

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

# THE NEW LEADER

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TO  
RESEARCH DEPT  
15th St  
New York

By Norman

It is my custom to read the really important news like the Hall murder case, the Saratoga races, the sorrows of Dempsey in search of a license, prohibition and the other issues of supreme interest to the proletariat, to the editors of this worthy publication or that brilliant columnist, McAllister Coleman, for comment. That gives me a somewhat limited field. Especially since I have settled several times over such minor details as the Mexican quarrel, the debt question, and so forth, and so forth. (It isn't my fault that these questions do not stay settled. The New Leader really should have more readers.)

Of the news that is left nothing has interested me much more than the story of the conference in France of some 5,000 young pacifists, mostly French and German in France. It is reported that these young people get along in perfect harmony, and what is more astonishing, that they are staying in army tents and are fed by army kitchens. We Americans have been in the habit of regarding France as too militaristic, but can you imagine our War Department rendering a similar service to a young folks' conference on peace? Remember the aid it did render to the jingoes who nearly broke up the peace concord conference! Maybe the Europeans aren't so militaristic nor our own fellow countrymen so peace-loving as we naive Americans sometimes assume.

For the 99th time it is announced that the government is going to speed up the case against Fall and Doheny. Some of you old folks will remember the names. Sometimes I am optimistic enough to think that my youngest boy, aged six, will live to see the end of this famous case—unless death ends it first. It is possible that this same youngster by the time he has children of his own may see some action taken either to indict me or dismiss the case against me over in Jersey. Justice in America isn't merely blind. She is lame in both legs.

It is a relief to find a labor candidate for a high office in a union who has a real platform, and a good one. Two words sum up John Brophy's planks in his campaign for the presidency of the United Mine Workers—organization and nationalization. Both are necessary and both must go together. Nationalization without organization is dangerous to the workers. Organization without nationalization, especially in the soft coal field, can never solve the problem of an over-developed industry, with its hideous wastes.

Speaking of waste, I observe that the scientists at the Williamson Conference have been giving gloomy figures as to the comparatively small store there is left in the world of oil, coal and metals. Then they bid us be of good cheer and trust the chemists and physicists to find substitutes, and especially to release atomic energy. That's all very well, but our trust in science is no reason for continuing the dangerous waste of natural resources which is inevitable under our profit system. As for atomic energy, if the profit system is still in control of international politics, it's all too safe a bet that our first use of the new energy will be to blow each other up. Then nobody will be left to worry about waste.

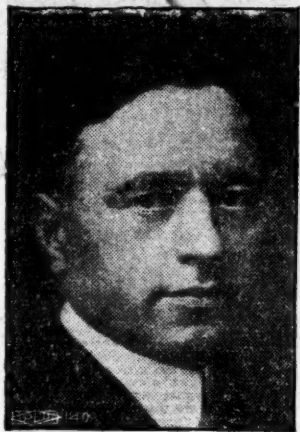
At last one regular union has been found which is willing to take a chance of going in and organizing strikers without raising jurisdictional difficulties or demanding that the strike be won before the union will help. The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and Freight Handlers has taken in the fruit handlers on strike against the Marine Co. for higher wages. The company claims to have plenty of strikebreakers. Perhaps some organization work can be done among them. Anyway, we wish this strike all success.

Congratulations are due to all the parties concerned in the negotiations by which the Passaic strikers are being taken into the United Textile Workers. This is a long step forward and may yet mark a milestone in the organization of the unorganized workers.

It is announced that plans are now perfected for an international iron and steel trust between German, French and Belgian interests. To the producers of each nation a definite quota is assigned. Some hope is felt that Poland, Austria and Czechoslovakia may come in. Great Britain is definitely out. The United States is not in (except in so far as Americans may have acquired interest in German companies), but it is said that the com-

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## Investigating Fur Union



MATHEW WOLL

Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, chairman of the A. F. of L. Committee investigating the Conduct of the Communist-led N. Y. Fur Strike.

## FUR STRIKE QUIZ NEAR COMPLETE

### Investigation Has Been Proceeding Despite Objection of N. Y. Joint Board

WASHINGTON. — Notwithstanding the unwillingness of the Joint Board of the New York Fur Workers' Union to accede to the request of President William Green that it submit to an investigation of its conduct during the recent strike in New York, the American Federation of Labor investigating committee has practically completed its work.

This announcement was made by President Green here when his attention was called to the letter of the Joint Board. The investigation has been in progress for several weeks, he said.

"I held conferences with the Joint Board and their international officers during the strike," Green said, "and when I discovered that they were at each other's throats I told them plainly that when the strike was over I was going to find out what their quarrels were based on. I made it clear that we would take no action until the strike was out of the way. The Joint Board representatives made no protest at that time against my plan of investigating this internal strife.

"The date of my letter to them, notifying them of the selection of the committee of investigation, is July 19. Their response is dated August 5. Of course they knew we were making the investigation meanwhile.

The committee includes Matthew Woll, vice-president of the A. F. of L.; Hugh Frayne, general organizer in New York; Edward F. McGrady, general organizer; John Sullivan, president of the New York State Federation of Labor; and Joseph Ryan, president of the New York City Central Labor Union.

Green denied that the international officers of the Fur Workers suggested to the executive council of the A. F. of L. that it intervene. He says he put the matter before the council himself.

## COLORED WOMEN'S GROUP BACKS PORTERS' UNION

OAKLAND, Cal.—After being publicly welcomed by the Governor of California and by the Mayor of Oakland, the National Federation of Colored Women, whose president is Mrs. Mary M. Bethune, meeting here in their fifteenth biennial convention, went on record unqualifiedly endorsing the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

## Hillquit Raises \$1,300 For Miners at Meeting

Miss Ellen Wilkinson, M. P., speaking at the Civic Club in New York Wednesday evening, declared that need among the families of the British miners is acute and that the British workers are counting heavily on the Americans for aid.

Following an appeal by Morris Hillquit, who presided, more than \$1,300 was collected, several well-known members of the Socialist party making substantial donations.

Another \$100 was collected by McAllister Coleman, who sold at auction several copies of books autographed by their authors, including H. G. Wells, A. A. Milne and Arnold Bennett.

Socialist organization is useless without the propaganda needed to make Socialists, and Socialist propaganda without Socialist organization simply means making Socialists without enabling them to work definitely for the principles to which they have been converted—London "Justice."

## Mortgage Co. Agent Attacked by Farmers When He Comes to Take Their Farms Away

PLENTYWOOD, Montana.—Oscar Collins, former sheriff of Sheridan county and once a candidate for congress, was forced to swallow a pint of castor oil by a group of 60 farmers at Raymond.

He came on a writ of assistance issued by Judge Frank D. Leiper to the farm of Melvin Grandrud to take possession of the land. He was met at the ranch by a group of farmers, who, after hot words, during which the farmers declared Collins had no right to dispossess Grandrud, collared Collins, and forced him to drink the oil, according to an affidavit regarding the affair, made later by Collins.

The incident follows a long series of legal battles between farmers of Sheridan county and mortgage companies of Minneapolis and other eastern cities for possession of land and crops, after foreclosures.

## GARMENT UNION GIVES \$1,000 TO BRITISH MINERS

### Union Makes Gift in Midst of Own Strike— Delegation Making Good Progress

AN inspiring demonstration of labor solidarity, seldom equalled in the history of the trade union movement, was given this week when the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, though in the throes of a general strike itself, wrote itself down as the first American union to turn over a check to the visiting British Miners' delegation here seeking funds to aid their strike.

On behalf of the International, President Morris Sigman and Secretary-Treasurer Abraham Baroff, presented Ben Tillett, a leading member of the delegation, with a check for \$1,000, accompanied by the hope that the union can raise the sum to \$5,000 within a few weeks.

The garment workers are now conducting a strike of almost 40,000 men and women in New York City which is straining its treasury to the utmost. Nevertheless, President Sigman left no stone unturned to raise money for the strikers across the sea.

In acknowledging the contribution, Tillett said the incident was one that "will inspire the British working-class movement for many years to come."

This is the second instance on record where a union itself involved in a large strike has aided fellow strikers of another country. During the general strike in Britain, the International office of the Cap Makers' Union, then conducting a strike of its own, cabled \$2,000 to the British Trade Union Congress.

Under the added impetus of an appeal received here from Ramsay MacDonald, leader of the British Labor Party, the visiting British delegation reports a continued generous response in their fund raising efforts here. Tillett addressed officials of 16 railroad labor unions in Washington Monday, three of them including Brotherhoods not part of the A. F. of L. Assurances of prompt action were received from all sides.

In New York, Ellen Wilkinson, M. P., has opened permanent offices at 70 Fifth avenue, where a most encouraging response is being received from an appeal for aid sent through the mail to liberal and radical individuals.

