

"The cause of the British mine strikers is our cause. It is a challenge to the World Movement of Down, Down, Down with the Standard of Living. I urge every trade unionist to give all assistance to the British miners. I want them to give until it hurts, to give cheerfully and generously.—President William Green of the American Federation of Labor to the British Miners Relief Delegation, August 7 in Washington.

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

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## A. F. OF L. ORDERS PROBE OF N. Y. FUR STRIKE

Manager Refuses Data  
to Committee, Demands  
He Name Investigators

By Norman Thomas

IN the present Mexican struggle Socialists, I suspect, pretty generally back Calles against the Church. We must not, however, forget in our contemplation of the sins of the Church, past and present, that the State also has its own sins to answer for. Not much has ever been gained by setting up the absolute authority of the State against the absolute authority of the Church. State idolatry is one of the worst of religions.

Now, these general observations aren't meant to apply particularly to Mexico. The Mexican quarrel, however, is a good occasion to review our attitude to Church and State. We Americans sometimes think we have settled the problem by talking glibly of "religious liberty" and "the separation of Church and State." Yes, but does religious liberty mean the right to be an absolutist conscientious objector? Americans did not think so in the World War. Does the separation of Church and State mean that the Church must keep silence on questions of social ethics? The Church which agrees to such silence will die of spiritual dry rot.

No, there is no infallible, fool-proof formula. At times we may back State and at times Church, but the object will be the maximum of that difficult, but not impossible, combination—social well-being and individual freedom of conscience. A few guiding principles we may set down:

Neither Church nor State should formally control one the other.

There should be no established church, and no religious tests for voting or office holding.

There should be no parties formed on sectarian lines, Protestant, Jewish, Catholic, Agnostic, or what not.

Church associations of free thinkers should be free to express their opinions on questions of social ethics.

These principles were certainly violated in spirit by Bishop Leonard in his advice to voters as Methodists not to vote for Al Smith because he is a Papist, or Wadsworth because he is a wet.

Yet it is a bit amusing to hear our Catholic friends rebuke the Methodist brother or denounce Calles (as the Knights of Columbus have done) on the score of belief in freedom of conscience and religious liberty. It sounds rather like Communist discourse on the same theme. Logically, Catholics, even less than Communists, can accept a real faith in freedom of conscience. That fact successive Popes have made plain. So good a man as Father Ryan has written a whole book to try to explain away the force of certain notable Papal utterances. And the most interesting thing is the admissions he has to make in the face of such a document as Leo XIII's encyclical "Immortale Dei."

It is good that our cautious President will not even receive a committee of the Knights of Columbus to urge intervention in Mexico on religious grounds. We wish he would not even receive committees of bankers and oil men who want intervention to collect their debts. Petroleum is at least as bad a reason as piety for our meddling in Mexican affairs. And the combination is terrible.

Clemenceau's extraordinary letter to President Coolidge will only seem just and fair to those who accept certain assumptions. If Germany were solely guilty of war, if German imperialism alone were black while all the rest were white, if the United States had ever had a stake in the war like that of France, if the peace of Versailles—Clemenceau's peace—were a good peace, if by it the United States had taken colonies and reparations from Germany, if we were consciously seeking now to put France in pawn, then the old Tiger might be right in his statements. But all these assumptions are contrary to fact. Clemenceau himself would admit, if he were honest, that his wrath against us is not merely on account of the debt, but because of our failure to use our strength after the war, as we had during the war, to put solid foundations under his towering dreams of French dominance in Europe.

And yet, wrong-headed as is M. Clemenceau's argument, it represents a point of view in Europe that is dangerous to our well-being. For that point of view our own talk during the World War is partly responsible. Better a thousand times forgive the debt than keep alive hatred and suspicion. (Continued on page 3)

## John Brophy Candidate For Intern'l President United Mine Workers

Appeals from Organization  
Lead Pennsylvanian to Enter Race  
in December Election

CLEARFIELD, Pa.—John Brophy, president of the Central Pennsylvania Miners, is a candidate for the office of international president of the Mine Workers of America, the post that John L. Lewis has held since 1919.

The announcement of his candidacy from the headquarters of District No. 2 in Clearfield gives the two leading issues of his campaign.

The first is, Organization, save the union by winning back the great coal fields the U. M. W. of A. have lost in the last few years. The second is, Nationalization—public ownership of the coal industry—a program the union is formally committed to by its international conventions.

Appeals from many parts of the organization brought the decision to go before the union's voters in the December election, say Brophy's friends and supporters.

Brophy States Principles

His own statement follows: "I pledge myself to a national campaign to win back the non-union coal fields when I am elected," said Brophy. "The United Mine Workers' Union is imperiled unless it organizes the unorganized. In the last few years the union has suffered disastrous losses. It has lost nearly all of the Southern territory and part of the Northern fields. These areas cannot be won back by a policy of local or district strikes only. The local strike is often crushed by coal from the outside, frequently from mines owned by the same operator the union is fighting. There must be a well-planned national movement that will enlist every possible support from the rest of the labor movement.

"Conditions in the non-union fields have passed from bad to worse. The gunman, the 'spotter,' the high-priced company store, the injunction, and the cheating weigh boss all go together. The men now outside our organization are helpless without us, and we are (Continued on page 3)

Out for Miner's Presidency



JOHN BROPHY

## PORTERS VOTING ON UNION

Case Will Go to Rail  
Labor Board When  
Referendum Is Completed

IT is announced at the headquarters of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters that upon the advice of Frank P. Walsh, Donald Richberg and C. Francis Stradford, attorneys for the Brotherhood, a nationwide referendum vote has been instituted as the preliminary to their presentation of the Union's demands before the new Railroad Mediation Board.

The referendum is a carefully drawn ballot in which 12 definite questions are asked. If the porters and maids answer in the affirmative the next step of the Brotherhood will be to call for a conference with the Pullman Company. In the event of refusal, an expert statement will be filed with the Mediation Board.

Some of the questions the porters and maids must answer are: Do you want the payment of a living wage and better working conditions? Do you want pay for preparatory time, terminal time, delays and doubling? Do you want a simplified time sheet? Do you want the plan of Employee Representation of the Pullman Company or the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters?

The fourth question asked is causing a great deal of favorable comment among the porters and maids. This question deals with the matter of "Back Pay." It is claimed by the organizers of the Union that if permitted to go into this matter, some very interesting things dating back for several years will be uncovered.

Miners Blown Like Leaves  
SCRANTON, Pa.—Twenty-five miners were tossed in the Pyne mine of the Glen Alden Coal Company at Taylor like leaves when the fall of thousands of tons of rock sent a terrific current of air through the tunnels. Mine cars were blown off the tracks and electric wires torn from the posts. Some men were buried 50 feet. The men narrowly escaped death. All were bruised.

## 77 CLOAK FIRMS SIGN WITH UNION

Sigman Denounces Attempt of Industrial Council to Mislead Workers

SETTLEMENTS made by the settlement committee of the Cloak-makers' Union with the independent manufacturers make the total 72 since the beginning of the strike July 1st.

An intensive drive to close non-union shops operating in Brooklyn was begun when 150 members of the general picket committee were diverted to that borough for picketing. The first shop to succumb under the new effort was the Cucci Cloak Company, 70 Jackson street, Greenpoint, which closed its doors today.

Eleven union pickets were arrested in Manhattan, seven of them being promptly freed by Magistrate Dreyer in Jefferson Market Court. The four others, arrested on disorderly conduct charges late in the afternoon, were freed on bail.

When shown an advertisement appearing in the press, inserted by the industrial council of the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers, Inc., containing an appeal to the cloak strikers to give up the strike and return to the shops, promising them ample protection in and out of the shops, and charging the union with obstructing the path to reforms, Morris Sigman, president of the International Union, expressed confidence that the cloak-makers would not be misled by the advertisements of the "inside" manufacturers and will remain on strike until their demands are granted.

"The industrial council," Mr. Sigman declared, "is obviously misrepresenting facts when it charges the union with blocking the road to constructive reforms. It must be kept in mind that it was the union which invited the industrial council, before the strike was called, to confer with it on the workers' demands, and that it was the council which refused to consider these demands, and brought about the deadlock and a strike. The industrial council refused at that conference even to (Continued on page 3)

## Cloak Strikers Weep At Plight of Miners

The unusual spectacle of 1,500 "hard-boiled" cloak cutters weeping unashamedly at a strike mass meeting in Arlington Hall, 19 St. Marks Place, was presented when Ben Tillett, 66-year-old veteran of British labor struggles, presented the case for 1,000,000 locked-out British miners. Tillett, himself, who is heading a mission to raise funds, broke down at one point and stopped for a few moments before he was able to continue.

"I tell you the British Government did not want us to come here to tell you what great rogues they were, what great thieves they were," Tillett declared passionately. "For we have an aristocracy more cold, more brutal than even you experienced strikers are able to imagine. I am an old man and often want to ease up, but when I think of the 2,000,000 children of British miners starving before our eyes, I hold up and refresh myself.

Isidor Nagler, chairman of the cutters' meeting, assured Tillett, with great emotion, that the cloak makers, though on strike themselves, will contribute to the fullest degree to the desperate cause of the British miners.

## BAKERY UNION CONVENTION MEETS

130 Locals Are Represented  
at Sessions  
Opening in New York

By Laborite

THE convening of the nineteenth convention of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America brought this week to New York city, the place of meeting, 150-odd delegates from about 130 locals in the United States and Canada. During the first few days the convention contented itself with the customary speeches and the appointment of committees. Only a little rumormongering about the kind of union label that would be recognized on the garments of the delegates as a part of their credentials disturbed the proceedings. It was finally settled that the label of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers would be accepted on a par with that of the A. F. of L. union, the United Garment Workers.

Outside of the formal meetings, however, there were important developments. The chief problem involved the proposal of the Joint Board of the eleven bakers' locals in New York city to bring into the International the independent organization known as the Amalgamated Food Workers. A communication from the General Executive Board of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers was addressed to the Amalgamated, even before the formal opening of the convention, inviting the independents to appear before the board. The Food Workers accepted this invitation and sent up a committee, consisting of their general secretary-treasurer, August Burkhardt, and their editor, Charles Klehn, who met with the G. E. B. on Tuesday evening, August 10, 1926. No public announcement has been made as to what transpired. Negotiations will be continued.

Behind these moves for unity is an interesting history. Back in 1913 three New York city locals of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers broke off relations with the parent body. The causes were manifold. There was internal politics partly to blame. These unions were anti-administration. There was dissatisfaction over limited local autonomy. There was, above all, the ever-present jurisdictional dispute among the bakers. Bread and its allied products, we often forget, are racial or national in character. In New York city, for example, there are two classes the Gentile, or American, and the Jewish. The three disturbing locals had jurisdiction over the former variety, but they at times insisted upon claiming shops where the Jewish product was made, especially when there had been a change of ownership from Gentile to Jewish, with the consequent introduction of "Hebrew" bread.

Now, the contention arose from the fact that the Jewish bakers received higher wages because of the extra skill required in their work. The bread they made contained such proportions of different flours and demanded such (Continued on page 3)

## AMERICAN LABOR PLEDGES AID TO BRITISH

Green Aids Mine Relief  
Delegation Plan Its  
Work Here

WASHINGTON.—Planning the details of their campaign in American industrial centers to raise a fund of millions of dollars to win the great strike of British coal miners by defeating famine in the homes of the strikers, the British labor delegation completed on August 9 its conferences with President Green and Secretary Morrison, of the American Federation of Labor.

Then they scattered, to carry their appeal for aid to the officers of the various international unions, and to central labor bodies and to the miners in the coal fields.

Joseph Jones, of the Yorkshire miners, will canvass the Boston district. Miss Ellen Wilkinson, M. P., secretary of the Women's Relief Committee for the strikers, will be assigned to New York and vicinity. Oliver Harris, of the South Wales Miners' Federation, will have Philadelphia and the anthracite field. Ben Tillett will cover the Pittsburgh area. Paul McKenna, of the Scottish Miners' Federation, will go to Chicago, and may also visit Milwaukee and the Twin Cities. James Robson, of the Durham miners, will be responsible for the St. Louis district.

Tillett will probably visit Cleveland to see the executives of the railroad brotherhoods, and he may also go to Indianapolis, where are the headquarters of the Mine Workers, the Carpenters, the Typographical and other important unions.

In planning this campaign for immediate funds, the visitors had the expert advice and active help of President Green, who has issued a circular instruction to A. F. of L. representatives to do all in their power to help the British delegates in getting before labor organizations the facts as to starvation of 2,000,000 women and children of the striking miners' households.

"It is a case of winning by fighting off starvation, which is the weapon of the mine owners and their allies, the government and the Tory party," said Harris, of the South Wales miners, to the Federated Press. "Our people have shown a heroism thus far that proves they cannot be defeated so long as they can live. But they must have food if they are to live. If we do not get money to buy food, the mine owners may be able soon or late to crush the strike.

"We are sure that American help, given now, will enable us to hold on until we win. Already the cost of maintenance of the idle mines is a worry to the bankers, who have been advancing money to the mine owners. This cost of maintenance is mounting up, and the owners cannot stand it forever. We will fight as long as we can get food from anywhere."

President Green is anxious that trade union officials throughout the east and middle west, where the British speakers will make their appeal, shall render all assistance they can, to enable them to make the most (Continued on page 3)

## NEW YORK YIPSELS PLAN RELIEF DRIVE FOR BRITISH MINERS

Two hundred young Socialists with armbands marked "Help the British Striking Miners," with red roses and collection boxes, two hundred boys and girls of the Young People's Socialist League will be busily engaged on Saturday and Sunday, August 14 and 15, collecting funds for the striking coal miners of Great Britain. This drive and flower sale is one more expression of several movements now on foot in this country to aid our British comrades in their bitter struggle against reduced wages and longer hours.

Every working class section of this city, also Camps Tamiment, Genaden, Utopia, Milan and Unity House, will be visited by our Yipsele Committee and all Socialists, Trade Unionists and sympathizers are urged to help and contribute liberally.

Any boy or girl who would like to help in this collection of funds should report to the City Office of the Young People's Socialist League, Room 505, 7 East 15th street, New York City.



## STEEL EMPIRE FLAUNTS AT SESQUI

**Bethlehem Company  
Finds Way to Exhibit  
at Independence Ex-  
hibition**

By Art Shields

PHILADELPHIA.—The far-flung power of the Bethlehem steel interests—ranking second only to U. S. Steel—is advertised in the corporation's exhibit at the Sesqui-centennial Exposition. Its coal and iron mines and limestone quarries, its steel mills and shipyards and its sales offices are displayed with pins and bright colored labels on a huge map of the United States and the Caribbean Sea set against the wall.

An empire of steel, from raw materials to end products. A study of the map shows how difficult a fight faces the labor organization that seeks to unionize its workers.

The corporation's widely distributed coal mines illustrate this point. There are big Bethlehem mine centers in the central Pennsylvania coal fields, others in western Pennsylvania, and still more important ones in northern West Virginia, with a few additional mines in the southern part of that state—all sending daily to the company's steel mills a gigantic total of 850 coal cars of 50 tons each. A coal strike against Bethlehem cannot be highly effective unless it hits all these fields.

The labor history of the last few years shows how Schwab's organization has played off the workers in one field against another. The great strike of 1922 shut down most of the Bethlehem pits, but at the end of the national struggle the company shrewdly signed up contracts only in the western Pennsylvania and northern West Virginia fields, while the rest of its mines remained non-union and such local strikes as continued were gradually strangled out. Then in 1924 Bethlehem repudiated the Jacksonville agreement in its union fields and the United Mine Workers countered with a strike. But the strike was directed only against the former union contract mines and the other coal properties continued to produce. Under these conditions the strike was eventually broken in northern West Virginia, but it is still continuing in the western Pennsylvania towns, where steel wire fencing, searchlights and gunmen give an intense class war coloring to the landscape.

Local or regional strikes on the company's iron mines would experience similar difficulties. Though the bulk of the company's ore tonnage comes from 14 subsidiary concerns in the parallel producing fields of Minnesota, Wisconsin and upper Michigan, there are three other ore subsidiaries in other parts of the country and very important ore properties in Latin America. Robert W. Dunn's American Foreign Investments lists Bethlehem's Cuban mines with an annual capacity of 950,000 tons; its Chilean mines have the capacity of another million and are equipped with their own railroad and harbors. And the company has several big Diesel propelled freighters on the ore run to the United States ports. More ore properties are in Mexico, though their development is limited.

Limestone quarries are listed at nine Pennsylvania points. Coal, iron ore and limestone, the three main raw materials of steel, are all produced in the company's own mines and quarries, and chrome, an important steel alloy, comes from its own mines in Cuba.

Its steel plants and its shipyards cover wide territory also. A steel strike in the great Bethlehem plant alone would leave untouched the plants at Steelton, Lebanon, Reading, Johnstown and Coatsville, all in Pennsylvania; at Lackawanna, New York and at Sparrows Point and Baltimore, Md., all sharply designated with the pins and colored labels at the exposition map. The drydocks and shipyards that make Bethlehem the greatest potential shipbuilder in the world are at Quincy, Mass.; Boston; Elizabeth, N. J.; Wilmington, Del.; Sparrows Point and Baltimore, Md.; San Francisco, where there are two plants, and Alameda and San Pedro, California.

And actually the power of Bethlehem is even greater than the map and convenient references would indicate. For interlocking of directorates and stock ownership and banking connections bring still further reinforcements for the struggles of the future.

## Illinois State Federation Meets at Streator Sept. 13

STREATOR, Ill.—The 44th annual convention Illinois State Federation of Labor opens at Streator Sept. 13. The sessions will come in the thick of the senatorial fight between Frank L. Smith and George Brennan. The federation endorsed Smith for the Republican nomination against Senator McKinley, but revelations by the senatorial slush fund committee that almost all of Smith's campaign cash came from essentially open shop utility magnates may alter labor's political complexion.

**Safety Lost in Gary Mills**  
GARY, Ind.—The fate of Francisco Calderon, crushed to death by a fall of ore, once more calls attention to inadequate safety precautions in the mills of the Illinois Steel Corporation. When a jam occurred in the ore chutes, Calderon went to investigate, but a touch of his shovel brought the whole load down on him, burying him completely. Calderon was a 23-year-old Mexican, the sole support of his parents and four younger brothers.

## Stalin Raps Zinoviev For Alienating Support Of World Socialists

By Joseph Stalin

(Here are the concluding remarks of an address made by Stalin at the historic meeting of the Central Committee of Russian Communist Party July 22 which resulted in the ousting of Zinoviev)

IN ADDITION to our, at times, almost insurmountable difficulties in directing the affairs of Soviet Russia, our efforts are constantly thwarted by opposition theorists; theorists who take the time of our conferences with destructive criticism, but no remedy; theorists who have great programs on paper, but illusory; critics who are constantly pointing out past mistakes, but never giving us credit for the work accomplished.

These persons not only tend to divide the party unity, but take their criticism to the outside world. The next morning the capitalist press rings with the "news" that there is dissension in the Soviet ranks.

These people are annoying. They retard our successful functioning, but they are not as menacing as the leader of that infinitesimal element of our party councils (pointing his finger at Zinoviev), whose ceaseless utterances are broadcast as representing Soviet Russia's frame of mind.

That person (again pointing at Zinoviev), through his unguarded idiotic utterances has brought about a situation making it impossible for our Foreign Bureau to come to any measure of agreement or understanding with the outside world, without whose credit and manufactured goods Russia cannot exist much longer.

Capitalizing his early association with our beloved leader he has kept the world public opinion in constant and perpetual fear of Russia. He alone is responsible for the failure of a treaty with England. His idiotic acts and talks have alienated even the sympathies of those in America against what they have termed "world revolution."

Enough of that talk! Enough of that idiotic slogan! Enough of that senseless letter writing to every idiot in foreign countries who picture himself as a man who can lead millions to a rebellion against capitalism!

That person (still pointing his finger at Zinoviev) has alienated the sympathy of even every Socialist against us throughout the world.

He has made our regime an anathema to English Socialism. He has made us the laughing stock of the world. And what for? We knew Russia, and because we knew the Russian mind our revolution was successful.

But did we know the mind of the American proletarian? Did we know the mind of the English workingman? We did not.

But thanks to that person (pointing at Zinoviev), we have learned considerable of the attitude of the working class in every industrial country. And that attitude is against us.

The time has come when we will have to take a stand both against the destructive activities of those represented by that person, as well as against the reformists, who will enter into unholy temporary matrimony with capitalism, represented by that person (this time pointing his finger at Trotsky).

Where he lacks wisdom and judgment he is profusely endowed with talk, talk, and more talk, until I, the simple cobbler's son, grow dizzy, and wonder if I am listening to a college professor or a scientific man whose technical terms I cannot understand.

Then what will we do? Recall the Tsarism? No.

The Union of the Republics of Soviet Russia will continue its course triumphantly, steering a straight path, neither listening to the idiotic shouts of the world revolutionist, nor to the words of the gloomy prophets.

Recalling the fact that we have learned considerable of the attitude of the working class in every industrial country, and that attitude is against us, we will have to take a stand both against the destructive activities of those represented by that person, as well as against the reformists, who will enter into unholy temporary matrimony with capitalism, represented by that person (this time pointing his finger at Trotsky).

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## MASS. LABOR TO NAME OWN TICKET

**Call Sent Out for Con-  
vention to Be Held  
Sunday in Boston**

LABOR organizations throughout the state of Massachusetts have been invited to a campaign convention to be held on Sunday, August 22 at 11 A. M. at Wells Memorial Hall, 987 Washington Street, Boston.

The call to the convention is sent out by the Massachusetts Labor Campaign Committee, "consisting of men and women with a record of many years of achievement in the American Federation of Labor" and is signed by the Call Committee consisting of Thomas J. Conroy, Secretary of the Worcester Central Labor Union; G. H. Crispin, Secretary of the Somerville Central Labor Union; Herman Koster, Secretary of the Cambridge Central Labor Union; Sylvester J. McBride, former President of Typographical Union No. 13; John McLaren of the Stone Masons and Setters Union No. 9; B. J. Seamen, of the Elevator Constructors Union No. 4, and Mary Gordon Thompson, President of the Women's Trade Union League.

The purpose of the coming convention is "to enlist the cooperation of all of labor's forces, for the formulation of an adequate platform of labor's demands, the nomination of a slate of independent labor candidates, and the organization of a state-wide campaign in support of this platform and slate of candidates."

The invitation calls attention to recent acts of those in public office against the aims and principles of the American labor movement "notably the use of injunctions in labor disputes, the violation of the right of free speech and freedom of assembly, the passage of laws interfering with labor's right to organize and to strike for better conditions, the attempt to repeal legislation regarding women and children in industry and the shifting of the burden of taxation from the wealthy to the shoulders of the workers." Labor is called upon "to take up the political cudgels in its own behalf."

## A. F. OF L. ORDERS FUR UNION PROBE

**But N. Y. Joint Board  
Refuses to Turn Over  
Its Books**

(Continued from page 1)

cent strike of the New York membership of that Union, the developments which took place in the working out of a new wage agreement and the general policy pursued by the Strike Committee which directed the strike in New York City. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is interested in the International Fur Workers Union, as it is in all international Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor. Because of this deep interest the Executive Council wishes to know whether the membership of the International Fur Workers Union, and particularly that part of it which is employed in the fur manufacturing industry in New York, is administering the affairs of the organization in New York City in accordance with the policies and principles of the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council desires to know whether those in charge of the recent strike in New York City were conforming to the laws, usages and administrative policies of the American Federation of Labor, in their management and conduct of the strike. For the purpose of securing this information and in conformity with the action of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor I have appointed Mr. Matthew Woll, Vice President of the American Federation of Labor, Chairman; Mr. Hugh Frayne, General Organizer of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Edward F. McGrady, General Organizer of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. John Sullivan, President of the New York State Federation of Labor and Mr. Joseph Ryan, President of the New York City Central Labor Union, to serve on said Committee.

"I request that you give to the membership of this Committee all assistance possible in its work of investigation. Please give the Committee access to all books, records and accounts of the Local Strike Committee, of which you were Chairman, and the books, records and accounts of any Subcommittee created by the Local Strike Committee."

The following is a copy of the reply of the Joint Board to President Green: "Confirming our previous letter acknowledging receipt of yours of July 19 notifying us of the appointment of a committee to investigate the conduct of the recent successful strike of the Furriers Union of New York under the leadership of the New York Joint Board, we beg to state that the following is the decision of the Joint Board after thorough consideration of your letter, which you will recall we informed you we believed of sufficient importance to place before a full meeting of the Board at the earliest opportunity."

