the prose of 'Cane,' Mr. Rosenfeld. At times, too, the writer is betrayed into complexities of over-burdened Freudian terminology: 'Incapable alone of freeing himself from a fixation upon his dead mother, since the complex is intensified by the Marjolaine of the church and the masochistic tendency of his race.' But on the whole, though the indiscriminate list ranges so widely as to include D'Annunzio, E. E. Cummings, Apollinaire, Scott Fitzgerald, A. J. Nock, Claudel and H. J. Seligman (which last sounds like a good turn to a friend), the brief essays are readable and stimulating.

Joseph T. Shipley.

The principle of competition is simply the application of the brutal law of the survival of the strongest and most cunning.—Edward Bellamy.

# The True Joan

By E. M. Forster

Author of "A Passage to India"

THE saints are in a sense only just coming into their kingdom. Hitherto they have been approached with excitement and described with over-emphasis. Those who think them good have worshipped them, those who think them evil have denounced them, while the rationalist, irritated by so much irrationality, has fallen into his own particular tantrum and become unduly cynical. Indeed, it is difficult not to have special reactions when confronted with these curious creatures. Yet there they are, the Joan of Arc, the Christ, the Rastafarian, the Gandhi, sometimes lovely, sometimes nasty, but being born to human parents, age after age, as constantly as albinos. Saints do not form a race apart. Assuredly not. They would be easier to understand if they did. No, they are ordinary people who stretch out into extraordinary directions, so that we have to adopt a double standard when considering them. They require unusual mental pliancy, and until we provide it they will not come into their own. For they, too, must enter the kingdom of reason. They may alter it by entering, but they must enter. They who have in the past made us devout or angry, or sour, must in the future make us wise. "Yes, with a wisdom not of this world," chant their worshippers. Well, that remains to be seen. All that we know now is that in the long run there can be only one sort of wisdom, which neither saint nor worldly will monopolize.

Valuable mental exercises have been performed of late years upon Joan of Arc. There is Shaw's noble and beautiful play, and here is its predecessor, Anatole France's "Life," in a convenient though rather uninspired English translation. Both these writers have approached the Maid with open minds and with the sincere desire of discovering what she was like and what she did. Shaw perhaps does not quite escape the snares of devotionism; it is tempting, when treating a saint sympathetically to stop a minute and play the organ just like a true believer, and his epilogue in particular suffers from this. Anatole France is more sure in tone. He, too, is sympathetic, but his fingers do not stray from their task of disengaging. Erudite and temperate, with his malice in check, he has produced—not a very brilliant book, but a trustworthy one.

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How Serious Is the World?

By Joseph T. Shipley

CHURCHSTON in his "Defence of Nonsense" indicates that in this twilight world of ours, we may consider that we walk in the dusk before the dawn, or in the gloom that leads on to night. This method of dividing optimist and pessimist fails, however, to take account of a certain flippancy, or even frenzied gaiety, that marks one type of pessimist. For within both groups a second division holds: the optimist may be seriously mindful of an ultimate onward woe, or may blithely assume that God's in his Heaven and also kindly guarding the world; the pessimist may concentrate upon the unending ills of life, and moan or rail or rant unendingly, or he may, like the Cavaliers of England and the last nobles of France, dance gaily on the edge of a volcano that soon will gulf them all.

It may have been a premonition of her death that turned Mrs. Collister to sober thoughts; one of her poems (Stowaways, by Leonie Davis Collister, N. Y. Seltzer, \$2.), tries to ward off the end:

It cannot be that I  
Shall know pale death,  
Shall know pale death,  
And another wonders:  
If I should die  
Before I feel your love . . .

What has been gathered of her writings, despite its rough, apparently unfinished development, indicates a joy in the world and its fragile beauty; a perceptive, sensitive mind. In one poem, indeed, she anures the pessimist "in the imagined darkness of his trivial hell," but she is more frequently the person who declares:

I have held out my greedy hands to life,  
I have tugged at her skirts  
Like a spoiled child . . .  
Perhaps  
Some day I may hear  
The singing voices of the stars.  
A deeper brooding pervades the brief fragment of "Pantagruel," with perhaps her greatest philosophical grasping, as well as her highest reaches of beauty:

The cry that sea-birds fling against the storm  
When white-lipped seas gnaw frothing at the shore.  
And then a little chain of golden bells  
Slipped down from Heaven till it  
touched the sea.  
And dawn was come . . .  
Aldous Huxley is the pessimist who pretends not to care. At the core of his work (Selected Poems, by Aldous Huxley, N. Y. Appleton), lies closer-

## Is It Bernard Shaw's Or Anatole France's?

practical achievements, or was she merely a figure head to encourage the troops—a mascot, in fact?

Differing from Shaw, Anatole France answers that 'she was a mascot, that from an early age she was coached by patriotic priests who mixed theological promptings with her individual and unlettered utterances, that she had no military or political ability, that the French general would have relieved Orleans in any case (being immensely more powerful than the English), that the excursion to Reims was due to its archbishop, who wanted to recover his cathedral, and was, moreover, an excursion of doubtful value, since the French ought to have invaded Normandy instead. And he has no difficulty in showing that mascots of the type were often used in the fifteenth century wars; there was a shepherd called Guillaume, for instance, who rode into battle exhibiting the signs of the stigmata, but Guillaume made no great stir—the English pulled him off his horse and drowned him on the occasion of the coronation of King Henry VI. Was this Guillaume also a saint? Very likely, but he did not make good. Joan would not have made good if she had been captured two years earlier. In a very true sense the works of God are largely invisible to man, for not only in sainthood but in ambition and love and art each age conceals millions of embryos, and the thin showy crust called "history" by historians can never be accepted as an account of the past by anyone who has himself suffered and striven.

Such are Anatole France's two main conclusions, and it is easy to see why he irritated a sentimentalist like Andrew Lang, who pursued him with angry articles through all the English magazines. He allows the maid neither contact with heaven nor direct influence on the affairs of earth. But he cannot take her character away from her, her amazing character, and his pages faithfully record its double nature and disquieting power.

One side of that character is intelligible enough because we can parallel it in our own: the side we choose to call human. For instance, the girl was a nice girl. She liked fine clothes. She was brave. She was rather irritable. ("What language do your voices speak?" asks a friendly theologian. "A better one than yours," she snaps.) She was obstinate—having said a thing, she stuck to it—yet she often contradicted herself, for her memory was poor. She was loyal, she was pious. So runs the uninspiring catalogue. But out of her loyalty and piety—common qualities which many nice girls share—the other side of her character springs, the extraordinary side which upset her contemporaries

and led them to associate her with God or the Devil, and which even upsets the student today. She heard, and occasionally saw, something which was more vivid to her than any other experience, something which she mentioned with reluctance and clothed inadequately in the language of theology and patriotism. It bade her enter the life of action and drive the English from France, so she had to mention it to others because she needed their help; but she desired secrecy, and when she was captured, and the need of propaganda was over, she kept silent as far as the flesh permitted. What was the use of her answering her judges at Rouen—men who had developed one side of their character only, and asked how Michael was dressed, and whether Margaret and Catherine were rung? She had found reality, and did not know whether she ought to inform mankind, she said this and that, and performed what the law terms recantations, knowing all the time that she could neither say nor unsay since the theme was ineffable, but badgered by the ineptness of officialdom.

Fearing her as an enemy, and hating her as an individual, the officials killed her, as they had killed Christ in the past, and were to kill Edith Cavell and Roger Casement. They could not understand her, and she had no patience with them. For she had found reality ("my Voices"), reality ("my Council"), reality ("Messire"); she put it this way and that, denied it even, but it remained reality, and no institution could comprehend it. The Catholic Church and the English Government burnt her. The French Government did not try to save her. After her death she became acceptable to all three for various reasons, and now she is an orthodox saint and an international heroine, a safe card to play in any official game. But no institution could tolerate her while she was alive, because she appealed to a tribunal of her own.

Science steps in at the close of Anatole France's book, and ascribes the whole phenomena of her career to arrested puberty. Science is very welcome to step in, so long as it does not try to prove that puberty ought not to be arrested; if it does that, it makes no advance upon theology. When we know the causes of Joan's visions and voices we shall be nearer to the one and only knowledge, which is our spiritual goal. But the legions of ought and ought not will never assist us any more than they assisted the rival assemblies of Pottiers and Rouen. Back reels the world into darkness, and amid cries of "Devil—no, I mean Angel," the empty processes of condemnation and rehabilitation are repeated. When will the day dawn? When shall we weary of passing moral or medical judgments, and attempt instead to understand?

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# A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

## Wanted, A Sane Fourth

WHEN the reformers substituted orations, pageants, and communal singing for Roman candles, firecrackers, and toy cannons, they flattered themselves of having established the sane Fourth of July.

They did nothing of the kind. They simply swapped one meaningless noise for another. Sanity demands introspection, self-criticism, calm thinking, and these qualifications are foreign to the new "sane Fourth" as they were to the old insane Fourth.

Let us give due credit to the men who formulated and signed the Declaration of Independence. They were brave men, no doubt, and most of them were animated by a sincere desire to establish a government of, by, and for the people in this country. Of course, by people, they didn't mean all of the people, but only such people whose virtues (income) entitled them to a say-so in government affairs. Slaves, body-servants, tenant farmers, and wage earners were naturally excluded from the voting and office-holding classes. In Massachusetts, for instance, a candidate for the office of governor had to be a Christian worth five thousand dollars, which would have prevented Jesus Christ, the King of Heaven, from becoming governor of Massachusetts. In more liberal Virginia, an aspirant for the governor's office could dispense with Christianity, provided, however, he was worth 10,000 pounds, or \$50,000, which was almost a Rockefeller fortune in those times.

Similar property qualifications existed in all states and persisted clear up to the middle of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, something like the democracy promised in the Declaration of Independence developed in the course of time. Steam pressure can not be produced in an open vessel and neither can an aristocracy develop or maintain itself in a sparsely settled country, comprising untold millions of square miles of unowned soil.

As state after state joined the original thirteen states and each granted a larger measure of political democracy in the competition for settlers, even the older and decidedly aristocratic commonwealths had to democratize their forms of government.

Thus the United States of America came about as near to a real political democracy toward the end of the great westward migration as Jefferson may have contemplated when he penned the Declaration of Independence. But this democracy, be it clearly understood, was not the fruit of the Declaration of Independence, nor the constitution of the United States, but the existence of free soil and unbounded opportunities, meaning thereby, the right of anyone to grab as much of the natural resources of the country as one conveniently could lay hands on.

The same democratic evolution and for the same cause took place in Canada, Australia and New Zealand, which are still under the more or less benighted rule of the heirs of King George the Third. For when all is said, constitutions, declarations, and laws are but words on fragile paper while economic causes are irresistible forces which compel men to do their bidding whether they like it or not.

With the occupation of the free land and the absorption of the natural resources by ever-growing monopolies, there came a tremendous change in the life of the nation. Where up to now, the tendency had been all in the direction of democracy and the diffusion of ownership, it began to swerve in the opposite direction. At the same time, the introduction of steam and electricity and the piling up of industrial appliances, demanding the investment of ever-growing sums, the independent craftsman and artisan became absorbed by the industrial corporation just as the placer miner was absorbed by the mining corporation, and as the independent farmer is now being absorbed by the packing, milling, marketing, and banking corporation. So that by now, we have the spectacle of a political democracy smothering in the grip of an industrial autocracy, such as the world has never seen before. And as the people who own the productive wealth of a nation have always owned the government of that nation, our democracy has sunk to the level of a commodity which is bartered about by the big boys in the manner so forcefully illustrated by the revelation of the Teapot Dome affairs, the alien property scandals, and the recent primary election in Pennsylvania and other states. In other words, all other things being equal, this so-called government of, by, and for the people belongs to the highest bidder, while the sovereign babes of the woods still amuse themselves with elections and Fourth of July celebrations, which to the thinking are as exhilarating as the hard cider liquor licked up during the campaign of "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too," which marked the zenith of American democracy.

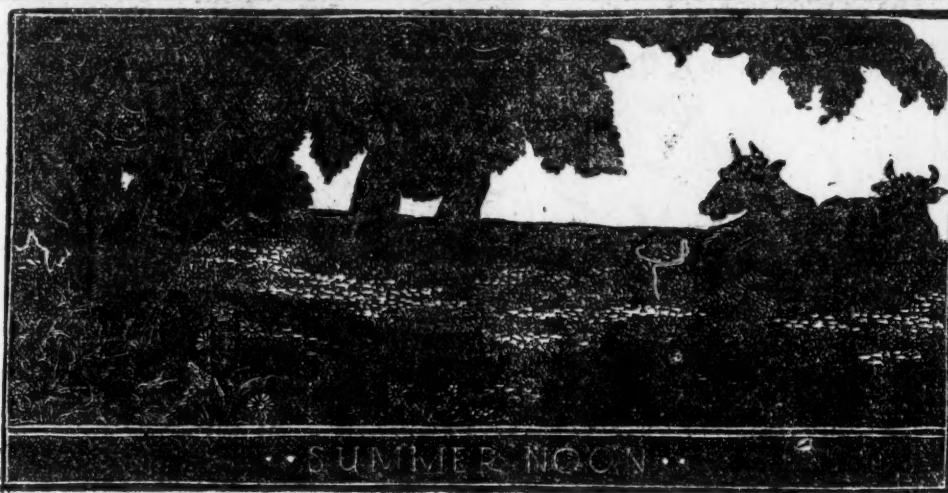
Of course, I still believe in democracy, just as I believed in fairies and Santa Claus in my youth. But I can not blink away the fact that there is damned little democracy in the world of reality. Wherever I look, be it government, lodge, or church, I see a small clique of strong men at the helm and within that clique, the strongest as the boss of the clique. The essential difference between monarchism and democracy appears to be that in monarchial times, the strong made no bones about ruling by the "right of strength," while in these hey-days of democracy, the strong bamboozle the weak into the belief that they are electing strong men to govern them, when as a matter of fact, the strong men are choosing themselves.

It is true there have been some terribly weak sisters in the presidency, just as there have been imbeciles on thrones. But whether weakling president or king imbecile, there always was some strong man, be he called boss or prime minister, who ruled through and over these puppets.

Could it be that revolutions are nothing but a shifting of power and that they change nothing deeper than names, symbols, and shibboleths—cross to flag—church father to founding father—monarch, by the grace of God to magnate by the grace of gold—Santa Claus to Thomas Jefferson?

One thing is sure, however, and that is that the nearest approach to democracy in this country was when land was free property, easily acquired, and wealth was distributed in small but fairly equal piles. So if a second Columbus comes along and hands us another hemisphere or the strong agree to a more equal distribution of their wealth, which would be awfully nice of them but hardly probable, we may receive another windfall of near-democracy, such as the American people enjoyed in the latter half of the 19th century. In the meantime, "Geld regiert die Welt," meaning that "money makes the mare go," irrespective of the form of government under which the mare goeth.

Adam Coalidigger.



From a Woodcut by E. J. Lankes

## Marxists' Replies to the Revisionists

THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

THE keenest controversy between the Revisionists and the Marxists prior to the World War did not take place over Marx's philosophy of history or his abstract economics, but over his sociological doctrines regarding the future development of the capitalist system and the transition to the cooperative commonwealth.

As has been stated, Bernstein saw the movement toward concentration of ownership and control of industry as slow and extremely irregular. As illustrative of this slow development, he called attention to the persistence of many small businesses in manufacturing and distribution. In reply to this, the Marxists maintained that the important thing was not the number of small, struggling concerns that continued to live, but the relative amount of the product of the small and of the large undertakings. When the subject is approached from that angle, a very great amount of concentration is indicated. For example, in the United States in 1909 the largest sized establishments, the value of whose products was \$1,000,000 or more a year, produced 43.5% of American manufactures, although constituting but 1.1% of the total number of establishments. Five years before, these \$1,000,000 establishments produced but 38% of the total products. (By 1923, he said, the largest concerns produced no less than 66.4% of the product.) As against these giant establishments, there were, it is true, in 1904, 143,338 establishments producing less than \$20,000 worth of products each, and in 1909, 180,337. But in

1904 all of these claimed only 6.3% of the total value of the products, and in 1909, notwithstanding the increase of numbers, only 5.5%. (By 1923, concerns with a turnover of from \$5,000 to \$20,000 produced but 1.1% of the total.)