A substantial donation was voted for the British miners by the East St. Louis Central Trades and Labor union following a talk by James Robson. Robson is the Scottish member of the British delegation now touring America for the miners.

Trade unions in the Chicago district, who have been doing their share in assisting the Passaic textile strikers, are listening this week to pleas for the locked out British miners, made by Paul McKenna of the Scottish Miners federation, one of the principal units of the Miners Federation of Great Britain. McKenna is furnished with every co-operation by the Chicago Federation of Labor and leads off his campaign with an address to his regular delegate meeting. His previous stopping place was Springfield, headquarters of the Illinois Mine Workers, who had voted by referendum to donate \$25,000 to the British miner relief fund.

In a radio talk broadcast over the Chicago Federation of Labor station WCFL McKenna said:

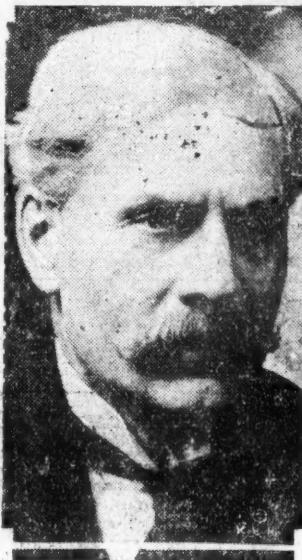
"I have been treated with the greatest kindness by American labor everywhere I went, but I am so rushed by the succession of appointments and speeches that I have not had time to read even the home papers. We get through a lot of our work in our country but we are not so constantly keyed up."

The text of ex-Premier MacDonald's letter to the miners' delegation here answering Premier Baldwin's recent message to America regarding the British coal strike reads:

"You and your colleagues have my best wishes for the success of your mission to America on behalf of our locked-out miners' wives and children. No one who knows our mining districts doubts the distress in which our miners' dependents are.

"It is true that, owing to the fine response to appeals for funds made by the women of our labor movement and by the miners' leaders, a strenuous

## Urge Aid for Miners



Ramsay MacDonald

"As the cruel lock-out lasts, slowly and cruelly distress invades our homes. Starvation is pushing us back, and further help is urgently needed to prevent this great fight for human standards of life and economic justice becoming an abiding tragedy to the miners' wives and little ones," Ramsay MacDonald in a letter to America.



MORRIS HILLQUIT

"We in America must come to the aid of the locked-out British miners immediately and in some substantial form. For if the miners of Britain are overwhelmed by the coal-owners and the Baldwin government, a front line of defense of the world labor movement will have been lost."—Morris Hillquit.

## Probe Ability to Pay Wage Demands

Newark, N. J.—Street car and bus subsidiaries of the Public Service Corporation of New Jersey have been arguing that they must cut employees' wages ten percent, that they were unable to continue present wages. The local union of the Amalgamated Association of Street & Electric Railway Employees, has been demanding a twenty-five percent increase. Now Mayor Raymond has ordered an investigation into the financial condition of the companies.

Let the great lords of England take care. . . . If once they believe that they have no need of the people the people may in their turn think that they have no need of them.—Simond.

## TEXTILE UNION WELCOME TO A. F. L.

### Affiliation With United Textile Workers Assured by Elimination of Communists in Passaic

AFFILIATION of the Passaic wool textile strikers with the American Federation of Labor is assured by the decision of the United Textile Workers of America to admit and welcome them to their union. Passaic workers spoke through their elected committee of citizens: Henry T. Hunt, lawyer; W. Jett Lauck, economist; and Helen Todd, suffragist and social worker. The committee's acceptance of the conditions of admission to the U. T. W. executive council laid on the workers will undoubtedly be approved by the strikers. The organization of a local union among the woolen workers will follow.

Over 15,000 New Jersey wool workers have been striking for seven months. Half of that number have definitely affiliated themselves with the United Front Committee of Textile Workers organized by Albert Weisbord. This group will be the main body of the new local union, but without Weisbord, who is a Communist. His withdrawal, and that of his Communist associates, is one of the U. T. W. conditions. This condition is accepted by the strikers' committee, who state:

"Mr. Weisbord has already agreed to withdraw when the Passaic textile workers have formally been organized as a union of the United Textile Workers of America, and we are confident that he will make such further definite statement as you suggest."

President Thomas F. McMahon told the strikers' committee that the new union would be received and welcomed and that they could become members of the United Textile Workers "by observing its constitution and by-laws; and that none but bona fide mill workers will be accepted into membership." McMahon said that the union couldn't morally exclude the Passaic strikers.

McMahon further stated that "the striking workers who have secured work elsewhere and are now paying dues to the organization in Passaic must continue to pay dues, as well as an initiation fee of \$1, with the understanding that this money is turned over to the Relief Committee of the striking mill workers. Those not working and still on strike are not required to pay either initiation fees or dues at this time, but will be held morally responsible when they return to work to meet this obligation."

The strikers' committee expressed their gratification at the U. T. W. action, saying, "It entirely conforms to the conditions which we stated we could offer as a basis of affiliation. We shall be very glad indeed to co-operate with you further in bringing this matter to a successful conclusion. It is clear now that there cannot be any objection whatsoever to the recognition of the striking employees when they shall have become affiliated with your organization."

Relief machinery set up by the strikers, and the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, 799 Broadway, New York City, continue their functions. Affiliation of the Passaic strikers with the U. T. W. should set at rest any doubts about A. F. of L. unionists may have had concerning the strike. Contributions from A. F. of L. unions have been generous

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## Strike Settlement Head



SALVATORE NINFO

## BIG CLOAK FIRM CAPITULATES

### Ninfo Announces 125 Bosses Have Now Signed With Striking Cloakmakers

ANOTHER break in the ranks of the industrial council of the New York Cloak Manufacturers' Association is announced by the cloakmakers' general strike committee.

T. Kilpatrick Company is one of the largest industrial council members and its defection from the manufacturers' ranks is considered an augur of similar independent settlements regardless of the danger of being expelled from industrial council membership.

The strikers' settlement committee, through Salvatore Ninfo, chairman, announces the total settlements to date are 125.

Police of the West 30th street station, acting under express instructions of Capt. Cornelius Carmody, arrested 50 pickets this week. Thirty were arraigned in Jefferson Market Court before Magistrate Goodman, were found not guilty of obstructing traffic with the exception of several, who were fined \$2 and \$3 each. The remaining 20 were deliberately held in the station house, the union charged, until too late for arraignment in court, forcing the union to put up \$500 bail for each.

When Morris Sigman, president of the International, was asked to express his opinion concerning the movement initiated by the industrial council of the Cloak Manufacturers' Inc., to influence credit and banking interests to cut off or limit credits to such cloak manufacturers as sign the new agreement with the union, he declared:

"Aside from being grossly unethical from a business viewpoint, such a move is thoroughly unsound in an industrial and economic sense. It is well known to everyone in this industry that we have had for many years past scores of manufacturers who would guarantee their workers not only 36 weeks of work, but 40 and more, and yet their standing in the trade and the banking world has never been impaired on that account. In Cleveland the entire cloak market is operating on a guarantee of 40 weeks employment annually, and that market is prosperous and progressing.

"The real season in the cloak industry is now at the door," Mr. Sigman added, "and every day and every week that goes by spells tangible losses to all concerned. Instead of continuing a negative policy of threats and destruction, it is, I believe, high time now, in

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## N. Y. TYPOS BAR CONCESSIONS TO PUBLISHERS

### Union Votes Over- whelmingly Against Newspapers' Demand For Wage Cuts

By Laborite

IN unmistakable terms Big Six, the Typographical Union of New York City, has given its answer to the local Publishers' Association. The latter had requested that their latest proposal be submitted to the membership of the union. This was done at the regular monthly meeting held on Aug. 15, 1926. Thirteen hundred printers packed the Star Casino on that hot Sunday afternoon. Then by secret ballot they voted to reject their employers' offer with hardly a dissenting vote. The vote stood 1,290 to 7, with 5 blank ballots.

What was the cause of this great demonstration? The old two-year agreement expired on July 1, 1926. Negotiations had been begun a month before that date. July 1 rolled around and still there was no settlement. Under the terms of the contract the status quo was maintained. On July 7 the parley came to a halt. It was to be resumed upon the call of the union.

The printers had asked an increase of wages of \$6 a week, a six and a half hour day in place of the present seven and a half and seven in the case of the "third shift." The publishers had made counter proposals asking for decreases amounting to about \$2.40 a day and a return to the eight-hour shift. The present wages of day men are \$60 a week, of night men \$63 and of the "third shift," working between 2 a. m. to 10 a. m., \$64.

At the July membership meeting of Big Six it was decided to appeal to the international officers to break the deadlock. President Lynch was unavoidably detained out of town for a week and a half and arrived in New York on the 21st. On the 22d, 23d and 27th conferences were resumed.