"The Joint Board is astonished at the ordering of such an unexpected and extraordinary investigation. The investigation was unexpected because of the highly successful nature of our strike. Our victory was a clean one. We won the forty-hour week for the workers in our industry; we secured

substantial wage advances; we secured far greater control over the industry than the union has ever had before; we greatly strengthened our organization numerically and infused it with a new vigor. Our great 17-week struggle won not only the plaudits and support of the entire mass of needle workers, but of wide ranks of the general labor movement as well. Hundreds of telegrams and letters poured in to us from central bodies and local unions all over the country congratulating us on our fight for the forty-hour week and pledging support. It was one of the most substantial victories won by the labor movement in our industry in recent years. Hence our astonishment at the A. F. of L. Executive Council ordering a special investigation of this splendid and successful example of working-class solidarity."

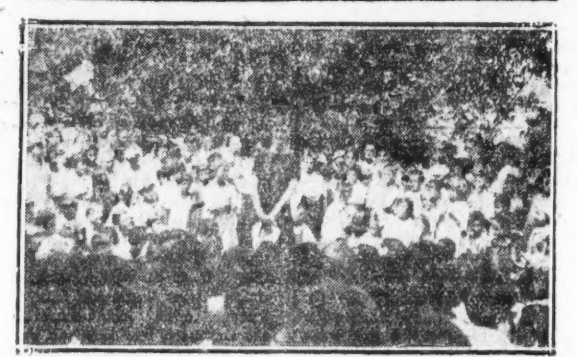
"The investigation is extraordinary because you neither state the grounds upon which the investigation was ordered nor upon whose initiative it is being undertaken. What are we accused of? Your letter does not state, beyond the vague general assertion that the A. F. of L. is interested in our International as well as all others, and that therefore the strike was ordered investigated to learn if it were conducted in accordance with the principles and practices of the A. F. of L. This is an unusual procedure indeed. Is the A. F. of L. in the habit of ordering special investigations of strikes simply because it is generally interested in the welfare of the organizations concerned? We think not. On the contrary, the A. F. of L. policy has always been to grant the affiliated organizations great latitude in the conduct of their strikes. Such an investigation as the one proposed is almost, if not altogether, without parallel in American trade union practice. Our Joint Board requests from you a definite statement of the specific reasons for the proposed investigation."

"Our Joint Board desires to know also upon whose initiative the investigation was ordered. Was it proposed by the Executive Council itself or upon the application of our International? Your letter does not state. If proposed by the Executive Council upon its own initiative, is this not an invasion of the autonomy of our International? And if the investigation was asked for by our International why does not your letter make this clear? Our Joint Board wishes information on this point, which touches one of the most vital features of trade union practice, the question of the

rights and duties of the affiliated organizations. "We are proud of our long, hard-fought and successful strike. We have no objection to its being investigated by a fair and properly authorized committee. Our Joint Board is a loyal and disciplined section of the A. F. of L., but we insist upon knowing why the investigation is being undertaken and upon whose initiative. We also propose that our Joint Board be allowed three members upon any such committee, and that it conduct its hearing publicly in a hall which will permit the attendance of the largest possible number of trade unionists and the press."

"Believing that the issue raised by the proposed investigations are of paramount interest to the whole labor movement, we are sending a copy of this reply and of a letter of inquiry to President Schactman, to all the labor press and the Central Labor Councils throughout the United States and Canada."

## Children Learn to Play



Scenes at the Playground Started by the Passaic Textile Strikers, the First Playground Passaic Has Ever Seen

substantial wage advances; we secured far greater control over the industry than the union has ever had before; we greatly strengthened our organization numerically and infused it with a new vigor. Our great 17-week struggle won not only the plaudits and support of the entire mass of needle workers, but of wide ranks of the general labor movement as well. Hundreds of telegrams and letters poured in to us from central bodies and local unions all over the country congratulating us on our fight for the forty-hour week and pledging support. It was one of the most substantial victories won by the labor movement in our industry in recent years. Hence our astonishment at the A. F. of L. Executive Council ordering a special investigation of this splendid and successful example of working-class solidarity."

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"The poisoning of the human soul by hatred, the darkening of the human mind by lies, and the hardening of the human heart by slaughter and destruction are evils that spread and fester long after the guns have stopped.—G. B. Shaw.

substantial wage advances; we secured far greater control over the industry than the union has ever had before; we greatly strengthened our organization numerically and infused it with a new vigor. Our great 17-week struggle won not only the plaudits and support of the entire mass of needle workers, but of wide ranks of the general labor movement as well. Hundreds of telegrams and letters poured in to us from central bodies and local unions all over the country congratulating us on our fight for the forty-hour week and pledging support. It was one of the most substantial victories won by the labor movement in our industry in recent years. Hence our astonishment at the A. F. of L. Executive Council ordering a special investigation of this splendid and successful example of working-class solidarity."

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## NEW ANTI-FASCIST ALLIANCE BARS COMMUNISTS

**Well-Known Laborite  
Will Head League—  
International Affilia-  
tion Sought**

THE plans for the definite formation of the new Anti-Fascist group, which will include all organizations that are opposed to any sort of dictatorship, are being formulated. A committee is working fast to complete them.

According to such plans the name of the new Anti-Fascist organization will be "International Anti-Fascist League for the Freedom of Italy." It is said that a man well known in the radical and labor movement of America will be the honorary chairman.

The new organization will seek affiliation with the newly founded Anti-Fascist International with headquarters in Vienna. Prominent labor leaders and trade union officials of all nationalities will be invited to help in spreading the truth about the Italian situation so as to stir American public opinion to condemn the financial support which has been given to the tyrannical Mussolini government by Wall Street.

In a short time the labor organizations and all radical and liberal institutions will receive a pamphlet by the committee in charge, explaining the reasons that brought about the split in the old Anti-Fascist Alliance, which is now under the direct control of Communist elements. This pamphlet will contain a letter which Hon. Giacomo Matteotti sent the Mussolini gang, and in which he points out the reasons why there cannot be a united front between those who believe in democracy and free discussion and those who stand for the methods of violence and dictatorship by a minority.

The constitution and by-laws of the new Anti-Fascist organization will be such as to guarantee the control of it by those who will actually represent the majority. It will differ a good deal from the old Anti-Fascist Alliance, where a handful of Communists can rule by sending to its councils more parties nucleus delegates than all the combined labor organizations are entitled to send.

Some of the non-Communist elements in the old Anti-Fascist Alliance hope to democratize it by relegating the Communists where they belong, and with this hope they will stay in the Alliance and attend its next convention, which will be held in a few weeks. The Socialists contend that they will convince themselves of the futility of their hopes, as they will surely find out that for every one of their delegates that will be seated at their next convention there will positively be two or three delegates representing Communist parties nucleus that spring up and function like mushrooms at every street corner.

The official weekly organ of the Italian Socialist Federation, "La Parola del Popolo," published in Chicago, in its current issue, commenting on the split in the old Anti-Fascist Alliance, wholeheartedly approves the action of the local Socialists in repudiating the Communist tactics. As for the Communists who are attempting to attribute the split to the Socialists, "La Parola del Popolo" ironically states that it looks like the brutal drunkard husband, who, after having beaten his wife time and time again, cries desolation when the poor wife in order to save her skin decides to leave him.

The Executive Committee of the Italian Federation has also come out in support of the Socialist refusal to by any means give further aid to an organization calling itself the "United Front of All Anti-Fascist Groups," and which in reality has become an instrument that the Communists use to deride and attack the Socialist and trade union leaders and to foster their disruptive propaganda.

The Federation Executive Committee has adopted a resolution making it incompatible for any Socialist member of the Federation to adhere to any Anti-Fascist group that includes Communists. Copies of this resolution have been sent to party press and to the national office of the Socialist party.

Railroad Telegraphers Add 547  
ST. LOUIS.—The Order of Railroad Telegraphers enrolled 547 new members in June.

## UNION OFFICERS, ATTENTION!

## THE NEW MANHATTAN CASINO

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IS A 100 PER CENT. UNION HALL!

This large, beautiful hall is now available for meetings, balls and all indoor functions. Moderate rates, perfect service

### SPECIAL FEATURES

Capacity, 5,000. Dance Floor, 6,000 Sq. Ft.  
Spacious Stage Medium-Sized Lodge Rooms  
51 Balcony Boxes

FOR MORE INFORMATION CALL EDGEComb 2653  
OFFICE ALWAYS OPEN



## AMERICAN LABOR PLEDGES AID TO BRITISH

### Green Aids Mine Relief Delegation Plan Its Work Here

(Continued from page 1)

effective use of their brief time in any one place.

The delegates made no delays, as is indicated by the following, which are portions of Tillett's report on one day's work in Washington Monday:

"My first two days' experience in conferring with the heads of national and international organizations in the United States encouraged me greatly. I told the story of the British miners—their hardships, their trials and their sufferings—and wherever I went I found the deepest sympathy.

"Those I visited August 9 and 10, and the reception I received, is briefly here stated:

"International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, G. M. Bugniet, Secretary.—Mr. Bugniet was very enthusiastic over what the electricians will do. He said he would call on President Noonan, who was in Atlantic City, and ask him for permission to send a letter to the members of the Executive Council concerning a contribution and a letter to be sent to all local unions, urging them to do all they can for the British miners.

"International Association of Machinists, E. C. Davison, Secretary.—Mr. Davison was very hopeful that the machinists would do their share. President Wharton was to be in the city Thursday and he would take up the matter with him. They would consider submitting to the Executive Committee a proposition to donate funds and send out a letter to all local unions urging them to do the best they can for the British miners.

"National Federation of Federal Employees, Gertrude McNally, Secretary.—Miss McNally called the auditing committee of the organization, which was in session in another room, into the conference to hear my statement of the conditions in the mining regions of Great Britain. She said the matter would be taken up with the Executive Committee and President Stewart when he returned, and she believed that they would be certain to do all they can to help the miners.

"International Union of Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers, John J. Gleeson, Secretary.—Mr. Gleeson called into the conference Treasurer Bates and Vice-President Thornton. Secretary Gleeson said that the matter would be considered by the Executive Council and he believed a helpful contribution would be made. He also said that a letter would be sent to all local unions.

"International Association of Sheet Metal Workers, William L. Sullivan, Secretary.—Mr. Sullivan said that the members of his organization were never in a better condition financially than at present, and that as soon as President J. J. Hynes returns to the city he would take up the question with him of sending letters to all local unions, urging them to contribute, and at the same time consider an appropriation by the International Executive Board.

"National Federation of Post Office Clerks—Leo E. George, president. Mr. George assured me that the matter would be favorably considered by his organization and they would do all they could through the national organization and also urge local unions to contribute.

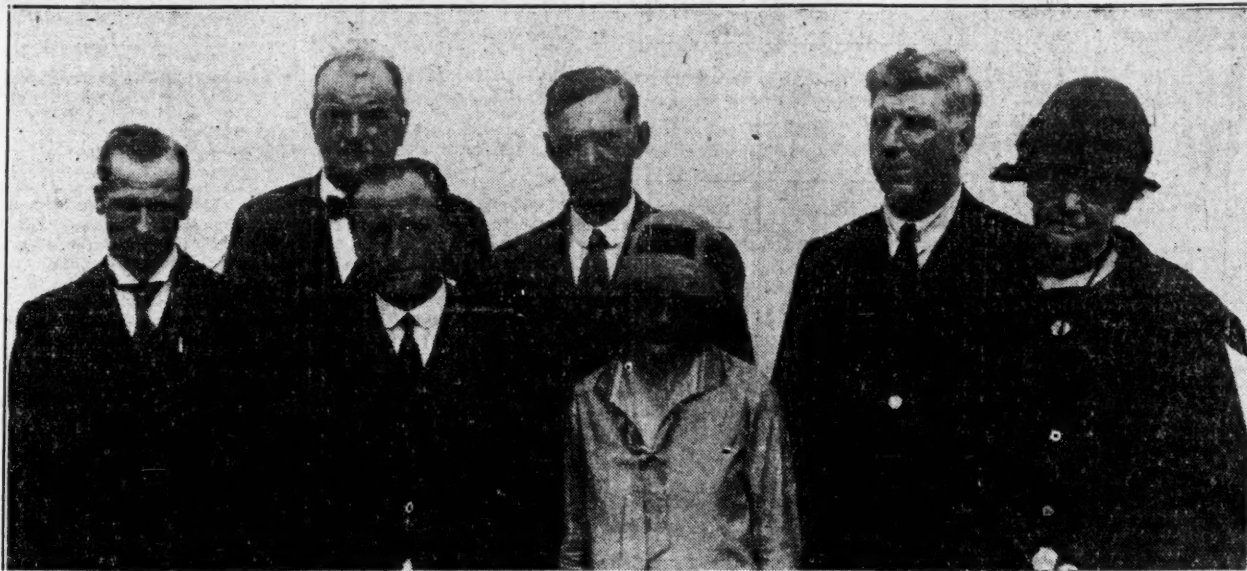
"National Association of Letter Carriers—Edward J. Galt, president. Mr. Galt said that he would do all that he possibly could in the interest of the miners, both through the national organization and by urging local unions to contribute.

"International Association of Fire Fighters—Fred W. Baer, president; George J. Richardson, secretary. The members of the executive board of this organization were present at the conference. Both President Baer and Secretary Richardson said they would not only send urgent communications to the local unions, but would do something through the international organization.

"International Brotherhood of Book Binders—William Blockling, president; Felix J. Belair, secretary. Both officials listened very attentively and expressed great sympathy for the miners. They said they would send out a letter to their local unions urging contributions and at the same time would take up with the members of the executive committee the question of making an appropriation from international funds.

In New York, Miss Wilkinson, Tillett and Jones, aided by A. F. of L. Organizer Alexander Mark, pushed forward on another sector. Miss Wilkinson and

## British Delegation Seeking Aid for Miners



Left to right: Joseph Jones, James Robson, Ben Tillett, Oliver Harris, Ellen Wilkinson, M. P., Paul McKenna and Mrs. Robson

## 77 CLOAK FIRMS SIGN WITH UNION

### Sigman Denounces At- tempt of Industrial Council to Misdemean Workers

(Continued from page 1)

consider the election of a joint sub-committee to go over these demands, but abruptly brought the conference to an end.

"Their invitation to our strikers to become strikebreakers is a futile gesture. They have kept their shops open for over a month, for that matter, and by this time they ought to know that cloakmakers are not deserters and that they are in this strike to a finish. Neither will their promise of hired strong-arm 'protection' to workers returning to shops avail them much. It is a piece of business the industrial council should not be too eager to boast about.

"The industrial council knows that the union is ready to take up with them the settlement of this strike on the basis of the workers' program of demands," Mr. Sigman added. "If instead of empty threats and futile cajolery they would turn directly to business-like methods and make a sincere effort to bring the controversy to an end."

Eternal vigilance is said to be the price of liberty; but a nation needs equal vigilance to escape militarism's blighting influence. And unless incessant watch and a firm check are kept on the military spirit it will entrench itself as strongly and express itself as arrogantly in Australia as ever it did in Prussia.—Melbourne "Age."

The idea of remuneration is in itself wrong; people ought not to be remunerated for the work which they do, but ought to be assured of an income by virtue of their citizenship or by virtue of the fact that they are human beings.—Bernard Shaw.

For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight;  
He can't be wrong whose life is in the right.—Pope.

Tillett addressed excellent meetings of the garment cutters, who, though strikers, pledged every bit of aid possible. They also made speeches before the convention of the Bakery Workers' convention.

There followed conferences with President McMahon and Secretary-Treasurer Sarah Conboy of the Textile Union, with Barney Lager, secretary-treasurer of the United Garment Workers, with M. J. Parkinson, International Steam Shovel and Dredge Men's Union, with Paul Duzell of the Actors' Equity Association, with President Canavan and Assistant President Sherman of the Theatrical Stage Employees. All promised to give every possible assistance and as quickly as possible.

On the generosity of American workers in the next two weeks may turn the issue of victory or of terrible defeat for the 1,000,000 coal miners of Britain. If the British miners are permitted to be crushed, American miners and the American labor movement in every industry will soon feel the consequences. A drive against organized labor in America will be launched by big employers' associations, on the plea that American wages and working hours do not enable them to compete with "cheap foreign skilled labor."

## Brophy Learned Lessons As Mine Union Leader In Bitter Labor Struggles

JOHN BROPHY, who is running for the presidency of the United Mine Workers of America—the largest union in the United States and Canada—is a skilled strike leader and an advanced social thinker.

His platform, promising a national drive to win back the great non-union fields and to nationalize the coal industry fits in with his record as an expert union organizer and an exponent of nationalization.

His views of public ownership and workers' control will be given in detail in later issues of the New Leader. They are a development of the union's nationalization resolutions that the rank and file endorsed at two international conventions. Brophy insists that nationalization is a living issue that must not be left in the archives, and he and other members of the union have worked out a definite program for putting it over.

The Test of 1922  
As a trade union organizer Brophy's greatest test came in the 1922 strike when the open shop forces of Pennsylvania were moved down in an unsparring campaign.

The names of some of the big corporations that were operating non-union in Somerset and Cambria counties show the forces that he had to meet:  
There were the powerful Berwind-White interests whose directors also sat on the boards of numerous steamship and public utility interests, including the Interborough Rapid Transit Co. of New York. Their Somerset mines, protected by gunmen and politicians, had never been organized.

Fighting Rockefeller  
There was the Consolidated Coal Co., redolent of the heavy stock holdings of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and Davis Coal & Coke, another place for the Oil King's investments. The gunmen and the corporation controlled judges had likewise protected their Somerset properties from the union wage.

Then came Hillman Coal & Coke, big operators in the adjoining non-union coke fields and in the union Pittsburgh district, as well as in Somerset county. The Cambria Steel Mines of Johnstown (now a Bethlehem Steel subsidiary), and others followed.

600 Gunmen  
An army of six hundred gunmen in Somerset county had the sole task of stopping the union. The force was led by a picturesque Virginian, whom the miners dubbed "Bawling Bull" Bentley. This pleasant fellow boasted twelve notches on his Colt, Luger and other pieces of artillery.

Brophy used a splendid staff of organizers in the fight. He is not afraid of ability in his subordinates like some jealous leaders. He welcomes it. These men, working under the direction of the district president and his able vice-president, James Mark, were in and out of jail and the injunction courts. But they did the job. They organized the workers and shut down the mines.

Blood on Subway Coal  
The campaign was a far-flung one. It was carried right into New York. Old man Berwind's house near Central Park was picketed by his strikers and the shameful stories of beating and rape by his guards were broadcast far and wide. New York, whose subway power houses were fueled by Berwind-White, found out there was blood on the coal.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., put on the defensive by agitation against the Consolidation, pleaded weakly that he was only a minority stockholder and that he disapproved of the company's labor tactics.

Civil Liberties in Fight  
Brophy gladly worked with the American Civil Liberties Union in

opening up the closed towns of his district. At Vintondale, where the State road was closed by privately paid gunmen, the miners and the Liberties Union staged a procession. Arthur Garfield Hays was assaulted and arrested, but countered with the arrest and conviction of five gunmen, and the camp was later out on strike. McAlister Coleman, who was along, helped to tell the story to the world.

A brilliant strike: fine leadership and wonderful solidarity!  
The walkout of the non-union men in Somerset and Cambria counties and the coke fields—that and the shopmen's strike—had saved the United Mine Workers of America.

Strikers Deserted  
Then came the amazing settlement at the end of five months' fighting. Somerset County and the coke fields were left in the cold. The International Union signed up the Consolidated Coal Co. in northern West Virginia and passed up the workers in Somerset. The Hillman Coal & Coke Co. was signed up in the Pittsburgh district and ignored in Somerset.

The strikes continued in Somerset County till late the next year, but with some of the leading companies protected by the union in other fields the odds were too great.

For a New Social Order  
Brophy's campaign statement says that the non-union fields will not be organized by a policy of district or local strikes alone. He realizes that the local strikes he has called in his own district against contract-breaking operators are not sufficient.  
A national campaign, again uniting the miners of America as one: a fight for union that inspires, the workers with the goal of a new social order is his program.

## BAKERY UNION CONVENTION MEETS

(Continued from page 1)

delicate handling to arrive at the proper fermentation that they developed a monopoly of its manufacture. When the Gentile locals stepped in, the Jewish bakers felt that their economic standards were being undermined. The climax was reached when the three recalcitrant locals began to publish a newspaper attacking the administration of the International. The officers of the latter, since they did not have the authority to expel the editor, demanded that his local do so. This request was refused, and then came the break.

The Journeymen Bakers' Union that resulted from this schism had 1,100 members. During the war its numbers rose to 5,000, and gradually it extended its control of shops outside of New York to New Jersey, Philadelphia and even Chicago. In 1920 it united with the International Federation of Workers in the Hotel, Restaurant, Lunch Room, Club and Catering Industry to form the present Amalgamated Food Workers. That doubled its membership. It was known in those days—and the reputation has clung—to consist of radicals. The Communists at one time were a predominant force. When the United Labor Council of Greater New York, consisting of independent unions, was formed the Amalgamated joined its ranks. Today the A. F. W. stands alone. It is a strict industrial union. Its leadership is soberly socialist. The padlocking of Broadway cabarets has depleted it of its restaurant workers. Yet it claims a membership of 8,000, of which 5,500 are bakers and 1,500 hotel workers. The remainder are lunchroom and cafeteria employees, butchers and grocery clerks. Three-fifths of its members are Germans, one-fifth Jewish and the remainder are distributed among more than a dozen nationalities. Today it is practically organized only between New York and Philadelphia.

Within recent years the Amalgamated Food Workers has been making inroads upon the Jewish shops of the

## BROPHY OUT FOR PRESIDENCY

### Appeals from Organiza- tion Lead Pennsylvanian to Enter Race in December Election

(Continued from page 1)

crippled unless they are in our fold.

"With the fight for 100 percent unionism must go the movement for public ownership of the coal industry, with democratic management, which means with the workers, through their union, having a share with the public in the control of their industry. International conventions of the U. M. W. of A. have twice declared for Nationalization, and the time has come to get action. Private ownership has utterly failed. It beggars the worker and robs the consumer. A basic industry is ruined by cut-throat competition. There are idle mines and miners and a loss of all security. The only hope for ourselves and our children lies in reorganization of the industry. The public will follow if the United Mine Workers takes the lead.

"The drive for public ownership will give new life to all our union activities. It will put the union on the offensive and the operators on the defensive. It answers the operator's cry that he cannot pay decent wages under a competitive policy. The answer is that if he cannot, the public can.

"The workers in our army will carry on with greater courage and hope if they are sustained by the prospect of a new deal in the industry. But as long as we accept the economic theories of the employer we are fighting a rear-guard battle."

Brophy is 43 years old. He has been president of District No. 2 since 1916, when he was check-weighman at Nant-Y-Glo. His enthusiasm for Nationalization found expression several years ago when he was chairman of the union's Nationalization Research Committee. With his colleagues, William Mitch, secretary of the Indiana miners, and Chris Golden, president of District No. 9 in the anthracite field, he worked out the program called How to Run Coal, which outlines a method for the reorganization and administration of the coal industry under public ownership, with the union participating in management.

remaining locals of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers in New York city. The International practically controls no Gentile workers there at all. The Jewish population has been moving out of Manhattan to the outlying boroughs, where the A. F. W. was entrenched. The two bakers' organizations have come in conflict, although they have not scabbed upon one another at the time of a strike. In addition, the reluctance of the Jewish bakers in taking in new members has driven well-intentioned bakers into the arms of the independent union. The New York locals of the A. F. of L. organization, backed up by their International, have expended huge sums of money for organization and union label education work in order to counteract their rivals. In addition, united action has become necessary in order to fight the Bread Trust, which is now even encroaching upon the Jewish trade. The Amalgamated has ever been willing to become affiliated with the A. F. of L. Hence, the prospects of a successful outcome of the present negotiations are not bad. The obstacles to be overcome are jurisdiction, ratings of the A. F. W.'s members in the beneficiary system of the International and disposition of the non-bakers on account of the craft rules of the A. F. of L. Eventually unification will have to take place.