As indicative of the growing importance of the large establishments in Germany in the twenty-five years' period from 1882 to 1907, it may be noted that, whereas 26.1% of the employees worked in the large-sized establishments in 1882, 45.51% worked there in 1907. The percentage of employees in the middle-sized establishments increased from 18.61% to 25.02%, while the percentage in the small establishments decreased from 55.20% to 28.47%. In agriculture, while the process of concentration is a slower one, nevertheless a gradual process is going on. In 1900, for instance, in the United States, the farms with over 500 acres constituted 4.4% of the total number, while the land contained therein constituted 23.5% of the total number. In 1910, these farms constituted 6.2% of the total number, and their land 26.8% of the total land.

The process toward concentration might be slower than Marx anticipated, but the tendency was there. That could not be denied.

The Corporation and Centralization. Bernstein, as will be recalled, maintained that the appearance of the corporation, far from centralizing ownership and wealth, was an agency for the diffusion, rather than for the concentration of wealth. To this point of view, Kautsky replied that

ly and as leisurely as their legs would let them. These huddled the shady side of the thoroughfares. It was a day hideous with flies and smells, a desert day, propelled from the western plains, it seemed, by an impalpable wind. Dan stuck doggedly at the brief he was drawing in his twelfth story office. Agatha had telephone him at noon to urge him to come out to Beechcroft at once. "I wish we had not been fools enough to leave July," she had counseled. "Let's go to the north shore, and on to the Rockies." She added, "Don't forget we dine tonight on the terrace. At 7."

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At 4 o'clock Dr. Willard Joyce came in. Joyce had been best man at Dan's wedding, largely because he was Maggie Toller's fiance, and inasmuch as Dan had no groomsmen to propose. Joyce was an enthusiastic believer in his own profession, a rare fellow with a warm interest in children, a wide reader, and a bitter protestant against poverty and attendant malnutrition. He and Dan never talked politics. They didn't talk much, that is, together. Dan usually listened while Joyce talked shop.

This afternoon Joyce wanted Dan to go with him on a call, and then drive with him to the Gayland estate. Dan laid his brief aside.

Twice they were forced to turn out for speeding ambulances, as they hurried north to Sixth avenue. In some sections, half-naked children were playing in dusty, narrow streets, in the shade of low, decrepit houses, negroes and whites with childhood's indifference to outward conditions like heat. A narrow strip of shade fell across the burning pavements. Here close to the sheltering walls, old men and women sat and slowly and patiently fanned themselves.

Joyce drew up before a small frame cottage.

"Let me go in, too," Dan suggested. "I don't know whether it will be safe. I don't come up this way often, and when I do, I never know what I'm getting into. But come on."

They entered a small, dark room, half living and half dining room. A table piled with soiled dishes where flies buzzed, a phonograph, a few

the corporation in no way hindered the growth of great fortunes. "On the contrary, the corporation not only makes the control of production by a few banks and industrial combines possible; it also furnishes a means by which the smallest fortunes can be transformed into capital and thereby be made to contribute to the centralizing process of capital.

"Through the corporation the savings of even the poor are placed at the disposal of great capitalists, who are enabled to use those savings as if they were a part of their great capitals. As a result the centralizing of their own great fortunes is increased still more."

Boudin approaches the subject from a somewhat different angle. According to the American author, "the Marxian analysis of the capitalist system and his deductions as to the laws of its development proceed upon the assumption of the absolute reign of the principle of competition. 'It was on the basis of that assumption that Marx declared that during the progress of capitalist development 'one capitalist kills off ten,' thereby centralizing all wealth in the hands of a steadily diminishing number of persons, eliminating the middle class and leaving society divided into two classes only."

But what, if competition should be checked? What if the capitalists should decide not to compete with one another, or to restrict the area and intensity of such competition and divide profits amicably instead of fighting with each other over their division?

The result would be to retard the progress toward concentration predicted by Marx. This is what has happened since the advent of the corporation. The primary purpose of the corporation is to blunt the edge of competition. There are but two legitimate reasons for organizing corporations. One is to enable those with insufficient capital to remain in the field by combining their several insufficient capitals into a capital sufficient to meet the newer requirements of the industrial process. The second is to enable those whose capital is sufficient to split up their large capital into many parts and to invest in many small undertakings. In the first place, it is an effort "by those whom competition has forced out of the economic arena to stay in, by representation at least. In the second case it is an effort to limit the effects of competition in the future by dividing up and limiting its risks and liabilities (it should be remembered that the essence of the corporation is limited liability), and by providing a sort of mutual insurance between capitalists and capitals." This new development necessarily requires the revision of the Marxian formula of centralization.

"It is, therefore, not a refutation of the Marxian analysis of the capitalist system to show that tendencies in the development of that system which Marx said would continue to exist as long as capitalism lived, disappeared in whole or in part when the basic principle of that system (competition) was abolished or modified."

(To Be Continued Next Week)

## GOVERNOR MINTURN A Labor Novel of the Northwest

By M. H. HEDGES

### Chapter XII The Choice

WHEN summer came—the short, intensive, northern summer—it found Agatha busy with plans for the new home, and Dan getting ready for the fall campaign. Dan at last gave provisional assent to the erection of the house, the reservation being his election. He had decided to run for Senator from the old 113th, his residence at the Gayland home affording the necessary geographical qualification. He did not expect the endorsement of labor, but he knew that he occupied a strong central position in the district, retaining the allegiance of many of his old supporters, and winning new ones by his unpolitical alliance with the Gayland family. Dan had spoken a half a dozen times in the district since March with pleasant reverberations of public opinion. "A man with an obvious political destiny," "A brilliant young progressive," "Not hurt by success." These were some of the comments. His old supporters, who had looked for a violent apostasy because of his changed fortunes, were disappointed. Minturn thundered against child labor, and legalized restrictions on working men and women with his old fire and zeal. Radicals watching for a misstep watched in vain, until it was discovered that Minturn had not put himself on record on water power legislation. "That is the salient question of the times," commented the Unionist. "What candidates do about the proposed power act will make or break them." Thus early the gauntlet was laid down.

2  
Came a July day that brought pain in its wake. The torrid sun climbed up the coppery sky, and showered its rays down upon steaming streets and buildings, which sent heat waves back again into office and shop. The day's work was practically at a standstill. In offices, where electric fans beat back the humid air, typists and clerks kept perfunctorily at work. Long ago, managers and proprietors had laid off, and driven to the lakes for relief. Firemen had been ordered into the less open sections of the city to open hydrants that boys and girls might find refreshment in artificial showers. The downtown streets were empty, save for peripatetic, sluggish handfals, obviously going somewhere, as intent-

ly and as leisurely as their legs would let them. These huddled the shady side of the thoroughfares. It was a day hideous with flies and smells, a desert day, propelled from the western plains, it seemed, by an impalpable wind. Dan stuck doggedly at the brief he was drawing in his twelfth story office. Agatha had telephone him at noon to urge him to come out to Beechcroft at once. "I wish we had not been fools enough to leave July," she had counseled. "Let's go to the north shore, and on to the Rockies." She added, "Don't forget we dine tonight on the terrace. At 7."

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"Let me go in, too," Dan suggested. "I don't know whether it will be safe. I don't come up this way often, and when I do, I never know what I'm getting into. But come on."

They entered a small, dark room, half living and half dining room. A table piled with soiled dishes where flies buzzed, a phonograph, a few

chairs and a tattered rug made up the furnishings. Their attention was directed from these to an army cot that had evidently been pushed out from the darker bedroom into the crowded living room. Here lay a child, about three or four years old, its face flushed and swollen, its lungs laboring for breath. The mother, who sat in terrible passivity beside the sick babe, arose as Dr. Joyce advanced.

"You better get out of here," Joyce whispered to Minturn. "It looks like diphtheria. Wait in the car."

Dan was glad to flee into the scarcely more inviting street. His heart was pounding. He felt as if an old internal wound had opened, and was bleeding, drawing off drop by drop his own rich and sustaining life-blood. For a moment he was faint—sick. Then, the mood passed. It was succeeded by a colossal indifference to the dirty, hot street, and the dirty, hot sick-room. His mind raced along ahead to Beechcroft, to Agatha. He wondered if they would have time for a cool plunge before dinner.

Dr. Joyce at length emerged from the house with professional calmness. "Well, that's that. Now we can get out of this," he added genially. The motor whirled. The car dashed past the shouting children, and the house was left behind. They did not speak much until they had reached the country pavement.

"Could you do anything for it?" Dan asked casually. He had wanted to ask that question for a half hour.

"Two chances out of a hundred to get well," Joyce answered. "I sent it to the General Hospital. They're so ignorant. If I'd been called five or six

days ago it would have been a different story. . . . The road to Beechcroft turns off sharply from the boulevard and winds pleasantly through cool, twilight woods. This strip of woodland never seemed more welcome than on this afternoon as Joyce and Minturn came home. The checked shadows on the cropped grass, the long aisles of fragrant bushes, seemed to Dan an ideal place for children to play in.

(To be continued next week)

### Diplomacy

With faces schooled to act a part,  
And lying, practiced as an art;  
With conscience drugged, and faith asleep,  
And secret treaties, hidden deep;  
With mean advantage, basely won,  
And self-respect and honor gone;  
With secret doors, and hidden springs,  
And spies, and keyhole listenings;  
With titled guests, to trap their host,  
And letters opened in the post;  
With forgeries and sharper's tricks,  
And pitch that stains and mud that sticks;  
With braggard tongues, and rattled swords;  
With scraps of paper filled with words,  
With flatteries, inspired by fear,  
With lips which prate of "God on High,"  
And smiles, to mask a covert sneer;  
And giant guns, which shake God's sky;  
With poison gas and peace conclave,  
And every man a weaponed slave;  
And—in the end—a ghastly war,  
And half the world a grave.

—Bertrand Shadwell.



Drawn by Gordon Grant

## Stars and Stripes, Statues and Smooch

WE rode down Rumson Road, New Jersey, the other day. This is one of the wealthiest communities in the country. The road is lined with the private estates of plutocrats, who are so filthy with jack that they have their own polo fields, golf courses, fleets of autos and yachts. Of course the actual residences of these stuffed shirts are so far away from the gaze of common man that you can only see their chimneys way behind the big trees that screen them in.

But one thing I noticed and that was an American flag flying on a tall white pole on the lawn of every estate. And why not? If I had hijacked as much mammas as these boys have out of these here United States, I would hang out at least three American flags and a couple of eagles and make my help crawl on their collective bellies before these emblems every evening at sundown. Furthermore, I would erect a huge aluminum statue of Andy Mellon in front of my gardener's lodge and hold Thanksgiving services at its base every Sunday. Why bother going to church to worship a rather dubious Jewish Jehovah when you can have a replica of your real god made for you by any good sculptor?

Speaking of statues as symbols, Weeping Charlie Schwab has a titanic statue of a steel puddler on the front lawn of his Riverside Drive mansion in New York. The passerby is supposed to be touched at the sight of this and break into tears over the thought of this great man thus tacitly acknowledging his indebtedness to labor's brawn. It's quite an idea. Along this line, John D. might erect in front of the Rockefeller shack a statue of an oil competitor about to jump out of the window in the act of committing suicide. Judge Gary could put up a factory stifle of a Pittsburgh hunkie, maddened by the heat of the mill, saving in his wife's demure with a meat-axe, and Frank Hedley could have a neat little thing picturing himself in the act of taking away an interlocking worker's farm.

In the course of a somewhat intimate experience with the ways of capitalists when they are up against it, I thought I had come up with the worst sort of low-life dealing of which they were capable. The so-called "Citizens' Committee" of Passaic, N. J., shows me how little I really know. They have gone so much farther into the mire than some of their colleagues that it would take a deep-sea diver to follow their dirty wake. This Citizens' Committee is composed of "Good Elks," Kiwanians, Rotarians, Civitans, Chambers of Commerce ballyhoosers—all the rag-tag and bobtail, in short, of the underworld of small town business. This collection of scum is now very busy trying to prevent the supplying of fresh milk daily to some five thousand children of the striking textile workers. They hand out long-winded statements in which they urge the public not to subscribe to the Passaic children's milk fund on the ground that they know that not more than 300 children in their fair city need milk. Just how they arrived at this figure they do not state but they go on to say that if there is any need for relief they (the Citizens' Committee) will be on hand to provide it. It was this same bunch of cheap skates and tin-horn bootlickers of the mill owners who fought every bit of legislation intended to relieve the inhuman work conditions of the textile employees. They are spending four to five hundred dollars a day advertising in full pages in the Passaic papers urging the workers to forsake their leaders and go back to the textile hells. There is nothing too underhanded that they can do to discredit the strike leaders, from the printing of cheap libel to downright blackmail.

Of course no one in touch with the Passaic situation pays anything but contempt to the ravings of this gang. The pity is that a lot of regular folks who might contribute to help the Passaic kids get through the hot summer months will be scared off by such stories. As it is, the Citizens' Committee has snared in a lot of sky pilots to help give respectability to their union-smashing attempts. These Christian brethren sent out a statement protesting against the "exploitation of the children by the strikers" when a bunch of strikers' youngsters came through town the other day on their way to summer camps. Exploitation, indeed! For years back these children have been denied their rights to a decent American youth because of the merciless exploitation of their parents by the profit-greedy textile barons. They have a chance to get out in the country and incidentally take a trip to New York and now, by God, they are being exploited! And still some really otherwise sensible folks wonder why the church and the workers are so far apart. "Great God, I'd rather have a Pagan suckled in a creed outworn," than Christian in Passaic or any other mill town for that matter.

The answer to all this is to send in your contribution today to the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief at 793 Broadway, New York City. You may be sure that every cent you give will go direct to the purchase of milk for the children of the courageous Passaic strikers.

Excuse us for dwelling so heavily on strikes, but they are very much in our mind these days. We can't go in too hard for the "right, fantastic" which is supposed to be the gist of this column when we think of the dirty deals that the workers are getting. We wake up these mornings feeling quite jovial and at peace with the world and then we get a squint at the morning paper and we fill with bile and gloom. Even the soft advances of Isabel, our black cat, fail to move us when we have finished reading the latest statement of Quackenbush, the fire-eating counsel for the New York Interborough or see what the foreign correspondents are trying to do to the poor devil of British coal miners who, by the way, are putting up one of the most gallant fights in the history of international labor. Then it is that we want to go out and bam some brass hatted captain of industry spang on his bulbous nose.

And at that these strikers, bringing with them as they do, suffering to thousands, are to the good. Even those that may be lost have their inestimable value for all who are struggling for the good life. They prove for one thing that the unorganized American worker, supposed for years to be the most docile beast of burden, will kick at the pricks when he sees some chance for a bit more freedom. They prove again that no labor movement can live without idealism and a spirit of intelligent militancy. They prove that there is still an important place for the brain worker in the labor movement. In countless instances the workers have turned to those who do not labor with their hands for help at a time of crisis. They prove, finally, the fallacy of that most pernicious myth that this is a prosperous country, full of contented workers who are perfectly satisfied with company unionism, welfare work and the like, and who have no further use for unions of their own making.

If we are quick enough to get at the real significance of those strikes, if from them we can develop a technique for fighting capitalism that will win us victories in the future, if we can get some permanent organizations under way that will make the most of the lessons these strikers are teaching, the suffering of the workers will not have been in vain.

McAllister Coleman.



## N. Y. Court Upholds Law on Prevailing Rate of Wage; The Unskilled Step Ahead

### The Field of Labor

ONCE more the courts have held the prevailing rate of wages of New York State constitutional. The latest decision was rendered on July 14, 1926, by State Supreme Court Justice Jeremiah T. Mahoney. It is now up to the Walker Administration in New York City to show whether it intends to comply with the law or carry the matter to even higher courts, and, if possible, thwart the demand of labor.