It now appeared that the publishers had shifted ground somewhat. They insisted that they were bound by their affiliation with the National Publishers' Association not to permit any further reduction of hours. As for wages, they would consider increases, provided there were "compensatory concessions." Asked by the union representatives what that meant, they said "elimination of resetting bogus." That referred to the practice of exchanging mats, plates or type and then resetting them within four days' time in order not to deprive the printers of work. Even in this slow season of the year bogus that is reset amounts to about two hundred to three hundred columns per week in a newspaper like the "New York Times." Not to enforce this rule of resetting would be to invite the advertisers and publishers to set up all matter in a central office and then distribute it to the various newspaper plants, causing the elimination of the superfluous workers that would result.

That was the "ultimate" proposal of the employers. They wanted, in accordance with the International Union's own law, to submit their offer to the membership for a secret vote. They were confident, they said, that the good sense of the printers would see the justice of the publishers' demands. The workers failed to see it by an almost unanimous vote. This was the proposal submitted:

Contract to be for three years. Elimination of requirement for resetting bogus, provided there shall be no material increase in the amount borrowed or exchanged; \$6 increase in the wages, dating from July 1, 1926, to apply \$3 the first year, \$2 the second year and \$1 the third year, making the full increase \$6 effective at the beginning of the third year, July 1, 1928.

In addition this explanation was added:

There shall be no material increase in the borrowing or exchanging of purely local advertising matter; that is, advantage shall not be taken of this agreement to immediately or gradually bring about indiscriminate or unrestricted exchange of mats, plates or type of purely local advertising matter.

What complicated matters was the provision in the General Laws of the International Typographical Union (XXI, Pages 80 and 81) that the interchanging of type or matrices is illegal, unless reached within a time limit agreed between employers and local unions. Consequently, President Rouse of Big Six had the hardest time convincing the members that they ought to vote on the publishers' proposition at all. Many felt that the whole scheme was unconstitutional. Rouse had to insist that the vote itself was not. As for the Publishers' promise not to increase the

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## BAUER SOUNDS CALL AGAINST FASCISM

Eloquent Plea for Working Class Action Made at Vienna Congress

In a ringing speech that drew round after round of applause from an audience that filled one of the largest halls in Vienna, Otto Bauer, Parliamentary leader of the Austrian Social Democracy, threw down the gauntlet to Fascism the world over at a meeting held in connection with the organization of the Anti-Fascist International, reported in THE NEW LEADER of Aug. 7. Welcoming the representatives of the fighting groups of young workers in nine European countries in the name of the Socialist and Labor International, Deputy Bauer spoke as follows:

By Otto Bauer

COMRADES, it is not an insignificant formality that here for the first time the militant defense corps of the workers of many countries are gathered together, and that the international is greeting them.

The millions who saw the shattered bodies of the fallen on the battlefields of Europe did not return home with a craving for violence. They returned full of the conviction of the sacredness of every human life, full of longing for a world which would no longer know bloodshed, and whose development would be a conflict of minds. That was the bill of revolution, when the thrones of the Romanoffs, the Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns were overthrown—the possibility of extinguishing further bloodshed forever.

We well know that democracy at first is another form of class rule by the bourgeoisie. But this class domination in democracy does not rely on political privileges, but on the fact that the bourgeoisie still, by the power of tradition, by its economic power, by its press and its church retains the majority of the people under its spiritual influence. Therefore, we looked to be able, by a struggle with intellectual weapons only, by a struggle for souls, to free the mass of the people from this influence, and thus to win power for the working class, not by bloodshed, but through a spiritual wrestling between man and man and between woman and woman. But while the people still nursed this hope, in one country after another reaction has appeared and has shown us how the capitalists stand toward democracy.

We have stood at the grave of Matteotti, at the graves of these innumerable ones, whom Italian Fascism has murdered; at the grave of Szomogy and Bacco, at the graves of the thousands who have died in prisons, in internment camps, on the gallows of Horthy; at the graves of those many men whom the German Hakenkreuzlers have murdered, and here in Austria, at the graves of Mueller, Birnacker and Still. We have experienced all that. Yes, we wish to fight with intellectual weapons, but of what use are intellectual weapons when every day the bandit's iron hand seizes by the throat the man who is struggling for souls? Yes, we wish to build up the new world in peace. But what is the use of that when daily the hirelings of reaction can fall upon us and with their sword strike the towel from our hand? Thus the idea has shaped itself: We can only wage the struggle with intellectual weapons provided that physical force maintains and guards them.

In one land after another the working class has found by experience that the capitalists remain faithful to democracy only so long as universal franchise gives to capitalist rule the seal of approval by the mass of the people. On the day when it sees that democracy is imperiling its dominance, the bourgeoisie stakes its hope on brute force. Have we not seen during these very days, the days of the hero's struggle of the British miners, how even in the most ancient home of democracy, capitalism clings to Fascism as soon as it sees its rule threatened.

When we go out into the Ring streets tomorrow it will mean no playing at soldiers, but something earnest and sacred, an expression of belief and a vow.

A vow to keep watch in order that the workers may pursue their struggle with intellectual weapons, free from the danger of being assaulted with brute force by bandits; a vow to keep

Denounces Fascism



DR. OTTO BAUER

## BIG CLOAK FIRM CAPITULATES

(Continued from page 1)

the seventh week of the strike, that the industrial council began to think of something constructive that would lead to peace, understanding and permanent stability in the industry.

A challenge from the industrial council to take a secret vote among the striking cloakmakers to see whether they favor continuance of the strike to obtain the union's demands, was accepted by the general strike committee, with the proviso that the industrial council pledge itself to accede to these union terms if the workers vote in favor of continuing the strike.

The challenge and its acceptance came right on the heels of confirmation by the union that Chas. Schrank & Co., cloak manufacturers, of 270 West 38th street, expelled from industrial council membership for negotiation with the union, had settled on union terms and was now working with a full quota of 30 employees.

The industrial council's challenge, charging that employees are on strike against their own will and because they are "terrorized" by their officials, was made in half advertisements in the Jewish press. Mr. Hyman replied:

"The manufacturers are continuing their tactics of picking out shops from among those settled which are not representative and holding them up as typical of settled shops, though we have settled with much larger shops. They take the names of manufacturers who have been registered by their jobs; then they fail to state the numbers of workers in these shops correctly, and finally they . . . ? ? ? ? ?

Mass meetings this week were addressed by President Sigman, A. Phillips Randolph, Charles W. Ervin, August Claessens, Luigi Antonini, William Karlin, Fania M. Cohen and others.

Oh, for a lodge in some vast wilderness, Some boundless contiguity of shade, Where rumor of oppression and deceit, Of unsuccessful or successful war, May never reach me more.—Cowper.

I do not believe that the weapons of liberty ever have been or ever can be the weapons of despotism. I will not trust the war spirit anywhere in the universe of God.—William Lloyd Garrison.

watch in order that the workers in this Socialist city may pursue their work of reconstruction free from the danger that Fascist or monarchist violence may break in upon us in this constructive work; a vow to train up our youth in the knowledge that he is not worthy of freedom who is not resolved to live and work for it, and, if need be, to die for it; a vow to carry forward this laborious and sacrificial work, to which these recent few days have so gloriously borne witness; to carry it forward not in quest of any foolhardy adventures, which can only bring mischief to the workers, but in the determination to yield no foot of the ground conquered, and, while the workers' army is fighting and moving forward by its own methods, to stand by to cover its flank.

Such is the historic mission of the self-defense corps, and, therefore, the International recognizes in them an essential component element in the International Labor movement, to which this organization also pays allegiance as one of its means of service.

Long live the International!

## A. C. W. ON STRIKE AGAINST BIG FIRM

Finkelstein, Notorious Open-Shopper, Called to Task by N. Y. Union

THE New York organization of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers is determined to round up all shops not now under its control. As the result of a campaign started some weeks ago, the union has already succeeded in waging a successful strike against the Fruhoff Brothers Clothing Company, one of the largest open shop concerns in the city.

Now the union announces it has succeeded in calling on strike a substantial number of workers employed by the most bitter open shop firm, Sam Finkelstein & Co. This firm employs about 600 workers.

Some New York clothing firms which had just signed agreements providing for granting wage increases for their workers conveniently "forgot" about their obligations when it came to pay their workers wages on pay day. They probably thought that the clause of the agreement calling for increased wages for those workers who are receiving less than the minimum scales provided for in the agreement, would be allowed to remain a dead letter.

The union, however, has an entirely different opinion on the subject, and so have the workers in the shops who are entitled to increased wages. In all cases where workers entitled to higher wages failed to receive the increases they filed complaints with their respective business agents.

The union took immediate action, notifying the firms in question that every worker entitled to a wage increase under the terms of the agreement would have to be paid the higher wage.