Because half a dozen grasshoppers under a fern make the field ring with their importunate chink, whilst thousands of great cattle, reposed beneath the shade of the British oak, chew the cud and are silent, pray do not imagine that those who make the noise are the only inhabitants of the field; that, of course, they are many in number, or that, after all, they are other than the little, shrivelled, meagre, hopping though loud and troublesome insects of the hour.—Burke.

## Financiers Bleeding French Workingclass, Judge Panken Declares

By Judge Jacob Panken  
Candidate for Governor, Socialist  
Party, New York.

Amsterdam.  
THERE is no doubt that America is interested in the inflation of the French franc.

There is no truth, in my judgment, in the idea that the failure on the part of the United States to give France advantageous terms to settle its debt to us as being responsible for the inflation. While Socialists support the principle of cancellation of the debt and indemnities, it would be fallacious to say that the reason for the fall of the franc is the settlement of the debt on the conditions we made. England's exchange is quite firm in spite of the fact that Britain's terms were even harder.

The reason must be looked for elsewhere. French folks own about twenty-five milliards of bonds and rentes. Some are short term notes. When these short term obligations are taken up by the payment of the inflated money, it must be remembered that the financiers are paying. In some instances, one-eighth of what they received for the notes on hand from the possessing class of France. And in France a large percentage of the people have some possession. Then the interest on the notes and obligations amounts to about one and a half milliard francs a year. That is now paid by the fallen franc. Again, in some instances, only one-eighth of what it was originally intended. You see what I am getting at? It is a conspiracy by the financiers of France and of America to squeeze out every centime of the possessing class of France; that means the middle class.

It would seem that as soon as they get the last penny out of this scheme, the paper money will be recalled and the franc will be stabilized. On the whole, a scheme fearful in its consequences. The French workers have to meet a constantly increasing cost of living. Of course, to cover up the scheme, the press, which is wholly under control of Finelle—the head of the financial group—is feeding the people bunk about America's responsibility for the havoc that is striking the French. Not a paper would dare publish the truth.

The Poincare scheme is only going to saddle on the people an enhanced sales tax. There is apt to be trouble in France as a result of the tax, which will be shifted to the people and to which additional imposts by the capitalists will be imposed.

Just let me add that we in America

cannot escape the consequences of the debacle of France.

America cannot continue prosperous in a world poverty-stricken.

As a matter of fact, we are already reaping what has been sown by our money changers. Our unemployed are increasing in number. Reaction is running wild. The bankers have taken the stranglehold on the government. The increase in our imports is double the increase in our exports during the last year. We have now untold riches at the top, mounting higher, and, I fear, the top, mounting higher, and, I fear, poverty below becoming more intense. America today is in the position of defending privilege the world over against the needs of the masses.

## TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

picion. Indeed for economic reasons it is likely that we should gain more by friendly trade if we should not try to collect the debt. Only, if we are to forgive the debt, we should make that act of generosity dependent upon a settlement of the whole question of debts and reparations. It would not help peace for us to forgive France in order that she and Britain may under the Daves plan squeeze more blood out of Germany. It is, moreover, not likely to appeal to American taxpayers that we should forgive the debt to our country at our own expense in order that France can borrow more money at higher interest from American bankers! As I have said before, if there is to be forgiveness of debts, it should be primarily at the expense of that class of Americans who profited most by Allied loans during the war and still go on lending money to foreign debtors. Our own domestic taxation policy is or should be bound up with this forgiveness of debts.

But in all this discussion there is something more important than our winning an argument. We Socialists know things about the World War that others are only now discovering. We know things about peace that others ought soon to learn. One of them is that it is more important to promote international friendship than to try to collect debts under capitalist ethics—is there such a thing?—undoubtedly are due.

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# American Capitalism, Waster of Men and Money

By Benjamin P. Chass

AMERICA, hitherto, has felt herself quite efficient in all her industrial pursuits. This nation had been under the impression that it was applying all its man-power to the best and most efficient means. Industry was supposed to be well organized, efficient to the highest degree. Its natural resources were perhaps being not too thriftily utilized—but what of that? Our riches are plentiful, our resources are limitless! Thus we thought; and thus we acted accordingly. Or we were entirely indifferent.

But suddenly there came a halt to this apathy. We slowly arrived at the conclusion that we were not 100 percent efficient or anywhere near it. We began to realize that as a nation we were wasting too much man-power, too much human energy, too much time in producing all the things a nation must have. Like a child with its toys we were laying waste our vast natural resources. Our men of government and science and engineering glanced across the ocean and beheld with not too optimistic eyes the plunder and wastage the war had left behind its slaughtering machines. Nations overburdened with debts, industry knocked to the bottom, man-power wasted—these black, cold specters set the blood-boiling and the mind and brain to thinking and planning and organizing.

**Waste Causes Studied**  
Six years ago the Federated American Engineering Society was organized and immediately was set to work to study the industrial wastage afflicting American industry. Careful and scientific investigation attributed industrial waste to the following causes:

1. Low production caused by faulty management of materials, plant, equipment and men.
2. Interrupted production, caused by idle men, idle materials, idle plants and idle equipment.
3. Restricted production intentionally caused by owners, management or labor.
4. Lost production caused by ill-health, physical defects and industrial accidents.

Since management has the greatest opportunity it also has the greatest responsibility in discharging its industrial duties. Hence, upon management rests the greatest responsibility for the tremendous waste rampant throughout American industry. After careful analysis of its findings the committee reached the conclusion that over 50 percent of the wastes in industry must be charged up against management and less than 25 percent against labor, while the amount chargeable against outside causes is least of all.

Now, let us see what some of these innumerable wastes are and how and where these wastes in industry occur.

## The Waste of Unemployment

Using human labor when machines can do the same work easier and more efficiently is wasting man-power. Such tactics are not sensible, nor human nor economic. Yet this is true in innumerable instances throughout industry. Wasting material is looked upon as a crime in many factories, but the wastage of men is often tolerated. Ordering a man to perform labor that is not necessary or which could be performed much better and easier by machinery is simply ruining the worker. Men have an inherent hatred to see their time and energy wasted. They rather prefer work that is useful and necessary. To make a worker break down a door simply for the fun of it; to make him carry a load to and from without any object or value in either case is to make an idiot out of that worker. Where a hand and pick was all right yesterday it is not today; and to have workers use picks and shovels today where a steam shovel is necessary is wasting human energy; and in the end causing men to revolt against all kinds of work. Such tactics do not make for happy workers.

Through enforced idleness or unemployment much man-power thus goes to waste. According to the Russell Sage Foundation it is conservatively estimated that, averaging good and bad times, from 10 to 12 percent of all the workers in the United States are out of work all of the time. In other words, about 4,500,000 of our 49,000,000 workers are out of work all of the time. At \$1,000 per year this would be an annual wastage of \$4,500,000,000.

## Turnover Wastes \$140,000,000

Labor turnover is another waste in man-power. According to E. S. Stewart, United States Commissioner of Labor Statistics, about 3,500,000 men change jobs an average of once a year. It is estimated that the average loss of time between jobs is two weeks. Hence, a total of 7,000,000 weeks is wasted annually, or a total of 140,000 workers, each averaging a 50-week year. At \$1,000 per year \$140,000,000 is thus wasted each year due to the constant and great labor turnover in industry.

Accidents in industry affect about 2,000,000 workers annually. The loss in time through accidents is equal to 757,000 men thrown out of work for a complete year. The loss in wages alone is estimated at a billion dollars in addition to another billion charged against medical attention. Seventy-five percent of these accidents could be

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## The Government Places the Monetary Loss at \$12,000,000,000; Half of the Nation's Man-Power Sacrificed to Anarchy

prevented, many authorities on the subject agree.

Strikes and lockouts which are ever causing a stoppage of the wheels of industry are another waste in man-power. The committee on waste, however, states that "since most strikes occur in seasonal employments, it can be deduced that output is not necessarily penalized, for it is often possible to make up the losses incurred by strikes through increased production at other times." Nonetheless, we must state that either this increased production is harmful because of hurrying-up labor and thus, perhaps, the cause of undue accidents, fatigue, and ill-health, or that if such increased production is efficient and harmless, then such rate of production should be enforced at all times; and hence these certain industries being overcrowded with labor, must also be said to be wasting man-power—how great cannot be ascertained.

## The Cost of Ill-Health

Ill health is a liability everywhere. Industry pays a heavy price for the ill health and early death of its workers. It is estimated that between eight and nine days are lost by about 40,000,000 persons classed as gainfully employed, or a total of approximately 350,000,000 days lost annually due to illness. Of the 500,000 workers who die each year, it is estimated that the death of at least one-half, by proper medical care, periodical medical examination, health education and community hygiene, could be postponed. It is further estimated that at least \$1,000,000,000 a year above the cost of prevention could be saved in American industry if health and life were given better care and more attention. The

economic loss from tuberculosis death rate as affecting the working population is \$500,000 annually. Influenza and pneumonia, in "normal" years, take a toll of 35,000 lives with an additional sick list of 350,000. Typhoid affects 150,000 lives annually and takes 15,000 lives, mostly in the working ages. Malaria, it is estimated, affects the lives of some 1,500,000 people each year, covering a total of 27,000,000 days away from industry. It is roughly estimated that 1,500,000 workers are infected with venereal disease. All in all, ill health and early deaths take a gigantic toll from industry, a loss so great and largely preventable, that its financial loss is incalculable, not mentioning the human loss.

Wastes in material take a heavy loss in industry. The loss from idleness in the shoe industry caused by waiting for work and material alone amounts to about 35 percent of the time. Speculative purchasing of raw materials which is very rampant in the clothing industries, especially in the women's clothing industry, is a serious drain upon industry. In the best of seasons this buying of materials is no more than a gamble. Over-night, fortunes are made and lost. Increase in the cost of the products is thus obvious and necessary.

## Anarchy in Industry

Anarchy in design control results in a great waste, since it does not take into account the great savings that could be made if products were more standardized or simplified. In the building industry, for example, the standardization of certain walls might mean a saving of about \$600 in the cost of the average dwelling.

The standardization of newspaper columns to one size would make possible an annual saving of \$3,000,000 to \$5,000,000 on composition plates alone.

The unbelievable sum of \$10,000,000,000 is wasted yearly, due to over-diversification. Too many colors, styles, grades of a single article—this spells waste in billions. Manufacturing over 3,000 styles and colors of men's hats contributes to such waste. Making 994,880 varieties of axes is ridiculous, yet such is the truth when we look around and see what kind of waste is going on all because some manufacturer wants to please his trade and beat his competitors. Usually the bulk of the business is done only on a comparatively few styles; the great majority of styles are made to please the fancy of a small minority of customers. Waste in the men's clothing business amounts to 64 per cent. In the textile industry for every yard of goods made the value of another yard is wasted.

Some of this waste in over-diversification has been remedied already. The sum of \$250,000,000 is now saved a year by the simplification of the grades, sizes and nomenclature for soft woods. Hotel chinaware has been simplified from 700 items to 160.

## Plant Efficiency Needed

Papers, forged tools, blackboards, slates, milk bottles, and various other items have been standardized. Innumerable other articles are being simplified every day. This means millions in savings to industry. That is what scientific management demands; and that is what we want and must have if we desire to enjoy the many things in life there is to enjoy. But we cannot manufacture radios at a minimum

price if we waste our man-power in useless production and thus increase the price of certain things, thus forcing us to do without certain other commodities which we may desire.

Plant efficiency is a great asset in industry, placing in use the newest time saving machinery produces wonders in production. A few examples between the efficient plant and the non-efficient plant is cited by Mr. Stewart, of the Labor Bureau of the United States. If the cotton mills of Alabama were as efficient as the cotton mills of New York, 10,114 persons instead of 13,697 would have produced the textile output of Alabama in 1914; 38,000 instead of 53,000 in North Carolina, and 25,000 instead of 31,000 in Georgia.

Progress in industry goes on in one part of the country and not in another. We have boot and shoe factories where the output per worker per day is two pairs of shoes, while, on the other hand, there are shoe factories in which the output per man per day is twelve pairs of shoes. Why not the latter efficiency and up-to-date-ness in the entire shoe industry?

There are sawmills in this country where the output per man per hour is 323 board feet. If this highly efficient rate of production were the rule in all plants about 45,000 men could do the work that it now takes 292,000 men to do.

## Farming Situation Worse

In Chicago a brick machine produces 49,000 bricks per hour. Setting this efficiency in all the brick plants in the United States, the brick industry could do without 80 per cent of its present number of workers.

In agriculture the situation is much

worse. The South has been using plows that have been obsolete in Illinois for fifty years. Such backwardness is more typical of non-industrial China. If the agricultural population of the country would do as well as that of Illinois we could save more than half of our agricultural workers. Instead of 3,132,453 persons engaged in agriculture we could easily get along with 3,512,081, or a saving of 4,619,372 workers. By utilizing the up-to-date agricultural implements used in the State of Illinois such results could be obtained.

Wasting individual energy is demoralizing and criminal. Wasting our natural energies latent within the ground, wasting our gigantic water powers, is not good business sense. Yet America is committing this very act to an enormous degree. For instance, James D. Sleser, associate State geologist of Pennsylvania, tells us that this one State alone has wasted a billion tons of soft coal in mining during the last two decades. In school we were told that we were "wasteful" if we wasted a piece of chalk in trying to caricature the schoolmarm; but a nation wastes a billion tons of coal, and we let it go at that or we merely characterize it as deplorable. Indeed, such waste is deplorable; but action in doing away with such waste is what is sorely needed. The development of our giant power plants is also being entirely too long neglected. The manpower of hundreds of thousands of workers could be saved by thus developing these natural resources, which are both rich and plentiful, but which are of little use if science and engineering do not come to the rescue.

In the foregoing I have briefly

sketched some of the wastes that are ever rampant in American industry. However, these are but a few of the wastes; many others could be cited. In fact, it can be said that there is hardly an American industry or a business endeavor that is not marked with enormous wastes in wealth and manpower. In some industries the wastes are quite conspicuous; in others they are not so apparent or obvious. That wastes exist has been proven beyond the doubt of anyone.

The government simplification expert, Edwin Ely, reported in 1924 that American industry suffers a loss of \$12,000,000,000 annually, due largely to preventable waste in manufacturing processes. These figures are conservative, according to an announcement by the Department of Commerce. A report to Secretary Herbert Hoover placed the average waste in six major industries at 50 per cent, ranging from 28 per cent in the metal trades to 3 per cent in the building trades and 64 per cent in the manufacturing of men's clothing.

Herein it has been shown how each year millions of workers are idle and causing billions of dollars in losses. Stuart Chase, in his study of waste, "The Tragedy of Waste," shows how practically half of America's man-power goes to waste.

## Who Pays?

Who pays for this waste? The entire population of the United States pays heavily for these tremendous and disgraceful wastes. They pay in increased prices for the commodities they are able to obtain, and they pay again by being forced to do without various other necessities. That it is time to awaken to these cold truths we must all invariably agree.

A man sits idle while people suffer for the bare necessities of life and while vast natural resources are going to waste. Simply multiply this pathetic figure by four and a half million and you will have visualized America's annual labor waste in idleness alone—the greatest waste and tragedy of a progressive nation.

A man sits by, indifferent and stolid, while blood flows from a gushing wound. Medical assistance is at his side, but he remains apathetic towards this assistance. Another man with highly developed genius takes the pick and shovel and earns his livelihood in this manner. In one instance physical energy is allowed to go to waste; in the other case mental energy is allowed to go to waste. In both instances no reason whatever exists.

Literally, and in many instances actually, this is a picture of American industry. America has her man-power of all grades from the unskilled to the skilled to the engineering genius; she is rich with the mighty forces of nature. And in the face of this she fails to recognize the full value of these natural and human riches. She fails to avail herself of the vast productiveness of these gigantic forces. While the United States thus neglects to utilize these forces of use and wealth, her people are often forced to go without many of the necessities which otherwise would make for comfort, health and happiness. This gigantic waste is one of the greatest causes for the constant battle that is going on among a large section of our population in the attempt to "make both ends meet."

## Brutes and Men

A baby watched a ford, whereto  
A wagtail came for drinking;  
A blaring bull went wading through;  
The wagtail showed no shrinking.

A stallion splashed his way across,  
The birdie nearly sinking;  
He gave his plumes a twitch and toss,  
And held his own, unblinking.

Next saw the baby round the spot  
A mongrel slowly sinking;  
The wagtail gazed, but faltered not  
In dip and sip and prinking.

A perfect gentleman then neared:  
The wagtail, in a twinkling,  
Rose terrified, and disappeared . . .  
The baby fell a-thinking.

—Thomas Hardy.

I have a terrible conviction that if the human race in peace had ever been willing to undergo half the sacrifices—even the money sacrifices—which it was willing to undergo in time of war, we should have had Utopia painted on the map of the world long ago.—Robert Lynd.

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## How Passaic Honors the Mothers

By Agnes de Lima

STUDIES made years ago have discredited night work by women in every civilized country in Europe. England has forbidden the practice since 1844, and fourteen European countries repudiated it in 1906, when, at the Bern conference, a treaty was signed by them to take effect in 1910 establishing a period of eleven hours rest at night for women employed in manufacture. These countries were Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Spain, Portugal, Sweden and the Netherlands. In the United States twelve states now forbid women in one or more occupations to work at night, and constitutional limitations against this kind of legislation have been removed by the courts since 1914.

New Jersey once had an adequate night work law for women, but in 1893 this law was annulled, and as already stated, efforts made for the past decade to end the abuse have been successfully opposed by the wool council of Passaic. New Jersey stands alone in a group of states comprising Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania and Delaware which forbid night work by women.

That night work by women in the textile industry is especially harmful was recognized by Massachusetts as far back as 1907, when a law was passed in that state prohibiting women and minors from working in any textile mill after 6 p. m. New Jersey's reactionary stand is all the more disheartening in the face of Massachusetts' enlightened stand and the monumental evidence of the evil effects of night work contained in the official reports of the adjacent state of New York. These were sufficiently overwhelming to cause the New York Court of Appeals, in 1914, to reverse its decision of 1907 and to uphold restrictive legislation on the strength of evidence accumulated in the intervening seven years that night toil by women is disastrous to their health. This same kind of evidence caused the Supreme Court of the United States recently to uphold this same New York statute as constitutional.

Moreover, industrial experience has long proved the uneconomic waste involved in night work. Profits from the uninterrupted use of plants which are operated by night as well as by day are reduced by the increased running expenses, the wear on machinery and the lowered efficiency of workers. The prohibition of night work by preserving the health and energies of operatives, as well as the material equipment, tends to increase production. Great Britain, under the stress of war emergency, re-established night work in the early years of the war. Her Health of Munitions Workers' Committee, however, as a result of careful inquiry, succeeded in restoring the prohibition by proving that continuous night work yields an output inferior both to all day work and to the system of alternating day and night shifts.

## Some Typical Homes

The following excerpts from notes made in the course of the writer's recent Passaic investigation are typical of conditions obtaining in the homes of night workers:

Mrs. P. who lives in a miserable tenement on Second street in Passaic, has seven children. She lives in three dark rooms, two of which are windowless, and pays for them \$15 rent. The oldest child is fifteen, and expects soon to go to work; the youngest is two months. Mrs. P., although twenty-three years in this country, speaks little English. All these years she has

## "A MOTHER IS A MOTHER STILL, THE HOLIEST THING ALIVE."—COLERIDGE

Mrs. L. of Passaic, N. J., has seven children, ranging in age from 4 to 15. She earns \$17 to \$18 as spinner on the night shift in the textile factory. Her husband works from 2:30 to midnight, so that half of each night the children are left in the care of the 15-year-old girl. On the day of the visit she was drearily washing.

The strike, she said, had given her a little chance at night sleep, but always she was "like dead person for tired."

Two or three of the younger children stood dully about, their eyes staring with hunger. Another child was stealthily eating from the frying pan on the stove. She would watch her mother furtively and then like a starved animal flinch a bit of food. Her peculiarly sharpened features, white cheeks and nose pinched and blue, looked like the famine pictures from Russia.

worked in the mills, slaving in them as her babies came, and as soon after

they were born as possible. Her rooms are squalid, cluttered and dirty for a

Polish home, which is usually spotless. But Mrs. P. is too wearied and ill to

## Church and State in Mexico

By The Editor

THE Knights of Columbus could not have taken a course better calculated to revive the Ku Klux Klan than it did in adopting the resolution attacking the Mexican Government and asking American intervention in Mexico. That nation has a political controversy with the church that is no concern of ours, yet a resolution is adopted which plainly means that we should step in and decide it against the Mexican Government. The resolution itself ignores some glaring facts of history, and also coins some fictions which are substituted for history. The resolution even resorts to falsehoods.

What is to be said of a carefully considered document that speaks of the "Russians of Mexico"? It goes on to say that "the Soviet philosophy controls the military powers of Mexico. The family to them is a myth and marriage a degradation. They have robbed it of its sanctity. Their conception of God is contempt for all religions."

There is a deadly parallel to all this in the election of Jefferson in 1800. He had forced the program of separation of Church and State in Virginia to a successful issue. In that State it was the Episcopal Church. In Connecticut the Congregational Church was facing a demand for its separation from the State. Panic reigned in the ruling oligarchy. French Jacobinism was the red spot then as Bolshevism is now. In July after the inauguration of Jefferson, Theodore Dwight, the intellectual leader of the clerical-political alliance in Connecticut, in a famous address on Jacobinism and Jefferson, said:

We have a country governed by blockheads and knaves; the ties of marriage with all its felicities are severed and destroyed; our wives and daughters are thrown into the streets; our children are cast into the world from the breast and forgotten; filial piety is extinguished; the surnames, the only mark of distinction among families, are abolished. Can the imagination paint anything more dreadful on this side of hell?

Of course not. Imagination had done its best and union of church and State continued in Connecticut for nearly 20 years. The Knights of Columbus must have obtained inspiration from Dwight. Its reference to marriage and the family in Mexico is no more in accord with facts than Dwight's statement accorded with the views of Jefferson.

Reckless of history, the K. of C. resolution speaks of the "military regime

in oppressing the vast majority of the people of Mexico," that "freedom of conscience is illegal," as well as "freedom of the press, freedom of petition, freedom of speech and lawful assembly. . . freedom of education" and "Individual liberty is abolished." The assumption is that all these blessings were enjoyed by Mexicans before the revolution for the resolution condemns not only the government of Calles, but also the governments of Carranza and Obregon, which issued out of the revolution.

The writer of this is not a great admirer of Woodrow Wilson, but it is pertinent to remark that a big majority of members of the Knights of Columbus are Democrats and admirers of Wilson. We, therefore, commend to the authors and supporters of the resolution a statement of Wilson's on Mexico of January 5, 1915. Wilson presents one view of Mexican history, the resolution another. Here is the statement:

Until this recent revolution in Mexico, until the end of the Diaz regime, 80 per cent. of the people of Mexico never had a "look-in" in determining who should be their governor or what their government should be. Now I am for the 80 per cent. It is none of my business, and it is none of your business, how long they take in determining it. It is none of my business and it is none of yours how they go about the business. The country is theirs. The government is theirs.

So eighty per cent. of the people of Mexico never had the blessing which the K. of C. resolutions assert that they had. Wilson dates the coming of real freedom of Mexico with the revolution, while the resolution assigns this freedom to the period before the revolution. Either Wilson is a bad historian or the Knights of Columbus know many things that are not so. The Knights want American intervention in the interest of an old ruling class of 20 per cent. We favor the revolution representing 80 per cent.

What the Knights have to understand is that there can be no revolution in a nation where there is a union of church and State without the revolution destroying this relation. This is true of the Catholic, the Protestant and the Mohammedan churches. Even Turkey has wiped out the connection. The reason for this is that where such union exists the church is inevitably bound up with the fortunes of the old regime and the old ruling class. It is certain to lose its old exclusive privileges and certain to be placed on a plane of equality with all other church organizations. This is happening in

Mexico and no amount of distorted history will obscure it. Our duty is to keep hands off Mexico and let her do what we did to the union of church and State in Virginia, Massachusetts and Connecticut.

## WOMEN SOCIALISTS ADVANCE IN BELGIUM

Material progress in Socialist propaganda work among the women of Belgium was reported by the Women's National Committee of the Belgian Labor Party to the 255 delegates attending a congress of Socialist women held in Brussels on June 26 and 27.

Since the first definite steps toward organizing the women politically were taken by the Labor Party at Liege in 1923, the number of women among the some 600,000 party members has risen to about 80,000. Since last May the Socialist women have a magazine of their own, "La Voix de la Femme," which is doing good propaganda work. The report showed a shortage of women organizers and speakers. To remedy this, efforts have been made to hold courses of instruction for training organizers, and these have been successful, especially in Bruges, but lack of funds restricts the work considerably.