The New York State Labor Law expressly says:

"The wages to be paid for a legal day's work, as hereinbefore defined, to laborers, workmen or mechanics upon such public works, or upon any material to be used upon or in connection therewith, shall be not less than the prevailing rate for a day's work in the same trade or occupation in the locality within the State where such public work, on, about or in connection with which labor is performed in its final or completed form is to be situated, erected or used and shall be paid in cash. Such contracts shall contain a provision that each laborer, workman or mechanic employed by such contractor, subcontractor or other person about or upon such public work, shall be paid the wages herein provided."

The city authorities have refused to abide by this statute. Not only do they permit contractors to use scab labor on public construction work, such as subways, but they countenance ridiculously low wages, and, thus, obtain low bids, they think. Union men must accept a rate of pay below the union scale. Even workers, directly employed by the city upon work similar to that done for private employers, find themselves in the same position. This has aroused the indignation even of old-line conservative labor leaders. They have helped the Democrats get into office; they have been promised a fair deal, but when election day is over, they have difficulty even in arranging a conference with officials to talk things over. That looks very much like a slap in the face.

The Campbell Case  
What aggravates matters is that the prevailing rate of wages law is in accordance with an amendment to the constitution agreed to by the voters of the State in 1904. But in the score of years that has elapsed since that time labor has not found satisfaction, and this despite a long series of favorable decisions. The city officials simply deny that the validity of the law has been completely established.

The New Leader reported in this section recently on the Frank Campbell case, where Municipal Court Justice Genung on May 15, 1926, ruled that Campbell, a painter employed in the Department of Plant and Structures, was entitled to \$595 as the difference between the wages paid him by the City and the prevailing rate of

wages. Nevertheless, the Corporation Counsel does not intend to have the matter rest there. The City does not even intend to set aside funds that will be due underpaid workers in case the final judgment of the courts is favorable to the prevailing rate law.

The Supreme Court Rules  
The situation has recently been complicated by a decision of the United States Supreme Court on February 1, 1926, holding a prevailing rate of wages law of Oklahoma, similar to that of New York, unconstitutional. Justice Sutherland, who, it will be remembered, wrote the decision invalidating the District of Columbia Minimum Wage Law for Women, was the spokesman for the Court in the case in point. The Oklahoma statute was held null and void because of the vagueness of the terms "prevailing rate" and "locality." Justice Genung and especially Mahoney have pointed out that this is not true in New York State. There is no sparseness of population to make uncertain the meaning of "locality," as in Oklahoma, and the courts of New York State have on various occasions defined the expressions "prevailing rate of wages" and "locality."

The New York City legal talent will have to move into the great deserts of the Far West in order to place the New York State statute within the scope of Justice Sutherland's decision. No doubt they will try it, too, for the organized labor movement of New York City is timid. It seeks favors. It demands nothing. It has "friends" in politics.

### LABOR'S NEW BATTLE LINE

It is the irony of fate that the restriction of immigration which was demanded by the skilled aristocracy of American labor to avoid competition from new arrivals and consented to by the capitalists in order to rid themselves of the foreign, and, as they thought, radical working men, should have worked out contrary to expectations.

The quota law has created a shortage of unskilled and semi-skilled labor, thus increasing the strategic importance of this class of workers, and at the same time started the Americanization of the foreign born, making them susceptible to agitation in good American and removing the inferiority complex which has kept them docile and submissive.

In the New York subway strike, for instance, the company was just as frightened by the walk-out of the "black gang," the oilers and firetenders in the power houses, as by that of the motormen and switchmen. The latter discovered that the skill upon which they had counted in winning their strike could be copied—even if badly—by scabs, aided by modern safety devices. The appearance of "black" at headquarters announcing the presence of interpreters in Spanish and Italian was symbolic.

In New Jersey, we find the best example of the importance and awakening of the less skilled workers. Louis F. Budenz, a resident of that state and editor of "Labor Age," describes the situation in the July number of his magazine from an intimate knowledge of the facts. A strike of the brick workers at Perth Amboy has already been successful. The Passaic textile strikers are still out ten thousand strong. The restless oil workers of the Rockefeller companies at Bayonne and Baywater are driving generosity into the hearts of John D. and his personal managers. And the story is repeated in other instances. The significant moves in the American labor movement today are taking place not in the traditional craft unions, but among the unskilled and semi-skilled. Officials who are blind to this fact or incapable of meeting the new situation will be badly burnt when the sparks of revolt break into conflagration.

### THE METAL POLISHERS IN RETROSPECT

Anniversaries are always in order. The Metal Polishers' International Union is celebrating this month its thirtieth annual. Its origins, however, go back to 1899, when unions of the craft were already in existence. These generally affiliated with the Knights of Labor and in 1898 under pressure of the new organization, the American Federation of Labor, National Trades Assembly No. 252 was formed, consisting of all local assemblies of the metal polishing crafts. Shortly afterwards a split occurred and one half of the locals went over to the A. F. of L. The United Brotherhood of Brass and Composition Metal Workers, Polishers and Buffers was the result. Shortly before this the Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers' International Union had been formed. These two bodies amalgamated in July, 1898, and formed the present Metal Polishers' International Union.

The M. P. L. U. has relied chiefly upon the boycott of the products of unfriendly manufacturers and upon the union label for its organization work. As is usual in such cases, only eleven companies use its label, for the value of the latter depends upon its rarity. Five of these companies alone, in as many cities scattered over the United States, sell badges, brass goods, buttons and novelties, where union patronage counts. The result is that only about 15 per cent of the trade is organized. The eight-hour day prevails and

### "Subway Strikers Sued for \$239,000"

—News Item.



W. T. Brady

"What will we do now, kids? Hedley's gonna take our Rolls-Royce, our summer home and our bank balance from us."

## Casualties of Industry

### How to Win Safety For the Workers

By Frank Morrison  
Secretary, American Federation of Labor

(An address before the Industrial Safety Congress in Washington)

INDUSTRIAL accidents primarily concern the workers.

Whether an accident results in a temporary or permanent disability, it is the worker who suffers—and suffers to a degree for which the benefits of workers' compensation laws do not at all compensate.

In the tens of thousands of cases where the worker's earning capacity is decreased or destroyed, his family not only suffers a lowered standard of living, but their aspirations and rights along educational lines are destroyed because of the permanent decrease of income from the father's earning capacity.

And in the case of fatal accidents, it is again the worker and his family dependents who pay the great loss.

The employer suffers no physical injury himself because of industrial accidents to his employees. His earning capacity is not decreased. His family does not suffer. His dividends are not curtailed because of accidents in the plants which he owns. In States which have workmen's compensation laws, a modest insurance premium, paid out of the wealth produced by the very workers who are injured, settles his responsibility for the maimed workers. He charges the insurance premium to overhead expenses as a part of the cost of production, bills it to the dealer to whom he sells his commodities, and the dealer collects it from the ultimate consumer in retail prices.

In States that do not have workmen's compensation, the injured worker's resort for justice is to the courts. And experience shows that in court procedure the employer has such a great advantage that adequate compensation is seldom secured for the worker, and then at such a high cost for counsel and court charges that much of the compensation award never reaches him.

The statistical aspect of the industrial accident question simply appalls one who lives among the workers and feels with them the injustice they suffer in producing and distributing the wealth that makes up America's prosperity.

In the official call for this Industrial Accident Conference, the Secretary of Labor states that "a conservative estimate indicates that the fatal industrial accidents (in the United States) probably exceed 23,000 per year, and that non-fatal injuries total 2,500,000 per year."

Reduced to a picture which the average mind can visualize, this means that during every one of the 300 working days in a year 77 workers are killed, and 8,331 are injured in this warfare, which the workers are compelled to wage against machine production.

Ghastly as is this picture of the mortality and casualty rate in industry, it is not by any means the most shocking aspect of the question. In the official call for this conference, the Secretary of Labor also asserts that his experts advise him that "fully 85 per cent of these accidents are preventable."

This estimate means that every year 19,550 workers are needlessly killed and 2,125,000 needlessly injured in industrial accidents. Or, expressing the facts in the form of daily mortality and casualty figures, 64 workers are needlessly killed in industry during

generally the forty-four-hour week. The union has been active in securing the passage of laws guaranteeing healthful conditions of work for metal polishers, who are subject to occupational diseases. The course of the M. P. L. U. is thus seen to have been typical of any craft-conscious A. F. of L. union.

every one of the 300 working days of the year and 7,980 are needlessly injured.

Wage Loss Is One Billion  
The wage loss of this army of industry workers is estimated to be one billion dollars a year, not more than one-quarter of which is covered by compensation insurance.

If the United States were at war and the reports from the front declared that every day 77 soldiers were killed, 64 of whose lives could have been saved with proper military safeguards, and that 8,331 soldiers were wounded every day, 7,080 of whom would not have been wounded if there had been proper safeguards—if such reports came from the military battle front, there would be a nation-wide protest and a wholesale impeachment of the responsible military authorities.

But an equally unnecessary slaughter and injury of human beings engaged in industry does not bring a nationwide protest, and the responsible industrial and political authorities keep up their deadly warfare against the workers.

I have referred to the responsible industrial and political authorities. This brings up the question of who is in fact responsible for greater part of the 85 per cent of industrial accidents which the expert advisers of the Secretary of Labor declare could be prevented. It is quite apparent that the major responsibility rests with the employers and the State governments.

An illustration from one industry—the coal mining industry—will throw a flood of light on the responsibility of employers and State governments.

In the last ten years more than 25,000 miners have been killed in coal mine explosions in the United States. Competent experts declare that rock dusting is a well-known, thoroughly tested and adequate method of preventing coal dust explosions.

The United States Bureau of Mines began its experiments with rock dusting prior to 1911, demonstrated the high qualities of this method for the prevention of explosions and has urged its universal adoption by mining companies in the United States as an effective method to save the lives of coal miners. What has been the net result of this urging? In a bulletin entitled "Stone Dusting or Rock Dusting to Prevent Coal-Dust Explosions, as Practiced in Great Britain and France," the Bureau says:

"Although the Bureau of Mines has recommended rock dusting, only a few operators in the United States, one in Colorado and several in Illinois, have adopted it, and they but to a limited extent."

This was in 1924. Some progress has been made in rock dusting since then, but the fact remains that in the United States today large numbers of miners are subjected to the dangers of explosions because the mining companies refuse to accept the recommendations of the Bureau of Mines and install rock dusting systems.

Rock dusting can be made compulsory by State legislatures. To the extent that it is not compulsory the State legislatures are responsible for the death of miners in mine explosions.

The responsibility of mine accidents due to explosions rests therefore on the private corporations who own the mines and refuse to install rock-dusting, and also on State legislatures who refuse to enact compulsory legislation. To a great extent the responsibility for industrial accidents in other industries rests with the employers who refuse to adopt up-to-date accident prevention methods and devices and upon State legislatures who refuse to enact compulsory legislation.

The major responsibility rests with the employers and the States. When these delinquencies are remedied then we may emphasize the alleged delinquencies of the workers, many of whom, it is often claimed, deliberately court both injury and death by carelessness.

Unions Only Protection  
In the light of the terrible toll in

both fatal and non-fatal accidents which the workers now suffer after so many years of accident prevention laws, accident prevention policies conceived and applied by the employers, and accident prevention movements of many kinds, it is apparent to me that the workers will probably never be adequately protected until they protect themselves by strong trade unions.

Experience shows that the workers cannot rely either on legislatures, politically appointed enforcement officers, or the employers to safeguard their lives and limbs in industry.

Industrial accidents maim and kill the workers. It is the workers who pay the penalties for inadequate laws, inadequate enforcement and inadequate employer accident prevention schemes. Until the workers assert their own organized power for adequate protection for themselves they will evidently continue to pay the price in both fatal and non-fatal accidents.

An indispensable auxiliary to these checks of human wastage in industry is the need for the development of a sound public opinion.

This development, in truth, is the foundation for the successful application of remedial legislation. If our democracy is to function we cannot assign changes of such sweeping character to our legislative representatives. They must be supported by a united people, who must insist that not only the letter of the law but likewise the spirit shall be complied with.

Every public-opinion molding force must play its part in this development. Not only individual citizens, but the public press and social, civic, industrial and religious organizations should continuously point out the evil consequences that follow our disregard for human life on the industrial field.

This thought must be impressed on the consciousness of each citizen. The value of human life must be emphasized, and the social waste that results in the unnecessary loss of one human being must be continually pointed out.

The effect of this educational activity will reach beyond the field of industry and will interest America in developing a higher, long-lived standard of manhood.

To approximate this goal we should dedicate our energies.

### MINERS' INTERNATIONAL POSTPONES ITS CONGRESS

Due largely to the tense situation created by the British Miners' strike, the executive committee of the International Miners' Federation, at a meeting held in London July 23, decided to postpone until 1927 its international congress, scheduled for August, this year, in Cracow.

From the moment that private possession is the means of production, exploitation and the division of society into two hostile classes, standing opposed to each other through their interests, also began.—Wilhelm Liebknecht.

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## Italian Workers Continue Fight on Fascist Rule In Face of Hardships

### Labor Doings Abroad

BASED on detailed reports of conditions in black shirt Italy in June received by the Socialist and Labor International from reliable sources, the Zurich bureau of that organization has issued a summary of the situation in Mussolini's land, in part, as follows:

"But the legal regulations of the unions form the most terrible instrument for the throttling of the working classes. The new law forbids strikes under penalty of imprisonment. Disputes between Capital and Labor have been referred to a Labor Court appointed by the government. The unions are styled State Organs, their leaders and secretaries being appointed and controlled by the government through the Fascist Prefects, who are authorized to dismiss them and replace them by others. Moreover, there is no communal life within the unions. The infrequent assemblies of the latter are called by the union officials, and as a rule the proceedings are confined to the reading by one of the leaders of a report of the union's activities and its unanimous acceptance without discussion. The Prefects are authorized to repeal all the decrees of the unions."

"The law allows the existence of workers' unions, which may continue as 'existing associations' (Società di fatto), without legal recognition. They have to make a return of their membership to the police, but any function is rendered impossible to them, since they are not allowed to hold meetings. The Confederation of Labor continues as one of these 'existing associations,' but confines itself to very modest propaganda and educational work. But the legally recognized unions retain the right of exclusive representation of the working classes as to wage agreements and as to their relations toward the State."

"Theoretically, nobody is forced to join the 'unions,' but in practice it is essential, not only to be able to enjoy the advantages of the wage agreements, but also to be able to find work in the factories and on the land, where the industrial magnates and the landowners engage only those workers who hold membership cards of the Fascist unions. The heroic working women or Molinella preferred to live on grass, which they gathered in ditches, rather than give in; but even this diet of 'pasture' was forbidden them under threat of physical violence. Though the membership card of the unions is indispensable for anybody who is in search of work of any description, as already stated, it may be refused to those who have not proved themselves faithful adherents of the 'National Party.' Thus the Fascist State condemns its opponents to starvation."

Situation Grows Worse  
"At the same time, it condemns them to civil and political death, for in the new organization of the State, now in course of preparation, the Senate—whose members are now nominated by the King—will be appointed in part by the unions. (The Chamber is to be abolished altogether.) Thus, only members of the Fascist unions will have political rights, and not even all of them, for members are divided into two categories, according to their political reliability: One category may hold official posts, while the other is nothing but a kind of ballast and may only pay contributions."

"After what has been said, one can easily imagine what is left of our party organization. In the country it is sufficient to be found with the membership card of our party, to be seen with other comrades or to be seen greeting one on his way through, in order to be thrashed, driven away, or to see one's dwelling destroyed and plundered. The right of our comrades to travel and to appear among the workers depends entirely upon the disposition of the police, the Fascist militia or the local leaders of the Fascist movement. If anybody has been reading our weekly paper, *Giustizia*, in the public street, or if it is found on anybody who is searched, then that person must be prepared for the utmost ill treatment."