It is thought that the warning issued by the union will be sufficient to make it clear that the New York Joint Board is determined to see that every worker gets the wage to which he is entitled under the agreement. This is also the opinion of Brother Beckerman, manager of the Joint Board.

However, nothing is being left to chance in the preparations made by the organization to safeguard the gains won in the recently negotiated collective agreement. Members entitled to wage increases and failing to get the higher wage at the end of this week are instructed to notify the union without delay. In each case where firms show a reluctance to live up to their agreements the union is prepared to take whatever action may be found necessary.

## METAL TRADES URGED TO JOIN INTERNATIONAL DELEGATION IS DUE HERE

WASHINGTON.—Three fraternal delegates from the International Metal Trades Federation, whose headquarters are in Bern, Switzerland, are about to visit the United States to bring an appeal to the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor that it join the European federation of workers in that industry. The delegates are Conrad H. general secretary; Secretary Brownlie of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, British representative in the Bern federation, and President Dismann of the German Metal Workers' Union.

These men are going to lay before the convention of the Metal Trades Department, in Detroit, just preceding the convention of the A. F. of L., their arguments for American participation in a worldwide federation of the workers in the metal industry. They have been in correspondence with President O'Connell and Secretary Berres of the Department, on this issue, for some years. Nothing has come of the discussion. The International Association of Machinists, comprising what was for many years the largest single organization in the metal trades in this country, also corresponded with Secretary Hg. and on one occasion President Johnston of the machinists proposed to Hg. that the metal workers take steps to induce all governments to turn their arsenals and navy yards into plants for the production of things useful to humanity.

Landing in New York on September 15, the visitors will be met by Arthur Holder, former editor of the Machinists Journal and legislative agent of the A. F. of L., who has been assigned to them as secretary, and by William Schoenberg of Chicago, general organizer for the Machinists, who will act as interpreter for Herr Dismann. They will visit big industrial plants in Schenectady, the Pittsburgh district, Cleveland, Chicago and Detroit, studying American industrial conditions affecting the production of electrical equipment, steel, engines, general metal manufactures and automobiles. After attending the convention of the Metal Trades Department and witnessing the opening sessions of the convention of the A. F. of L., they will return to New York, sailing on October 9 for home.

Pottery Workers Seek More Pay Atlantic City, N. J.—Wage increases of 4-15 per cent are asked by the Natl. Broth. of Operative Potters in conference with the United States Potters Assn. The agreement expires Oct. 1. The week's conference at Atlantic City is expected to work out the new agreement. John T. Wood, president of the union, from East Liverpool, Ohio, leads the union group. The union reported 8,100 members last year.

Dig Deep in Your Jeans



## Cloak Union, Though Conducting Strike, Gives \$1,000 to Aid British Miners' Fight

(Continued from page 1)

fight, has been made against actual starvation.

"This contest with hunger has also been helped by the feeding of school children by some of our education authorities and by the assistance given by the poor law authorities.

"But, as the lockout lasts, slowly and cruelly distress of a heart-rending kind invades our homes. With the connivance of the Government, public relief is being drastically curtailed.

"Some poor-law authorities are refusing help to the miners' dependents; others are cutting down the scales of relief to inhuman standards, and the education authorities are limiting their feeding operations.

"Starvation is pushing us back, and

further help is urgently needed to prevent this great fight for human standards of life and economic justice becoming an abiding tragedy to the miners' wives and little ones. Statements to the contrary, by whomever made, are but part of the mine-owners' attempt to reduce the miner to submission by the slow starvation of his family.

"I know that an appeal made to the kindly heart of America has always met with a generous response.

"Your voice in this mission is the voice of women and children in dire need, and I have enough good friends among the American people who know that I would not have written this unless I was convinced both as to the justice of the cause and the need of the appeal."

## LABOR SEC'Y DAVIS PRINTS HIS BOOKS IN OPEN SHOP

ST. PAUL.—James J. Davis, secretary of labor in both the Harding and Coolidge cabinets, has his books published in non-union shops, his publisher admits. Davis' latest book, Selective Immigration, is a plea not only for the quota law but for letting in floods of workers in particular crafts when the department of labor deems it proper. It was published in St. Paul by the Scott-Mitchell Publishing Co. The company's president W. E. Scott writes in a letter now in possession of The Federated Press:

"Selective Immigration was done on the American plan or open shop. We consider that the firm that did our printing on Selective Immigration puts out the best book work in the Twin Cities."

Davis has been an invited speaker at many labor conventions of labor though he has met hostile receptions from the rank and file at some of them. He boasts in his autobiography in Who's Who in America that he is a member of the Amalgamated Association Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of America.

## TEXTILE UNION WELCOME

(Continued from page 1)

already for Passaic strikers' relief and will undoubtedly increase now. Settlement of the long strike is another matter, however. The mill owners have repudiated statements attributed to them that they would deal with the U. T. W. The mill owners' attitude is that they would talk to their workers individually or in company unions, where the workers in either case would be weak. The strong determination of the strikers to get recognition of their union presents the mill owners toward a change, especially with the approach of the fall season and orders going to other mills.

## Rail Workers Consider Company Union Challenge

KATONAH, N. Y.—"It won't do a bit of good to belittle company unions and assume that they are thoroughly bad and can be left to their own undoing, or to think that the trade unions can learn nothing from them," declared William H. Lelerson to the Railroad Labor Institute at Brookwood, Lelerson is impartial arbitrator for the men's clothing industry of Rochester, N. Y., and is on the faculty of Antioch College, Ohio.

"The important question is, what sort of thing are these company unions; how do they operate; where do they work best; how many men do they include; what did the folks who originated them expect to accomplish and are they doing it; what do they offer that trade unions do not? When organized labor has the answers to these questions, it will be in a fair way to chart its own course."

The three kinds of company unions listed by Lelerson are: Advisory, or shop committee, started during the safety movement, which may deal with recreation, working conditions and wages, but is purely advisory and informal; Works Councils, or equal representation of workers with management on various committees but no power to workers, although wages, safety, etc., may be discussed—final appeal usually to the company board of directors; Committee Representation plus arbitration by outsiders and often the concession that employees may hire outside representatives.

Danger arises from two quarters (1) the European nations not in the agreement, and (2) the fear that this new trust will be even better able to grind down the workers than the competitive national companies have been. An effective international union of the workers must be the answer to this union of the bosses.

Power, like a desolating pestilence, pollutes whatever it touches; and obedience, bane of all genius, virtue, freedom, truth, makes slaves of men, and of the human frame a mechanized automaton.—Shelley.

## N. Y. SOCIALISTS WILL HOLD PICNIC

Good Time in Store for Sunday, August 29, in Jersey Park

THE Socialist Party and the Young People's Socialist League of New York City will hold a picnic and summer festival on Sunday, Aug. 29, at Orchard Grove, Fairview, North Bergen, New Jersey. Several thousands of Socialists will cross the Hudson River to Weehawken by either the Desbrosses or 42d street ferries and get on the busses that will wait for them as they arrive on the New Jersey shore and ride to the grove. Socialists young and old will come from all parts of the big city and vicinity to spend a pleasant day together.

A splendid program has been arranged. The gates open at 10 a. m. At 10:30 athletic contests and games will begin. The chief events are a five-mile run with Carl Koski, the famous Finnish runner, matched against five selected Finnish-American runners. Also a one-mile run, with Ove Andersen and other American Athletic Union stars; pentathlon; twelve-pound shot; high jump; broad jump; javelin; 100 meter dash. Hugo Erickson of Massachusetts, winner of five-year pentathlon, will take part in this contest. Ideas these events there will be a tug-of-war, interstate contest, New York versus New Jersey comrades, and two baseball games—Circle 13 versus Circle 5 and Yorkville versus the 6-8-12th A. D. Branch S. P.

At 2:30 there will be singing by the Finnish male and mixed choruses, an Italian musical program and a concert by the United Finnish Band. A few short speeches will follow, by Judge Jacob Panken, August Claessens and others. Dancing will begin at 5 p. m.

Lots of eats and drinks will be on hand and several prize booths. The tickets are 50 cents per person and are now on sale at all Socialist Party and Y. P. S. L. headquarters and at the city office, 7 East 15th street.

## TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

bination is not directed against the United States.

From one point of view a combination like this is good, or at any rate, better than a trade war between rival steel interests of Germany and France. Such a trade war might well be a great factor in bringing about international war. A Europe divided like a crazy quilt by ten thousand miles of boundaries having little relation to economic facts must make international economic agreements across national lines or perish. From this point of view the new steel trust is an aid to peace.

Danger arises from two quarters (1) the European nations not in the agreement, and (2) the fear that this new trust will be even better able to grind down the workers than the competitive national companies have been. An effective international union of the workers must be the answer to this union of the bosses.