Discussion was mainly directed on questions of particular interest to women, such as the maintenance of women and children deprived of their wage-earner, the revision of the civil code as regards the rights of women at law, married women's right to employment, communal laundries, and so on.

The internal organization provoked a lively debate. The women's committee proposed there should be a women's affiliation fee to the Party, to be paid by all groups, and also the creation in every district of a central committee representing women in the political, trade union, co-operative and friendly society groups. Van Roosbroeck, secretary of the Belgian Labor Party, opposed the creation of a central women's committee in each district, and asked the congress not to discuss details of affiliation. After an exchange of views the national committee was instructed to put the proposal before the next party congress.

Of what use are discoveries of scientific men into new modes and more ample ways of living so long as the laws of human nature turn all the difficulty of wealth into increased power of the few over the lives and labors of the many?—Professor Soddy.

clean. All in a heap she sat during the visitor's stay, one baby on her knees and two others clinging to her skirts. One white-faced girl of nine, her eyes red from malnutrition, interpreted for her mother. With an apathy like her mother's she repeated the story of low wages, insufficient food, an ever increasing family, and the necessity of the mother's working at night. Nothing perhaps is more tragic than the faces of the children in these poverty-stricken homes. Even the babies of two and three reflect the dreariness and misery which has surrounded them ever since they came so unwelcomed into the world.

In a black rear tenement lives Mrs. D., all of whose four children are under six. To help her husband support them she has worked for years between babies on a spinning mule at night. The children are sickly and she herself a beaten, wretched creature, worn to the bone, and incredibly aged. Her husband at the time of the visit was dangerously ill in the hospital and Mrs. D. was beside herself with grief, wondering how she could ever raise her family should he die. One wondered how she could manage it even if he lived.

One scrawny, sickly woman, a widow, told of her long years of struggle to bring up her two children. Night work had finally broken her health, so that for two years she was unable to work and had to be helped by charity. She was now able to work again and had accepted thankfully "light" cleaning by night in the mill where she had formerly been employed as machine worker. She could earn now only \$15, and she and her two children had to manage somehow on that amount. They occupied two dingy rooms, one a windowless alcove. The fourteen-year-old daughter who interpreted shuddered, "It's horrible, isn't it, to live like this?"

Another woman had come from West Virginia with six children. She had lived through years of strikes there, but her husband had died in a coal mine disaster. She had remarried a textile worker and come to Passaic. "A much worse place than West Virginia," she declared. It is she who works as a carder in the Botany mill and whose daily routine has already been described. To support her huge family she earns \$17 or \$18 weekly, while her husband makes a similarly small wage in another mill.

In one small cottage, remodeled to house twelve families, lives six night-working mothers. They were all congregated on the steps when the investigator called. One by one they told their stories, and the stories were all the same. Three, four, five, six, seven children, husband earning a pittance, perhaps \$18, perhaps \$20, perhaps only 27c. an hour. The mother, therefore, forced into the mill to stand for the long hours of the night and to earn at the end of five long nights \$12, \$13, \$14 or perhaps also only 27 cents an hour. And by day, "how can sleep with wash, with cook, with kids? Night work hell for woman, but what can she do?"

One might continue indefinitely. One home is much like another. Some are cleaner, some are airier, some have sun and a little more space than others. A few had fairly good furniture, a few were decorated by hand-work, by crochet curtains, by hand-woven hangings, made on the other side. A few of the night workers, blessed by generations of strong peasant stock, still appear healthy, as do their children also. But the majority, despite the enforced "vacation" of the three-months-old strike, appear beaten and crushed and worn from their toil. The double burden placed upon them is excessive.



# A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

## Nautical Stuff

WE have been sailing around Nantucket Island, Massachusetts, in some sort of a craft, whose name we wot not of, with Morris Ernst, who, we believe, will be known to future generations as the author of a brand-new technique of sailing. It is one made to our order. For Brother Ernst knows very little more than we do about marine matters, and our combined ignorance would fill the fat pages of many a mariners' guide.

We sail by the trial and error method. We use the deductive method of modern science. Instead of waiting a whole lot of time listening to the long-winded advice of old salts who have nothing better to do than to hang around the harbor here high-hatting the amateurish summer boarders, we get on this what-you-call-em boat and pull up the sail and go ahead. The resultant events are always colorful to say the least. Very near the thingumbob to which our boat is hitched are a lot of fancy craft of all varieties, private yachts and slick little motorboats all duded up, and a couple of revenue cutters. At first it was the custom of the crews of these craft to come to the rail and smile contemptuously over at our clumsy attempts to get out of the harbor. They smile no more. For Brother Ernst has long since discovered that one effective way of getting out of any given harbor is by the bumping route. You get up close to one of these pretty things and bump up along its side, removing as much paint as possible. This sends you careening over to the other side of the harbor where you are almost certain to find a yacht owned by some prominent tooth-paste manufacturer. By scraping along its name plate you are sent further on your journey, and so after sideswiping all the available shipping in the harbor, you come at last to open water and have things your own way.

Now, when they see Ernst coming in his boat, which he has appropriately named "The Menace," there is a great bustling among the skippers of Nantucket Harbor. Everyone vies with his neighbor to see if there is any chance of weighing anchor and getting out of that place before The Menace comes blundering onto new paint.

Of course, there is much openly announced criticism of this method. But that is always the fate of the pioneer. Red-eyed and infuriated sailormen in all parts of the port scream cryptic instructions at Ernst. To all of which he merely waves a blithe hand and continues on his devastating way.

Again, in the Ernst school of seamanship, all the outworn conventional names are discarded. Any stranger aboard The Menace who tries any such funny business as talking about "fore and aft," "port and starboard," "gaits," "peaks," "booms," and the like nautical nonsense, is promptly thrown overboard. We use regular English in our sailing. We say "right and left," and "in front and behind," and when we want to come about, or "hard-a-lee," we holler "going the other way" and all is well. The Menace has the usual collection of confusing ropes, but no one knows the official names of any of them, and it doesn't seem to make any difference. Someone suggests that the sail will come down if you pull that doodab rope on the right side, and it always does come down. Furthermore, The Menace is run on principles that vindicate the anarchistic philosophy of Harry Kelley and his boy friends. There is no regular captain, a skipper sails until he is bored, and then gives up the tiller to another. To be sure The Menace goes aground every now and then and gives the folks on the shore a thrill by coming as near capsizing as any boat ever came in these waters. But when it suddenly decides to go up on the beach and stay there for awhile all hands get out and go swimming until the boat becomes cooled off, and then we push it into deep water and start sailing again.

We emphasize this new spirit of the amateur as exemplified by Brother Ernst because it indicates a new liberating force that is slowly coming into being. It is about time that we laymen get up and showed the stuffed shirt experts, with which this country is filthy, that they are not so much. In all walks of life they lord it over and they get away with it principally because they have the jargon of their particular professions by heart. That doesn't necessarily mean they know any more about actually doing things than we do, but they make it sound hard, and that is three-quarters of the battle.

You go to a lawyer, for example, and tell him that you are sore at a bird who lives down the block and you want to get back at him. Instead of telling you that the thing to do is to rush over to the bird's house and sock him a good one in the jaw and forget all about it, the lawyer hems and haws around and spills a lot of stuff about "torts" and "lis pendens," and "incorporeal hereditaments," until he has you stroggy and you tell him to go ahead and start suit. Or you are feeling low in your mind and your heart is acting up and you go to a psychoanalyst. He asks you a couple of thousand questions about all that you did as a child up to the age of six, what you thought about your old man and your nurse, if any, and how you liked your teacher, and about the time you played hockey from school, and what you have been dreaming lately, and then he looks gloomily at you and says:

"Aha, you evidently have a neurosis psychosis of an advanced Narcissistic nature. Your caption dream indicates a hyacinth phobia, and you are suffering from a maniac depression. Beginning tomorrow you may start your analysis with me for an hour a day for eighteen months at fifteen bucks per hour."

Of course, the only question that would have gotten anywhere would be to ask you what you had for dinner last night, some hours before the depression set in, and why you kept on eating pigs-knuckles and wheat cakes and maple syrup.

A lot of doctors are still sore at Sinclair Lewis for the way he showed up this jargon stuff in "Arrowsmith," but, in their hearts, they know that once medicine became socialized and stripped of its mystery, there would be a lot less work for the medicine men.

Even a profession as comparatively young as advertising has worked up its cryptic vocabulary. Every successful advertising agency is full of bright young magic-makers who can throw around phrases like "dealer resistance," "reader interest," "the p plus d plus e of media."

Myself, I am for applying the Ernst method to all our activities. If scads of us would agree to go ahead and try things that seem invariably hard principally because they are all smeared over with technical phrases, life would be a lot more exciting. We can have oodles of sport scraping and bumping our way through the hitherto forbidden ports of science and art and the so-called "learned professions," and while the high priests may go black in the face from rage, we can thumb our noses at them, having discovered that after all they are not such a great lot.

McAlister Coleman.

## Marxists' Replies to the Revisionists

THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

(Continued From Last Week)

**Increasing Misery**  
ONE of the tendencies of capitalist development depicted by Marx and most severely criticized by the Revisionists was the tendency toward "increasing misery" on the part of the working class. As we have seen, the Revisionists vigorously attacked this doctrine. The workers, they maintained, were steadily improving as capitalism progressed. Boudin's answer to this contention is of interest. "Marx," he maintained, "does not speak of the growth of the poverty of the working class. This omission is very significant and alone would be sufficient warrant for us in assuming that Marx did not consider the growing poverty of the working class as a necessary result of the evolution of capitalism, all revisionist assertions to the contrary notwithstanding." This can be seen by his statement that, with the accumulation of capital, the lot of the worker must grow worse, no matter whether his wages are high or low. Poverty is not the same as misery. Poverty in general depends on the amount of wages or other income a person receives. Misery, on the other hand, is a psychological, rather than a material condition.

The workers are increasingly miserable, as compared with the well-to-do, whose incomes have increased by leaps and bounds. Marx declared that there was a growing degradation among them. Degradation accompanies insecurity of tenure. The fact that the jobs of the workers are so insecure gives the capitalist a far greater power over the life and liberty of the "free" workmen than was ever enjoyed either by feudal baron over his serf or by the slaves holder over his chattel-slave.

Marx not only predicted, however, the tendency toward increasing misery, also the development within the capi-

talist system of an organized, disciplined, working class, fighting for immediate relief and for ultimate emancipation. The working class struggle, predicted by Marx, has undoubtedly led to better labor conditions. Present conditions are, "not merely the result of the tendencies of capitalistic accumulation, but of the tendencies of capitalist accumulation as modified by the struggle of organized labor against them." It is this struggle which is the most important factor from the Marxian point of view in the final overthrow of capitalism. In their advance, labor develops steadily in economic power and independent in the sense that it takes possession of more and more responsible positions in the economic life of the nation.

Some Marxists do not attempt to defend the theory of increasing misery. They feel that Marx meant that the workers tended to become increasingly poverty stricken, as well as mentally more miserable. But whether Marx "only meant to state the tendency of uncorrected capitalism, and not the historic law," writes Rubnow, and whether he had in mind "relative poverty" rather than absolute poverty, is important for students of history of economic thought, but not for the socialist movement. The important decisive fact is that the theory of increasing misery has been gradually abandoned by the socialist movement, and the movement still survives.

Rubnow, however, takes to task those critics who feel that capitalism automatically leads to constant improvement on the part of labor. After an examination of the trend of real wages, the capitalist system does not at all produce any marked improvement, he maintains, in the condition of the wage worker, and that whatever such improvement has taken place it may easily be explained by the obstinate struggle of the working

class, of which struggle the socialist movement is the most comprehensive expression.

"That under the influence of the rising price level, which benefits the property owner primarily, the tendency, unless corrected by an aggressive labor movement, seems to be the other way."

**Program of Socialization**  
It would give immediate attention to the unemployed, as "enforced idleness is the greatest curse of the laborer." It would begin the purchase of private enterprises. "The political domination of the proletariat and the continuation of the capitalist system of production are irreconcilable. A portion of the factories, mines, etc., could be sold to the laborers who are working them, and could henceforth be operated cooperatively. Another portion could be sold to consumers' co-operatives, and still another portion to the communities or to the states. Its most extensive purchasers, of course, would be the states and municipalities."

"The industries that are most prepared for nationalization, according to Kautsky, are the national means of transportation, railroads and steamships, together with those which produce raw material and partially processed goods; for example: mines, forests, iron foundries, machine manufactures, etc. These are also the very spheres where the great industries and trustification are most highly developed. The manufacture of raw material and partially produced articles for personal consumption, as well as small trading, have many local characteristics, and are still largely decentralized." In these spheres the municipalities and co-operatives will come more to the front, leaving the national industries to play a secondary role. Land used for exploitation and money capital will also be socialized.

It would dissolve the army though it would see that the people were armed. It would make fundamental reforms in taxation, and would cover the governmental expenses through the imposition of the graduated income tax and a property tax. It would in-

crease and improve the schools and raise the pay of teachers. It would see to it that all children were equally well nourished and clothed and had equal school facilities, while at the same time insisting that education be adapted to varying mentalities.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

## Another "Intelligence" Test

POPULAR government presupposes an enlightened public, and just how enlightened the public is may be readily judged by the result of a recent test held on third and fourth year college students.

There were sixty questions in the list. The highest grade, 93 per cent., was made by a student of Slav descent. The second rank, 97 per cent., went to a Russian. The highest grade by a native American was 89 per cent., and the lowest 19 per cent.

The author of this cruel probe says he assumed "That college students should be familiar with the outstanding figures in the history of the human race, and with the outstanding facts of present-day civilization." And just how familiar these young hopefuls were with these matters was elucidated by their answers.

Asked to tell why the following men and women were great, to give their nationality, and, if possible, the century in which they lived, or mention at least whether they are living or dead, the students produced the following results:

	Pct. of Correct Answers	Pct. of Incorrect Answers	No. Attempts To Answer
Plato.....	5	88	15
Petalozzi.....	15	88	0
Kant.....	10	17	73
Alfred Nobel.....	2	18	80
Edward Jenner.....	2	14	84
Goethe.....	30	45	25
Solon.....	4	44	52
Confucius.....	4	5	90

To some of these educated youngsters Plato was a Greek mathematician, or a philosopher in the 13th century. Only one student mentioned having read Plato's Republic, which I assume he found in the library of his daddy, who was an S. S. C., meaning Socialist Shoe Cobbler.

Two designated Petalozzi as an Italian painter living in the 14th or 15th century. Several named him as an American writer.

Edward Jenner, who, as the discoverer of the smallpox lymph, has perhaps saved more lives than all the military leaders of history have managed to waste, was named as a great writer, an American scientist, and a doctor.

Emanuel Kant fared even worse, as a German commander, a religious man, a general.

Alfred Nobel, besides living in the 15th, 16th and 17th and following centuries, was still alive, and gained glory as the inventor of the Nobel prize, as a rich Jew who gives the Nobel prize, and as a French painter.

Goethe was a German musician to many, and a Greek philosopher to a few.

Steinmetz, who died only recently and whose works and writings filled the pages of hundreds of American newspapers and magazines, was correctly known to 22. Among the 73 who had some vague inkling of the man he was described as a German musician, a German philosopher, a composer.

Of Solon, the great lawgiver, many had heard something, but could not remember who he was. One answered, "a Hebrew dancer," connecting him somehow with Salome.

Only four gave a correct description of Confucius. To six he was a great philosopher, a religious founder, a contemporary Polish philosopher, an astronomer, a pagan, and ninety had never heard of the man.

Of all the great and near-great of history only one scored 100 per cent., and that was the crazy butcher Napoleon, who made a slaughter-house of Europe in order to make the world forget that he measured only five feet five in his stockinged feet.

Yes, my beloved roughnecks, these are the mental flower of our nation. From their ranks will come the statesmen, law-makers, journalists and educators of the future. Just now they are at the zenith of their learning. From the day they take their last exam they will get dumber and dumber every day in every way—until by the time they have reached the Senate chamber, the White House, the editorial sanctum, or the college presidency, they will have accumulated the sagacity of a Cal Coolidge and keep cool under all circumstances.

And these are the members of our American intelligentsia who spout about ignorant foreigners and the ignorance of the laboring classes.

## Why Squeal Now?

I knew it would come.

What?

The parade of blind and crippled French war veterans which moved up the Champs Elysee the other day and laid a wreath on Washington's tomb into which an unkind soul had sneaked the following appeal to the American conscience.

The plaque was inscribed as follows:

"Over the head of diplomacy and far from political and financial combines the war veterans of France appeal straight to the people of the United States. After the deceptions of peace the proposed debt settlement would consecrate the ruin of France and the loss of its independence.

"America will understand that the war veterans of France, who are honest, sincere, and loyal, are asking in a friendly manner that the study of the question should be taken up once more."

The police were on hand to prevent violent demonstration before the American embassy. The police also removed the objectionable placard from Washington's monument as soon as the parade had vanished in the rain. American and English travelers, however, are being insulted and mobbed—therefore, I'm glad that financial and other reasons have prevented my annual pilgrimage to Paris on or about this time. (Which so far has never taken place.—Editor).

The facts as I see them are these: If America entered into the war to make the world safe for democracy, or to prevent the "Huns" from camping on Wall Street—then France has honestly earned every cent and every sou we loaned her.

On the other hand, if, as I am inclined to think, the great crusade was nothing but a gruesome swindle perpetrated on the "patriotic" American people, then the sooner we forget about it the better it will be for our reputation.

I for one would be the last fellow on earth to squeal if I had traveled all the way around the world to purchase a gold brick. And I herewith serve notice on my misrepresentatives in Washington that I have kissed farewell to every dollar I have contributed to Joan of Arc and General Lafayette for doing the nice things about which Woodrow Wilson talked—though talk was about as far as we ever got.

Adam Coadiggon

## GOVERNOR MINTURN A Labor Novel of the Northwest

By M. H. HEDGES

### Chapter XIII Home

ON the day following the election, Dan was on his way to see his mother, when he met Rakov in the street. Rather he was halted in the midst of Second avenue traffic by an unforgettable, colorful voice.

"You haven't got one of your monogrammed cigarettes about you, have you, Senator?"

"Why, Rakov, I'm glad to see you."

"How about the cigarette?"

Dan extended his case. The swarthy, delicate hand of his old friend extracted the tube, the brilliant probing eyes examined the faint gold lettering on the wrapper, the high-arched haughty nose sniffed at the tobacco, the flexible, cynical mouth displayed very white teeth—and with a sigh of relief, Rakov lit up and began to inhale.

"Well, you win, Minturn."

"Won, you mean?"

"No, win."

Rakov liked to be enigmatic. Dan noticed that his friend seemed frazier than usual. Dan waited. Rakov turned his amused eyes upon his companion; a slow smile played about his lips.

"You remember our old chin battle, Minturn, don't you?" he explained. "You always contended that we should conceive human society as one big family, and I called that bosh. I favored, you know, the club idea—the convivial fellowship—the swell club. Well, you win. Papa Gaylard, I hear, saved your hide down in the 113th."

Dan was discomfited.

Rakov continued. "In one week's time, they poured \$50,000 into that district. Now, I call that being rather fatherly."

Dan winced. He thought Rakov was going out of his way to be unkind.

"Well, you know how such things go," he continued.

"Sure, I do. Don't think that I'm trying to play the death's head at the feast, Minturn. Just thought I'd play the good sport and confess I'm wrong."

They seemed to have come to the end of their conversation after that. Dan spoke first.

"You're not looking well."

"I'm going away, Minturn."

"New York?"

"No, India. I think. Somewhere east of Suez. Been hoping I'd see you before I dug out." For a moment, he seemed to have lost the bantering tone he loved to effect. "You're looking well," he asserted, recovering the edge of his sarcasm. "I suppose the belly is part of your senatorial dignity, Minturn. But for God's sake, don't try to look like Gaylard. Don't, for God's sake, be a cartoon."

Dan ignored the personal reference.

"Why India?"

"Why Minneapolis? Why any place? I've been everywhere, tried everything save India. Thought I'd try India. I'm just bored, that's all. Getting old, I guess." Dan smiled. "Well, you plump plutocrat, I'm older than you think."

"About 60 I suppose. Why shouldn't you go? You have no ties, no family, to keep you here, and you can take your business with you."

The vivid face of Rakov sobered.

"But I have a family—a little girl

three years old. We sort of lost track of each other, Minturn. Her mother died last week. Best woman I ever knew, Minturn. I picked her right out of the streets, a plain, stolid Scandinavian girl, ugly as a mud fence, but God, how she could work, and love. No poetry about her, Minturn, but she was poetry. After we married she went straight as a die."

"Gee, I'm sorry about her death, Rakov."

"Oh, it's all in a lifetime, you know. I've lost other women—and there are more in India. But you ought to see the kid."

"I'd like to. By the way, wouldn't she be better off here?"

There was a flash of brilliant evil in the eyes of Abner Rakov. Again Dan experienced the irrational wish to see him in a tent on the desert, his black hair encased in a high, colorful turban, his tall, gaunt form in robes of a shak.

"God, no," he exclaimed. "I would not leave her here, Minturn, if I had to carry her on my back every step to the Orient. You Americans are nothing but pigs. It's a pig-trough civilization, Senator Minturn. It can't survive. Machines grinding out stuff that people don't want that people may be kept at the wheel in order to buy the stuff they don't want, and can't use. It makes me laugh, this industrialism, this imitation of the hog, feeding on sugar, and meat, and swill; these hog wars, this hog art, these hog wars, where human beings are slaughtered in cold blood, with invisible machines, to grind out more stuff that no one wants or can use. It's sardonic—a farce for Satan, a mad, self-consuming dream."

### 2

Rakov trembled. The suppressed prophet was unloosed in him. He burned with a kind of madness of candor. . . . Minturn had nothing to say. In the silence, he saw Rakov return to himself slowly, like a pugilist recovering from a blow on the brain.

"Give me another of your damn good cigarettes," he said. "It's my health, I guess, that is taking me to India."

He looked fatigued—old.

They were not able to bridge the transition between their moods and lives. There was another abrupt silence, following which Rakov murmured, "Well, goodbye," to plunge into the traffic. Dan remained standing thoughtfully watching him. He was surprised to see him turn back. He came up, smiling his amused, almost wicked smile.

"I saw you with your wife the other day, Minturn. She's very beautiful, very beautiful. I was never one of those who blamed you for taking her—but, I never saw a woman—I've known women in every country of the world (this with pride and dignity) with volcanic hair like that who didn't devour her mate. Don't become food for lovely Agatha without a battle. Fight, old man, fight." Laughing, he was gone.

Minturn did not care to go to his mother's after his encounter with Rakov. He went back to his office, smoked a cigarette, pondered life, fate, necessity, and went home perplexed, and just a little sad.

That night, he and Agatha went to hear Julia Clausen. The regal diva, with her soaring magnificent voice, caroling the stormy minstrel

of Wagner charmed Dan. Her voice was inspiring, a militant horn, that called to battle, and spoke of wiles loves with strong-limbed, full-bodied women.

The audience no less than the singing spoke to Dan's soul. Well-fed, elegantly groomed men, and richly gowned, lovely women; the sparkle of eyes, the murmured comments, the soft laughter, and high enthusiasm of those with whom he was surrounded, had their effect on his spirit. He reverted momentarily to Rakov. He understood him better now. He was sick in mind, as well as in body. Perhaps just a little mad. That was the great mistake; to think and think as Rakov had done until one became bitter, and becoming bitter, grew morbid.

Senator Minturn looked out over the gay, brilliant throng, while the plangent beauty of Clausen's voice rang in his ears. He knew life as fruitful and good. He found Agatha's hand, and gave it a friendly little squeeze. He glowed in the miracle of her hair.

DAN found his mother in the kitchen vainly trying to build a fire in the old range. She was a little breathless, quite soiled, with a smudge of coal soot across her worn face. Dan took the coal scuttle from her hand, set it down, and placed her, resisting, in the one chair the kitchen afforded. Then snatching up the scuttle, he went for coal; returning to tend the fire. Her dim eyes followed him appreciatively and deplorably.

"Now Danny," she implored, "don't do any more. You'll ruin your clothes."

"Nonsense, a little dust won't hurt them."

She surveyed him approvingly—from the gray spats and neat oxfords to the Fedora hat which he had not removed. He was imposing, perfect, she thought.