"The situation in Italy grows worse day by day. After the disgraceful farce of the trial at Chiati—the final vilification of Matteotti, who is still unavenged—and after the latest attempt on Mussolini's life, the state of affairs has become even more unbearable than before. The means of maintaining one's most elementary rights exist no

longer. Parliament has no other function than to ratify the decrees of the government. Our delegates have held aloof from it since 1924 as a protest against the murder of Matteotti. The Communists who took part in the infrequent sessions of the Chamber amidst the hoots and shouts of their opponents were unable to initiate any line of action which would arouse a response from the people. The two daily papers, *Avanti!*, organ of the Maximalists, and the *Communisti Uniti* suffer from the continuous confiscations, and indeed owe their continuance merely to the fact that their main activity consists in attacking the Socialists, who still stand by the Socialist and Labor International."

"In the midst of all this gloom the Socialists do not despair. The regime shows rifts resulting from the excessive oppression, from the deprivation of that minimum of freedom, without which even capitalism cannot breathe. The government favors, now freely lavished on employers, will not suffice, in the event of the industrial crisis being accentuated, to counterbalance the initiative and autonomy of Capital, which must also put up with the fetters and hindrances resulting from the union laws. Many members of the middle classes are beginning to realize that they are living in a cage (though it may be a golden one), which is guarded by a monopolizing, violent, authoritative party. This party under given circumstances would be capable of treating the well-filled coffers of the capitalists in the same way as it is now treating the blood-stained pence of the workers. The regime stands outside natural and historical reality and bears its own condemnation within itself."

### BOOKBINDERS TO HAVE INTERNATIONAL FUND

At the sixth conference of the International Bookbinders' Federation, held in Copenhagen June 7 to 9, and attended by twenty-one delegates from thirteen organizations in a dozen countries, it was decided to build up an international reserve fund to be drawn upon for advances in cases of strikes or lockouts necessitating the raising of money by the International. Effective from July 1, each affiliated organization is to pay four cents per year per member into this reserve fund until it is big enough to take care of any ordinary demands for advances. The amount of international strike benefits raised while a conflict is under way will be determined by the International commission, according to the ability of the various national bodies.

H. Hochstrasser of Berne, the Bookbinders' International Secretary, who was re-elected by the conference, reported that, due mainly to economic depression, there had been a material loss of membership by most of the affiliated unions since the Leipzig Conference of 1922. On January 1, 1925, the membership was 84,231. During the conference there was noted a decided swing toward organization on industrial lines that would eventually bring the bookbinders into the same union as the other workers of the publishing trades.

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# I. R. T. SERVICE CALLED A MENACE

(Continued from page 1)

pany union" are both the doling of the Interborough. The strike is only incidental to these outrages upon honest, hard-working American citizens.

## The I. R. T. Needs Looking Into

The strikers would have shown themselves poor Americans, indeed, if they had continued to submit to these flagrant injustices. The surprise is that they did not kick over the traces of virtual slavery long before. They are to be congratulated on their brave fight against one of the most powerful corporations in the city. They deserve the support of all the people. This includes the Mayor and the Transit Commission.

In all the newspaper comment on the strike—in conservative as well as liberal papers—there has never been a statement denying the justice of the strikers' claim for higher wages. Even Mr. Hedley has admitted the men deserve an increase. But he claims, the company cannot afford it.

Any industry or public service organization that cannot operate at a profit and yet gives its workers an inadequate wage for their service is a sick industry. It deserves the looking into of a physician. Mayor Walker should not hesitate to wield the operating knife.

And let us remind him, though we hope it is unnecessary, that kind words of casual support to the strikers will not budge the I. R. T.

## Two Jobs Before The Mayor

Mayor Walker, what is needed is a carefully thought out plan for a unified city-wide transit system, the contracts of which will assure to the workers a better than living wage—a saving wage—and the right to organize in labor unions of their own choosing.

Two tasks are plainly before Mayor Walker at this time:

1—He should compel the I. R. T. to render the city the safe and efficient service the subway contracts call for.

2—He should begin immediately the organization of a transit system which will be operated for service and not for private profit.

Mayor Walker, this program is not thrown out in any partisan spirit. It is a case of dire emergency. On the one hand, the lives of the citizens are in danger from inefficient strike-breakers. On the other hand, a great principle of American liberty—the right of workmen to band together in their own legal organizations—is at stake.

Quick and definite action is needed. Not words.

Over in Brooklyn, near Prospect Park, thousands of people daily pass by what is now just a hole in the ground through which grimy subway trains hurtle their thundering way every few minutes.

This hole, is passed by with equanimity, the people forgetting

that less than ten years ago this was the scene of one of the most terrible catastrophes in the history of the city. Here, in 1919, a strike-breaker-operated subway train hurled thousands of persons into a screaming hell of torture and death.

One hundred charred and mangled bodies were carried to the face, lifeless.

They were the victims of criminal disregard of life on the part of the strike-breaking rapid transit company and of ghastly indifference on the part of public officials.

Do you want this horror repeated? The people await your answer, Mayor Walker.

## 4,000 Scotts Run Miners on Strike

(Continued from page 1)

breakers. Wages dropped to \$4.50 a day—which at part-time employment meant a very slim income.

Gilbert-Davis bosses ordered evictions. The workers were told to "get out or go to work." This move has been delayed by the courts. But the attempt to use the courts to compel the corporations to keep the Jacksonville wage contract—by an injunction—was defeated. Judge Lazelle, a West Virginia capitalist sat on that case, and as this judge collects royalties from some of the coal lands the Paisley interests are using he turned down the union's application. Lazelle's injunctions have all been on the other side, against union labor.

Local strikes against the contract breakers were called last April. But the Bertha Coal Co., the Bunker Coal Co., the Soper-Mitchell and a string of others had never signed the contract at all. The whole Scott's Run field was now sear and the union miners began talking of a general strike as the only way to get results. When the general strike call was issued it got quick results in Scott's Run.

Two new local unions have been formed. Picketing is managed by a police committee of five men from each local union. The strike is under the general direction of Organizer Sanford Snyder, acting for the provisional district No. 31.

The spirit of the strikers is high and they hope that the strike will shut down the rest of the big Fairmont district a hundred percent, including the huge Consolidation and Bethlehem properties.

## GOTTESMAN TO SAIL FOR TOUR OF EUROPE

Edmund Gottesman, secretary-treasurer of The Neckwear Makers' Union, will make an extensive trip through Europe for about two months. He will leave on the S. S. President Harding on Wednesday, July 28.

Gottesman has been one of the most active leaders of his union for many years, having been one of its first organizers. He has also contributed occasionally to The New Leader. His co-workers have arranged a send-off for him before he leaves.

What, then, is the aristocracy? The aristocracy, I mean to tell you, is the league, the combination of those who are bent on consuming without producing, living without working, occupying all public posts without being able to fill them, and usurping all honors without having earned them—that is the aristocracy.—General Foy.

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Fur Dressers' Union No. 2

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## OPERATORS, LOCAL 1

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Executive Board meets every Monday.  
CUTTERS, LOCAL 2  
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Thursday.  
Executive Board meets every Monday.

All Meetings are held in the  
Headquarters Workers' Lyceum  
(Beethoven Hall)  
210 East 84th Street.

## United Hebrew Trades

175 EAST BROADWAY  
Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M. Executive Board meets every 2nd and 4th Monday at 8:30 P. M.  
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M. TIGEL, Vice-Chairman  
M. FEINSTEIN, Secretary-Treasurer

## HEBREW BUTCHERS' UNION

Local 524, A. M. G. & S. W. of N. A.  
175 E. Broadway  
Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday  
AL. GRABAL, President  
L. KORN, Manager S. JACOB, Sec'y.

## BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS'

UNION, Local 66, I. L. G. W. U.  
7 East 18th Street Tel. Stuyvesant 3657  
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union  
L. FREEDMAN, President  
GEO. TRIESTMAN, NATHAN RIESEL, Secretary-Treasurer

## NECKWEAR CUTTERS'

Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.  
7 East 18th Street Stuyvesant 1678  
Regular Meetings Every Friday at 8 P. M. of Every Month at 103 East 23rd Street  
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N. Ullman, Sec'y.  
Murray Chilling, J. Rosenzweig, Vice-President, Fin. Sec'y & Treas.  
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## HEBREW ACTORS' UNION

Office, 31 Seventh St., N. Y.  
Phone Dry Dock 3560  
REUBEN GUSKIN, Manager

## Joint Executive Committee of THE VEST MAKERS' UNION,

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.  
Office: 175 East Broadway.  
Phone: Orchard 6639  
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening.  
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PETER MONAT, Manager.

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555 Hudson St., City.  
Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at 555 Hudson St., City.  
62 East 4th St.  
Executive Board meets every 2nd and 4th Thursdays at 103 East Broadway, Room 3.  
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MAX LIEBLER, Sec'y-Treas.

## Structural Iron Workers

UNION, Local 261, Brooklyn  
Office: Telephone: 5119  
511 Pacific Street Coney Island 5119  
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Telephone Chelsea 2148  
MORRIS STOMAN, President ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

## The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union

Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U.  
300 East 14th Street Telephone Ashland 3600  
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION  
DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

## Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers

Office, 231 E. 14th Street. Union Local 48, I. L. G. W. U. Lexington 4540.  
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.  
SECTION MEETINGS  
Downtown—231 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 8 P. M.  
Brooklyn—187th St. & Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.  
Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.  
Bklyn—104 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—16 Montgomery St.  
SALVATORE NINPO, Manager-Secretary.

## EMBROIDERY WORKERS'

UNION, Local 6, I. L. G. W. U.  
Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 231 E. 161st St.  
Halsey 1028  
CARL GRABNER, President  
M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

## Italian Dressmakers'

Union, Local 59, I. L. G. W. U.  
Affiliated with Joint Board Cloth and Dressmakers' Union. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office, 4 West 31st Street.  
LUIGI ANTONINI, Secretary.

## United Neckwear Makers' Union

LOCAL 11018, A. F. of L.  
7 East 18th St. Phone Stuyvesant 1088  
Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 130 E. 10th St. in the office.  
LOUIS FELDHEIM, President  
ED. GUTTMAN, Sec. Treas.  
L. D. BERGER, Manager  
LOUIS FUCHS, Bus. Agent.

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Local 65 of I. L. G. W. U.  
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AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA  
611-621 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Telephone: Spring 7600-1-2-3-4-5  
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## New York Clothing Cutters' Union

A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four".  
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Regular meetings every Friday night at 219 East Fifth Street.  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 p. m. in the office.  
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OF GREATER N. Y. AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA.  
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Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening at the Office. All Locals Meet Every Wednesday.  
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## Lapel Makers & Pairs'

Local 181, A. C. W. A.  
Office: 2 Delancey St., Brooklyn 3400  
Ex. Board meets every Friday at 8 P. M.  
IKE SCHNEIDER, Chairman  
KENNETH F. WARD, Secretary  
ANTHONY V. FROISE, Bus. Agent.

## Pressers' Union

Local 2, A. C. W. A.  
Executive Board Meets Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple  
11-27 Arton Pl. Bkn., N. Y.  
LOUIS CANTON, Chairman  
M. YATLOW, Sec'y. LEON BUCK, Fin. Sec'y.

## NEW YORK JOINT BOARD INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION

Affiliated with The American Federation of Labor  
GENERAL OFFICE:  
11 WEST 18TH STREET, N. Y. Phone Chelsea 3084  
CHARLES KLEINMAN, Chairman CHARLES GOLDMAN, Secretary-Treasurer  
A. L. SHIPACOFF, Manager

## PAPER BOX MAKERS' UNION

OF GREATER NEW YORK  
Office and Headquarters, 701 Broadway. Phone Orchard 1306  
Executive Board Meets Every Wednesday at 8 P. M.  
AL. GREENBERG, FRED CAIOIA, SAM SCHNALL, FLORENCE GELLER, President, Manager, Treasurer, Fin. Sec'y.  
Organizers: GEORGE E. POWERS, THOMAS DINONNO. Delegate, JOSEPH DIMINO.

## MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL 24

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union  
Downtown Office: 416 Broadway. Phone Spring 4548  
Uptown Office: 30 West 47th Street. Phone Wadsworth 1173  
Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening.  
HYMAN LEDERFAR, I. H. GOLDBERG, NATHAN SECTOR, ALEX ROSE, Chairman, Ex. Sec'y, Sec'y, Sec'y-Treas.  
ORGANIZERS: I. H. GOLDBERG, MAX GOODMAN, A. MENDELWITZ

## N. Y. Joint Board, Shirt and Boys' Waist Makers' Union

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA  
Headquarters: 621 BROADWAY (Room 823). Phone Spring 2385-2339  
H. ROSENBERG, Secretary-Treasurer  
Joint Board meets every Second and Fourth Monday.  
Board of Directors meet every First and Third Monday.  
Local 24—Executive Board meets every Tuesday.  
Local 34—Executive Board meets every Thursday.  
Local 24—Executive Board meets every Wednesday.  
These Meetings Are Held in the Office of the Union

## Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20, I. L. G. W. U.

130 East 25th St. Madison Square 1924  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M.  
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## FUR DRESSERS' UNION,

Local 2, Internat'l Fur Workers' Union.  
Office and Headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn. Pulaski 9758  
Regular Meetings 1st and 3rd Mondays.  
S. FINE, Vice-President  
M. FRIEDMAN, Bus. Sec'y.  
E. WEINBERG, Fin. Sec'y.  
H. KALINOFF, Bus. Agent.

## FUR WORKERS' UNION

OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA  
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor  
9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. Hunters Point 68  
O. SCHACHTMAN, General President.  
I. WOHL, General Secretary-Treasurer.

## The AMALGAMATED SHEET METAL WORKERS

UNION LOCAL 137  
Office and Headquarters 13 St. Marks Place, N. Y.  
Regular Meetings Every First and Third Friday at 8 P. M.  
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at 8 P. M. Phone Orchard 3748  
M. ROSEN, President D. MACY, Vice-Pres.  
J. I. NEWMAN, Sec. Sec'y PHILIP GINDER, Treasurer

## Amalgamated Lithographers

of America, New York Local No. 1  
Office: AMALITHONE BLDG., 206 WEST 14th St. Phone: WAT kin 1786



# A Trade Union Crisis

By The Editor

ONE of the most intelligent and informing articles on the labor movement in the United States is contributed by Abraham Epstein to the July number of Current History. He does not indulge in theory. He marshals evidence drawn from reliable sources to account for the admitted decline of the trade union movement in the past six years. Moreover, he shows that some of the most active trade union officials are apprehensive of this trend. They fear that the trade unions, small in membership as they are in proportion to the number of workers capable of being organized, may become a mere shadow of what they now are.

It is impossible to consider all the facts which the author brings to the discussion, but among the more important that he mentions is the development of various corporate "welfare" plans which have not only prevented organization in many industries but have also undermined some trade unions. Other factors he mentions are the illusive sale of stocks to workers, the desire to avoid government interference in industrial relations, restriction of immigration which requires more consideration of the available labor supply, fear of the abnormal growth of the unions during the World War, the advent of the social-engineer in industry, insurance of the workers, and the entrance of a new type of college-trained executives in industry having a more far-sighted outlook in managing the workers in industry.

Of course this whole superstructure of benevolent feudalism is likely to collapse in the next industrial stagnation that is sure to throw millions out of work. "Welfare" plans go into the pot when this occurs, but in the meantime the organized workers may become so weak that they will be unable to exert any power or influence in the coming certain stagnation. This is the dismal phase of the current trend, and the sooner it is frankly recognized the better will the movement in this country be able to cope with it.

One factor which we consider important is not stressed. The United States came out of the World War unlike any of the other nations involved in it. We were in it but a short time. We suffered no privations. American industry thrived. So did the workers, on the whole, despite tremendous profiteering. The unions had a mushroom growth. They were practically nursed by government agencies to "win the war." American capitalism became bloated with "prosperity" while England and the nations on the Continent faced misery, famine and lowering of living standards.