Power, like a desolating pestilence, pollutes whatever it touches; and obedience, bane of all genius, virtue, freedom, truth, makes slaves of men, and of the human frame a mechanized automaton.—Shelley.

## PICNIC AND SUMMER FESTIVAL

Socialist Party—Young People's Socialist League  
SUNDAY, AUGUST 29th, 1926

AT  
Orchard Grove, Fairview, North Bergen, N. J.

GREAT PROGRAM  
Athletic Contests 10-Mile Race  
Famous Finnish Runner Band and Choral Concerts Basebal Games  
Dancing

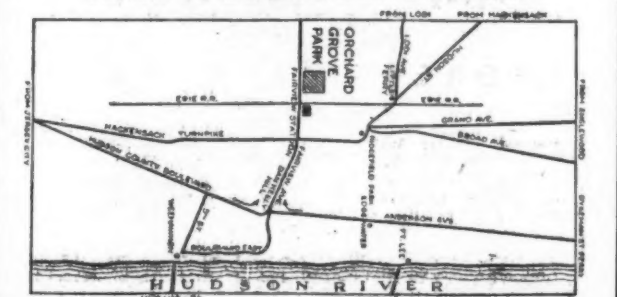
Speakers: Judge JACOB PANKEN and Others

GATES OPEN 10 A. M. ATHLETIC GAMES 10:30 A. M.

PROGRAM AT 2:30 P. M.

DIRECTIONS

Desbrosses or West 42nd St. Ferry to Weehawken, then take bus to Fairview. Get off at Erie R. R. Station at Fairview.



Ticket, 50 cents per person. Tickets can be obtained in Room 506, People's House, 7 East 15th Street, and at all Socialist Headquarters and Y. P. S. L. Circles.

## UNION OFFICERS, ATTENTION! THE NEW MANHATTAN CASINO

155th Street and Eighth Avenue, New York

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.  
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FOR MORE INFORMATION CALL EDGEComb 2653  
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## GENERAL MOTORS INSIDERS RAKE IN 20 MILLIONS

Total Dividends in Five Years Equals Original Investment of \$225,000,000

By Leland Olds

MORE than \$20,000,000 added to the annual cash dividends of the big boys who cluster around the financial throne of J. P. Morgan is what the General Motors 50 per cent stock dividend means. For in giving away some 2,900,000 shares of no-par common stock the directors announce that they will continue the regular \$1.75 quarterly dividend rate, paying it on the new shares as well as the old. The annual cash distribution to common stockholders will now amount to more than \$60,000,000. Most of it goes to the very men who voted the stock dividend.

After the present stock dividend the actual cash investment of the owners per share shrinks to about \$25. Any other money invested in the business has come out of the excessive profits taken at the expense of workers and consumers. In other words the \$7 annual dividend really means a return of about 27 per cent. The owners concealed the enormity of this return by the successive stock dividends.

The cash distributed to the owners of General Motors is also swollen by a special dividend totaling \$20,845,219, announced in the second quarter of 1926. Altogether this year's dividends will probably total about \$70,000,000 in cash, enough to give 180,000 factory workers a 25 per cent increase in wages.

**Investment Recovered in Year**  
This year's dividends will bring the total distributed since January 1, 1922, to about \$220,000,000, which is pretty good on an original investment of not more than \$225,000,000. In the same five-year period the actual profits of the common stockholders will reach a total of about \$450,000,000 or twice the original investment.

That the ownership of General Motors is closely held by the multi-millionaires in control is admitted by The Wall Street Journal. It also asserts that this control by insiders has been increasing. Actual investors as opposed to brokers, according to the Journal, held 4,425,232 shares or 85.7 per cent of the total common stock outstanding in the second quarter of the year. It continues:

"The figures indicate that investors have been steadily adding to their holdings of the stock, notwithstanding the appreciation in the market price. This buying by large investors has more than absorbed the selling by smaller stockholders, indicated by the decline in the total number of the corporation's stockholders."

Actually the number of General Motors stockholders fell from 49,170 in the second quarter of 1924 to 32,526 in the second quarter of 1926.

"In the management of General Motors," says the Journal, "there lies not only practical but actual control of the company. These groups hold over 55 per cent of the outstanding General Motors common shares. It is estimated that aside from the large investment holdings, such as the holdings of the du Pont company, Managers' Securities and other large investors, there are more than 1,250,000 shares of common held by individual shareholders, each with 1,000 shares or more."

The du Pont de Nemours company holds 1,330,829 shares of common stock purchased largely out of the enormous war profits of this premier manufacturer of explosives. Managers' Securities Corp., created to give the big executives and managing directors a leading share in the control, holds 2,250,000 shares of common. And according to The Wall Street Journal other big investors hold another 1,250,000 shares. Here are 4,830,829 of the 5,161,599 common shares, outstanding before the recent stock dividend, in the hands of the big financiers. After the 50 per cent stock dividend these interests will hold 7,246,244 shares. They have handed themselves the lion's share of the melon.

## Pullman Porters Voting Solidly for Brotherhood; Company Union Losing

A. Philip Randolph, general organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, has issued the following statement:

"As a result of the indorsement coming from such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Knights of Pythians, the National Federation of Colored Women, the National Urban League and other useful race institutions, the spirit of the men in the brotherhood is at its highest point in the organization's history."

"The results of one week of balloting among the men prior to our appearance before the mediation board indicate that the great majority of Pullman porters and maids have repudiated the company union plan of the Pullman company and are solidly for the brotherhood."

## BRITISH FIGHT FAKE UNIONS

### Employers Trying to Transplant American Company Organization Trap

COMPANY unions are being given a tryout by British employers, according to Walter M. Citrine, acting secretary of the British Trade Union Congress, writing in the Cotton Factory Times, the leading journal of the Lancashire cotton workers.

The company unions mentioned by Citrine are not to be confused with the so-called Whitley councils, which cover whole industries and recognize the existing trade unions as the bodies empowered to negotiate and bargain for the organized workers.

Citrine says that since the general strike many employers have disclosed plans for smashing the British trade union movement by encouraging the formation of "breakaway unions" and the formation of company unions and "workers' clubs." The Cotton Factory Times, commenting on the company unions, calls the British employers' attempt to put them over a "Yankee stunt" copied from the virgin land of company unionism.

"In some respects," says Citrine, "this plan is more dangerous than the frontal attack made by employers or than the threat to legislate against the legal powers of the unions." He calls the company unions deceptive inventions, "working in a subtle and indirect manner for the destruction of the established unions. It is a form of organized blacklegging. Those who join a company union enter into a conspiracy with the employers for taking advantage of the organized effort and sacrifice made by their fellow workers to improve the standards of wages and working conditions." For the company unionists accept all the advantages won by the trade unions without accepting any of the responsibilities of trade unions.

"I am confident that the company union will get short shrift from the workers in this country," writes Citrine in closing his statement. He does not say whether the junket of British labor officials who came to this country a few months ago, their expenses paid by the reactionary Daily Mail of London, have had any influence in the establishment of these company unions. It will be remembered that these delegates were particularly impressed with the great open-shop establishments such as the General Electric Company.

It is the spirit of liberty that today undermines the empires of the world, sets crowns and mitres askew, and in its onward elemental sweep is shaking the institutions of Capitalism as frail weeds are shaken in the blasts of the storm king's fury.—Debs.

## U. S. Indicts Passaic Textile Mills Exploitation of Women and Young



These Mothers and Grandmothers Were Forced Out of the Homes into the Passaic Textile Mills Because of the Small Pay Their Men Received

By Robert W. Dunn

A GOVERNMENT report shows in an incontrovertible manner the inhuman exploitation of mothers, forced by poverty, to work in the Passaic textile mills. "Family Status of Breadwinning Women in Four Selected Cities," is the name of the report. One of these cities is Passaic. The document was issued in 1925 by the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, Bulletin No. 41.

In this bulletin some 35 pages are devoted to a description of the condition of the breadwinning mothers in Passaic. It is dry reading and there are lots of tables and statistics. But the gist of it is as follows: There are nearly 10,000 women breadwinners in Passaic. That is 10,000 women who have to earn a living by working; and, says the Bulletin: "The strikingly significant fact is that all of these breadwinning mothers had small children at home requiring care."

### Forced to Neglect Babies

Which means that the mothers had to work not only to buy bread for themselves but milk for their small children.

Of course, the Polish mothers were in the largest numbers, as the Polish population of Passaic is the largest among the working class in that city. Says the bulletin:

"In most cases Polish-born mothers had young children. Over three-fourths of these breadwinning mothers had children under 5 years of age; nearly a third had children of 5 and 6 years of age at home, and 10 per cent had children of those ages at school."

### Children Forced to Mills

Not only must the mother work herself to help keep the small children alive, but as early as possible these children must go to work themselves. Says the report: "Another striking feature is the tendency . . . to send the child to work as soon as the law permits."