"Mother," he demanded, when the fire had been made to burn, "when are you going to let me get you that maid. It's time you stayed out of this kitchen."

"No, Danny. I couldn't bear to have a girl musing round. Anyway, if she came, what would I do? I have to work. . . . It's all that keeps me going, I guess."

She tried to smile, but nothing she could do could hide the truth from herself or from Dan. Life for her was a daily ordeal, an adversary that must be met each morning and vanquished. Work helped to obliterate the struggle. It could not mitigate it. As son and mother looked into each other's eyes—oh, so tender of each other—they conjured up a third presence, a spectre that stood between them. They seemed like lovers beckoning to each other across an abyss of doom. They were separated by vast spaces. They were prisoners manacled together, and forbidden to speak. . . . As Dan looked into her worn face, with its brave smile, he could not see her for remembering what she had missed, and as she faced this well-groomed stranger, once her baby, she could not see him for remembering what she had lost. And though they turned back to each other repeatedly in the hope of finding an old, sweet relationship, each found that he had only wounded the other. But neither could speak of his pain. Each must feign joy.

Try as he would, Dan could not take pleasure in his mother's company. She

reminded him too insistently of the difference in their lives. There had been a time, when he would have excused himself on the ground that he was doing something for her—for her and for all the other disinherited mothers. Now—though he only half-acknowledged it—this amelioration of his pain was gone. He saw—without her knowing it—that her affections were wrapping themselves around Hugh.

So they faced each other, dumbly, tenderly, futilely.

Mother Minturn fixed her dim eyes, wet with tears, upon his face until he was urged to cry, "Don't look at me that way, mamma, I did not do this to you."

"You know what you ought to be doing," he demanded. "You ought to be sitting in the front room all dressed up in that silk dress I bought you. Naughty mother, I bet you have never had it on."

"Yes, I have, Danny, honest," she asserted, a little embarrassed. "You don't know how I love to see it hanging there, so bright and stiff. It's like a dream. I often go up and touch it, just to see if it's real."

They were mocking joy—but it helped.

"How's Agatha?" she asked abruptly.

He told her his wife was well. They scarcely ever got beyond this formality. Long ago Dan had ceased trying to tell his mother about his world. He could not say, "Mother, we heard Clausen last night with Dr. Joyce and Maggie Toller. Mother, we were at dinner with the Granvilles. Mother, we played golf yesterday with the Arnolds." Such things—if he spoke them—would not reach her understanding. Gradually he had come to know that to speak them erected further barriers between them.

God knew there were barriers enough! Today they found a fleeting comradeship in speaking of his childhood.

"Do you remember," she asked, "the little hunting suit I made you to go with your toy gun, and how you used to hunt for 'ducks' in the back yard?"

"I'll say I do, mamma," he answered buoyantly. "Some suit, some gun. How good you were to me, mamma."

"And do you remember the day you and Hugh organized the Minturn Military Band, how you got all the old dishpans in the neighborhood, and all the broken combs, and made so much noise that the policeman came in and told you he'd lock you up?"

"Grouchily old fool!"

"You were always speechmaking, Dan. You used to climb up on the kitchen table, when I was baking, and orate about capital and labor, and injustice to the working man. I was always proud of you. We always knew that you were going to be a great man sometime. With Hugh it was different. He liked to work with his hands, and he hated books and school. Children are so different that way."

"And don't you remember, mother," he put in, "how I used to go skating after school and play till dark, and come home half starved? You would give us wieners and fried potatoes and white bread with corn syrup, and we would eat and eat. How good things tasted!"

(To be continued next week)



## Cap and Pocketbook Unions Score Victories In New Agreements

### The Field of Labor

LITTLE general notice has been taken of the quiet and magnificent victories that have been made by the "right wing" administrations of the New York needle trades unions. Judging from recent publicity stunts only "lefts" seem capable of making—and enjoying—triumphs. Two examples of contrary occurrences are supplied by the agreements just made by the "right" administrations of the cap and hat makers and pocketbook workers' unions.

The cap and hat makers were confronted by the demands of the manufacturers for the abolition of the unemployment insurance fund of the industry, the right to discharge twenty percent of the working force, the privilege of employing workers without applying to the union's employment office and the abolition of pay for legal holidays. Not one of these points was conceded by the union. The unemployment insurance that was retained is one of the dreams of the "lefts." The workers contribute nothing, the "bosses" everything and the union administers the fund. Wages were increased. The principle of the forty-hour week was won and its introduction, without any strings attached to it, as in the furriers' agreement, was set for July 1, 1927. Overtime remained at time and a half. The most notable gain was the binding of the manufacturer under penalties not to produce for or sell to non-union jobbers.

The pocketbook workers were just as successful. The manufacturers had presented demands aiming to undermine union control of the shops, such as the right to employ twenty percent of non-union members at the height of the season, temporary employment of apprentices, counting of overtime only after forty-four hours had been worked instead of after the scheduled closing hour each day, break-down of equal division of work and privilege to transfer employees from one department to another in order to wean workers away from the union by acts of favoritism. (At present such transfers must be made to another shop with the union's permission.) The union resisted these encroachments. The manufacturers had to retreat.

The final agreement defined conclusively what is meant by a pocketbook maker's helper so that there would be no doubt about who was to receive a higher scale and who was not. The minimum wage of such helpers was fixed at thirty dollars per week. Formerly they were victims of the boss' whim, since there has been an over-supply of them. Subsidiary shops, owned and controlled by a main manufacturer, could not be started without notifying the union. This was in order to prevent surreptitious escapes from union control. Equal proportional division of work between the main and subsidiary shops was provided for. All

items bought from outside manufacturers must be bought from shops registered by the unions as in contractual relations with it. Absolute equal division of work was to prevail.

Here are two agreements made by "rights" which any "lefts" can well be proud of. But publicity has misled them.

### THE MAN BEHIND THE COUNTER WINS

So much has been said about the impossibility of organizing retail store clerks because of the lack of uniformity in their working conditions, that it is worth while calling attention to the clear-cut gains just made by the Anaconda, Montana, local of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association. There the union's efforts were particularly obstructed by the management of the Woolworth store in that city. With the help of the Central Labor Council this concern was placed on the unfair list, resulting in sufficient loss of sales to compel the firm to capitulate. The final agreement with the merchants of Anaconda calls for the closed shop, limitation of apprentices, minimum wage scales, non-employment of a married woman unless her husband is an invalid and her family depends upon her for a living, definite closing hours, firing of disobedient merchants by the union, and the check-off, optional with the union. While such a complete victory may not be all that is possible in a large city where conditions are much more complicated and where little reliance can be placed upon labor patronage, still the Anaconda case indicates that there is the possibility of many accomplishments in this field yet.—L. S.

### BRODSKY NOT CONNECTED WITH EMERGENCY RELIEF

In Louis Silverstein's article, "Behind the Scenes of the New York Subway Strike," he stated that Carl Brodsky is "connected with the Emergency Relief Committee of the Passaic Strikers." The impression may have been created that what was meant was the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief. That was not the intention. Carl Brodsky is associated with the General Relief Committee of Textile Strikers. The Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief was established by the League for Industrial Democracy and the American Civil Liberties Union for general relief purposes and specifically to assist the Passaic strikers. Among its officers are Norman Thomas, chairman; H. S. Rauschenbush, treasurer; and Clara Mischelson, executive secretary. The address of both committees is 739 Broadway.

**Furusetth Returns From Geneva**  
WASHINGTON—Andrew Furusetth, president of the International Seamen's Union of America, is back at Washington headquarters after a stay of three months in Europe. He spent much of that period in Geneva, blocking a proposed provision in the draft convention for a maritime industrial law which would make it a crime for a seaman to leave his vessel in a safe harbor before completion of the voyage. This scheme is a denial of the right to strike, safeguarded in American law by the LaPorte seamen's act of 1915.

**Mill Owners on Strike**  
NEW BEDFORD, Mass.—Mill owners of New Bedford are on strike for higher prices. The strike is directed against the consumer. Buyers are calling for goods, but the prices they are offering do not suit the manufacturers, so the latter have gotten together and curtailed production to less than 50 per cent of normal. A total of 15,000 workers are idle as the result of the bosses' strike, and the town shows a total of 1,669 idle working-class tenements.

**Glass Wages Unchanged**  
ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.—The American Plitt Glass Workers' Union and the Pressed Glass Manufacturers' Association signed a contract at Atlantic City renewing wages and working conditions for the coming year. About 5,000 workers are affected.

**Sign Wage Agreement**  
HAVERHILL, Mass.—Three hundred workers in the counter making departments of 10 Haverhill shoe factories got renewal of old wages and conditions in a two-year contract negotiated by the Shoe Workers' Protective Union.

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## The Story of The Typographical Union

A Record of Struggle and Progress

By Louis Silverstein

### I. Founding a National Organization (1776-1852)

AN officer of the International Typographical Union once remarked to the writer in speaking of the nature of his craft: "We printers become educated, even in spite of ourselves." Perhaps it is this wide contact and this necessary literacy that is characteristic of the printer's trade that explains the fact that the Typographical Union probably has the longest history and the most complete record of any union in the United States.

In the year of American Independence, 1776, we have the first recorded instance of a strike of journeymen or full-fledged printers. It was an attempt to force employers in New York City to grant an increase in wages. The walkout failed. Right here it must be noticed that there was no such thing as a permanent union in those days. Workers would simply get together from time to time when circumstances became particularly distasteful and decide upon some temporary action. Such was the case in the strike of 1776 as well as in the other authenticated instance of cessation of work by Philadelphia printers ten years later.

Permanent organizations did not arise until close to the end of the eighteenth century. In 1795 a Typographical Society was founded in New York City. Although it did manage to secure wage increases, circumstances militated against it, so that it did not survive its third year. It is one of the earliest American unions about which we have information.

### The Franklin Society Is Born

At the close of the century in 1799, the Franklin Typographical Society of Journeymen Printers of New York came into existence. It had a fair measure of success during its five years of life. It has the honor of having formulated the first complete wage scale presented by printers and won by striking. It demanded twenty-five cents per 1,000 ems and minimum wages of seven dollars per week on book and job work and of eight dollars on newspapers. For the latter two classes of work the New York scale today ranges from fifty-four to sixty-eight dollars on the former and sixty to sixty-four on the latter. Even considering the probable rise of the cost and standard of living, we can readily see how unionization has benefited the printer.

In the meantime an organization was formed at Philadelphia in 1802 known as the Philadelphia Typographical Society. Today it is the oldest printers' association in the country but since 1831 it has lacked its trade union character. In that year it became a purely benevolent association. Before that time two factions in the Society were struggling for supremacy, as in every other typographical organization in the first third of the nineteenth century. One group was interested only in the benefit features and decried trade action, the other had no objection to mutual assistance in case of need but insisted upon the necessity of taking steps to protect the economic interests of printers. The conservative side finally won, but the radicals went on organizing on the outside just the same. In New York City the New York Typographical Society, founded in 1809, and still existing, suffered a similar fate in spite of an early aggressive career. The conservatives being in power, they accepted a legislative charter in 1818, stripping the Society of its economic functions.

### Washington Local The Oldest

Other organizations of the printers' craft cropped up in various places from time to time. About thirty cities, scattered throughout the United States from coast to coast and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, were the scenes of activity of these unions before 1850. Not all of these bodies, it must be remembered, existed at any one time. They came and went. Others took their places. The union which has had the longest period of continuous life is that at Washington, D. C. (No. 101). It was founded in 1815 and is considered by some authorities as the oldest existing union of any trade. Other record-breakers are Baltimore (No. 12), 1831; Cincinnati (No. 3), 1846; Boston (No. 13), 1848; New York (No. 6), 1850, and Philadelphia (No. 2), 1850. One of the important reasons for the disappearance of many of the early bodies was the practice of "free membership." Old-timers after a stated period of dues' paying varying from ten to twenty years were exempted from further payments. The new members had to bear the burden. Where the system prevailed, the organization ceased to exist about the time the first list of free members appeared.

In spite of the manner in which these early unions were scattered throughout the country, they soon discovered that their economic interests were closely inter-connected, that the labor market was really national and that their difficulties could not be solved except by cooperative action. The travelling or "tramp" printer was one case in point. He sought employment where he heard there were opportunities for work and higher wages than at home. He scabbed in one town and then after the strike moved into another to do damage there. He worked below the union scale and when exposed and expelled from his organization as a "rat" went elsewhere to repeat his under-



JOHN A. NAFEW  
Of Albany, first president of the  
International Typographical Union

handed dealing. The first unions grappled with this problem by keeping up a diligent correspondence with one another. They exchanged information as to wages and working conditions. They sent each other lists of "rats." But while this voluntary arrangement sometimes worked well, the need for more unified and centralized action was recognized.

### Apprenticeship A Major Problem

The other big problem of the printers was apprenticeship. The old rule of the medieval guilds requiring an apprentice to serve six years between the ages of fifteen and twenty-one had become, in the face of changing conditions, only a general guide. It was seldom observed. In fact, it became customary for master printers to hire runaway apprentices who had not completed their term of service, even when it was less than six years, and discharge old hands. These newcomers were called "half-way journeymen," and later "two-thirds." Naturally, the printers' organizations tried to eradicate this evil. Their efforts were confined to making stricter apprenticeship rules and limiting their membership to those who had lived up to all the regulations. It never occurred to them that the solution might lie in fixing the ratio of apprentices to journeymen in the trade. The result was that "two-thirds" and non-union printers increased in number since they could underbid the regular journeymen.

The situation was dramatized by the experience of the Columbia Typographical Society in Washington, D. C. General Duff Green was the Government printer as well as the publisher of a newspaper, the "United States Telegraph." In 1833 General Green began to take on "two-thirds" for his paper and a large number of boys as apprentices for the Government work. The following year he announced the outline of what many conceived as a fantastic scheme. He would establish a Washington Institute—the printers called it "a manual labor school," enroll two hundred boys each year, teach them the printing trade and pay them two dollars a week for their work to be paid to them at the end of their period of employment-instruction. The Columbia Society saw the danger and protested in vain. It is interesting to note that they denied General Green's development of the logic of their position when he said that their interference implied the right to regulate the number of apprentices. The printers were not yet ready for this conclusion.

### A Strike In 1835

As a result of this controversy the Washington printers went out on strike in 1835. To fortify their position they appealed to the societies in other cities not to permit their members to take employment with General Green as teachers. It further went on record as classifying all persons who did accept such work as "rats" with whom union printers might not work. Its position was endorsed by practically every other organization of its craft. About the same time the Franklin Society of Cincinnati found its conduct of a strike against a wage reduction hampered by the importation of "strangers" from Pittsburgh and elsewhere. It issued a circular on November 6, 1835, calling for a national convention. It proposed:

"First, that each society in its own district be sustained by all others in the prices (wages) it may establish.

"Second, that journeymen bringing certificates of membership in any society, of good standing, receive a preference over all others in the efforts made to procure them employment.

"Third, that rats, pronounced by one society, be considered as such by all other societies."

The Washington society took up this proposal with glee. It suggested its own city as the meeting place. Consequently on November 7, 1836, the first national convention of printers in the United States met at the National Typographical Society. Delegates were present from Baltimore, New York City, Washington, Harrisburg, Philadelphia, and by proxy from New Orleans. Curiously enough, it was discovered that the delegate from Phila-

delphia was himself a "rat" who had worked for General Green. He was expelled both from the convention and from his union.

### The Second And Last Convention

The delegates adopted a number of recommendations proposing uniform apprenticeship rules, exchange of and mutual recognition of "rat" lists and, most important of all, the opening of membership books to all non-union printers for a period of six years irrespective of whether they had served proper apprenticeships or not. This was a victory for the radicals who contended that the former strictness and discrimination injured themselves more than their supposed victims.

A second and what proved to be the last convention of the National Typographical Society met again the following year. A fraternal delegate from Nova Scotia was present, thus foreshadowing the present international organization. The meeting of 1838 was postponed. No other gatherings ever took place. This failure at national organization discouraged the local bodies and for a time the "benefit" group, or "allmoners," triumphed over the strict trade unionists.

It was not until 1850 that the next attempt to organize on a country-wide basis was made. In December of that year the first National Convention of Journeymen Printers met in New York City, with representatives from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Kentucky. This meeting went much further than the former National Typographical Society. It recommended the formation of a national body the locals of which would accumulate reserve funds of ten dollars per member and agreed to help each other financially if necessary to the extent of one dollar per member. It came out for the limitation of apprentices, which had become popular with the local unions in the years preceding, and for a co-operative printing shop to do the government work. Its radical address to the printers of the country was but a reflection of the Utopian socialism of that period. It spoke of the clash between labor and capital and tried to abolish the wage system by co-operative ventures.

### The National Union Idea Sprouts

The convention of the following year met at Baltimore September 12, 1851, with delegates from New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Kentucky, Ohio, Virginia and New Jersey. Permanent committees were established and a report was adopted advocating the establishment of a national printers' union, "legislative in character." The printers had at last come to realize that recommendations were not enough, that action was necessary. Through careful discussion and bitter experience they had come to this mature decision.

When the third convention assembled at Cincinnati in 1852 it organized itself as the National Typographical Union in accordance with the report of the committee it had appointed. The previous year to draw up a constitution. By a formal vote on Wednesday, May 5, 1852, the National Typographical Union came into existence. Its first action was to condemn Sunday work. Then it set about to organize the subordinate unions. Charter numbers were assigned to the local unions by lot, as follows: Indianapolis, No. 1; Philadelphia, No. 2; Cincinnati, No. 3; Albany, No. 4; Columbus, No. 5; New York, No. 6; Pittsburgh, No. 7; St. Louis, No. 8; Buffalo, No. 9; Louisville, No. 10; Memphis, No. 11; Baltimore, No. 12; Boston, No. 13; Harrisburg, No. 14.

The first president of the newly constituted national union was J. S. Nafew of Albany, New York. Thus, the printers of this country finally attained the goal they had been striving to reach for many years. They now had a national union which could legislate and enforce the laws it made. The present International Typographical Union was formed by an extension of the field of activity to Canada in 1869.

### WORKERS' SPORTS

**Tourist Club Hike**  
This Sunday, August 15, we hike to Silver Lake and the Quarry near White Plains. Meeting place, East 180th street subway station, downstairs. Time, 4:30 p. m. (Saturday afternoon); fare, 70 cents; walking time, three hours; leader, August Faude. As this is a camping and bathing hike, bring your pup tents and bathing suits along. Non-members are welcome guests at all times, provided they are nature-loving proletarians.

**Progressive Sport Club**  
A radical sport club has been organized by the City Committee of the Jewish Socialist Verband, to promote athletic activities among the young element of the working class. We have started with a membership of fifty, and it is increasing every week.

Soccer and baseball teams have been formed and within a short time they will show good results. We are also having a dance on Saturday evening, October 2, at Clinton Hall, 151 Clinton street, New York City. All those who are interested in the sport club should come to our next meeting, on Tuesday evening, August 17, at 204 East Broadway, New York City.

## Argentines In International; Bulgar Unions Solidified; Portugal Unity Demanded

### Labor Doings Abroad

THE recently organized Argentine Federation of Labor is now a member of the International Federation of Trade Unions. Its application for admission has been approved by a postal vote of the General Council of the I. F. T. U.

While the new Federation, and the railroad unions, which are leading the move for a really nation-wide organization, are gaining ground, the recently held Buenos Aires Congress of the Communist-Syndicalist trade union Federation (Union Sindical Argentina), has once more demonstrated the impotence and sectarian nature of its movement. The greater part of the discussion was devoted to personalities and mutual insults, and it was apparent that no alteration is to be expected in this state of affairs. Typical of the attitude of the Congress was the exclusion of a representative of the typographical union, although he worked at his trade, on the ground that he was a member of a town council.

Italian socialists in Buenos Aires have erected a Matteotti Monument. It is a high relief of bronze, designed by the Italian Socialist, Zirardini, and represents Matteotti making a speech.

Reports from Sofia tell of the unification of the labor organizations of Bulgaria as the result of the recommendations made by the Balkan Trade Union Congress of last April.

The officials of the former Communist unions, subsequently known as Independents, accepted an invitation to negotiate extended by the officers of the unions affiliated with Amsterdam and the result was the forming of a federation to be called the United Trade Unions of Bulgaria, which will be a national section of the International Federation of Trade Unions. The new body is to build a home for its central office and will publish a paper.

The agreement was reached on July 21 and was ratified by a big labor meeting in Sofia, at which enthusiasm ran high and optimistic prophecies were made by many speakers.

### SOCIALISTS DEMAND UNITY IN PORTUGAL

The annual convention of the Socialist Party of Portugal, held in Lisbon, July 3 to 5, was chiefly occupied with the recent political events and the party's attitude towards the struggles between various competitors for the dictatorship. With regard to the absolute superiority of the various factions and the military dictatorship it was decided to maintain the greatest political reserve and to concentrate all efforts on building up the Party and on its inner organization.

In spite of very lively debates and many differences of opinion, all speakers were united on the one point, that the cohesion of the Party must, at all costs, be maintained. The affiliation of the Party with the Socialist and Labor International, which took place in March, 1925, was approved.

### PERUVIAN INDIANS ASK AID FROM ARGENTINA

Despite the pressure of the tyrannical yoke imposed upon both native and foreign—or semi-foreign workers—by the Peruvian Government, headed by President Leguia, the division between the 100 per cent Peruvian Indians, organized in the Federación Indígena Obrera Regional Peruana, and the workers of foreign or mixed blood, united in the Centro Internacional Obrero del Peru, still exists. Judging from a letter recently received by Senator Juan B. Justo, one of the leading Socialists of Argentina.

Writing in the name of the native Peruvian workers, Manuel Sumalvia, Foreign Secretary of the Federación Indígena Obrera, asks Senator Justo to represent that organization in the columns of La Vanguardia, the big Buenos Aires Socialist daily, and in any other way he may think appropriate. Stress is laid upon the miserable conditions under which the Peruvians are being exploited by foreign and native capitalists and publicity abroad is requested.

In his answer, accepting the man-

date, Senator Justo declares his willingness to do all in his power for the Peruvian proletariat, native or of foreign extraction, and expresses his surprise that the labor movement in that country should be divided along racial lines. He wants to know if the Federación has any connection with the Pan American Federation of Labor and he assures Senator Sumalvia that the Argentine Socialists and trade union men are eager to help their Peruvian brothers organize both politically and industrially. He emphasizes the need of a Peruvian Socialist Party and hopes all the organized workers there will be able to unite upon a practical platform. Senator Justo inquires if the Peruvian workers would like to have an Argentine labor agitator visit their country and help them organize.

The Centro Internacional Obrero del Peru is affiliated with the Pan American Federation and only recently sent an appeal to President William Green for help in its fight against the Peruvian labor conscription law, which is said to force every able-bodied worker in the country to put in twelve days a year toiling, ostensibly for the State, but in reality for foreign companies holding contracts for road and other public works. The principal foreign concern profiting by this exploitation of the workers is the Foundation Company of New York.

The organization of native workers, made up largely of plantation and mining laborers, is said to be much larger than the Centro Internacional. A couple of years ago the native organization was reported to have accepted a Communist program and to be on the point of joining the Communist Trade Union International. Apparently this affiliation never took place.

### COMMUNISTS OUST DEPUTY IN URUGUAY

Celestino Mibelli, one of the leading lights of the Communist Party of Uruguay, has been thrown out by that party, and its Executive Committee has decided to present his resignation to the President of the Chamber of Deputies, according to a news dispatch from Montevideo.

This development had been anticipated for some time by the Socialists of Uruguay, who, in their paper, "El Sol," have been passing many sarcastic remarks about the "Iron Moscow discipline" among the Communists which allowed a Deputy to remain in the party with only a motion of censure by the Executive Committee as punishment for voting for a bill pensioning off a number of Deputies defeated in the elections of last November. Among those benefiting by the pension law is a brother of Deputy Mibelli.

Although the early reports of the last elections gave the Communist Party two Deputies in the Chamber, the way in which the Executive Committee refers to Senator Mibelli indicates that he was the only Communist elected. Consequently, there are no more labor members in the Parliament of Uruguay, as the Socialists did not win any seats last November, although they increased their popular vote by about 75 per cent over that of 1922, while the Communists gained only 25 per cent.