The unions came out of the war jubilant because of their gains in wages and members. Then the masters of American life turned upon them, the "open shop" crusade followed, and "welfare" plans and "company unions" became "100 per cent

## Critical Cruisings

(Continued from page 10)

of society, and having been produced as they were by that society they could not have acted other than they did. The very status of the society, in other than words, produced these men as its expression. The importance of where the war guilt rests, in the final analysis, is far less important than the nature of the social system that produces such men, fosters such diplomacy, fruitless such ambitions. The great task before us is not so much to locate the guilt of individuals—revealing as such disclosures prove—as to devise a way of frustrating its repetition. In this respect Barnes' book is inadequate. Excellent as it is as an antidote to the older chauvinism, admirable as it is as a piece of research, it is without clarity of solution or appreciation of the necessity of social change.

## AMERICAN APPEAL

National Organ Socialist Party, \$1.00 per year, 50c six months, 2c each in bundles.

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**EUGENE V. DEBS**

Managing Editor  
**MURRAY E. KING**

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## VOLKS-STIMME

107 No. 6th St., Phila., Pa.

## Paternalism Is Sapping Labor Movement's Strength

Americanism." The "open shop" campaign spent its force after doing considerable damage, but the other two methods continue to eat their way into industry and to undermine the unions.

Mr. Epstein places his finger upon one fundamental weakness. He observes that "the real strength of a labor movement lies not in mere size, but in the vitality and missionary zeal which permeate it." Now, it is this vitality and zeal that has for years been lacking in American trade unions. In the unions where it has always been conspicuous, the needle trades, we have the highest percentage of workers organized. The fighting spirit survives. It is just these unions that have not isolated themselves behind American frontiers, that are charged with a Socialist spirit, that have taken the most chaotic in-

dustrial in this country and given hope, vitality and ideals to the workers. Should the needle trades lose their Socialist idealism they will invite the fate that is now feared for others.

Here, it seems, to us is at least a partial answer to the problem. American trade unions will have to venture out into wider fields, establish a Labor Party that will inspire the members, enlarge their views of their responsibilities, abandon the useless policy of working within the old parties, a policy which has never inspired the members and which has never united them politically. In short, a larger view of the mission of trade unionism and a better mobilization of the members in every field of activity are required if the present menacing tendencies are to be checked and the movement is to expand and grow.

## GERMAN METAL WORKERS TURN FROM COMMUNISTS

The sharp decline of Communist influence among the German metal workers during the last two years is brought out by the official results of the election of delegates to the coming biennial convention at Bremen given out in Stuttgart on July 2.

Instead of having 34 per cent. of the delegates, as happened at the Cassel convention of 1924, the Communists will have only slightly over 16 per cent. at Bremen, and, consequently, will not be able to hold up the work of the convention by raising the two-thirds rule every little while. Of the total of 187 delegates the Communists have 31, of whom 13 were elected in Berlin by 13,625 votes, against 10,145 for the Socialist candidates, while about 37,000 members of the union did not take the trouble to vote, for which they were roundly denounced by Vorwarts. That Socialist paper pointed out that it was a shame for the pro-Socialist unionists to sit home and allow the Communists to win, largely by default. The Metal Workers' Union is the strongest labor organization in Germany, having about 1,000,000 members.

# Polish Socialism

Our Socialist World Today

IV. Poland

By M. Niedzialkowski

fer provoked a military rising among several other regiments, faithful to democracy, who understood it as an attempt to arrest Pilsudski and as the beginning of a policy of reactionary provocation. We were not expecting a military step of this kind, but the very fact of this step having been taken has put us in the necessity of participating in the struggle.

Lately the relations of the party with Marshal Pilsudski have been somewhat strained. But the military revolt of the Marshal against reaction in power aroused immediately a tremendous enthusiasm among the working masses. On the other hand, the victory of the Government would have been the signal for fearful revenge upon the working class and all democracy, and doubtless for a military dictatorship in the purely Fascist

manner. In addition Pilsudski is personally very popular among the people.

In this situation we could not reflect. We had to move with Pilsudski, for he was moving against reaction. The Central Committee's Executive then proclaimed a general strike, especially a strike of railwaymen to prevent the movement of reactionary regiments, and a great number of workers entered the ranks to join in the fight.

All the other Socialist parties, the German Social-Democrats, the Jewish Bund, the Poale-Zion Federation, the Drobner Group, and even the Communists took a similar position. Pilsudski became the victor, thanks largely to the aid of the workers. He conquered and, after the resignation of the Cabinet and the president of the Republic, made a compromise by passing the supreme power—in accordance with the Constitution—into the hands of the president of the Chamber, Rataj, and by creating a Government of the Liberal Left, with Bartel as Prime Minister.

Such is the present situation. For my part I define it in the following way:

The Pilsudski revolution was a purely political revolution and if one can say so—a negative one. It had as its object the overthrow of the reactionary Government, that is, of reaction in power.

It has shifted power, supported by a section of the army, from the hands of Fascist reaction into the hands of radical liberalism.

It was too soon over to enable the working class to shape it in a social and economic sense.

But at the same time the working class has obtained a perceptible weakening of reaction. The working class has increased its own forces; it has recovered revolutionary enthusiasm, and it has responded magnificently to the orders of the party. The party has organized a strong workers' militia, which has acquired a solid reputation in military circles.

The National Council of the Polish Socialist Party has issued the following platform: Dissolution of the Chamber and the Senate. Immediate new elections. A Socialist-Peasant Government on the basis of a definite program (economic, social, political, national minorities question).

In short, if one attempts to look ahead, one can trace many possibilities of development. Either the present government will develop along the lines of a military dictatorship, a conflict with the working class will then be imminent; or it will base itself—as it declares—on democracy, the Chamber will dissolve, new elections will be proclaimed, concessions will be made to the Socialist movement and every effort will be put into the electoral struggle; or, finally, civil war with the reaction in Posen (Posen), may break out, and then the necessity of a Socialist, or almost Socialist, government appears probable.

# THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

## Montana

Mrs. Doris Morris, National and State organizer, is making good in her work in Montana. She reports: "I have been on the go continuously since Saturday. Comrade Cavanaugh, of Whitefish, has been taking me in his car. I have covered all the distance possible in the time we have had, mostly out in the country among the farmers, and we have had very good results. I have added sixteen (16) members to the Whitefish Local and have some others to line up, then I will go to Kalspell again to put on a street talk and organize."

"I spoke before the Owl Lodge Tuesday evening. The audience was well pleased and a lot of literature was distributed. I have collected enough to pay my salary and all expenses. Our comrades are full of fight. They want another organizer later. We must have lots of field workers on the road, and with the American Appeal we will make great progress. I have been treated with wonderful consideration all over Flathead Valley."

## Ohio

State Secretary Willert reports more interest and says that persistent hammering brings results. Some petitions have been reported, and we now request the comrades to report the number of signatures secured and what they expect to get. They should remember the time is short for filing. The last day, of course, is September 1. Don't forget to make reports to your State Secretary.

Toledo

Millard Price, a former State Secretary and an excellent soap boxer and mixer, is in Toledo and writes for supplies for the purpose of reorganizing the movement in that State. He also expects to speak in other sections of the State, namely Hamilton, Cincinnati and Dayton. Price will be a great help in the boosting petitions. State Secretary Willert and National Committeeman Sharts expect to hear from him with good results.

## Pennsylvania

State Secretary Darlington Hoopes, in a letter to the membership in Pennsylvania, urges all branches and local organizations to be up to date in making quarterly reports to the State office. The planning of State work will be jeopardized unless reports are made from every organized group. He is asking the following questions:

First. How much will your branch pledge to the State office each month until the end of 1926? The money will be used to promote the circulation of the American Appeal and The New Leader, and to strengthen organization in every way. Every organization, and in fact, every member, should do whatever can be done in this direction.

Second. How many State platforms will you want this fall?

They will be in the form of a four-page leaflet with the names of the State candidates on the last page. These platforms will sell for \$4 per thousand. Don't forget to inform the State office of your desires.

Third. When are you going to send the list of the registered Socialists in your county for circularization by the American Appeal?

It is very important that these names be rushed to the State office so that they may be sent on to the American Appeal for service. The address of the State Secretary is 415 Swede street, Norristown, Pa.

Reading

James H. Maurer, president of the State Federation of Labor, is on a trip west to California where a number of meetings and banquets have been arranged in his honor and for the purpose of giving him an opportunity to speak to the people of Los Angeles and San Francisco.

## Wisconsin

The Wisconsin members held a very successful State picnic at the State Fair Grounds in Milwaukee on Sunday, July 18. The crowd numbered between 40,000 and 50,000. Eugene V. Debs was billed for the principal

speaker of the day, but being unable to be there other speakers filled in, among them being Victor L. Berger; Comrade Krzycki, candidate for United States Senator; Comrade Kent, candidate for Governor, and William H. Henry, National Executive Secretary of the Socialist Party.

Edwin T. Melms, organizer of the Socialist Party in Milwaukee County and Socialist nominee in the Fourth Wisconsin District, acted as chairman. This great state gathering of Socialists was a good beginning for the campaign that will be made in Wisconsin.

Comrade Kent, nominee for Governor, said: "If Milwaukee County will roll up 80,000 votes we will bring enough from the other cities and farming sections to carry the state."

The great crowds seemed to enjoy the entertainment of all descriptions that had been provided for both old and young. A number of Chicago Socialists, with National Secretary Henry, spent the day at the picnic boosting the American Appeal.

Sheboygan

Frank Doty reports to National headquarters that there will be a full county ticket on the ballot for Sheboygan County, with good prospects of electing it. They already have five Socialist members of the County Council.

## Kansas

Arthur Bridwell, State Secretary of Kansas, wishes to hear from all Appeal and New Leader readers in that state, that they may become connected in the work of the party campaign in that state. The filing of the Socialist state ticket has been completed and now the campaign work must progress faster.

Bridwell's address is Baldwin City, Kansas, Route No. 3.

## California

State Secretary Lena Morrow Lewis, whose address is 208 Grant Building, 1095 Market street, San Francisco, again urges readers of the American Appeal and New Leader to assist her in raising funds for the campaign work and to assist in carrying out the program outlined by the state organization. Readers who are not members of the party should write Comrade Lewis and keep in close touch with her.

## New Jersey

NEW JERSEY

The street meetings in Essex and Hudson counties are getting off to a good start. L. I. Friday, the 19th, Comrade Tallman spoke to a large and attentive audience in the Central Market Plaza, Newark, and sold \$6 worth of literature. This is the third meeting that has been held here this season and already a number of old-time Socialists who have not been heard from for a long time are making themselves known and manifesting an interest in the work. The speaker for Friday, July 23, is Patrick Quinn.

On Saturday, the 17th, a good meeting was held at Washington and 4th streets, Hoboken, with Rev. Ethelred Brown as the speaker. Several dollars' worth of literature was sold. This Saturday, the 24th, Timothy P. Murphy will speak at the same corner. Another Hudson County meeting this Saturday will be at the corner of Bergenline avenue and 14th street, West New York, with William Kane Tallman as the speaker.

NOTICE TO BRANCH SECRETARIES

Only a few Branches have so far sent in credentials for their delegates to the State Convention on August 8, and all Branches are urged to elect their delegates and send in the credentials at once. Credentials must be in duplicate and accompanied by \$1 for each delegate.

## New York State

The State Executive Committee met at Albany last Sunday, Stengenbaum, Garber, Moore, Sander and Mrs. Wiley being present. The committee dis-

posed of resolutions and reports referred to it by the State convention, including a statement on prohibition to go into the State platform of the Socialist party. This statement is as follows: "We denounce the Republican and Democratic parties for injecting fraudulent political issues into the 1926 campaign. Prohibition is not a State, but a national issue. The Socialist party insists on a referendum on the subject when such a referendum would have meant something. There are matters of vital importance which the Socialist party will continue to stress regardless of the fact that the two old parties seem determined to emphasize booze as the only matter of importance before the American people." The State Executive Committee elected a sub-committee on campaign consisting of State Secretary Merrill, Theresa B. Wiley of Schenectady and Fred Sander of Syracuse. Official conventions were ordered held as follows: State convention and convention of First Judicial District at New York on September 25; Second, Fifth and Sixth Judicial conventions at Brooklyn, Syracuse and Elmira, respectively, on Sept. 24; Third Judicial at discretion of State secretary. Official State Committee will meet and organize at New York on September 25. The next meeting of the State Executive Committee is to be held in New York on August 15 for the purpose of holding a conference with State candidates on arrangements for the fall campaign.

## New York City

German and British Speakers

Notice is hereby given to all locals and branches of the Socialist party in and around New York City that the services of Miss Tony Sender, member of the German Reichstag and prominent member of the German Social Democracy, who will arrive in this country for a brief speaking tour during September and October, can be obtained either through August Claessens, executive secretary, Socialist party of New York City, 7 East 15th street, or through William H. Henry, national executive secretary, Socialist party, 2653 Washington boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

Comrade Sender speaks English, German and French fluently, and she is prepared to lecture on all vital phases of the Socialist and Labor movement of Europe.

Miss Jessie Stephen of the Independent Labor party of Great Britain will be available for speaking engagements during the month of October. Watch this column for further announcements.

City Committee

The membership in all the branches of New York City are hereby instructed to report at branch offices at once to aid in the necessary work of obtaining signatures for the nominating petitions that are now being circulated. As there are only two weeks left to complete this enormous job, it is imperative that every active Socialist should use all of the spare time at his or her disposal in visiting the enrolled voters of their districts or in those districts where our branches are weak.

Remember, comrades, our ticket will not be placed on the ballot this fall unless the necessary signatures are obtained. Hence, do not delay. Report at once for duty to your branch headquarters or to the office of Local New York City.

AUGUST CLAESSENS,  
Executive Secretary.

## STREET MEETINGS

Manhattan

Friday, July 23, Clinton street and East Broadway. Speakers, E. Brown and L. Korn. Chairman, A. Scall.

Tuesday, July 27, 7th street and Avenue E. Speakers, A. Schwartz, I. M. Chatouff and L. Korn.

Grand and Pitt streets. Speakers, E. Brown and J. G. Friedman.

Friday, July 30, Clinton street and East Broadway. Speaker: Wm. Karlin.

Bronx

Friday, July 23, 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Dr. L. R. Land and J. G. Friedman. Chairman, Mathilda Tillman.

Friday, July 30, 14th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, E. Brown

and S. E. Beardsley. Chairman, Mathilda Tillman.

Brooklyn

Friday, July 23, Havemeyer and South 4th streets. Speakers, S. E. Beardsley and Jos. Tuvim.

Tuesday, July 27, Graham and Devoles street. Speakers, Hyman Nemser, Jos. Tuvim and I. M. Chatouff.

Wednesday, July 28, Monroe street and Broadway. Speakers, E. Brown and Samuel H. Friedman.

Thursday, July 29, Tompkins and Hart. Speaker, E. Brown.

Friday, July 30, Pitkin avenue and Bristol street. Speakers, Jos. Tuvim, I. Korn and I. M. Chatouff.

Special Meeting, 8th-8th A. D.

A special meeting of the 8th-8th A. D. will be held Monday evening, July 26, at the headquarters, 137 Avenue B. The meeting will elect new officers and decide on nominating candidates for public office. All members should attend. The organizer Louis Reiff, who has recently resigned from the Bachelors Club, will be on hand.

## BROOKLYN

In spite of the sultry season, the general tendency towards activity and the absence of many members on vacations, there is considerable hustling going on in our Kings County organization. The 4th and 14th A. D. Branch is holding its regular meetings and two street meetings a month. At its recent meeting the branch nominated Morris Blumreich for Congress in the 7th District; Harry Schachner for State senator in the 11th District and Hyman Nemser and Jacob Dubno for Assembly, 1st the 4th and 14th Districts, respectively.