Why? Not because the parents don't want the child to get an education. Nor because the child just naturally likes to work in a mill. No. Simply because the father and the mother together do not make enough to keep the economic wolf from the door.

### Women Carry Double Burdens

Again from the bulletin of the Department of Labor: "Over four-fifths of the breadwinning women who were or had been married were maintaining homes and hence were carrying the double burden of household duties and gaining employment."

And when the mill mothers go to work in the mills what happens to the little ones—and most of their children are little ones—at home? The Department of Labor tells us that: "The important facts disclosed by the field inquiry as to the provision for care of children in the absence of working mothers were that over one-fifth of the mothers worked at night when husbands or other adults were at home to look after the children, that one-tenth left their children to husbands who were night workers and at home in the day time."

Still others left their children with neighbors, boarders or landladies. And many of them "had to leave the children virtually without any care except such as could be given when there were other children, although in none of these cities were the children as much as 14 years of age."

**Conditions Worse Than Figures Show**  
It must be remembered that the figures and percentages just given are for all women who earn their bread in mills of all kinds in Passaic. The percentage of night working mothers is much higher among the woolen workers so that the situation as applied to these mothers is really much worse than even these figures would indicate, and they are bad enough.

The important fact is that the women who work in the mills are not so much the young unmarried folk but the married women who are living with bread-winning husbands. This shows clearly the inadequacy of the wage of the men workers. And yet the Citizens (strike-breaker) Committee is still trying to tell the public that the Pas-

### Children Are Deserted When Mothers Are Forced in Factories, Report Indicates

saic textile workers are receiving fine wages.

Fine wages for what? Fine wages to drive mothers into the mills at night. Fine wages to make them leave their babies and small children at home in charge of other small children or landladies? Fine wages for starvation, sickness and general desolation.

**Passaic Worse Than Jacksonville**  
Let the Citizens' Committee read this report on four cities and their breadwinning mothers. They will find that Passaic is in far worse condition than the other cities—even worse than Jacksonville, Fla., where thousands of Negro mothers have to earn their living by working for a living at home. But the Passaic women workers go out of the home and into the mills leaving their children behind them.

What kind of citizenship can be produced under such as the bulletin describes:

"The findings prove that the care of young children left in the home (in Passaic) was frequently inadequate and casual; that scarcely more than one-fifth of the breadwinning mothers of young children had any help in the performance of household duties; that the help came chiefly from the older

children, relatives or lodgers, and that over one-fifth of the mothers worked at night, caring for the children in the intervals between indispensable rest taken during the day."

And remember, this is for all Passaic. The conditions of the mothers in the woolen mills is much worse than the average.

Let us set down some of the conclusions of this government report:

"It is obvious that many of the problems connected with breadwinning wives and mothers would be dissipated if the husbands and fathers were to receive a wage adequate for the family needs."

"The coupling of economic responsibilities and domestic duties for women tends to menace the health of women and the happiness of the home."

"The failure of men to secure a living wage for the family necessitates the entrance of wives and mothers into bread-winning activities."

"Better wages for men would frequently mean withdrawal of a large group of wives and mothers from bread-winning activities."

And again:

"The disastrous effects resulting from neglect of the urgent problems related to breadwinning women undermine each community where harmful conditions are allowed to exist and in the final analysis weaken the strength and prosperity of the Nation."

## LABOR SLUGGERS FURRIERS WIN GET BIG PAY IN CHICAGO

Gunmen Hired by San Francisco Open Shoppers Get \$1,000

WASHINGTON.—News from the carpenters' war with the anti-union Industrial Association in San Francisco, published in the A. F. of L. News Service, confirms independent reports that sluggers are getting top prices for the maiming of union men in that city. Affidavits by former employees of the association, produced in Superior Court in opposition to issuance of an injunction against the striking carpenters, set forth that men were offered as high as \$1,000 each for shooting trade unionists. In some cases the price was as low as \$250. Prices for slugging and black-jacking were \$50 to \$100.

The city council has adopted resolutions ordering the chief of police to use all possible means to keep ex-convicts and other undesirable from coming into the city to serve as strike-breakers. A jury has freed nine more of the strikers, arrested on charges of attempting to intimidate non-union men. The Judge apologized for taking up the time of the lawyers with "so flimsy" evidence.

Building contractors and building material dealers are combined into a bonded organization, pledged to have no dealings with union carpenters or with firms employing union carpenters. Building construction in San Francisco, in consequence of this fight, which has been going on intermittently for the past six years, is far behind that of any other large city in the country in proportion to population.

**Carpet Workers Strike**  
HARTFORD, Conn.—Nearly a hundred women struck in the moquet department of the J. Igelow-Hartford Carpet Company against wage reductions. Some men from the tapestry department joined the walkout.

I suppose, at the smallest average, for the making of a single rich man we make a thousand whose life long is one floodtide of misery.—J. A. Froese.

The power of education is almost boundless; there is not one natural inclination which it is not strong enough to coerce, and, if needful, destroy by disease.—John Stuart Mill.

Unemployment Insurance, Minimum Wage Rate Are Won

The members of the Furriers' Union in Chicago have returned to work victorious in their demands for which they struck for several weeks.

An agreement was reached between the union and the Manufacturers' Association which gives the workers a number of important concessions. Among the gains made the following are considered to be of great significance:

1. Forty hours a week for seven and one-half months, and 44 hours for the balance of the year.
2. Increases in the minimum scales of wages bringing up the rates to the same standard as in New York.
3. The establishment of unemployment insurance.
4. The restriction of apprentices.

It is also of great significance that in order to secure this agreement the Chicago union gave away no concessions as the New York organization was forced to do in giving away three legal holidays. In Chicago the union retains eight legal holidays with pay, whereas the New York furriers now have only seven holidays.

Never, perhaps, in all history, has there been so impressive a failure as that of the statesmen to whom the world in 1919 entrusted the task of making a real peace.—Sidney Webb.

Overgrown military establishments are, under any form of government, insidious to liberty, and are to be regarded as peculiarly hostile to republican liberty.—Washington.

**Mexico and the Catholic Church**  
Its Historic Significance  
Lecture by Harry Watson  
Fri., Aug. 27, 1926, 8 P. M.  
at the  
COMMUNITY CHURCH HOUSE  
24th St. at Park Ave., N. Y.  
Admission at door 50c.  
Auspices Workers' Educational Institute

## Students Will Compare Experiences as Workers at Indiana Conference

Attitudes of the worker in industry are being sought by actual contacts with industry by about sixty university students from over the United States who are working this summer in mines, restaurants, steel mills, factories of all sorts, woolen mills, and other industries.

So that these experiences may be exchanged and interpreted, these students will meet in conference at Earlham College, Richmond, Ind., four days, beginning Sept. 5.

To aid them in discussion and in consideration of the problems they have faced, the students have arranged to have present at the conference such men as Powers Haggood, an industrial student, who is at the present time mining coal in western Pennsylvania; William P. Haggood, president of the Columbia Conserve Company, Indianapolis; George S. Lackland, representative of the Workers' Education Bureau and formerly president of the Denver Labor College; James Myers, secretary of the industrial department, Federal Council of Churches; H. Dorothas Nord-Holt, forewoman Columbia Conserve Company, and Tom Tippet, a southern Illinois miner.

## BOX MAKER RESPONDING TO UNION

Threat of Injunction Fails to Halt Organization Drive of Union

THE manner in which workers of the non-union paper box making shops of Manhattan and Brooklyn are responding to the present organization drive of the Paper Box Makers' Union is alarming the open shop manufacturers. They have recently threatened the union organizers with an injunction to prevent them from speaking to the workers.

The injunction, which lines up on the side of the employer the full power of the government, thus making inevitable the brutal use of force to crush the workers, is usually invoked during strikes. In the present instance, however, no strike condition exists and yet upon the mere appearance of union organizers, the employers seek to get an injunction against freedom of speech on the part of organizers and workers. Evidently injunctions must be working wonders for the bosses in time of strikes, and unless they be made unconstitutional in labor disputes, the time is not far distant when they will be granted against organization work.

These open shop workers, male and female, receive a rate of wages far below the wage estimated by the United States Department of Labor as necessary to maintain an American standard of living. They work not less than forty-eight hours per week, in some cases more than nine and one-half hours per day, contrary to the Eight Hour Day Law of New York State.

The union is demanding for its members the forty-four hour week and a minimum scale of wages, and the open shop workers are joining hands with us in this organization drive to get the same conditions in their shops. The union thus aims to place these exploited workers in a position to enjoy at least part of the hours, wages and working conditions to which their labor justly entitles them.

Organization meetings at which workers in the open shops are all invited have been arranged as follows: For Manhattan workers, Tuesday, Aug. 24th at 6 P. M. in the headquarters of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, 3 West 16th St., New York City. For Brooklyn workers, Thursday, Aug. 26th, at 6 P. M. in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 945 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn. The union office is at 701 Broadway, New York City.