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# The New Leader Mail Bag

## Goebel Goes Abroad

Editor The New Leader:  
George H. Goebel is about to start on a trip to Europe August 4. Local Essex County, N. J., has sent him a letter of felicitation on this occasion, a copy of which is inclosed herewith. Some of the comrades in Essex County think it might not be inappropriate to publish the letter in the columns of The New Leader. You may use your own discretion whether to publish it or not.

Fraternally,  
ANDREW P. WITTEL,  
Belleville, N. J. County Secretary.

Copy of Letter to George H. Goebel  
George H. Goebel  
14 Bridge St., Newark, N. J.

Dear Comrade:  
At the last meeting of the executive committee, Local Essex County, Socialist Party, N. J., it was unanimously decided to instruct the county secretary to extend the heartfelt good wishes of the committee and of Local Essex County to you upon the occasion of your trip to Europe.

We, your comrades and co-workers, who have been so intimately associated with you in party work for many years, take this opportunity to express the deep appreciation we feel for you as a friend and comrade whose distinguished services, both locally and nationally, will ever be an inspiration and a guide to all who know you as we do.

All the comrades unite in wishing you a pleasant voyage and express the hope that the change of environment and rest may speedily restore you to vigorous good health.

With sincerest good wishes, we are

Fraternally yours,

Local Essex County, Socialist Party, N. J.

County Executive Committee  
Andrew P. Wittel, Secretary.

## A Menace to Unionism

Editor, The New Leader:  
Mr. Epstein's article in Current History is very interesting. There is, indeed, a grave crisis in the trade union movement. To me, it seems that we are approaching a new chapter in the history of trade unions not unlike the one when the Knights of Labor were displaced by the American Federation. Like the latter, the Knights started as a militant organization voicing the revolt of the workers and its power grew with rapid strides until at one time the Knights of Labor were powerful and able to assist its membership in its contests with the employers. Then it became conservative, its leaders carried favor with the political powers and received political appointments. The real purpose of the organization became secondary and it began to decline. It was then that Samuel Gompers seized his opportunity and organized the Federation with whose growth we are familiar.

But history is repeating itself: it became more and more conservative as it gathered power and in fast losing its appeal to its membership. The war and the long continued prosperity among the workers were undoubtedly a large factor; but the signs of the times are not wanting. The various labor organizations are abandoning their proper field and engaging in en-

terprises that are not germane to their purpose. There may be justification in the organization of labor banks. In fact, I have advocated that long before it came. It is to the interest of the workers to control their own funds so that they may not be used against themselves when the employers are at war with them. But we see now a further development of the capitalist feature in labor organizations. One is buying office buildings, another engaging in housing, a third combining the labor bank with a capitalist bank for general commercial purposes. Each individual effort may not be important but the cumulative effect is to destroy the militant spirit of labor and turn it into the field of capitalist investment and that means death to its legitimate functions, that of a militant organization for war against the employers, for labor unions are the regiments of labor's army in its war against capitalism.

It is now customary to preach about the identity of interest and all that bosh, but when it comes to a conflict with employers labor immediately awakens to the fact that it is engaged in a war, war for existence and nothing but constant watchfulness and preparedness will bring about the result. The success of the radical unions is due to this fact, that they were prepared for war and were able to avoid it largely because they had the power to enforce their aims. They are, however, not exempt from the present capitalist tendency.

We must bear this in mind: That a labor organization that has its funds tied up in property and capitalist enterprise will not dare to enter into an extended struggle if by so doing it will jeopardize its funds. It is for this reason that employers are anxious for workers to buy homes on the installment plan and stocks in their corporation. A worker who owns a home and has to pay a mortgage will not strike and risk losing his home. The worker who owns stock in his employer's company will work harder and save to get a five dollar dividend at the end of the year and in so doing sacrifice one hundred dollars worth of health and wages. The employers are getting wiser but the workers more foolish. Class consciousness is no longer a virtue with the working class. It has become the mainstay of the capitalist. And remember that Socialist and radical organizations are not immune. Economic determinism is the iron law of economics. Look at the Socialist and Labor organizations in Germany just before the great war. They had millions invested. When the war came in spite of their radicalism they did not dare to oppose the government, although they voted for the general strike only a short time before at the international congress. They knew that if they took any such step the government would confiscate all their funds. They were not afraid of jail. They have proved this repeatedly, but they were afraid that the organization would be destroyed and they compromised to save the funds and organization and did neither.

L. A. MALKIEL,  
New York City.

The working class will substitute, in the course of its development, for the old order of civil society an association which will exclude classes and their antagonism, and there will no longer be political power, properly speaking, since political power is simply the official form of the antagonism in civil society.—Marx.

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# UNION DIRECTORY

## BRICKLAYERS' UNION

Office: 33 EAST 84TH STREET LOCAL 34 Telephone Lenox 4339  
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening in the Labor Temple  
THOMAS CANNILL, President  
THOMAS PORTER, Rec. Secretary EDWARD DUNN, Fin. Secretary

## BRICKLAYERS' UNION

Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Ave. Phone 4621 Stage  
Office open daily except Mondays from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.  
Regular meetings every Tuesday Evening  
WILLIAM WENIGER, President CHARLES FLEAUM, Fin. Sec'y  
VALENTINE BUME, Vice-President JOHN TIMMONS, Treasurer  
HENRY ARMENDINGER, Rec. Sec'y ANDREW STREET, Bus. Agent

## United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION 488  
MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 495 E. 166th Street  
OFFICE: 501 EAST 101ST STREET. Telephone Melrose 5674  
THOMAS DALTON, President CHAS. H. BAUSHER, Bus. Agent  
HARRY P. EILERT, Fin. Sec'y THOMAS ANDERSON, Rec. Sec'y

## UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS and JOINERS of America

LOCAL UNION No. 808  
Headquarters in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Avenue.  
Office: Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, Telephone Stage 6440. Office hours every day except Thursday. Regular meetings every Monday evening.  
JOHN HALKETT, President SYDNEY PEARCE, Rec. Secretary  
FRANK HOFFMAN, Vice-President JOHN TRALER, Fin. Secretary  
WILLIAM WENIGER, Business Agent

## DOCK AND PIER CARPENTERS

LOCAL UNION 1466, UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA  
67-69 Lexington Avenue Madison Square 4902  
Regular meetings every second and fourth Monday  
CHARLES JOHNSON, Jr., President  
Michael Erikson, Vice-Pres. Ed. M. Olsen, Fin. Sec'y Ludwig Benson  
Christopher Gulbrandsen, Recording Secretary Charles Johnson, Jr., Ray Clark  
Business Agents

## UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS and JOINERS OF AMERICA—LOCAL 2183

Day room and office, 160 East 45th Street, New York. Phone: RHINELANDER 6389  
Regular meetings every Friday at 8 P. M.  
JOHN A. WAKNA, President J. J. DALTON, Vice-President W. J. CORDINE, Rec. Sec'y  
THOMAS SHEARLAW, Fin. Sec'y CHAS. BARN, Treasurer WILLIAM FIFE, Bus. Agent

## PLASTERERS' UNION, LOCAL 60

Office, 4 West 125th St. Phone Harlem 6432.  
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening. The Executive Board Meets Every Friday Evening at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th Street, New York City.  
MICHAEL J. COLLIERAN, President and Business Agent  
J. J. O'CONNELL, Vice-President  
THOMAS SHERIDAN, Fin. Sec'y JOHN LEAVY JOHN DOOLEY  
MICHAEL GALLAGHER, Rec. Sec'y JOSEPH LAMONTE

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

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and the International Congress of Labor Unions  
MEETS EVERY THURSDAY EVENING  
Office, 165 East 56th Street.  
Telephone Plaza-4100-5116. PHILIP ZAUSNER, Secretary.

## PAINTERS' UNION No. 261

Office: 42 East 106th Street Telephone: Litch 2143  
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office.  
Regular Meetings Every Friday at 210 East 104th Street.  
ISADORE SILVERMAN, J. HENNINGFIELD,  
Financial Secretary Recording Treasurer

## N.Y. TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6

Offices and Headquarters, 24 W. 16 St., N. Y.  
Meets Every 3rd Sunday of Every Month at SHIELD'S HALL, 87 SMITH ST., BROOKLYN.  
Phone WATkins 9188  
LEON H. ROUSE, President  
John Sullivan, Vice-President  
John S. O'Connell, Recording Secretary  
Theodore F. Hurdie, Treasurer

## JOURNEYMEN PLUMBERS' UNION, LOCAL 418

Of Queens County, New York. Telephone, Stillwell 6304.  
Office and Headquarters, 250 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City.  
Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M.  
MICHAEL J. McGRATH, President.  
JOHN W. CALLAHAN, Financial Secretary.  
WILLIAM MURKINS, Recording Secretary.  
THOMAS DEIGAN, General Secretary.  
CHARLES McADAMS and GEORGE FLANAGAN, Business Agents

## U. A. Plumbers, Gas Fitters and Marine Plumbers

LOCAL UNION No. 463, of NEW YORK CITY  
Office 3035 Fifth Avenue. Phone: Harlem 4578.  
Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M., at 243 East 84th Street  
MATTHEW J. MORAN, President. JOHN WALSH, Vice-President.  
FRED DEIGAN, General Secretary. TIMOTHY HOPKINS, Secretary.  
GEORGE MEANY, DAVID HOLBORN, JOHN HASSETT, PAT DREW.

## LIGHTER CAPTAINS' UNION

LOCAL 996, INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION

Office and Headquarters: 217 Court Street, Brooklyn. Phone: 4453 Main.

Regular meetings every first and third Wednesday at 8 P. M.

JOHN K. JOHNSON, JAMES BURKE, GILBERT O. WRIGHT,  
President. Vice-President. Secretary-Treasurer.

JAMES McGUIRE, Recording Secretary OTTO WASSTOL, Business Agent

B. AUGUST PIERSON, JOHN WISTER, Delegates.

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S. JOHN BLOCK, Attorney and Counsel

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Board of Delegates meets on last Saturday of every month at 8 P. M.

at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Avenue, Brooklyn.

CHAS. CAMP, President. ALEX ECKERT, Financial Sec'y.

Carpenters' Union 488 German Technicians & Draftsmen

ALBERT HELB, Secretary.

For Dressers' Union No. 2

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ANTONIO GIOVANNITTI, General Secretary LEONARDO FRISINA, Organizer

## N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL CAP MAKERS

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.  
OFFICE: 210 EAST 5th STREET  
Phone: Orchard 9860-1-2  
The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.

JACOB ROBERTS, Sec'y-Organizer.  
J. HERSBERG, Sec'y.  
M. GELLER, Organizer.

## OPERATORS, LOCAL 1

Regular Meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday.  
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  
Headgear Workers' Lyceum  
(Boethoven Hall)  
210 East 5th Street.

## United Hebrew Trades

175 EAST BROADWAY  
Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M. Exec-  
utive Board same day, 8:30 P. M.

M. ABRAMSON, Chairman  
M. TIGEL, Vice-Chairman  
M. FEINSTEIN, Secretary-Treasurer

## HEBREW BUTCHERS UNION

Local 254, A. M. C. & S. W. of N. A.  
175 E. Broadway. Tel. Stuyvesant 9399

Meet every 1st & 3rd Tuesday  
AL GRABAL, President  
I. KORN, Manager. S. JACOB, Sec'y.

## BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS'

UNION, LOCAL 66, I. L. G. W. U.  
7 East 13th Street. Tel. Stuyvesant 3987

Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday  
Night in the Office of the Union  
2 L. FRIEDMAN, President

GEO. TRIESTMAN, NATHAN RIESEL,  
Manager Secretary-Treasurer

## NECKWEAR CUTTERS'

Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.  
7 East 13th Street. Stuyvesant 7078

Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of  
Every Month at 162 East 23rd Street

Sam Harris, N. Ullman,  
President. Rec. Sec'y

Murray Chilling, J. Rosenzweig,  
Vice-President. Fin. Sec'y & Treas.

Gus Levine, Business Agent.

## HEBREW ACTORS' UNION

Office, 31 Seventh St., N. Y.  
Phone Dry Dock 3360

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.

M. GREENBERG, Sec. Treas.

PETER MONAT, Manager.

## See That Your Milk Man Wears the Emblem of The Milk Drivers' Union

Local 584, I. M. of T.

Office: 555 Hudson St., City.  
Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at ANTONIA HALL, 62 East 4th St.

Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at the

FORWARD BUILDING, 175 East Broadway, Room 2.

JOE HERMAN, Sec'y. J. H. BRESLIN, Sec'y-Treas.

MAX LIEBLER, Sec'y-Treas.

## Structural Iron Workers

UNION, Local 561, Brooklyn

Office: 671 Pacific Street. Telephone 9189

Open Daily from 7:30 A. M. to 5:30 P. M.

Meetings Every Wednesday, at 8 P. M., at Columbus Hall, State and Court Sts.

Charles McDermott, E. R. Culvert,  
President. Sec'y-Treas.

N. Y. Wood Carvers and Modelers Association

Regular Meetings 1st and 3rd Friday.  
Board of Officers Meet 2nd and 4th Friday

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President. Sec'y-Treas.

A. Fugittello, Wm. Detelbach,  
Vice-Pres. Fin. Secretary

H. Volk August Schramm,  
Treasurer Business Agent

## PAINTERS' UNION, No. 51

Headquarters 368 EIGHTH AVENUE  
Telephone Longmead 5440

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Telephone Chelsea 2148

MORRIS STOLMAN, President ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

## The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union

Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U.

Office 231 East 14th Street Telephone Ashland 2908

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION

DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

## Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers

Office, 251 E. 10th Street. Union Local 66, I. L. G. W. U. Lexington 4560

Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.

SEXTON MEETINGS

Downtown—231 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 8 P. M.

Brook—E. 18th St. & S. Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.

Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 10 A. M.

B'klyn—145 Montross Ave. Jersey City—76 Montgomery St.

SALVATORE NINIO, Manager-Secretary.

## EMBROIDERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 6, I. L. G. W. U.

Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 601 E. 161st St. Melrose 7450

CARL GRABNER, President

M. WEISS, Secretary-Treasurer.

## Italian Dressmakers' Union, Local 39, I. L. G. W. U.

Affiliated with Joint Board Cloak



# THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

## Ohio

State Secretary Willert, 218 Superior Building, Cleveland, sends the following call: "It is absolutely necessary that we know the number of signatures collected to date. You will therefore please send at once all signatures collected and have them certified (this is important). Signatures must be in my office not later than August 16th, so that we may know how we stand."

## Illinois

### Get in on the Big Banquet

The big banquet, with members of the National Executive Committee as speakers, will be held at the Douglas Park Auditorium, the evening of August 28th. We wish to urge all our readers in Chicago and vicinity to get their tickets early. The price per plate is \$1.50. Tickets can be purchased at the Forward Office, 13th and Kedzie; at the County Office, 303 West Madison Street, Room 315, phone Haymarket 2010 and at National Headquarters, 2553 Washington Blvd., phone Seeley 0940.

Comrade W. R. Snow, State Secretary of Illinois, is keeping up his good work gathering in dues and contributions, and feels sure that the Illinois State ticket will get a big boost all along the line. Snow realizes the necessity of putting on as many subscribers to the New Leader and American Appeal as possible, and is anxious to get others to duplicate, Comrade Whitlock's work in making a contribution to the State Office for the purpose of placing names on the mailing list.

## Arizona

Comrade Lawrence McGovern, of Chandler, reports the State Platform is being drawn up by the State Committee.

He reports further: "The factional fight now raging within both old parties of this State should arouse Socialists to the necessity of putting a ticket into the field. The revelations of their leaders are sufficient to stamp these old political organizations as the parties of special privilege."

"Never was the field so rich in political issues if we would only grasp them. Never have we had such an opportunity for a 'sizzling' campaign as we have in Arizona today."

"A platform will soon be voted upon by the State Committee. If the Socialists will indicate to the Committee that they want a ticket to back it up, they may get busy on their nominating petitions. Nominations should be made for the offices of Governor, U. S. Senator and Congressman. Don't sign the petitions of capitalist party office seekers. Save them for working class candidates. Let us again unfurl the banner of Socialism in Arizona and battle as we used to fight."

## New Mexico

Comrade Richardson, State Secretary, at Roswell, informs the District Secretary at Ogden that there will be a State Socialist ticket in the field for the November election.

## IDAHO

Comrade Doris Morris, national lecturer and organizer, is finishing her work in Montana, for the time being at least, and will soon be into the State of Idaho to fill a number of dates. She gets good results everywhere and we count her as one of the best, most enthusiastic workers we have had in the field for a long time.

## Pennsylvania

Comrade Darlington Hoopes, State Secretary of Pennsylvania, 415 Swede

## THE CAROLINA INDEPENDENT

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street, Norristown, reports a balance in the general fund, the first balance report made in many months. This is due, he states, to the contribution from Allegheny county. He says:

"We should be doing more organizing work, but until we get more money we are compelled to limit our activities to extending the circulation of the New Leader and American Appeal. We now have more than 2,000 subscribers in Pennsylvania, and if we can continue increasing this list we will provide the means of educating thousands of workers for a new social order."

The report further shows that the State Office has received orders for only 5,500 State platforms, and Comrade Hoopes insists that this number must be multiplied several times during the month of August if the platform is to be printed. Local Montgomery and Westmoreland are the only ones so far to send in a list of registered Socialists, and he urges that the comrades do not neglect this matter. He reports a substantial contribution from the Finnish Branch at Dalsytown, praises their loyalty to the cause, and hopes others will do likewise.

## California

Socialist papers come to forty-five out of the fifty-seven counties in the State. Any reader who knows any Socialists living in Amador, Glenn, Lake, Colusa and Calaveras counties, please send their names to the State office at 208 Grant Building, San Francisco.

One of our candidates in Los Angeles county nominated for the State Assembly is a colored man. The district has elected one of this race several times on the Republican ticket, so that the idea of sending a colored man to the Legislature will not be new nor any prejudice need be overcome to elect our nominee. The only thing we are concerned about in that district is to be able to convince the voters that our man can better serve the welfare of the workers than can the Republican nominee. Colored comrades over the country would do well to keep their eye on the campaign of Comrade Pitts as the present representative is by no means satisfactory to the more intelligent workers in that district, and special work in that section might elect our man or, at least, win us such an increased vote as to make the winning man watch his step and do better by the worker than if he had swept into power with a big majority.

For several elections now Tom Fogley's vote as candidate for the State Assembly from the 21st district in San Francisco has been climbing up, and he

needs only a few more votes over the 1924 election to put him over. If the workers of his district knew his uncompromising fighting qualities they would see that he sits in our next Legislature, for there will certainly be something doing if Tom is elected. Other candidates for the Legislature who will make a vigorous campaign are Oscar Lawrence, Frank H. White, Harry Sherr, Alick W. Anderson, Chas. Fredericksen and John V. Pitts, all from districts in Los Angeles county. Chas. F. Conley and N. Jackson Wright will contest for seats in Congress from the Ninth and Tenth districts of California. In previous issues we have mentioned the candidacy of Arthur Eager from Red Bluff.

## New England

Comrade Patrick L. Quinlan will tour Massachusetts for a month beginning August 11. His tour as settled so far is as follows: Wednesday, August 11, Pittsfield; Thursday, August 12, Adams; Friday, August 13, North Adams; Saturday, August 14, Greenfield; Sunday, August 15, Worcester, behind City Hall, from 5 to 6 p. m.; Monday, August 16, Springfield, Post-office Square; Tuesday, August 17, Hartford, Conn.; Wednesday, August 18, Springfield at Postoffice Square; Thursday, August 19, Holyoke at Suffolk and High streets; Friday, August 20, Northampton at Maine and Gothic streets; Saturday, August 21, Greenfield; Sunday, August 22, Worcester behind City Hall; Monday, August 23, Worcester at Front and Church streets.

Any local secretary desiring Comrade Quinlan's services are requested to write at once to district headquarters 21 Essex street, Boston.

Comrade Esther Friedman will also begin a tour of the state on Tuesday, September 7, the day after Labor Day, in Pittsfield, and will follow in Pat Quinlan's steps.

An important meeting of the campaign committee will be held on Sunday, August 8, at the district headquarters, 21 Essex street, beginning at 10 a. m. Any comrades with suggestions as to our campaign are invited to write in their suggestions to Comrade Lewis, the state secretary.

Our two state leaflets, the State Platform and an unemployed insurance leaflet are now ready for distribution. They cost \$3 a thousand and proportionately in smaller amounts. Comrades who are willing to help in the literature distribution which is so important a part of our campaign are

asked to get in touch at once with the state office.

## New Jersey

Because of the poor collections at street meetings during the past few weeks and the consequent depletion of its treasury, the Campaign Committee of Local Hudson County finds it impossible to continue these street meetings with paid speakers.

The committee is therefore making this appeal for speakers who are willing to speak at street meetings without compensation except reimbursement of actual traveling expenses.

The meetings are held on Saturday nights in Jersey City, Hoboken, Bayonne, West New York and Union City. Please communicate with Robert Leemans, 602 17th street, Union City, N. J.

## New York State

The State Executive Committee will meet at People's House, New York City, on Sunday evening, Aug. 15, at 8 o'clock. State candidates have been invited to confer with the committee in regard to plans for the campaign.

Albany County Socialists have nominated the following ticket: Congressman, 25th district, Allen Depey; State Senator, 30th district, Milo C. Myers of Albany; Assemblyman, 1st district, Robert H. Richey of Slingerlands; 2d district, Arthur Jacobson of Albany; 3d district, Frank A. Andrae of Coxsack; County Treasurer, Philip Ford of Albany; Coroners, Fred Cook of Albany and Alfred LaMarche of Cohoes.

The candidate of the party for the office of Mayor of Albany, which office was made vacant by the death of Mayor Hackett at Havana last winter, is James C. Sheahan, former member of State Committee and prominently identified with party activity for many years.

Beginning with Wednesday of this week Local Albany will meet every second and fourth Wednesday evening at state office headquarters, 467 Broadway.

Theresa B. Wiley will be acting State Secretary during the absence from the office of State Secretary Merrill in New Hampshire during the last fortnight of the month. Comrade Wiley has served in this capacity on a number of occasions and has proven herself an able and efficient substitute.

Organizer Herman is to put in another week in Buffalo. He has been making a strong effort to get a branch of the Y. P. S. L. started in Buffalo.

besides making himself generally useful to the local.

The receipts of the state office topped the thousand dollar mark in July, but so did the expenses, owing to the state convention. The state secretary wants to clear off the remaining debt, and start the fall campaign with a "clean slate," but the co-operation of every local and comrade will be necessary if this end is to be attained. Many comrades have yet to get state convention assessment stamps pasted in their books, and many more have yet to subscribe for Debs' Liberty Bonds.

## New York City

All arrangements are now made for a successful picnic on Sunday, August 29, at Orchard Grove, Fairview, North Bergen, N. J. Socialists of New York City and miles around will gather there for a day of sports athletic contests, music, singing, dancing, speeches, eats, drink and a general good time. A cosmopolitan crowd will be on hand—the Finns, Italians and Germans will turn out in large numbers and their songs and games will lend color to the crowd. A couple of hundred of joyous and noisy Yipsels will add to the din and our Socialist Branch members will travel from Brownsville, Bronx and parts between in delegations to our great 1926 picnic.

Remember the date—Sunday, August 29. Directions—Take ferry to Weehawken, either from West 42nd street or Desbrosses street. Then the bus to Fairview and get off at Erie railroad station, Fairview, N. J. Tickets are 50 cents per person and are now on sale at your branch headquarters and at the city office, Socialist Party, room 505, 7 East 15th street.

### STREET MEETINGS

**Manhattan**  
Friday, August 13, corner Clinton street and East Broadway. Speakers, Ethelred Brown and A. Scall.

Saturday, August 14, corner 58th street and Third Avenue. Speakers, Ethelred Brown, Emerich Steinberger and August Claessens.

Wednesday, August 18, corner Seventh street and Avenue B. Speakers, Samuel E. Beardsley and Hyman Nemser. Corner 137th street and Seventh Avenue. Speakers, Ethelred Brown and V. C. Gaspar.

Thursday, August 19, corner Rivington and Pitt streets. Speakers, Ethelred Brown and I. Korn.

Friday, August 20, corner Clinton street and East Broadway. Speakers, Dr. L. R. Land and Joseph Tuvim.

**Bronx**  
Friday, August 13, corner 138th street

and Brook avenue. Speakers, Dr. Leon R. Land, I. Korn and Mathilda Tillman.

Monday, August 16, corner 163d street and Prospect avenue. Speakers, Ethelred Brown, Isidore Polstein, Chairman, Sidney Hertzberg.