The 5th Assembly District Branch is holding street meetings weekly and reports some of the best propaganda work ever done in this difficult territory. The 6th A. D. Branch is fairly active—two or three street meetings a month; the same is true of the 13th and 19th A. D. Branch. The 23rd A. D. Branch continues to hold its position as the banner branch of the county. Its activities are: numerous, splendid street meetings, well attended branch meetings and social events. These Brownsville Socialists have nominated A. I. Shiploff for congressman; Albert Halpern for senator, and Morris Paris for Assembly, and are now making ready for a lively campaign.

A word should be said about the 2nd, 9th and 16th, 22nd Assembly District Branches. They are alive but not exerting themselves too much in this warm season. Other Brooklyn branches are inactive.

New Brooklyn Branch

A branch will be organized in the Flatbush Section of Kings County in the next few weeks. Joseph Tuvim has moved into this part of the woods and wherever Joe moves the party organization also moves. All Flatbushers noticing this announcement are requested to write at once to Joseph Tuvim, 2265 East 22nd street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Now watch for big news shortly!

## Bronx

The membership drive continues with good results. Former members four years in arrears are coming to the front and paying up. This is all the more remarkable since some have done so without any solicitation. Does this mean a come back, an awakening? If so, it is welcome and we wish in every way to hasten it some. Again we reiterate that individual personal soliciting must be successful and will produce results.

Bronx members are earnestly urged to complete petitions as soon as possible and return to the local office. Members and enrolled voters who have not yet signed are requested to call at office promptly. Comrade Grossman will be on hand to accept signatures and advise as to the duties of Socialist voters in the coming primaries.

All subdivisions are notified that the County Committee acting as a committee on Vacancies will complete the Bronx County ticket at its meeting Monday, August 2, at local headquarters. All those having advice or suggestions will please bring or forward them to the local office on or before

## Yipseldom

Yipsel Field Day

Yipsels may be Yipsels yet, when Field Day comes round, the whole Yipsel movement in the Greater City can think of nothing else than scalping the opposing circle in the annual athletic meet that is held every year. Brothly love goes to the wall, comradeship is forgotten. All the Yipsels think of is how many medals and points they can carry home to their circle.

This year the athletic meet will be one of the fiercest struggles witnessed in the annals of Yipsel athletic work. All circles are toting the mark. Baseball practice, running practice, the high jump are all taking the time of the league.

Richard Blechschmit, former director of athletics and dancing in the Rand School, will be one of the judges at the affair. Twelve events will be given including races, high jump and baseball. This year the girls will have special opportunity to show their accomplishments.

Twenty medals in gold, silver and bronze will be awarded to the successful contestants. A silver loving cup will go to the baseball team that wins the league championship and a banner to the circle receiving the highest number of points.

Feilham Bay Park has been allotted by the Bronx Park Commission for this meet. Sunday, July 25, will be a day that will go down in history as far as the Yipsels are concerned. In past years Party members have taken interest in these gatherings. All are urged to come and root. Besides the regular field events novelty sport events have been arranged. Bathing, rowing and hiking can also be enjoyed in the park.

We have a debt to every fine heart, to every fine genius; to those who have put life and fortune on the cast of an act of justice; to those who have added new sciences; to those who have refined life by elegant pursuits. 'Tis the fine souls who serve us, and not what is called fine society. Fine society is only a self-protection against the vulgarities of the street and the tavern.—Emerson.

## THE CAROLINA INDEPENDENT

Protagonist of Progress  
Champion of Labor  
Enemy of Reaction

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

Weekly—Printed in a Union Shop  
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The Carolina Independent

RALEIGH, N. C.

## MODERN MARRIAGE PROBLEMS

SEX TALKS  
For Women Only, Tuesday Evenings.  
For Men and Women, Thursday Evenings.

By Dr. Cecile L. Greil  
at the  
"CULTURE CLUB"

433 Lafayette St., nr. Astor Pl., N. Y.

# EAT YOUR BREAD WITH A CLEAR CONSCIENCE

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Never before have the Bakery Workers been more in danger of going back to slavery conditions. The employers are now making terrific onslaughts on their hard won gains after many years of struggle.

Now, as never before, the Bakery Workers need your moral support.

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# A m u s e m e n t s



## DRAMA

### The Drama of America

By Joseph T. Shipley

NOTE: Montrose J. Moses has edited, in three volumes, published by E. P. Dutton & Co. (\$3 each), the most admirable collection of "Representative Plays by American Dramatists" that has yet appeared, or, for our earlier playwrights, need ever be issued. It is my purpose, in several articles to appear in these columns, to discuss many of the plays included in the volumes, with particular consideration of the manner in which they reflect or influence their time, it should be borne in mind, while reading these considerations, that any generalization made indicates but one phase of a complicated culture and whirl of impulses, and might well be faced by an opposite idea, if sufficient search among the plays of the time be made to unearth it. Yet, all the plays presented in the collection indicate tendencies in literature or life that have left lasting imprint, and judgments properly based on them, while perhaps not universal, are nonetheless characteristic of the days out of which the dramas rose.

#### I. To the Revolution

It is to be expected—and it is as expected—that the early colonial drama should show the same dependence on the English as marked the colonies. Society—the comfortable middle class and such aristocracy as the colonies could muster—sent its sons to be educated abroad, followed English fashions, aped its masters. The first theatrical performers in America were traveling players from England; indeed, as many of the colonists were descendants of religious reformers and followers of the severer sects, the playhouse had a continual struggle for existence, and early in the Revolution performances were forbidden by the Colonial Congress. These followers of Cromwell saw no more clearly than the great Commonwealther himself the value of the drama as a social force wherein, as we shall observe, its adherents were the wiser.

In its beginnings, then, our native drama is a by-product of the English theatre, itself then at its lowest ebb. "The Prince of Parthia," by Thomas Godfrey, published in 1765, and performed two years later, is the first printed tragedy written by an American, and one of the two plays written by Americans performed in the

country before the Revolution. Though Godfrey's work was commended by his contemporaries, Benjamin Franklin, for example, subscribing for a dozen copies of the book, the blank verse is stilted and frequently strained in its efforts to be correct, the plot is unrealistically melodramatic, and the mood is stilted Shakespeare. Godfrey must have been steeped especially in "Julius Caesar" and "As You Like It," for while he wins none of the former's fire, none of the latter's charm, he is quite faithful to their external fashioning. Arses rescues one brother much as Orlando does Oliver; he saves another much as Cassius, Caesar; his name is balanced with that of Vardanes as Brutus is held against the triumphant Roman; the phrase, "Ye blocks, ye stones, ye worse than senseless things!" is transfigured into "Ye figure stones! Ye senseless, lifeless, images of men!" This well illustrates the literary level of the Colonial drama that was content to draw its sap from England.

Less parasitic, sturdier growths were fortunately also flourishing. In the year between the printing and the playing of "The Prince of Parthia" appeared "The Indian Problem," an Indian study of "Pontech," by Robert Rogers, who is himself better known for his border exploits and his gallantry as major in the British army during the Revolution. His tragedy, printed in London, is nonetheless a frank exposition of conditions from crown representatives to traders, men, busy betraying the Indian's trust. The rugged sincerity of the Redskins (somewhat idealized, one fears) is shown in contrast to the money-mad whites. The one Indian figure is shown in the action is motivated by no mean purpose, but by the more manly impulse to revenge; of the whites, not one but is ignoble, treacherous; even the seemingly friendly priest proves double-dealing and lascivious. In its indignation "Pontech" strikes a truer note than the other play; it is worthy of note as an early protest against the exploitation of the true owners of the land. The play achieves a measure of rough humor and rugged characterization; less concerned with form, its blank verse is more slipshod, less correct but less strained, farther on the way to the use of prose, as it is farther on the way to life and truth.

### "Beautiful Sabine Women"

By Neighborhood Playhouse

FROM the Neighborhood Playhouse comes the first tentative announcement of plays from which next season's offerings will be selected. Heading the list is "Pinwheel," by Francis Edwards Farago. "The Highway," by Schmidt-Bonn, one of the few remaining German playwrights unknown to America. In the field of lyric drama, there will be presented a version of Algernon Blackwood's "The Touch of Pan" and "The Syren of Syracuse," a ballet mechanism.

Among the revivals will be Andreyev's "The Beautiful Sabine Women," which the Neighborhood group introduced to America in 1919; "The Dybbuk," "The Little Clay Cart" and Sheridan's "The Critic." Among the revivals of lyric productions will be "The Burmese Pwe" and "The Arab Fantasia."

As usual, the season will close with a new "Grand Street Follies" production.

### "A Night in Paris" Opens at 44th St. Theatre Monday

THE Messrs. Shubert will present a new edition of "A Night in Paris"—the second of the series—at the Forty-fourth Street Theatre next Monday night. Although the stage of the Forty-fourth Street Theatre is much larger than that of the Casino de Paris, the original flavor of the Parisian revue is to be retained in the new edition. There are to be new scenes and numbers by Harold Atteridge, Clifford Grey, J. Fred Coots, Maurie Rubens and Sigmund Romberg. The sketches are being staged by Seymour Felix, under the personal direction of J. J. Shubert. The new settings are by Watson Barratt.

All of the favorites of the original revue will be retained. They are Kathryn Ray, Jack Osterman, Jack Pearl, Norma Terris, Barnett Parker, Harry O'Neal, Emily Woolley, Oyra, Katharine Gallimore, the Sparrow, Annie Fritchard, Marietta O'Brien and the Gertrude Hoffmann Girls.

Alexander Gretchaninoff, the Russian composer, will make his American debut in Aeolian Hall on October 17 in a concert devoted entirely to his own compositions, with the assistance of the Russian Symphonic Choir and solo artists.

## THE NEW PLAYS

### MONDAY

"A NIGHT IN PARIS," second edition, will be offered by the Messrs. Shubert Monday night at the 44th Street Theatre. New scenes and material will be introduced.

"AMERICANA," a satirical revue by J. P. McEvoy will be presented by Richard Herndon at the Belmont Theatre Monday night.

RUTH RAPPEL



In the new second edition of "A Night in Paris," which the Shuberts will present at the 44th Street Theatre on Monday night.

### "Americana" Opens at Belmont Monday Night

In presenting J. P. McEvoy's "Americana" at the Belmont Theatre Monday night, Richard Herndon aims to give a unique type of entertainment. As its title implies, "Americana" is a synopsized anthology of satirical sketches exuding tomfoolery; the basic music of America including that of many periods and the exciting rhythms of modern jazz with dancing. Lew Brice, Roy Atwell and Eddie Elkins' Orchestra as chief dispensers of the fun will be assisted by Harlette Burke, Lillian Ring, Arline Gardner, George Ingram, Betty Compton, Sunshine Jarmon, Dorothy Deeder, Peggy O'Neil, Gay Nell, Elizabeth Morgan, Evelyn Bennett, Marion Dale, Tom Burton, Edgar Gardner, Arthur Lipson, Wayne Kohn, M. Charles Palazzi, Louis Lazarin, Tim O'Connor, Jack Kelley, Emily Lorraine, Therese Kelly, Lella McGuire, Joyce Booth and Grace Mead. The score is by Con Conrad and Henry Souvaine, with special music numbers by George Gershwin, James Hanley, Walter Donaldson, Ira Gerahwin, Gus Kahn, Philip Charig, Bud De Sylva, Arthur Schwartz and Theodore Goodwin. The production is staged under the direction of Allan Dinehart. The scenery is by John Held, Jr.

### Sacha Guitry, Noted French Actor, Coming in December

A cable from Paris states that A. H. Woods has engaged the noted French playwright and actor, Sacha Guitry, and his actress wife, Yvonne Prinemps, and a company of sixteen, for an eight weeks' season in New York. The season will open on Dec. 20 with the possibility that the French players will appear also in Philadelphia, Boston and Chicago. The salary of the noted couple is reported at \$25,000 a week. This is the first time that M. Guitry has consented to go to the United States, although several producers have sought to engage him.

It is probable that the Guitrys will be seen here in "Mozart," their biggest success of the past season. The play is now doing big business in London.

### "Hatrack" on Program of Jones and Green

In addition to the eighth annual version of the "Greenwich Village Follies," which will be presented here in November, A. L. Jones and Morris Green announce that they have four comedies and four dramas scheduled for production next season. The first of the comedies will be "They Had to See Paris," a stage adaptation by Owen Davis of Homer Croy's best seller. This will be presented by arrangement with Crosby Gaige. The next will be "A Match for Three," a comedy of native domestic entanglements with a highly farcical twist. "People Don't Do Such Things," the comic romance of a male flirt, is by Lyon Mearson and Edward M. Schoenberg. The fourth will be a dramatization of "The Real Mr. Museum," a short story from the pen of William Johnston.

"The Squall," by Jean Bart, a drama pivoting about the amours of a Spanish gypsy; "Daughters of Music," by Dan Toher, the author of "Wild Birds"; "The Swamp Angel," a melodrama of life along the Louisiana levees by Samuel Shipman and Kenneth Perkins; and a dramatic version of "Hatrack," the Herbert Asbury story which aroused so much discussion when published in the "American Mercury."

A special "Greenwich Village Follies," featuring the veteran minstrels, McIntyre and Heath, will tour the South and West, and the seventh edition, lately seen at the Schubert, will visit Philadelphia, Chicago and the principal cities.

Charles K. Gordon has engaged Jack Hazard for the leading comedy role in "A Regular Girl," the musical comedy by William Carey Duncan. The lyrics are by Irving Caesar and music by Stephen Jones and Harold Orob. Walter Brooks will direct the production, which will open out of town the latter part of August.

### 'The Blonde Sinner' Season Makes False Get-away with Weak Farce at the Cort Theatre

WHAT is described as "a smart farce" with music in three acts by Leon De Costa, "The Blonde Sinner," opened last week under the sponsoring of Musicomedies, Inc., at the Cort Theatre. A stupid book by Edwin Vail, with highly reminiscent musical numbers, go to make up a dismal evening among the first offerings of the new season.

It would be nearly impossible to relate clearly and concisely the plot of this "farce," which appears to have been suggested or translated from a typical French offering of that variety with the usual opening and shutting of doors by wrong people and wrong wives and wrong husbands going into wrong bedrooms with endless and stupid repetition.

Briefly, a newly married couple take a bungalow in the country for the summer and rent out their two spare bedrooms to two couples who happen along without knowing anything about them, so that the audience is assured from the very start that both couples are not "as represented," and the trouble and complications of the play will result from their being in the house.

It is too bad to see as good a musical comedy artist as Marjorie Gatenon wasted in a production of this sort. Her associates are Ralph Bunker, as the young husband; Enid Markey, as his baby-doll simpering wife; Ruth Stevens, a husky-voiced blond, as one of the "wives" that rent a room; Cliff Heckinger, as her husband, and a few others go to make up a cast that must be ashamed to voice some of the stale lines that fall to their lot.

The entire action of the play takes place in the living room of the newly married's cottage on Long Island. A feature of the production, however, is Hugo Frey's Troubadours, with Irwin Abrams conducting.

### English Actors Driven to America

WHAT is wrong with the theatre in England?

The question is prompted by the decision of Mr. Dion Titherage, the actor-manager, to go to America, because he "finds it impossible to make a living in Great Britain."

"America is calling to our stage people," he states, "and this country is losing many of its best."

Questioned by the London Daily Herald recently, Mr. Arthur Bourchier was in entire agreement with Mr. Titherage.

"One of the chief reasons why English actors are being driven to America is the failure of the censorship to function reasonably," he declared.

"Hypocrisy, hysteria and humbug seem to be the keynote of so-called British drama today."

Vulgarity, he explained, was allowed to creep into shows; but when plays with a real purpose were written, such as, for instance, "Damaged Goods," they were promptly banned.

"It needed a commander-in-chief to say that 'Damaged Goods' was good propaganda before it could be produced."