It ought not to be necessary for "earning a living" to be the object of anyone's life.—"Equitist."

## Let's See Your Tongue!

If you don't feel so well today, if you lack energy and ambition, if you are tired and lazy and feel as if you would like to run away from yourself, just take a mirror and look at your tongue. If your tongue is white and coated, it is a sure sign that your liver and bowels are not in perfect order and must be regulated at once.

# EX-LAX

The Sweet Chocolate Laxative will, within a few hours, cleanse your system, evacuate your bowels, regulate your liver, and restore your ambition and vitality. Get a 10-cent box at once and be convinced.

## Superior to Pastes and Powders!

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

Because it is liquid, free of grit and solid substances AMEGIN, the dread enemy of PYORRHEA, penetrates the gum issues, soaks into the deep places, destroys germs, cleans up pus.

AMEGIN, a SAFE dentifrice, is the oral prophylactic medication recommended by leading dentists. It will keep your teeth white, your breath sweet and make sensitive, bleeding gums firm and healthy. It also keeps your tooth brush sanitary. AMEGIN is pleasant to use, refreshing, exhilarating. No solid matter to get under gums. Get the AMEGIN habit and know the joy of a healthy mouth and a germ free tooth brush.

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PYORRHEA LIQUID  
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Brooklyn Office open only Mondays and Thursdays from 8:30 to 2:30 p. m. Labor Lyceum, 349-957 Wiloughby Ave. For addresses of Branch Secretaries write to our main office.

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## ROAD TO FREEDOM CAMP

Croton-on-Hudson, N. Y.  
CAMP FORUM

Sunday, Aug. 22, at 10:30 A. M.—Symposium on "The Various Tendencies in Anarchism."  
Monday, Aug. 23—A course in Child Education will be started by Alexis C. Fern, well known in the educational world of modern tendencies. This course will be continued during the week as follows:  
Monday, Aug. 23—"What Does It Mean to Be Educated?"  
Tuesday, Aug. 24—"The Family and the Child."  
Wednesday, Aug. 25—"The Child and Society."  
Thursday, Aug. 26—"The Educator."  
Friday, Aug. 27—"Childhood and Play."  
Saturday, Aug. 28—"The Creative Spirit."  
Sunday, Aug. 29—Summary.  
During the week the course will be conducted in the evenings at 8:30 P. M. Saturday and Sunday the lectures will take place in the mornings at 10:30 A. M. Special rates for this week. Communicate with Secretary of Camp.

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

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# The Vanishing Yankee

By James Oneal

A CURIOUS book that has just come into my hands will provide a text for a sermon. The author is a Yankee of the old Daniel Chauncey Brewer stock who greives over the "Conquest of New England by the Immigrant." This is the title he gives to his book (New York, Putnam). Few people outside of New England understand that immigrant stock has pushed the Yankee into the background and that hundreds of large and small cities are controlled by the Irish, Italians, Poles, Jews and others. Even Syrians and Turks have entered in the past twenty years.

Our author weeps for the fate of New England. The sun is setting on a golden age and ere long barbarian strangers will rule the states of this region as they already control many hundreds of cities and towns. The altars of an old faith are being defiled, the temples of the Puritans are being invaded, the land of the Winthrop, Cabots and Lodges is being conquered by the alien hordes. God is punishing the Yankee because his chase for dollars through cheap labor opened the gates to the modern Vandals.

It is all too true but somehow I cannot weep with the author. I recall that in the decade of 1820-1830 another great change was taking place in New England. A Puritan clergy allied with banking and rising manufacturers, commercial men and aristocratic families, constituted a ruling oligarchy whose power was maintained by a union of church and state and buttressed by a restricted suffrage. Wage earners were becoming more intelligent and allied with Jeffersonian Democracy they were assaulting the old order.

## "The End of the World"

As power began to slip out of the hands of the banking, clerical and political oligarchy its agents and beneficiaries exhibited the same terror that our author does over the contemporary conquest of New England by the alien invaders. The rise of the disfranchised workers and farmers of native stock in the twenties was just as unwelcome to the ruling classes. Think of the mechanic and rural laborer no longer satisfied to be segregated into a lower rank in church, who gathered in political meetings to cheer Jeffersonian officers who in turn denounced the oligarchy, and who demanded that they should be permitted to walk to the polls to vote by the side of the banker, the merchant and their clerical poodles. Surely, the world was coming to an end!

The sad day arrived when the tithing man no longer collected a tax to pay a servile clergy to expound the virtues of the ruling class and teach the masses submission to their "betters." Church and state were divorced. Manhood suffrage eventually became a fact. The "lower orders" began to organize into trade unions and to use the ballot. The

## Old New England Facing Its Second Conquest

"Conquest of New England" was made by the masses so far as breaking down the exclusive privileges of the oligarchy was concerned.

But that was all. The terrors visioned by the old gang were not realized. They found by experience that if they controlled the minds of the masses, they directed their thinking and action in education, literature and politics, they could make their rule rest upon the consent of the enfranchised voters and give this rule the character of popular sanction. And this is what happened. Even the author of the book under consideration admits that the great industrial and banking enterprises are still in the hands of the descendants of the old oligarchy. The capitalist class rules as completely in New England as in any other section and it is a small minority of the total population.

### The Second Conquest

We have no fears of the second conquest that is now going on. Experience shows that the second generation of immigrants can hardly be distinguished from natives except by their names and even their names are changed to

complete the assimilation. Then the immigrants themselves are in time divided into the class of laborers and masters of banking, industry and commerce. There may be some survival of racial and national traditions and customs in the second generation but they practically disappear in the third. At this stage class distinctions, not race and nationality, become the most important factor.

Then the wealthy individuals of the immigrants ascend to the class of ruling merchants, bankers and politicians. They are fused with the native ruling class and both make common cause against the workers. The latter in turn fuse with the native workers and to the extent that they emancipate themselves from the intellectual coercion of the upper class they will organize politically and economically for their own interests.

This is the future of New England, not a perpetuation of racial and national class ignoring class interests, and we will put our prediction against that of the Yankee who now mourns over another "conquest of New England."

## Conquering the Spaces The Future of Transportation

By Albert F. Coyle

IN these days of airplane flights over the pole, radio waves encompassing the world and photographs flung across the ocean in the twinkling of an eye no man can be rash enough to place limits on the next forward step in transportation.

Colonel Fuller was one of the transportation geniuses of the World War, and is now an instructor in the British Army Staff College at Camberley. Unlike the old-school military men, he is not satisfied with studying the campaigns of Napoleon and Gustavus Adolphus, but is courageously thinking in terms of future progress for all humanity.

The first part of this trenchant little volume (Pegasus, or Problems of Transportation, by J. F. C. Fuller. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.; \$1) surveys the remarkable advance in transportation since the first railway was built in 1814. We have gone a long way since Sir Henry Herbert, M.P., stood up in Parliament and said: "If a man were to propose to convey us regularly to Edinburgh in seven days, and bring us back in seven more, should we not vote him to Bedlam?" Even the eminent surgeon, Sir Astley

Cooper, declaimed against the construction of railroads because: "Gentlemen, look at the recklessness of your proceedings. You are proposing to destroy property, cutting up our estates in all directions. Why, gentlemen, if this sort of thing be permitted to go on, you will, in a very few years, destroy the noblesse!"

### Stephenson the Pioneer

Yet heroic George Stephenson, the pioneer engine-wright, forged ahead, though crucified for twenty years by ignorance and stupidity, and then was acclaimed by the very men who had reviled him as the nation's greatest genius.

The second half of Colonel Fuller's book is a prophecy of the future of transportation—"The Conquest of Elysian Fields." Robert Bruere says that civilization is based on coal, but Colonel Fuller asserts, "Civilization is built on movement." They are both right. Colonel Fuller continues: "In this short 100 years, the life span of a very old man, such a revolution has been brought about by the locomotive that the world has been reborn, and the changes which it conjured out of the depths of ignorance are today accepted by us all as necessitous to our lives."

The greatest problem confronting the world today is the problem of power and movement. We cannot revive our old industries, shift our population to the sparsely settled yet fruitful sections of the world, put our great army of unemployed to work, and create a world of abundance for mankind until we solve this problem.

The war was supposed to be one solution, so our statesmen said. "A few years ago," remarks Colonel Fuller, "we were told that once the war was won, this little island of ours was going to be fit for heroes to live in—as if any country ever had been or could be an El Dorado after a great war."