Friday, August 20, corner 173rd street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Samuel E. Beardsley and I. U. Dobeveage.

## Brooklyn

Monday, August 16, corner Hinsdale street and Blake avenue. Speakers, Anna Platoff, Joseph Tuvim and I. M. Chateauf.

Tuesday, August 17, corner President street and Try avenue. Speakers, Ethelred Brown and Joseph Tuvim, Chairman, Lester Shulman.

Wednesday, August 18, corner Broadway and Monroe street. Speakers, Wm. Karlin and Samuel H. Friedman.

## BROOKLYN

The Second A. D. has come to life with a bang. With Frank Rosenbark as candidate for Assembly, all Socialist Brooklynites have arisen in the district. It will officially open the campaign August 16, when the first open-air meeting will be held at Hinsdale and Blake, and every Monday and Thursday nights following it at various corners in the district. The Socialist Party meets every Friday night at 8.30 o'clock at 420 Hinsdale street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

## Bronx

Bronx petitions for Socialist candidates have been completed, and the Bronx will have a candidate for every office.

The party has done its duty. It is now up to the enrolled voters and citizens to back up the efforts of the party. The outlook is good for a largely increased vote. Applications for membership show steady progress. Efforts will be continued to secure an increased circulation for the New Leader and the American Appeal.

All members are urged to rally and make a success of the Socialist picnic, which will be held on Sunday, August 29. The organizations co-operating are the Socialist Party of Greater New York, Young People's Socialist League and the Finnish Socialist Branch. This means an elaborate bill of fare, and those participating can well be assured of a good time. The affair will be held at the well-known Orchard Grove, Fairview, North Bergen, N. J. All Bronx members are urged to give all possible support. Comrade Murphy has tickets for sale at Local Bronx club rooms, 1167 Boston road.

The Central Branch, comprising districts 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, will meet Tuesday, August 17, at 8.30 p. m. sharp. All members are urged to be prompt in attendance, as several applications for membership are pending and must be disposed of at this meeting. Members accepted at previous meetings and who have not received their dues cards are requested to be present at this meeting, when the financial secretary will furnish same.

Delegates to City Executive Committee and the Bronx County Committee are urged to be present and submit a report from their respective designations.

Bronx members are urged to take interest in the coming primary. Our candidates should go on the ballot with a good vote. Members should urge their friends who are enrolled to take active part in the primaries.

Branch No. 7 will hold its next regular meeting Tuesday, September 7, at its club rooms. Vacations will then be over, and all members are expected to be present.

## Yipseldom

The Bialy Yipsels enters the campaign in the 2nd A. D. Kings County with its full fighting strength. With Frank Rosenberg its director, candidate for assembly, Henry Sapkovitz, organizer, is campaign manager. The circle officially opened its campaign funds drive with \$17.00 donated by members at the last meeting. All Yipsels eyes have turned towards the Bialy Yipsels. The circle holds open air meetings every Tuesday night and will have programs at its meetings every Wednesday night. The head-

quarters are 420 Hinsdale St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

### CIRCLE SIX JUNIORS

Circle Six, Jr., meeting every Friday evening at 8 p. m. sharp, at 62 East 106 Street, is re-organizing. Old and new members are welcome. Its new officers are: Organizer Naphtali R. Adler; Educational Director, Lillian Kaplan; Recording secretary, Dora Wolinsky; Financial Secretary, Belle Desatnick; Athletic Director, Jack Schulman; Social Director, Helen Moss; Librarian, Sam Wolinsky.

This Friday, August 13, 1926, we are having a discussion on "Strikes as a Weapon of Labor." Next Friday, August 20, a discussion on "Criminal Syndicalism."

A general league meeting will be held on August 20th, (Friday) at 8:30 p. m. sharp. This meeting will convene in the large auditorium of the Rand School. An excellent program has been arranged, consisting of a play, "Freedom" by John Reed. This play is one that all who have had the opportunity to see have greatly enjoyed. Also the medal won by the various circle members will be awarded. The Banner to the winning circle will be presented on that night. In general a real lively time is in store for all those who will come. Juniors of all circles are invited to attend.

On Tuesday evening, August 10th Circle eight conducted a lecture at which Comrade Roberto Haberman spoke. Comrade Haberman is the official representative of the Mexican Federation of Labor. His subject being "Mexico and Its Present Problems." The headquarters was jammed to capacity. Various Mexican literature was given out at the meeting.

This is to announce that Roberto Haberman will speak this Wednesday evening at the headquarters of Circle 13 Brooklyn. The subject being "Mexico." All members, friends and outsiders are gladly invited to attend. The admission is free.

All members are urged to get busy on the picnic arranged by the Socialist Party and the Young Peoples Socialist League. Sell as many tickets as you can, the more the merrier. We must make a good showing at this affair. Get busy.

The Y. P. S. L. will be open all day Saturday and Sunday because of the Flower Days. Any one wishing to help and having no other place to apply can do so at this office, Rand School, 7 East 15th Street, Room 505.

There is only one cure for evils which newly acquired freedom produces, and that cure is freedom. The blaze of truth and liberty may at first dazzle and bewilder nations which have become half-blind in the house of bondage. But let them gaze on, and they will soon be able to bear it. In a few years men learn to reason, and the extreme violence of opinions subsides. The scattered elements of truth cease to contend and begin to coalesce. And at length a system of justice and order is educed out of the chaos.—Macaulay.

## AMERICAN APPEAL

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Editor-in-Chief  
EUGENE V. DEBS

Managing Editor  
MURRAY E. KING

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## MODERN MARRIAGE PROBLEMS

SEX TALKS  
For Women Only, Tuesday Evenings,  
For Men and Women, Thursday Evenings  
By Dr. Cecile L. Greil  
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# Amusements



D R A M A

T H E A T R E S

ERIN O'BRIEN-MOORE



Plays the Italian heroine in "My Country," the newest laugh-provoking comedy on Broadway, housed in Chanin's 46th Street Theatre.

## Much Laughter and Humor in New Play

"My Country" a Melting Pot of Many Races at Chanin's 46th St. Theatre

THERE is no doubt but W. J. Perlman, the author of "My Country," which opened last Monday night at Chanin's 46th Street Theatre, had both eyes determinedly fixed on the box office before he set to work to produce the opus, with the result that "My Country" possibly might better have been called "Able's Melting Pot."

In "Able's Irish Rose" we have some of the lighter and more humorous racial characteristics of the Jew and the Irish exploited, so, as a double dose, in the new play the author gives us not only the Irish and the Jew, but the Italian and the Dutch, thrown in for more than good measure.

Briefly, the story concerns itself with the ancestral pride of an American of Dutch descent and the marriage conflict that arises when his daughter falls in love with a Jewish boy and his son with an Italian girl. Of course, in the end the onlooker realizes that the assimilated Americans one generation removed from immigration will triumph, as they do and as they should do in this great country of ours, where all the races fuse into a whole, the product being the American.

After an unpromising start that needs rewriting badly, the play falls at once into the genre class and depends for its success or not on exploiting the humorous characteristics of the different races involved. The dialogue is better than the play, and the actors also, although Frederick Burton as Robert Van Dorn, the American of Dutch descent, struggles bravely against the odds of impossible lines. Julia, his wife, is played in conventional vein by Louise Randolph, as also Alice, their daughter, which role Marguerite Mosier assumes. Lee Kohlmar, as Nathan Blumberg, and Pola Carter, as Mollie, his wife, are excellent in their respective roles, as likewise Joseph Verdi as Frank Palmieri, the Italian neighbor. The ingenious acting honors of the show go to Erin O'Brien-Moore as Marianna, the Italian daughter.

From the poor beginning, through which the audience sat in unresponsive silence, the play gradually awoke the laughter of the gathering assembled for the premier, and ended with much more enthusiasm displayed on the part of the audience.

To sum up, "My Country" is absolute humum, but full of laughter and much humor. With considerable revision, the play may enjoy a run.

## The Waldorf, Another New Theatre, Opens in September

Another playhouse will be added to the long list of New York theatres early in September, when the Waldorf in West Fifth Street, between Sixth and Seventh Avenues, opens its doors under the management of the Oshrin-Grisman Theatrical Holding Corporation.

The Waldorf, which will have 1,142 seats, of which 535 will be on the orchestra floor, will be devoted to musical and legitimate productions. The new house will represent an investment of \$1,200,000.

## THE NEW PLAYS

### MONDAY

"LOOSE ANKLES," a comedy by Sam Janney, will be Break Pemberton's first production of the season, opening Monday night at the Biltmore Theatre. Kathleen Conegys, Dwight Frye, Osmond Perkins head the cast.

"THE LITTLE SPITFIRE," a comedy by Myron C. Fagan, comes to the Cort Theatre Monday night. The cast includes Sylvia Field, Russell Mack and Louis Kimball. B. F. Witbeck is the producer.

"SUNSHINE," a comedy by Henry C. White, will be presented by Paul M. Trebitsch Monday night. O. P. Reggie heads the cast and the others include Eleanor Griffith, Byron Besley and Ruth Lee.

## Bernard Shaw, the Breaker of Idols

By Henry W. Nevinson

"ARE you aware that this is a great anniversary?" asked the oldest of three travelers one day last month, amid the swamps and forests of Central Africa.

"Anniversary be damned!" replied Tough Smith, as he lashed the cords tighter round the folded tent and lifted it on to a carrier's head.

"Yes," continued the Old Man (so they called him), who was also engaged in breaking camp now that the sun was sucking the dew off the ten-foot grass and the natives were willing to start. "Yes, I'll bet there were hundreds of journalists all over the world who damned the anniversary. They had to go wallowing about in Bernard Shaw's dozen volumes, and say what they thought of him in a column. It's almost incredible, but it's 70 years since he was born in Dublin as a squeaking baby just like any other, and now he's the most famous man in the world."

"I've heard of the fellow," said Gingly Jones. "He's a kind of buffoon. He's called the 'Highbrow's Jester'."

"Seventy years!" the Old Man repeated, as he took his place at the end of the single file and the caravan set out along the narrow forest track. "That's the limit of a man's complete life, as David thought. And even six years ago G. B. S. himself wrote in the preface to 'Methusalem': 'I am doing the best I can at my age. My powers are waning; but so much the better for those who found me unbearably brilliant when I was at my prime.' Waning powers, indeed! Never believe it. Why, since that he has written 'St. Joan,' the greatest of all his plays, though for mere enjoyment I like 'Androcles' better."

"Steady, Old Man," said Tough Smith. "You're giving tongue this morning. Touch of fever?"

"Yes, I have," replied the Old Man. "But as I was saying, there is no trace of senility in Shaw. You might think there was a touch of the spiritual fever in his later works. Some call that a death-bed repentance, but it was plain enough in 'Major Barbara' twenty years ago. As to being a buffoon, that's the silliest charge ever brought against a man. He's the most solemnly serious writer that lives. But he knows that no one ever listens to a sermon or remembers a single word of it. So he thinks of the most serious subject in the world and says it so as to make every one laugh. People listen if they laugh. That has been one of his plagues. I've seen big audiences of his silliest adores start laughing at his speeches, before he had opened his mouth. Even Max drew a cartoon of him still standing on his head after ten or twenty years. But Max was wrong for once. No one has ever stood firmer on both feet and looked the world straight in the face—the absurdities and evils of the world, the poverty of the poor, the dreary pleasure-seeking of the rich, the stupidity of war, the exaggeration of sex, the curse of the lady-like ideal. As he said in the preface to 'Man and Superman': 'It annoys me to see people comfortable when they ought to be uncomfortable.'"

"Mind that slaughter-hole, Old Man!" cried Gingly Jones, turning half round, "or you'll be uncomfortable whether you ought or not."

"As I was saying," continued the Old Man, adroitly, circumventing a bottomless slime-pit that interrupted the track, "Shaw is just about the greatest idol-breaker the world has seen. Cromwell was nothing to him, and he has broken more than Swift; even more than Lenin. He has done it by reason and ridicule—by ridicule out of reason, as horsebreeders say. And to do that he has used imaginative art. Read his prefaces as much as you like. There is nothing like them in pamphleteering. Think of the denunciation of British Imperialism and of the soldier as an anachronism in the preface to 'John Bull's Other Island,' or in the special preface Shaw wrote to Hall Caine's 'White Prophet' (which I lately found that he had himself forgotten!)"

"I never think," Tough Smith remarked. "That's your own fault," said the Old Man.

"But do you think of the profound discussion of sex in the preface of 'Man and Superman'?" I argued the whole question the other day with the Chief of the Chibokwe, and at last he agreed that all his eighteen wives had tried their utmost to capture him, simply owing to their desire for fine production. He now proposes to reverse the order of marriage by capture, so

that in future it will be the woman who captures the man. I admit that he couldn't quite swallow my favorite sentence in the preface: 'If women were as fastidious as men, morally and physically, there would be an end to the race.' He thought it degrading to his own kingly self, which the most fastidious of his wives had never objected to."

"Curse that nigger!" cried Tough Smith, as they swam in turn across a swollen stream. "He's dropped a grub box into the water."

"As I was saying," observed the Old Man, when he had dived and brought the box to the surface. "Shaw's prefaces are always immensely valuable. Most valuable of all, I think, is the account of Jesus and early Christianity in the preface to 'Androcles.' But if he had written nothing except the prefaces, he would be unknown. Do you suppose Edward VII would ever have read the preface to 'John Bull,' fine as it is? Not he. But he saw the play, enjoyed it, and sent for Shaw to his box. Shaw refused to go, and the King called him a silly crank. But there it was. The conscience even of a king can be caught by a play, and it is just the same with ordinary people. Denounce the White Slave Traffic as you may, it would still go on, but it is difficult now for any woman to make a living out of Mrs. Warren's profession. Public opinion might not object, but she would feel uncomfortable all the same. It's hard to live comfortably on slum property after seeing 'Widowers' Houses,' or to make promiscuous love after the 'Philanderer,' or to play the braggart soldier after 'Arms and the Man,' or to drive about Art for Art's sake after the 'Doctor's Dilemma,' or to subsidize into stuffy home-life after 'You Never Can Tell' and 'Fanny's First Play.'"

"It's true, G. B. S. is first of all a journalist. 'I am a journalist,' he said in 'The Sanity of Art' eighteen years ago; 'Proud of it, deliberately cutting out of my works all that is not journalism, convinced that nothing that is not journalism will live long as literature, or be of any use while it does live.' Even when he writes of Caesar or Joan, he writes from himself and with those clear-seeing eyes fixed upon our time. He is a journalist, but if he had not turned his essay into persons, who would have listened?"

"You'd better listen now!" cried Gingly Jones. "The carriage is shouting 'Rhino! Rhino!'"

All sprang rapidly aside into the forest and thick scrub as the infuriated monster came charging full tilt along the little path. With formidable horn lowered to the horizontal, and the little eyes so cast to the ground that they could see nothing beside, the heavy creature lumbered anorping past. Then all ran onward for their lives lest he should turn upon his tracks.

"The rhino is happily the blindest as well as the most savage of beasts," observed the Old Man, when at last they stopped and stood panting. "So far as I know, he is the only animal that will charge his own smell. I could elaborate a parallel with Shaw's critics if it worth while. But upon a great anniversary like this I would rather recall two of his own sayings. One is from the preface to 'Major Barbara,' and it runs: 'The evil to be attacked in this nation is not sin, suffering, greed, prevarication, kingcraft, demagoguery, monopoly, ignorance, drink, war, pestilence or any other of the scapegoats which reformers sacrifice, but simply poverty.' And the second is the fine definition of happiness, which he has himself so fully illustrated: 'This is the true joy of life, the being used for a purpose recognized by yourself as a mighty one; the being thoroughly worn out before you are thrown on the scrap heap.' You will find it in the preface to 'Man and Superman.'"

"For God's sake mind what you're doing!" cried Gingly Jones. They were crossing the Cuanza in dug-out canoes, and the Old Man's canoe was on the point of capsizing.

"Oh, it's all right," answered the Old Man, as he was plunged into the rushing water. "To quote from the preface to 'St. Joan.' 'The Law of Change is the Law of God.'"

"Crocodile! Crocodile!" shouted the natives. Tough Smith and Gingly Jones together in their various languages.

But it was too late. The Old Man was swept out of sight into some hole in the bank where the crocodile (one of the few creatures that understand cookery) would keep him till he was tender; just as we hang mutton.

"Gorry, really sorry," said Tough Smith, as they pitched that night. "He seemed to know a lot of queer talk, he did."

"You're right," said Gingly Jones. "He'd go on talking for ever. Nothing short of a crocodile could stop him. You might think he was old man Shaw himself to hear him talk."

A new last act has been written for "Honest Liars" and says the announcement, somewhat plaintively, "the authors are satisfied." Robert Weens, one of the authors, has sailed for Europe to write another play. Sherrill Webb, the other collaborator, also has a second comedy in preparation.

KATHLEEN COMEGYS



One of the principals in the new Brock Pemberton production "Loose Ankles" opening at the Biltmore Theatre Monday night.

## Civic Repertory Group Leases 14th St. Theatre

THE Civic Repertory Theatre has leased the 14th Street Theatre for the coming season. Negotiations for this time-honored house have been under way ever since Miss Le Gallienne, who sponsors this plan for a popular-priced repertory theatre, sailed for Europe in May. Miss Le Gallienne will begin activities for the first two productions of the Civic Repertory Theatre, already scheduled to open about October 15, namely, "Saturday Night," by Benevento, followed by "Three Sisters," by Tchekov. Two productions a week for ten weeks are planned, with ten plays already selected. These include, besides the two foregoing ones, "Twelfth Night," by Shakespeare, with Miss Le Gallienne as Viola; "The Silver Box," by Galsworthy; "The Secret Life," by Granville Barker; "La Locandiera," by Goldoni; "Pillars of Society," "The Master Builder" and "John Gabriel Borkman," by Ibsen; "Sister Beatrice," by Maeterlinck, and "The Crafts Song," by Sierra. This last play, in one act only, will be presented at matinees only.

The establishment of this repertory company presenting fine plays with a fine cast at prices from 50 cents to \$1.50 for evenings and Saturday matinees and with popular Wednesday matinees from 35 cents to \$1 has been a cherished plan of Miss Le Gallienne for three years. Subscriptions are received on the basis of ten plays for the season.

The members of the cast already engaged for the season include: Eva Le Gallienne, Egon Brecher, Beatrice Terry, Sydney Machet, Harold Moulton, J. Sayre Crawley, Ruth Wilton, Rose Bobart, Beatrice de Beer, Mary Balfour and Barry Plimmer.

## Broadway Briefs

"Go This Is Paris," the latest Ernst Lubitsch directorial achievement, will be presented by the Film Arts Guild at the Cameo this Saturday.

William Shelley, who succeeded Curtis Cooksey as Kenneth Regan in "One Man's Woman" at the 48th Street Theatre, returned to the cast Monday night.

The Lyceum Players of Rochester are doing this week, John Hunt Booth's adolescent comedy, "Fever of Youth." Next week the Players, augmented by Ruth Gordon and Rollo Peters, will do Sidney Howard's adaptation of Lothar's comedy, "Collusion."

A. L. Erlanger will give "Happy Go Lucky," a new musical play, its first presentation at the Colonial Theatre, Boston, on September 13, bringing it here a fortnight later, Monday, September 27, to the Liberty Theatre. "Happy Go Lucky" was a book by Helena Phillips and music by Lucien Danni.

The play hitherto known as "Washington Heights," produced by Pauline Felman, will open at the Princess Theatre on September 6 under the name of "What's the Use?"

"Sour Grapes," with Alice Brady as star, is announced to open at the Longacre Theatre on Labor Day, September 6. The play is the work of Vincent Lawrence, and is being produced by William Harris, Jr.

The Playshop will start its season in two weeks with a comedy called "Herman's Harem," the first of four plays on their schedule.

Horace Liveright has been awarded the title of Officer d'Academie, for his services to French letters.

Herman Gantvoort has completed the cast that will support William Tilgen II in "Mother's Tramps," the dramatization by Courtenay Savage of E. J. Rath's novel, "The Dark Chapter."

"Scotch Mist," by Sir Patrick Hastings, will be the first production of the new season to be made by the Dramatists Theatre, Inc., with Philip Mervale and Rosalind Fuller at the head of the cast.

HARRIS

W. 42d St. Eves. 8:30  
Mats. Wed. & Sat.

GEORGE MacFARLANE Presents

A New Farce

## HONEST LIARS

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ROBERT WOOLSEY

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STADIUM CONCERTS

N. Y. PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA  
WILHELM VAN HOOGSTRATEN, Conductor  
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Sunday Night at 8:30  
HANDEL CONCERTO GROSSO in D  
for solo violin, cello & string orchestra  
Beethoven - Ravel - Liszt  
ARTHUR JUDSON, Manager, Subway Piano  
Prices 25c., 50c., \$1.00

## "The Ghost Train" to Open At Eltinge Theatre, Aug. 23

A. H. Woods yesterday announced the opening dates of his first two productions of the season and also confirmed the coming engagement here of Sacha Guitry, announced last month in cables from Paris.

Mr. Woods, in association with Arch Selwyn, will present the English mystery play, "The Ghost Train," at the Eltinge Theatre on Aug. 23. The play is a success in London.

A week later, on Aug. 30, "Potash and Pulmuter, Detectives," will be produced at the Ritz Theatre. The title roles will be played by Ludwig

LUDWIG SATZ



The noted Yiddish actor will play Potash in "Potash and Pulmuter, Detectives," when the comedy opens August 30th at the Ritz Theatre.

Satz, well known on the Yiddish stage, and Robert Leonard.

Sacha Guitry and Yvonne Printhe, his wife, will bring a company of twenty-two to New York and will begin a limited engagement in repertory on Dec. 20. The first offering will be "Mozart."

## Better Shows for Workers

Planned by Columbia Circuit

THE Columbia Burlesque Circuit, which caters almost exclusively to workers and whose theatres are situated in the large industrial centres, will next season play in its theatres a diversified list of attractions, including musical comedies, mystery plays, all-negro shows, and male and female minstrel entertainments, in addition to a large number of regular burlesque units. This policy, previously announced, will start at the beginning of the new season on Labor Day.

Among the new types of entertainment for the Columbia wheel, which embraces forty houses and plays forty shows, will be "White Cargo," "The Gorilla," "Kosher Kitty Kelly," "Mercenary Mary," "Broadway Brevelites," "My Girl," "Give and Take," a musical version of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," "Light Wines and Beer," "Wine, Woman and Song," "Mutt and Jeff" and "Bringing Up Father." The shows having all-colored casts will be "4-11-44," "Watermelons" and "Lucky Sambo," now in a summer run at the Columbia Theatre. John W. Vogel's Male and Female Minstrels will be another attraction.

The regular burlesque shows will be headed by Dave Marion, "Sliding" Billy Watson, Mollie Williams, Jimmie Cooper and other established entertainers in that field.

The Provincetown will open the autumn with "Princess Turandot," an eighteenth century romantic comedy by Gozzi. The play has long been popular abroad in a translation by Schiller and more recently in a Russian version by the Moscow Art Theatre. It was on this play that Puccini based his last opera, produced last season posthumously at Milan. The Provincetown manuscript is being prepared by Henry G. Alberg, who translated "The Dybbuk," and Isaac Don Levine. In their version the satiric quality of the entertainment will be chiefly emphasized.

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West of Broadway. Eves. 8:30

Matinees Wed. and Sat.

## 2ND EDITION A NIGHT IN PARIS

"BETTER THAN THE FIRST"

—Herald Tribune

New Numbers—New Scenery—New Costumes

ACTIONS SPEAK LOUDER THAN WORDS!!!  
Words cannot describe the scenes of wild delight on the opening night of the greatest laugh hit of ages.

## MY COUNTRY

You must see it. Then, and only then, will you appreciate what a real tear jerking laugh is!!!

Chanin's 46th STREET THEATRE, West of Broadway. Evenings 8:30

Matinees Wednesday and Saturday

Plymouth Theatre

West 46th St., Eves. 8:30 Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 1:30

POPULAR MATINEE THURSDAY

WINTHROP AMES presents GILBERT &amp; SULLIVAN'S

## IOLANTHE

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

## MUSIC

## Frederick Stock at the Stadium Next Week

FREDERICK STOCK, the conductor of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, will appear at the Stadium for the first time on Wednesday night, when he will lead the initial program of his week as guest conductor. This will also be the first time Mr. Stock has directed the New York Philharmonic. Programs for next week:

Sunday (Willem Van Hoogstraten conducting)—Overture to "Cellophane," Op. 62, Beethoven; Concerto Grosso in D major, Op. 6, No. 5, Handel (solo violins, Messrs. Lange and Taki; solo cello, Mr. Van Vleet); "La Valse," Ravel; Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2, Liszt.