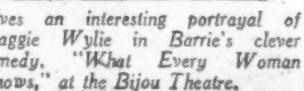
Class distinctions, too, entered into the matter. Mr. Bourchier pointed out that a play which showed the miners, for instance, in an unfavorable light would be passed, but if a duke were ridiculed it would be banned.

"I do not wonder," said Mr. Bourchier, "that many of our stage people are being compelled to migrate to America, where, at any rate, they do get a reasonable amount of freedom."

Agreement with Mr. Titherage's views came, too, from Mr. Basil Dean, the producer, who has recently returned from a visit to Russia and has attested to the healthy state of the theatre there.

"There can be no doubt, unfortunately," he declared, "that our actors and actresses are being driven to the United States. There is more scope in America because there are more first-class theatres and the audiences have a wider appreciation of every kind of play."

HELEN HAYES



Gives an interesting portrayal of Maggie Wylie in Barrie's clever comedy, "What Every Woman Knows," at the Bijou Theatre.

### WINTER GARDEN

Famous Ice-Cooling Plant  
Now in Operation!  
Evenings at 8:30  
Matinees Tues., Thurs. & Sat.

Staged By J. C. Huffman  
The GREAT TEMPTATIONS  
By Harold Atteridge

"Greater success than 'Artists and Models'—last season's Winter Garden record-breaker."

626 TIMES  
IN NEW YORK  
The Comedy Knockout  
IS ZAT SO?  
by James Gleason and Richard Taber  
Chanin's 46th St. Theatre  
Evenings Only at 8:15

### Music and Concerts

STADIUM CONCERTS  
N. Y. PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA  
WILHELM VAN HOOGSTRATEN, Conductor  
LEWISohn STADIUM, 46th Ave. & 130th St.  
Sunday Night at 8:30  
STRAUSS: "EIN HELDENLEBEN"  
Mozart: "HUMPERDINK-BEETHOVEN"  
ARTHUR JUDSON, Manager, Broadway Plaza  
Prices 25c, 50c, \$1.00

### A Dramatist Who Has Something to Say

FIVE European theatrical managers have bought the stage rights to Gerhard Hauptmann's latest play without even reading the script.

Why? Because Hauptmann is a genuine dramatist.

He doesn't write plays to order. He doesn't pander to current susceptibilities of the crowd.

He writes because he has something vital to say—something that he feels deeply and that urges him to write.

No matter what a dramatist like Hauptmann may have to say, it is worth listening to.

His message, of course, will command attention according to what it is.

But it will command attention, just as any play by Shaw, Ibsen, Pirandello, O'Neill or Werfel commands attention.

The success of these plays moreover, is not to be measured by the length of their run when they are first produced, but by the number of years they live in the alcoves of literature and among revival organizations.

### Broadway Briefs

Harold Shubert, who plays Able in "Able's Irish Rose," has been called to his home in Council Bluffs, Ia., because of sickness. During his absence Shubert's role will be played by Anthony Stanford.

Ruth Gillette, singer, has been added to the cast of "The Merry World Revue."

Joseph M. Koehler will present Pauline Feilman's play, "Washington Heights," during the week of August 2.

"Help Wanted—Female," a comedy by Gladys B. Unger, staged by Winchell Smith, was offered at the Playhouse, Mamaroneck, last Thursday evening. The play will be presented at Stamford and Atlantic City prior to its Broadway debut.

Edmond Rostand's immortal drama, "Cyrano de Bergerac," film, which was shown at Moss' Colony last year, will be presented at B. S. Moss' New York theatres Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday.

Horace Liveright will present next season Christopher Marlowe's "All for Love." John Dryden will make the adaptation.

Eddie Cantor will make his debut as a producer this summer. He has acquired the dramatic rights to David Freeman's novel "Mendell Marantz," and will present a dramatization, now being made, on Broadway early in September.

The musical comedy in which Philip Goodman will present Bobby Clark and Paul McCullough will be called "Fly-by-Nights." The piece, which will open in the fall, is by Guy Bolton, Bert Kalmar and Harry Ruby.

George S. Kaufman will dramatize "Nise Baby" from the Milt Gross stories which Crosby Gaige and Jed Harris will present next season. Kaufman will also stage a play for Gaige entitled "The Good Fellow," which was written by Herman J. Mankiewicz. The play is slated to have a summer tryout.

## THEATRES

### HARRIS

W. 42d St. Eves. 8:30  
Mat. Wed. & Sat.  
GEORGE MacFARLANE Presents  
A New Farce

HONEST LIARS  
With  
ROBERT WOOLSEY

### MONDAY NIGHT

at 8:30  
at the  
BELMONT THEATRE  
West Forty-Eighth St.  
RICHARD HERNDON  
will present  
J. P. McEVY'S

"AMERICANA"  
A Novel Revue  
with  
LEW BRICE  
ROY ATWELL  
and  
SCADS OF UNIQUE  
ARTISTS

NEW COOLING PLANT NOW IN OPERATION  
A. H. WOODS presents  
FLORENCE REED  
IN THE  
SHANGHAI GESTURE  
BY JOHN COLTON  
Staged by GUTHRIE MCCLINTIC  
6th Month  
Smibert  
W-44 ST. W-45  
WED. & SAT.

Plymouth Theatre  
West 4th St., Eves. 8:30 Mat. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30  
POPULAR MATINEE THURSDAY  
WINTHROP AMES presents GILBERT & SULLIVAN'S

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

## MUSIC

### Sokoloff to Wield Baton Wednesday at Stadium

NIKOLAI SOKOLOFF



Conductor of the Cleveland Orchestra will lead the Philharmonic players at the Stadium for one week beginning next Wednesday.

### Ethel Leginska to Organize New Boston Symphony Orch.

Refusal of the People's Symphony Orchestra directors to arrange better pay for the musician members, coupled with the popular demand for symphony concerts which necessitates an organization on a more extensive scale, has led to the forming of a new orchestra, to be known as the Boston Philharmonic, with Ethel Leginska, composer and pianist, as permanent conductor.

Miss Leginska has been securing subscriptions with which it was hoped to place the old organization on a sound basis, but when the directors turned a deaf ear to her requests regarding treatment of the members, she severed connection with it.

The new orchestra, the members of which will be drawn from the old one, will have more than 100 musicians.

### Music Notes

Park Commissioner Butler of Queens announced yesterday the following park concerts for July and August.

Forest Park, 8:15 p. m.—July 23, 25, 26, Aug. 4 and Aug. 11.  
Astoria Park, 8:15 p. m.—July 25, Aug. 4 and Aug. 11.  
King Park, 8:15 p. m.—July 25, Aug. 4 and Aug. 11.  
Highland Park, 3:30 p. m.—July 25, 27 (8:15 p. m.) Aug. 1 and Aug. 8.  
Linden Park, 8:15 p. m.—Aug. 4.

Mischa Levitzki, the pianist, will appear at the Sesqui-Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia July 28 in Saint-Saens G minor concerto with the Philadelphia Orchestra under Alexander Smallens.

At a special performance of the Verdi Requiem, to be given in Philadelphia, August 6, as a part of the Sesqui-Centennial celebration, Fred Patton will sing the baritone solo parts.

THE coming week at the Lewisohn Stadium is marked by the temporary farewell of Willem van Hoogstraten and the return of Nikolai Sokoloff as guest conductor of the Stadium Concerts for the week beginning Wednesday night. Mr. van Hoogstraten will take up the baton again during the sixth and eighth weeks of the season. An all-Russian program and an all-Wagner program are scheduled for the first two nights of the Cleveland Orchestra leader's visit. The program of the week:

Sunday: Eine Kleine Nachtmusik, Mozart; Dream Fantasia, Humperdinck; "Egmont" Overture, Beethoven; Ein Heldenleben, Strauss.

Monday: Russian and Ludmilla Overture, Glinka; Sacre du Printemps, Stravinsky; Caucasian Sketches, Rimsky-Korsakov; Tchaikovsky; 1812 Overture, Tchaikovsky.

Tuesday: "Romeo and Juliet" Overture, Tchaikovsky; L'Après Midi d'un Faun, Debussy; Blue Danube Waltz, Strauss; Symphony No. 1, Brahms.

Wednesday: Introduction and March from "Cinq d'Or," Rimsky-Korsakov; Legend, "The Enchanted Lake," Lalo; "Poem of Ecstasy," Scriabin; Symphony No. 2 in E minor, Rachmaninoff.

Thursday: Prelude to Act 1, "Lohegrin," Wagner; Waldweben from "Siegfried," Wagner; Prelude to Act III and Shepherd's Melody from "Tristan and Isolde," Wagner; Magic Fire Scene from "Walkure," Wagner; Overture to "Flying Dutchman," Wagner; Good Friday Spell, Transformation Scene and Glorification from "Parsifal," Wagner; Daybreak and Siegfried's Rhine Journey from "Gotterdammerung," Wagner; "Tannhauser" Overture, Wagner.

Friday: Leonore Overture No. 3, Beethoven; "The Fountains of Rome," Respighi; The Blue Danube Waltz, Strauss; Symphony in D minor, Cesar Franck.

Saturday: Symphony "From the New World," Dvorak; Prelude in C sharp minor, Rachmaninoff; Nocturne and Scherzo from "Midsummer Night's Dream," Mendelssohn; "Victory Ball," Schelling.

### Henri Favier Completes His New Opera "Oletta"

The completion of a new opera, "Oletta," by Henri Favier, composer of "Monna Vanna," has aroused much interest in Paris. The new work will probably have its premiere next season at Nice. The drama is in four scenes and takes place in Corsica during the revolt of the inhabitants in 1759. The action, concerned with a feud between women, is said to be very dramatic.



## THE NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement  
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SATURDAY, JULY 24, 1926

## MAYOR WALKER'S GESTURE

APPROACHED by the striking Interboro workers on Tuesday, Mayor Walker made the committee a speech of sympathy and asked President and General Manager Hedley to attend a conference at which the strikers, the company and the city would be represented. Hedley has declined on the ground that it would be a "betrayal" of the workers he has gathered into his company union. Hedley insists on the strikers returning to his fraudulent organization and sent a letter to his obedient serfs stating that "I am keeping faith with you."

Mayor Walker's responsibility does not end with the refusal of Hedley to meet the strikers in conference. The city is a partner in the subway and Walker represents the city. Hedley represents the other partner, but his refusal should not be accepted as final unless Hedley is conceded to be a czar in this matter. Thus far he has officiated as czar. The other partner has not acted until the strikers went to the City Hall and forced the hand of Walker.

What is the Mayor going to do? Will he accept the decree of Hedley as final and not use the prestige, influence and power of his office to see that the strikers are represented? If not, then Hedley determines the policy of the other partner as well as his own, to say nothing of running the fraudulent union with which he makes "contracts" with himself.

As The New Leader goes to press the Mayor has called a conference, but he has not answered the challenge to his office made by Hedley. Moreover, he has not included the Transit Commission in the list of conferees, but instead has invited the Board of Transportation. The former is a state body headed by a friend of Governor Smith and a big guy in Tammany Hall. It appears that Smith and his friend are thus to avoid responsibility for a big human issue. Probably it would interfere with a budding presidential ambition.

The action of Mayor Walker seems to be a gesture, not the firm action required of an executive who as the representative of the city's interests in the transportation service should let the pompous Hedley know that he is not the great Poo-bah whose word is final.

## OUR STRIKE EXTRAS

WITH the numerous strikes being waged in New York City at this time the necessity for a daily paper representing the working class was never more urgent. In order to partially fill this need The New Leader printed two strike extras last week and will continue to print them and the regular issue each week as long as the situation warrants this service. In doing so The New Leader is living up to its mission of a publication that fights the battles of the organized working class.

With hundreds of thousands of workers organized in the city, the need of daily publicity through a publication of their own in English is obvious. The dailies now in the field can never be satisfactory. This has been demonstrated over and over again. Their ownership, general policy and conservative attitude in everything that relates to working class struggles make them unreliable as a source of information, yet what they print influences millions of people and shapes what is called "public opinion."

The organized workers cannot afford to be forever voiceless in this field of publicity which means so much to them. Not only is a daily necessary to counteract misinformation, but also for the presentation of the claims of the organized workers. At present their only course when a distorted version of their struggles appears in a daily is to answer through the same publication, but generally the answer appears in some position not as conspicuous as the original story and the effect is lost. The damage is done and too often it even influences members of the unions themselves.

It is for these reasons that The New Leader is publishing its strike extras, and we hope that they will have some influence in leading to the publication of a daily some time in the future which will wipe out a weak sector in the labor army.

## VOTING MACHINES

GUMSHOE methods are being used in a mysterious suit to prevent the Board of Estimate, Secretary of State Knapp and the Automatic Registering Machine Company from entering a contract to install voting machines in New York City. It now turns out that the woman who was induced to bring the suit has repudiated the transaction on the grounds that she is not a citizen and that she did not know what she was signing.

ing. Another dummy, it is said, has been substituted who lives in New Jersey, but owns property in New York.

There have been legal obstructions offered to the introduction of voting machines in New York since the law was passed by the State Legislature, and this appears to be the latest move in this strategy. The voting machine has been introduced in many cities throughout the country, but the only machine we have in New York City is Tammany, which counts the votes, casts many for dead men and dogs, and with its bruisers often steals elections and prevents citizens from voting.

We are inclined to think that a complete inside history of how the first dummy was obtained, who is providing the cash and a few other incidentals, would make interesting reading.

## POLICE AND PICKETING

SOME 20,000 garment workers marching in a picket demonstration in the streets of New York was an inspiring exhibit of solidarity. The arrest of some 400 pickets, rushing them with drawn clubs, herding them in doorways and taking them in squads to a police station to be fined, was also a display of Tammany loyalty to the employing class that ought to carry a lesson to union men who have been voting for Tammany candidates.

Of course, the patrolmen are not responsible. The immediate reaction to such incidents is for strikers to resent the part which policemen play in these affairs, but they are not responsible and have no initiative in the matter. They are subject to orders of officials. The patrolman comes from the ranks of the working class and with some exceptions he generally sympathizes with workers battling for better conditions.

This rushing of the pickets and assessing of fines would be unthinkable in a city where the organized workers had used their political power to their own advantage. A police department representing a party controlled by the workers would issue orders to protect the strikers in peaceful demonstrations of their power. Such a department would place a squad of police at the head of the demonstration to lead the way, just as is often done by the present department when other organizations parade in the streets.

President Sigman of the International is justified in declaring the raid on the pickets "brutal provocation." The raid could have led to a panic and riot in which many people would have been injured. Thanks to the discipline of the strikers, this was avoided. Tammany has shown its ugly face in this affair. If the working class voters show their power in November they can wrest the police power from their enemies and make it harmless in strikes next year.

## CORPORATE FEUDALISM

SINCE the beginnings of the capitalist system the tendency has been for the business unit to enlarge and to expand. Today we have giant enterprises representing millions of invested capital. Some of them are masters of an industry, including the raw materials, transportation and marketing, as in the case of the United States Steel Corporation. They have their intimate relations with each other and are linked together by big finance. They are interstate, national, and even international. They are the flowering of the remorseless trend toward concentration of capital and finance.

Our great-grandfathers who protested against charters being granted to railroads, canals and turnpikes, could never dream of these powerful offshoots of American capitalism. They regarded the first chartered corporations with grave concern, and yet they were insignificant compared to the great corporations that overshadow all American life and that even extend to Europe and the remote sections of the world.

A world copper corporation is the next oligarchy to appear on the scene. It is said that something like 90 per cent. of the world's output of copper will be represented in this new organization. Its organizers deny that it is in violation of Federal laws, but whether it is or not makes no difference. All such laws have not blocked the centralization of capital and they never will. Price stabilization and coordination of sales is said to be the object of the new concern.

Certainly. Coordination of sales means the division of the world into market areas for more efficient and less costly exploitation. The corporation means a new sovereignty that will extend its rule over peoples living under various governments. We have many such international sovereignties and copper is merely the latest addition to the list. Governments become their private bureaus to do the will of the generals in charge. Thus capitalism expands over the world and makes it over in its own image.

Either we will socialize these remarkable collective forms of production or they will partition the world among them and make us all their slaves. Socialism vs. corporate feudalism is the fundamental question that faces the workers in all modern nations.

Socialism may be the hope of the world, but if Socialists do nothing more than to hope it will remain a forecast of the future, not a growing reality.

The Monthly Labor Review of the Department of Labor for July carries an article which shows that the productivity of labor has enormously increased in certain industries. In the automobile industry the output was three times as great in 1925 as it was in 1914; in the iron and steel industry during the same period it increased 50 per cent, and in the boot and shoe industry approximately 17 per cent. The workers in these industries may consult their wages and consider who received the increased productivity, the workless owners or the workers who produced it.

## The News of the Week

### Farmers Meet To Plan Relief

While the farmers of the West are meeting in Des Moines, Iowa, to consider their economic distress and the failure of Congress to do anything for agriculture some Republican leaders have gone to the mountains to soothe Coolidge and to assure him that the farmers really love him as of old. The Iowa conference claims to represent 1,000,000 farmers. They declare that present tendencies in agriculture if unchecked will reduce the farmer to the position of European peasantry. Meantime the chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee broadcasts a statement from Washington that the Democrats share with the Republicans any failure of Congress to satisfy the tillers of the soil. This was in answer to the charge of Congressman Oldfield of Arkansas that the Republicans were the sole sinners. The Iowa conference has agreed to fix \$1.42 as the cost of producing a bushel of corn which would net the farmer \$1,500 yearly wages and \$600 for a commercial motor vehicle. The conference administered a slap to Secretary of the Treasury Mellon for his letter regarding the problems of the farmers and it proposes an alliance with the farmers of the Democratic South. To this end it is proposed to arrange a number of meetings this year in the border States where farmers of the North and South may consider common action for relief which will include a drive on the State Legislatures. The restless farmers have been skinned to the bone in the past few years and their activities may be an important factor in the fall elections but they do not seem to be able to formulate any comprehensive program to outwit their exploiters. Meantime it must be admitted that the workers of the cities are asleep except for a few "leaders" who are serving capitalist party machine while the great masters of America plunder Europe and tighten their grip upon American life. This cannot last forever and it is only a question of time when the great masses will stir.

### Mexican Clerics Plan Boycott

Catholics of Mexico have announced the organization of a National League for the Defense of Religious Liberty and a general boycott program in the hope of compelling the government to abandon its church legislation. The organization declares that "these energetic proceedings American debt settlement had re-

### British Blame Our Statesmen

The long pent up feeling in British official circles against the policy of the United States in the matter of war debts burst all bounds this week in the British Parliament. Frank criticism was made of the alleged "ideals" of our bourgeois statesmen. The United States is regarded as a Shylock that demands his last pound of flesh. It was the late Woodrow Wilson who sold our "moral exaltation" to the Allies and the latter are now complaining because it has been proven bogus. However, they also indulged in some "moral exaltation" when they assured the world that they were not fighting for real estate and then grabbed all that they could at the end of the war. They are also much concerned over the grave economic and financial condition of France but that country is also paying the penalty of the Poincare regime following the end of the war. Philip Snowden, former Labor Chancellor of the Exchequer, also contended that the Anglo-American debt settlement had re-

should not cause scruples nor fear, because it is a life and death battle being waged against the Catholic Church in Mexico." If we go back to the days when Connecticut, Massachusetts and Virginia were disestablishing Church and State we will come across similar pronouncements and Mexico is simply repeating this history. It is an old story and typical of the history of many countries, also typical of the Protestant Church where it has enjoyed a position of special advantage under State laws. In Mexico the younger generation has been weaned from the church of the revolution, the young men and women giving their time and energies to the labor movement. Under the old despotic rule of Diaz the church was favored but the frightful poverty and exploitation of the workers, the savage repression of strikes and terrorism of all modern ideas, led to an upheaval in which the church as well as the ruling classes suffered. The unsavory alliance of Church and State remained as an unforgotten episode of the suffering of the masses so that the great majority today accept the legislation of the Mexican Government. The minority of old people who are left to carry on a boycott merely provides a marked contrast with a former powerful institution that must now rely on the voluntary support of a few of the faithful.

### France Shifts Cabinets Again

Another Cabinet shift in France and a further fall in the exchange value of the franc, have brought Edouard Herriot back as Premier for a few brief hours. M. Briand and M. Caillaux, his Minister of Finance, quit when the Chamber of Deputies, by a vote of 288 to 243, refused to give the Government the dictatorial fiscal powers that M. Caillaux insisted were necessary for the "salvation of the franc." The bourgeois idea of saving the franc, as expounded by M. Caillaux, apparently consists in pegging it at a certain comparatively low figure, with the aid of foreign credits and a balancing of the national budget through economies and a few more taxes. The Socialist plan, which appears practical, calls for a capital levy upon those able to pay and bans the printing of more paper money. Then the budget is to be balanced and the nation's finances put in order by eliminating useless expenditures, largely military, and raising revenue by taxes bearing most heavily upon war and post-war profiteers. Incidentally, the Briand-Caillaux program insists upon the acceptance by France of the Berenger-Mellon debt settlement, as preliminary to an American private loan, while the Socialists and Herriot Socialists demand a safety transfer clause in the debt agreement and want no loan. The Socialists refused places in the new Cabinet, but they promised support if their suggestions were followed. The Socialists want to save the franc, too, for they know that its wiping out would hit the workers and small tradesmen hard, while the big capitalists are already so well prepared that they would lose. But nothing basic is likely to be done until there are new elections. Poincare now succeeds Herriot. What follows him is in the lap of the gods.

## Critical Cruisings

By V. F. Calverton

### The Rewards of Valor

THE World War betrayed the instability of capitalist civilization. It has changed men's attitudes toward society, toward peace and victory, toward dogma and illusion. As a study in economic conflict, a revelation in human psychology both individual and social, no single experience in the history of modern man has been so astoundingly illuminating and ominous.

That a World War, or any war, would be an economic cataclysm had been pointed out by Norman Angell before the war occurred and before Fitzgerald had declared that "the victor belongs to the spoils." That all modern wars have economic causes had been argued and maintained by socialist thinkers for several generations. The entirety of modern research in reference to the past war has confirmed these two conclusions.

When in 1920 Philip Gibbs let fall his sentimental bomb-shell, Now It Can Be Told, the American public was reluctantly prepared for the disclosures of war chicanery that were to speedily follow. With The Decadence of Europe, two years later, where Nitti claimed that the French:

"In order to occupy a small portion of German territory, more paper marks were spent in the 22 months of the first period of occupation than Germany had spent on her army and navy in the four years in which her military policy was reaching its greatest development."

The Gallic myth of purity and perfection had already begun to disperse and scatter. Ewart in his memorable Roots and Causes of the Wars had shattered the naive rationalizations of the Entente, and Kenneth Turner in Shall It Be Again? punctured and disposed of the American issue and the Wilsonian megalomania.

When Count Montgelas' book appeared in English under the title of The Case for the Central Powers, it met with the righteous scorn of the holy, who from their Osean peaks of ignorance categorized everything that came from German pens as pernicious propaganda. I can still recall Hopkins professors, in the departments of philosophy and psychology, justifying the war at the time as a social necessity—the savage Hun must be conquered! Today, however, with the work of the Revisionist school, led in America by Fay and Barnes, the conclusions of Montgelas in large part have been substantiated.

Harry Elmer Barnes' recent book The Genesis of the World War, is a stimulating and striking contribution to this literature. In this volume Mr. Barnes has summarized the work of the Revisionist school and simultaneously intruded a series of conclusions of his own that are not without weight and cogency. Written with fire and fervor the book takes on the character of a polemic despite its sound logic and scientific substance.

In the maze of diplomatic intrigue Mr. Barnes disports himself like a magician. His command of his material is distinctly impressive. His arguments are invariably derived from fact and not fiction, from comparison of evidence and not concoction of prejudice. Due to the revolutions in Germany and Russia and the dissolution of the Hapsburg Empire, archival material became accessible that, at the conclusion of other wars, had been hidden from the scrutiny of journalist and scholar. From these esoteric documents the actual development of war attitudes, war decisions, and war machinations have been so disentangled that at last we are able to patch them into a mosaic of historical significance. In the light of these documents we discover that Izvolski, the Russian ambassador in Paris, used Russian funds to have the bellicose Poincare elected president of France, that Russian gold was distributed in Serbia to abet the Serbian conspirators who assassinated the Austrian arch-duke which act created the Balkan difficulty that led to the war. Instead of a belligerent, boastful Germany plotting at Potsdam the conquest of the world, we find a Germany avid for peace, and an Entente eager for war. In place of a frustrate Serbia, defenseless and suppliant of protection, we discover a Serbia linked with the entente, alert for conflict and desperate for expansion. France, with Poincare as its spokesman, becomes a conniving ogre. Helping to draft the Serbian reply to Austria, encouraging Russia to secrecy of mobilization, the first country "officially" to announce her determination upon war, France's plea of innocence is turned into a farce of fantastic dimensions. England's claim that the violation of Belgium drove her into the fray is also exposed as pure evasion. The part of America is not smoothed over either with mossy leaves of phrase, although the description and dissection in this part of the book are much weaker than in the preceding chapters. Not that Barnes has made too much of his case, as several conservative critics have suggested, but that he has not made enough of it. In this aspect, Kenneth Turner's work is more sufficient and satisfying, more penetrating and significant.

The weakness of the book is in its inevitable tendency to stress the individual instead of the society, to stress the specific instead of the general. It is true, the author warns us in his preface that he is fully aware of the social background of individual action, but there seems implicit through all that he has written the belief that individual caprice precipitated it if it did not cause the actual outbreak of the war. After all, the Izvolskis, Sazonovs, Poincares and Greys are products of a system

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## THE CHATTER BOX

SOME day that most excellent of honorable institutions, the United Hebrew Charities, is going to pause long enough in its monthly ten million-dollar drives to investigate its own activities. For years we have been heretical enough as a Socialist to subscribe modestly to each drive, in the faint hope that some of the cosmic pain of the cosmic poor might be alleviated, if only for a frail moment. We are determined never to subscribe again.

The bone of charity is marrowless. This we have always known. By the time the scurvy-ridden beasts and cubs get it to chew upon, all the meat and succulence have been stripped and sucked out by the armies of administrators, publicity men, and solicitors. Millions are collected under the hue and banner of a divine inspiration. And only percentages of these vast sums eventually are enjoyed by the poverty-stricken. And no matter how vehemently the amug salaried officials of these charity trusts may deny it, the truth remains that all private charity is a most inhuman swindle.

Hospitals rise upon foundations of public trust and hope. Huge sums are subscribed by huge plunderers, and many small sums are extracted from the innumerable plundered. Eventually, the hospital, like Mt. Sinai, becomes a splendid institution of repute and deed, in which a comparatively few public beds are allowed to keep the peace with a pose, and the most part of its equipment and efforts are directed toward keeping a fat fee-paying part of our lower plutocracy from danger. When one talks of putting up at Mt. Sinai these days, he does so with the gesture of him who talks of stopping at the Commodore. And yet, the crusaders of charity built it up and still make a pretense of maintaining it.

It is in the smaller and more rickety annexes of this Charity Combine, however, that all the basic diseases of maldistribution break out in surface sores. They are not sweet to look upon. The same United Charities acts as a sort of foster parent to a large number of institutions that have been founded by some individual's largesse, or by a philanthropic group in the dear old dollar days, when three dollars a week was a gracious remuneration for a learner in a shop. The purposes of these places range everywhere from old maids' retreats to convalescent homes for ghetto children. Into almost everyone of them there has grown up a cancerous group of officials and attendants whose salaries and keep have kept pace with the inflation of the currency, but who manage in some necromantic way to keep the actual cost of keeping the inmates and recipients of charity down to a pre-war depth.

It has been our distressing experience to witness first hand how some of the money we have guilelessly subscribed was misapplied in the name of "scrupled and iced charity." Hard by the beaches of Rockaway stands a placeless home for poor children. Outwardly the place is inviting enough. The white sands and the green cloth of the sea make a pleasant color scheme. The brown shingled edifice of broad windows and wide pavilions gives out the breath of health under the laughing sun. Inside there are spacious rooms for the superintendent, the staff and the general help. Comfort and security breathe from every well furnished nook. In a large oblong chamber stand rows of some thirty narrow cots. These are for the two and half dozen negligible reasons why a quarter of a million dollars are spent annually between private donors and the United Hebrew Charities. Almost ten thousand dollars per inmate annually. Of course, the statistician will immediately dish up figures showing that fully five hundred children spent an average of two weeks or some such enumeration... but all of which does not take away from the fact that on the basis of annual computation thousands of dollars are wasted in some unexplained manner from which the charity guest gets no benefit. A look at the dinner table convinces us that it certainly is not spent there. Judging from the faces of the sick boys and girls, the viands spread before their famished bodies are none the too alluring. Canned goods predominate. Fresh eggs are strangely absent. The cook and dietician seem to be experts in economy meals whose menus might well appear in a newspaper.

column that pretends to advise a twenty-dollar-a-week family how to eat and be happy.

The officials seem to be quite well fed. From what we understand they are not as practical in the synthetic selection of proteins and calories at their own meals. A newly hired and consequently more conscientious attendant confessed to us that she had gotten herself in wrong by merely suggesting that the children would certainly show no improvement unless fresh eggs and unskimmed milk were added to their fare. We understand she was fired before the end of her first month at the institution. Our own observation was that the charity officials rightfully believed in the divine efficacy of the sunshine and ocean to rebuild the wasted bodies of slug children, and so why waste money on expensive foods like eggs and milk? Every now and then we also understand, a retired merchant called to visit the scene of his conscience-easing, and donated twenty dollars for cake and ice cream. When that was done, the head worker announced the donation and its donor to the hungry kids, and grace or some such sort of ceremony was given, with due emphasis on the name and memory of the donor. Sometimes we really wonder if the days of Oliver Twist are as dim as we want to believe them to be. Somehow or other, we cannot help hearing even in these days of prosperity, the weak queries of a million Olivers, empty porridge bowl in hand, pitifully pleading before the cold doors of charitable institutions—that they "want some more."

### In the Wind

Whirled up in phantom forms of misty grey,  
Are fallen, fragile leaves and restless dust;  
How much like human life this earthly crust  
And petals ere the wind has made to play.  
How sudden and uncertain is its sway—  
So flustered and imbued with sprightly lust;  
As wind propels so must the spectral gust  
Go will-less where the whims of passion stray.

O mortal dust that's stirred with life, I hold  
You too so lack the privilege to choose  
The course you like—your destiny to mold,  
As buffeted by winds of chance you cruise  
The fickle sea to ports of fate untold—  
To find a lasting peace when wind subsides.

—Joseph Resnick.

### In a Madhouse

They were not introduced; they met by glance.  
Both were invited to that strange affair,  
She by the nurse, he by the doctor there.  
And both were very happy at the chance  
To see those insane patients at their dance.  
And strange! They looked like people anywhere.  
"Some do look sane," they told them, "but beware,  
Don't judge a patient by his countenance."

They did not miss a dance. They were in fear  
Of speaking to each other till they parted.  
Both had one wish: forever to remain,  
Though silent, so felicitously near.  
Yet each went home alone and broken hearted;  
For each one thought the other one insane.

—Israel Newman.

These weeks are full of rare wonder for us. While sojourning in the city we wonder how the cliff dwellers manage to keep going and coming in the enervating heat waves. While week-ending in the boarding country we marvel greatly how the guests perform such gastronomic stunts with the three stultifying meals handed to them at four hour intervals. Really the endurance of humanity is wonderful. And yet, we who have survived fourteen Socialist campaigns, three party splits, and weeks, yes months, of rush hour subway journeys, should be beyond wonder altogether. And yet we even halt at this typewriter for a spell to wonder if you, dear readers, think about or read the things we say here. Ah, shucks, it's too darned sticky and hot to bother much about anything.

S. A. de Witt.