Monday (Strauss Evening—Johann and Richard)—Overture to "Die Fledermaus," Johann Strauss; Salome's Dance, Richard Strauss; Serenade, Richard Strauss; Waltz, "Frühlingsträumen," Johann Strauss; Domestic Symphony, Op. 53, Richard Strauss.

Tuesday—Overture to "Egmont," Beethoven; Spanish Rhapsody, Ravel; Prelude and Finale, "Tristan and Isolde," Wagner; Symphony No. 5 in E minor, Op. 64, Tchaikovsky.

Wednesday (Frederick Stock Conducting)—Overture "In the Spring," Op. 36, Karl Goldmark; Symphony in D minor, Franck; Toccata, "Don Juan," Op. 20, Richard Strauss; Love Scene from Act II, "Tristan and Isolde," Wagner; Spanish Caprice, Op. 34, Rimsky-Korsakov.

Thursday (Wagner Night)—Soleists, Helen Traubel soprano, Mina Hager contralto, Lewis James tenor, Franklin Baur tenor, Fraser Gange baritone, Wilfred Glenn bass; chorus, 100 voices from the Oratorio Society; March and Chorus from Act II, "Tannhäuser," Wagner; "Die Walküre," two songs, "Schmerzen" and "Traume," "Die Walküre," excerpts from Act III, "Die Meistersinger."

Friday—"Academic Festival" Overture, Op. 80, Brahms; Symphony No. 3 in E flat, "Rhenish," Op. 97, Schumann; "La Valse," Choreographic Poem for Orchestra, Ravel; "Midsummer Wake," Swedish Rhapsody, Alfven; Tone Poem, "Finlandia," Op. 26, Sibelius.

Saturday—Overture to "Russian and Ludmilla," Glinka; Symphony No. 4 in F minor, Op. 36, Tchaikovsky; "The Sorcerer's Apprentice," Dukas; Symphonic Poem, "Omphale's Spinning Wheel," Saint-Saens; Concert Waltz, No. 2, Op. 51, Glazounow.

## Many Free Concerts Announced For Central Park Mall

Concerts scheduled for the Mall, Central Park, in the near future are as follows: Sunday evening, Goldman Band; Wednesday evening, Aug. 11, Seventh Regiment Band; Aug. 18, Monarch Band (formerly Fifteenth Infantry); Tuesday, Aug. 24, Sixty-ninth

Regiment Band; Aug. 31, Monarch Band; Saturday evening, Aug. 14, Max Bendix Orchestra; Aug. 21, Goldman Band's final concert; Aug. 28 and Sept. 4, New York Symphony Orchestra under Albert Staessel; Sunday evening, Aug. 22, Sixty-ninth Regiment Band; Aug. 29, d'Aquin Concert Band; Sept. 5, Henneberger's Band; Thursday evening, Aug. 26, d'Aquin's band.

## Berlin Plans Big Free Music Center

A "MUSEUM OF MUSIC" is provided for in a bill drafted by the Corporation of Berlin which will be laid before the Prussian Government this session. It has every chance of passing, for the idea underlying it is based on the fact that libraries and art galleries have been provided in plenty for the German and every other nation, while the musical education of the people has been officially neglected.

To remedy this, and incidentally to make Berlin unique among cities with a high musical reputation, the burgomaster and city fathers have offered a very valuable site for the erection of a building dedicated to the purpose of giving good music to everybody, free on two days a week and for a small entrance fee on the other days. The plan is to house four concert halls under the one roof. In one symphony concert will be given; in another chamber music; in a third the acoustics will be specially adapted to singers. The fourth hall will be devoted to theoretical lectures on the principles of music. There will be yet another room where the best concerts of the world may be heard by radio, and another in which gramophone records of great singers and players will be preserved.

For the concerts the best orchestral leaders of the day will be engaged, and performances will take place at regular intervals, both during the day and the evening.

ESTELLE WINWOOD



In Mummo's delightful comedy, "At Mrs. Beam's," now in its fifth month at the Guild Theatre.



# THE NEW LEADER

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SATURDAY, AUGUST 14, 1926

## SHUDDER WITH US!

FOR six years we have entertained with a large variety of conflicting programs by our American "lefts." Within three years no less than fifteen parties and programs appeared, each organization headed by a staff of "Marxian" experts and each staff warring on all the others. These staffs have dwindled down to three, each claiming the special blessing of Lenin.

In order to make the record complete we must call attention to the program of the Young Workers' League, so far as it refers to militarism. This organization has distributed circulars to men bound for military training camps, urging the men to insist on their "rights." They are required to drill four and one-half hours each day, so the "Leninists" step in with a blood-curdling and "revolutionary" program. Have a shudder with us as we reveal this program. It declares that the men should drill only three and one-half hours each day!

Having recovered from your first shudder, have another one with us. The military recruits are urged to check their civilian clothes when and where they please! Still more. They should insist on wearing civilian clothes on Saturdays and Sundays! Another item. Attendance at Sunday services should be voluntary!!! Then the great climax and a final dreadful shudder. The men should demand a reduction in the number of military police!!!!

Wonderful proletarian strategy! Now, if these terrible "revolutionaries" will only bribe the soldiers to desert by offering ice cream and dollar wrist watches they will make big strides toward realization of the "world revolution."

## A JEFFERSONIAN VIEW

THERE is a curious passage in a letter of Thomas Jefferson written to Joseph Cabell in 1816 which will be found in The Best Letters of Jefferson published by Houghton, Mifflin Co. Jefferson was opposed to placing the public schools in the hands of the State government and wished to give control to the local communities. "Try the principle one step further," he wrote, "and amend the bill so as to commit to the Governor and Council the management of all our farms, our mills and merchants' stores. No, my friend, the way to have good and safe government is not to trust it all to one, but to divide it among the many, distributing to every one exactly the functions he is competent to do."

Jefferson was right—for his time and place, but this opinion shows how the social and political views of human beings are limited to the environment with which they are acquainted. Jefferson went on to say that he would divide and sub-divide the governing powers until they "end in the administration of every man's farm by himself." A democracy of collective industry could not be envisioned in a society where small farms were the main basis of society. The multitude of small proprietors suggested the division and sub-division of government functions among thousands of small communities.

But in the highly complex industrial society of today it would be impossible to adapt this Jeffersonian idea to the needs of society. The roads, shops and mills have become collective transportation systems and industries. As well, think of pygmies controlling the tides as for hundreds of thousands of small governing communities controlling large-scale industry. Socialism is possible today, but it was not in Jefferson's day. He was right then but wrong now, right for his age but not for ours, yet there is not one Jeffersonian Democrat in a thousand who can understand this. They have no comprehension of what evolution means.

## "CIVILIZATION"

THE dominion of the past over the living is the main source of power of ruling classes. Tradition, precedent, myths, customs, inherited prejudices and superstitions rule the mass of mankind. To break the rule of the dead over the living is the task of every new generation. Impersonal economic forces are always working changes in human society, but the old ideas tend to survive. The old ideas serve to prevent the adjustment of human beings to the new problems which a changing society brings. Wherever the appeal is made to the "fathers" and their views we may rest assured that some important changes in society are necessary and that the ruling classes desire to perpetuate institutions as they are.

The power of tradition and custom over human beings is illustrated by the reaction of Americans to the invasion of frontier life by

the creeping civilization of the East. Accustomed to go barefoot, except in winter and on Sunday when they went to church, the elders "viewed, with alarm" the tendency of the young folks to wear factory-made shoes. As homespun clothing gave way to the "finery" of eastern production, the elders brooded over the "corruption" of eastern fashions. When the first cloth hats appeared to compete with the coon-skin cap the elders moaned that their boys were being transformed into a race of "dudes." Even today in remote mountain districts "book larnin'" is shunned as a device of his impious Majesty.

All this appears to us as absurd, yet it is the law that governs the actions of millions of human being in the United States today. What is the difference between aversion to more durable shoes and aversion to a new idea in science or politics? The man or woman who inherits a Republican or Democratic faith from his or her father does not differ in intellect from the rustic who fought the coming of factory-made shoes and clothing. Human beings are born Democrats or Republicans, Catholics or Protestants. They do not think. They inherit their ideas.

When a man or woman breaks the power of this law and begins to think, a civilized human being appears on the scene. In proportion as this type increases is there hope for humanity.

## HELP THE BRITISH MINERS

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the arrival of a delegation representing the British miners came the announcement that Premier Baldwin is "resigned" to the strike taking its course, while he turns to cricket for recreation. How like Calvin who, from his comfortable mountain retreat, drools over the "prosperity" his class is enjoying!

Now that the delegation is here and it has the pledge of support and co-operation of American trade unions in raising funds for the suffering British miners, we hope that the contributions of individuals and organizations will be generous. We Socialists have a political campaign before us, but for every dollar we contribute to it we should be equally generous to the miner. "Give until it hurts," said President Green of the A. F. of L., and that should be the attitude of the workers of this country.

There is real privation in the mining districts of England in spite of the generous aid that has come from the workers of other countries, but if it were not for the aid that has been received starvation would have compelled the strikers to go back to the slave terms of the owners. Our help will encourage them and provide the women and children with the necessities that are essential to a successful issue of the struggle.

Is it too much to ask every reader of this to immediately send at least one dollar as an initial contribution to this cause? We think not. Our contribution is being sent as this is written. Send to the National Office of the Socialist Party, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

## To the Laughing Jackass

Why do you laugh? You joyous bird,  
Is life then anything more than this?  
So full of jokes, still, still unheard  
Of bubbling, wild, ecstatic bliss.

Is it because the Kangaroo  
Doth leap and bound so grandly free  
While men are slowly muddling through  
And straining after Liberty?

Or that some folks who never work,  
And never want to find a job,  
Can so seduce State, press, and kirk  
While batten on the slaving mob?

Perhaps you see afar when man  
Will justify your gurgling mirth  
By eating up his fellow man  
And leave you monarch of the earth.

If ever in your gleeful heart  
There lived a theme, why don't you sing,  
And to a puzzled world impart  
Why thus you make the gumtrees ring?

—E. Hooton, in "Westralian Worker."

## A Bit of Paper

Just a little bit of paper and a tiny little cross  
Not much—but just the difference between a gain or loss.  
It can lend a hand to freedom and to give old Mammon shocks,  
Can that little bit of paper when you drop it in the box.

There is virtue, life, and progress in that little printed square,  
If you take the cross of Labor and plant it boldly there;  
There is food for hungry children, hope for workers on the rocks,  
Strength for men and rest for women, when you drop it in the box.

There is death to feudal privilege, to selfishness and greed,  
There is sunshine for the darkened slums and help for those in need.  
There are visions of a future that the present vainly mocks,  
In that little bit of paper, when you put it in the box.

—Exchange.

## The Song of Labor

A song to the builders of beauty,  
The rearers of temples and spire;  
A song to the strong men of duty,  
Who shape the world's future in fire.

Sing, sing to the women, the mothers,  
The weavers of life and fate;  
The sisters who toil for the brothers,  
And open to hope the white gate.

A song to the brain that devises,  
And bends Nature's will into law;  
A song to the brain that suffices  
Its purpose from many to draw.

Sing, sing to the thinkers and hewers,  
To brothers of brain and brawn;  
A song to the world's mighty doers,  
Who work for a hastening dawn.

—Horace Spencer Fiske.

## Church Losing Mexican Fight

Despite the thunders of the Vatican reinforced by the minor batteries of the Roman Catholic Church all over the world, the struggle, which many observers think will be the final one, between Church and State in Mexico seems to be simmering down into a sort of endurance conflict, with time fighting on the side of President Calles and his government. When the really devout section of the Mexican population (which is by no means as large a percentage as the excited correspondents of American newspapers would make their readers believe) finds out that the heavens have not fallen and that the sun still shines, regardless of the anathemas hurled at the republic's leaders, its faith is likely to be weakened and with it the resistance of the clergy. Already there is talk of a compromise through legislation when the Mexican Congress meets next month modifying some of the more drastic provisions of the Calles' edicts that caused the church authorities to declare a general strike of priests. That the President will not object to allowing the clerical chiefs to "save their faces" in this way as long as the essential features of the separation laws are enforced is considered probable. In the meantime the

American State Department, while ostensibly unaffected by the wild cries for intervention raised by the Supreme Council of the Knights of Columbus and similar clerical organizations, has thought it timely to send another oil note to Mexico City complaining about the land laws. Fortunately, the American Federation of Labor, as a whole, stands by its policy of hands off Mexico, although some of its local leaders have let their religious sentiments get the better of their calm trade union judgment.

## Fact and Fancy Riot in Europe

Out of the welter of fact and fiction about Europe that has kept the cables and wireless outfits working overtime during the week one learns that Mussolini and his Spanish imitator, Primo de Rivera, have concluded an arbitration treaty in the "good, old fashioned secret" way which is hailed in Rome and Madrid as a big step toward consolidating and promoting the interests of Italy and Spain in the Mediterranean and in South America. On the same day the signing of the treaty was announced, Dictator Rivera told The London Times that Spain had "an influence over a greater number of millions of people than any other nation" and that while his gov-

ernment intended to delegate its powers to the people as the latter advanced in citizenship, it would quickly snatch said powers back in case they should "be abused." Discovery by the police of a cache of explosives in a little Valencian town helped add to the feeling of "tranquility" obtaining in Spain. Just as a side-line to his multifarious activities, "Big Ben" has called upon Italian society women to emancipate themselves from Paris styles and to wear clothes about to be designed by a committee headed by Queen Helena. Another example of the peace and quietness that so impress most American visitors, including some self-styled journalists, was a revolver battle in Turin between a gang of Fascist militiamen and some "unknown men" which resulted in the death of the local Fascist secretary and the wounding of one of his companions. In France Georges Clemenceau emerged from the political tomb long enough to write a letter to President Coolidge asking for the remission of the French war debt, but nobody of importance took it seriously. The Soviet Government was tumbling all over the front pages of several "enterprising" American newspapers, but Moscow reported that the family row between the followers of the disciplined Zinoviev and the Government supporters was of no particular importance.

## THE CHATTER BOX

AMERICA is growing into a nation of Peeping Toms. Always we went around wondering what would come out of the chaotic childhood of this land. We even went and joined the Socialist Party in the wild hope that our prophetic vision might lead the lost tribe out of a weird adolescence into a righteous adulthood. We blundered and blundered through thirteen years of messianic myopia. We have finally arrived at a clearing from which rift we discern the three hopes of American life,—the Daily News, the Mirror, and the Graphic.

Even as we turn over the photo-plotted sheets of these abbreviated couriers of news, a strange exaltation lifts us beyond the ether of earthly reason. We go pondering over in our mind's lexicon for usages low and vile enough to adequately employ the crisp leaves of paper that they sell as journals to poor, decent and credulous people. Rabalais is too gentle, and the French decadents too refined to help us. Some day we will learn the language of swine and vermin, only in order to find thought and phrase filthy enough to classify and decorate the publishers of New York's tabloid journals with proper vituperation.

There is no privacy, no delicacy, no anatomical reserve. The affair of a millionaire degenerate and his sixteen-year-old paramour is dragged out into a long, slimy trail of ink and print. All its intimate indecencies, all its revolting obscenities, is served up with a learning unction to the scatter-brained minds of school girls and pimply-faced freshmen. Whatever the denizens of the Tenderloin smirk and laconically hint about to each other is frankly exposed in bold-face headings and long columns of dirty conjecture. Bedrooms hold no sanctity, and sex perversities have left the covers of tomes on scientific research, only to become delicatessen entrees for public free lunch counters. And surely two or three cents is hardly any cost for such droll tales as Balzac and Boccaccio never fell low enough to tell.

The camera lens can take the outer and even the underclothing from off a fair lady, and yet leave even the weakest mind immune to sex excitement. But the lenses of unclean minds, that concoct and film the stories of divorces, bandit queens sheiks and cabaret molls, and all the ugly panorama of our underlife, are a source of extreme disgust, to us, at least.

All this may sound like a thesis by a Mr. Sumner, or a tirade by a Dr. Straton against pornographic literature. We don't care. We offer no solution by legal suppression. Free press is free press to us even if it go as far as to publish dictionaries of gutter obscenity and illustrate them with photos of scenes within houses of ill-fame. We only wish for a public conscience to be so revolted into action that whole editions of these public insults are left unbought and unread by the masses who now wallow in their mire.

We started out with the remark that we are growing into a horde of Peeping Toms. The unhealthy curiosity that consumes those sexual pervers is a creepy thing. Slowly but surely our men and women, and even our healthier youth, are becoming subject to that form of insanity, for the Graphic and the Mirror and the Daily News are just large windows and doors ajar, through which a world of credulous readers can look and see with photo and graphic news column all the low characters of an indecent world, dressing and undressing themselves, performing their socially overt acts, and disporting themselves as even the decadents of dying Rome were too scrupulous to make public performance.

A good catchword for any new tabloid coming to life to compete with the present trimurtree could read: "Why peep and break the law when you can read the Daily Smudge and be regular . . ."

## Sonnet

Some build about themselves a tortoise-box  
Wherein their cringing souls may rest and dine,  
Unheeding all without; and some define  
Stark ivory towers sealed with golden locks  
To keep their dreams in (thinking there are rocks  
That seeping waters cannot undermine!)  
In creeds we place our hopes, or else in wine,  
Or in dim enterprises take our stocks . . .  
And yet, and yet—although Life does not crush

## The Right Kind

ANYTHING that brings the spirit of Socrates to the attention of the world today is, to that act, of value; and although all the drama Housman (The Death of Socrates, by Laurence Housman: Small, Maynard, \$1.50) sees in the Greek's death is not transferred to this play, the book gives a measure of condensation and strength to the story told in the "Crito" and the "Phaedo" of Plato, the story of the manner in which Socrates went to his death.

The manner in which Socrates went to his living has met with criticism in many quarters, but few deny the value of his philosophic—more strictly, his pedagogic—method, and the dignity of his ultimate gesture. Socrates refused life in order to go to a future he felt was promising, from a life he knew was futile. In the common "for his death is made clear the fear that the powerful have against them. The tools of the oppressed are potential; their force is in the school. The Greeks could order

Socrates to die; modern governments work less directly, by arranging the materials and digging the channels—and polluting the stream. Teachers to-day are too often rubber-stamps, stereotypes of approved attitudes, prejudices, and conventions, that masquerade as thoughts. . . . Housman's book gives a good picture of one who saw into the forces that make society, who refused to submit to the sham.

William Lea.

## A Haitian Gusher

IN BLACK HAITI (Black Haiti: by "Blair Niles, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1926) we have a delightfully readable book spoiled by too much sentimentality. Inevitably one gets a picture of the writer cooling over a neglected child. Yet the book is charming and should please the casual reader and inspire the more learned one with a desire to go to Haiti and discover what lies beneath the shimmering praise and soft-dowdy sympathy that glows and dark-

ens Miss Niles' portrait of the tiny republic.

The book is gracefully written. There are such scintillant phrases as: "The mango tree suspends above the unshed tears of its ripe gold fruit. . . ." The reader travels through the black republic carefully swathed in feminine emotion and starts homeward with the optimistic tinkle of a black boy's laughter ringing hopefully in his ears.

Gloria Goddard.

Science, the great emancipator that has tamed the powers of nature, and might in so doing have freed man from toil to allow him to develop freely his faculty of mind and body; science, become the slave of capital, has done nothing but supply means for capitalists to increase their wealth and to intensify their exploitation of the working class. Its most wonderful applications to industrial technique have brought to the children, the women, and the men of the working class nothing but overwork and misery.—Paul Lafargue.

## Critical Cruisings

By V. F. Calverton

## American Wisdom

AMERICANA is the best book that Mr. Mencken has gotten out—perhaps because it is not written by himself. Mr. Mencken has always had a keen sense for the ridiculous, except in himself. "Americana" (A. Knopf, Inc., \$2.50), it must be said, reveals his taste in favorable form. Here he is dealing with the vaudevilian maneuvers of microscopical intellects, and his affection for clownish observations is peculiarly appropriate and piquant. For example, his comment on the "aufklarung" in Arizona is exemplary:

"Progress of Christian enlightenment in the land of the barbarous Hopis and Zunis, as revealed by a sermon by the Rev. Dr. John B. Andrews, of University Methodist Church, Tucson:

"I believe that the whale swallowed Jonah."

"Sweet, lovely and well-deserved words from the eminent Tucson 'Citizen':

"There is nothing so responsive as an Elk's heart. In the social sense, he is the courtier, the gallant knight of modern times. There is more Christianity in the day-by-day practices of Elkdom than there is in many a monumental cathedral. There has been nothing spiritually finer since the days of the Christian Crusaders than the Elks' financing the relief work of the Salvation Army during the World War."

And in Arkansas his appreciations do not dim:

"Society note from the instructive Little Rock 'Daily News':

"Much improvement was shown in the condition of Diamond Joe Sullivan today, according to a physician's report, and his complete recovery is believed assured. When attendants report him completely out of danger, Governor McRae is expected to fix the day of his execution."

In California the epiphs of wisdom are also carefully culled:

"Official view, in San Francisco, of the aim and usufructs of the late war, as stated in a sermon by the Rev. James L. Gordon, pastor of the First Congregational Church:

"The great war was humanity's battle for humanity. That human liberty might be preserved! That universal freedom might be perpetuated! That democracy of the world might be safeguarded! That Christianity might survive! That the world's last and best civilization should not break down!"

"Progress of the higher learning at Stanford University, as reported by a press dispatch from Palo Alto:

"Yell leading has been made a subject in the curriculum at Stanford, and credit will be given to sophomores trying out for assistant yell leader who register in the new course. 'Bleacher psychology,' 'the correct use of the voice,' 'development of stage presence,' and 'what a coach expects of the yell leader' will be topics of lectures by members of the faculty and by Professor Andrew Kerr, football coach."

"Want ad in Mr. Hearst's great Christian periodical, the Los Angeles 'Examiner':

"Wanted—Good-looking stenographer; stenographic ability not essential. Apply 905 American Bank Bldg."

In Maryland, Mr. Mencken's home State, his fancy is at its finest:

"Rise of the scientific spirit among the amphibious Fundamentalists, as shown by an advertisement of University Baptist Church in the Baltimore 'Sunpaper':

"Dr. Melvin G. Kyle, one of the world's greatest archaeologists, will conduct a School of Biblical Research in this church this week. Dr. Kyle has just returned from explorations in Palestine. His purpose was to dredge the Dead Sea in search of the ruins of Sodom and Gomorrah."

"New zoological classification from the estimable Baltimore 'Evening Sun':

"Two men were sentenced to jail for 30 days and a negro for six months in the Traffic Court today."

"Lingering effects of the late war for democracy upon jurisprudence in the Maryland Free State, as revealed by an advertisement in the 'Sunpaper':

"Lawyer wanted, to enter suit against a pro-German concern. Address Purchasing Agent, 5870, Sun."

"From a tract by Dr. Howard A. Kelly, emeritus professor in the Johns Hopkins Medical School:

"I look with equanimity upon evolution, or any other theory, nor do I care (relatively speaking) whether it is true or false, but I do care a great deal to drive men back to God's Word, the fountain of living waters, and that they shall hold it to be true from Genesis I to Revelation XXII."

These citations and comments, however, were inspired by the materials of a myriad sources. In his "Notes for Foreign Students," Mr. Mencken is more genuinely original. In giving character to New York, Mr. Mencken writes:

"The city pays little heed to the laws of the United States, or to the national mores. There are more harlots in New York than the whole of Spain. . . . In the Middle West, New York is looked upon as the capital of Satan, and no woman who has ever been there is regarded as a strictly A-1 virgin."

In describing Oregon he confesses: "Its people believe in the Bible, and hold that all radicals should be lynched. It has no poets and no statesmen."

As we have often said, Mr. Mencken as a vaudevilian is unsurpassed. His burlesque humor fits his part. He is a genius in his genre. "Americana" presents him at his best. It is only when he is serious that his gesture becomes ridiculous and his arguments absurd.

Universal and direct suffrage is the foundation of political and social life, the basic principle of all self-help, and without which the condition of the working class cannot be bettered. From and through the state alone can advancement be made.—Lassalle.