Movement and the means of movement, according to the author, have created the great civilizations of the past. The steamship, the railway and the motor truck have enabled us to tap great sources of wealth, which were unavailable and unknown half a generation ago. Similar incalculable wealth, both natural and agricultural, lies waiting for us in the vast undeveloped areas of the world, three-fourths of which is still sparsely inhabited. How can this country be opened up? Not by railways or motor trucks, because the building of roadways is too expensive. Even when at tremendous cost a railway is built into jungle, through tundra or over desert, it affects the development of the country for only sixty or seventy miles on each side of the road.

### Colonel Fuller's Solution

The Pegasus of transportation Colonel Fuller would create to open up the dormant wealth of new country, spread out population and bridge the gap between the producer and the consumer is the vehicle that makes its own road as it goes—either like the caterpillar tractor which helped to win the World War or the half-tracked machine with wheels in front and tracks in rear. Such vehicles, as those used in the war demonstrated, can cross rough country, ford small streams, and draw enormous loads at a low cost per ton-mile. Indeed, British manufacturers are now producing tractors that operate for less than 4¢ per ton-mile, including all maintenance, depreciation and interest charges. Even the great Sahara Desert has yielded to the roadless vehicle produced by Citroen, the Ford of France.

Colonel Fuller's idea is that these trackless vehicles will extend the area of country that can be developed by a railroad line from a narrow belt of 40 miles to 500 miles on each side. Small tractors can transport farm produce and mineral wealth to central points a few hundred miles from the railroad, and thence caravans of heavy tractors can haul the collected produce to the railroad. These tractor transport lines may be established at regular intervals, serving as lateral feeders to bring to the railways an enormous amount of wealth, thus sustaining a

## BRIEF REVIEWS

### When the Cobbler Does Not Stick to His Last

IT is all very well for eminent authorities in science to refuse to be tied down by the limitations of traditional specialties, but before they set up as grand discoverers in other fields they ought to make sure that what they are discovering is not a commonplace in the realms they are invading. So with Frederick Soddy in his discussion "Wealth, Virtual Wealth and Debt" (N. Y., Dutton, \$3.50), which amounts to little more than a pretentious elaboration of the fact that if engineers were let alone—freed from the meddling of money interests—they could easily bring plenty to the world.

The book is sound enough in its reflections on the obstructive role of investment, on the shortcomings of private control of money and credit, and on the deadlock occasioned by shortage of purchasing power on the part of the consumer. Perhaps it will help some engineers and natural scientists unfamiliar with the concepts of progressive social science to get a new slant on the world that dominates their own activities and subverts them in the interest of profit, but the book will be no use to the general reader, nor does it contain any new enlightenment for the moderately alert economist.

Doubtless we may expect that Soddy's performance will be hailed as epoch-making by some naive engineers unaware of the state of the social sciences, just as Korymbos's was a few years ago. The moral is that there ought to be some clearing house between the engineers and the social scientists, so that experts in one field will not waste valuable time in doing what has been better done by many a previous writer across the border. If Soddy had merely given us all the concrete evidence as to how the bungling of financiers obstructs the constructive efforts of engineers he would have rendered a service suited to his abilities. As it is, he has done virtually nothing.

Arthur W. Calhoun.

### Overdose of Flippancy

THE title of this book ("A Casual Commentary," by Rose Macaulay. N. Y., Boni & Liveright, \$2) is its best commentary. It is very casual, very light, with a certain facile flippancy used in place of wit. This writer, to judge by her book, skips over the surface of life very nimbly over the surface of a brook or a pond. The water that they are never wet by keeps them aloft. Somehow, we get the impression that the dull, witty life that Miss Macaulay complacently jeers at is the only thing that could possibly keep her aloft.

The book opens with an essay on "How to Choose a Religion." The subject is treated with the triviality of a high school student. The pages spend themselves in crass definitions of the leading sects, wherein such scintillant bits as: "Quakers make the best chocolate" are rife. The essay ends with the statement that it is better to have a religion without having offered us any of the promised hints as to choosing one.

In a chapter on "What the Public Wants" the author makes the astounding discovery that: "The public is . . . all of us," and that: "We don't know, in fact, what we want." The book rambles through some two hundred pages of this sort of nonsense, leaving us in unpleasant doubt as to whether publishers are really morons or whether there actually is such a scarcity of good material that they are forced to give the public just anything in order to keep the name of the publishing firm in the Sunday papers.

Gloria Goddard.

IT is generally conceded that S. Ansky's "The Dybbuk" was for New York the outstanding play of the year. Now that it has appeared in book form (N. Y., Boni & Liveright, \$2), and the din of Park Row critics has long since subsided, one may sit back in the quiet of one's room and ask dispassionately: "Did Ansky here write a great play?"

The answer is no. He wrote what in spots is a moving play, in scenes a strong play. But he also wrote what in spots is a hazy play, slow in action, turgid with rhetoric, cluttered with obvious symbolism and gratuitous anecdotes. The first two acts are especially distressing, for they fall so short of what the conception of the play merits. There is, for instance, the figure of the messenger mooning aimlessly about the stage. The figures of the maid and the youth remain forever wrapped up in cloudy heroics. Lamps go out when people die. Gravestones protrude from upstage center as sinister omens. There are dreams and intuitions and forebodings and all the other accessories of the traditional symbolic play. In the attempt to wed the spiritual and the realistic, the author permitted his people to remain

large industrial and agricultural population.

This is Colonel Fuller's recipe for making "a land fit for heroes to live in, and not one in which no one but a hero can survive."

Will it work? Certainly it is worthy of trial. For whatever increases the speed of transportation creates leisure, wealth and culture. So far, so good. But after Colonel Fuller has solved the problem of transportation there remains the equally vital problem of distribution. Shall the good things of the world be produced and transported to provide the amenities of life for a few, or for the many?

# America's Measure

By Samuel Chugerman

I AM tired. After wading through 349 pages, these three books (Henry Ford, America's Don Quixote, by Louis P. Lochner. New York: International Publishers; Calvin Coolidge, The Man Who Is President, by William Allen White. New York: Macmillan; The Mind of the President, by C. Bascom Slemmons. Garden City: Doubleday, Page & Co.) look like mountains. But they have only described their birth of mice. I wonder—even a reviewer in these perilous days of censorship and non-censorship that travel on the waters of pure spirit, regardless of men and matter—how many pages of history will be given to Messrs. Ford and Coolidge in the year of our Lord 2026?

The greatest tragedy of nature is a vacuum, a futility. Defeat is the only unnatural thing in nature. Henry Ford's effort "to get the boys out of the trenches by Christmas" is worth recording as another episode of the war that was fought to end war, but in reality was the beginning of preparedness for a real war of world-wide dimensions still to come.

Why the author, who was Ford's secretary on the ill-fated peace ship, calls him a Don Quixote is not very plain. While Don Quixote showed the foolishness and the decay of the feudal age, Ford only shows the ignorance and the sentimentalities of one who reasons with his emotions. The book as a whole induces the idea that if sufficient and proper forces had been behind this undertaking, much might have been accomplished at that time in arousing the sleeping giant of public opinion against the continuance of the mass murders which every contending nation glibly called a war of "self-defense." For that alone the work is valuable and well worth reading and having.

When we come to the two books on Coolidge, it is indeed a pleasure in these red-hot dog days to read of so imposing and frigid a figure. He looms before us the reverse of a majestic

iceberg. While the latter is seven-eighths submerged, we are convinced by these two charming works that our President is held up to our view in his magnificent entirety and that we need fear no subterranean collisions, for he has no depth at all, at all.

The Calvin Coolidge of William Allen White, a liberal who is not yet tired, is a fit introduction to the President's own words as contained in Slemmons' masterpiece. How much "mind" the latter book indicates we leave our charitable readers to judge. Both volumes, however, should be read by every thinking man, woman and child. They are a cross-section of the intellectual and political structure of institution who, which or that sits in the White House and presumably presides over the destinies of our glorious nation. We choke with enthusiasm and must to save our very life go into the garden to cultivate the flowers.

startlingly fitted for such scenes as the French camp before Joan came to it. The freedom of those days, hardly adaptable for brief quotation, writhes beneath the fury of the Mair and vitalizes the volume . . . No consideration of Joan of Arc can hereafter neglect Deltell, who indeed brings a new method to the lives of saints—if not to all figures of history. "All art, someone has said, is contemporary; so, as far as we shall understand it, is all history." Deltell has made Joan alive today, as comprehensible as our sister, our neighbor in the subway, our sweetheart. If she escape us still, it is not because she is saint, but because she is woman. More no man may hope.

## "The True Joan"

### Another Aspect Often Overlooked

By Joseph T. Shipley

E. M. FORSTER, in his review of a new translation of Anatole France's old study of Joan of Arc, chooses from many versions that of Shaw to weave his discussion by contrast. He has not fully understood Shaw, or he would have mentioned the conflict between Protestant and Catholic, between individual opinion and collective authority, that the English dramatist sees beneath Joan. And his remark that Shaw "plays the organ just like a true believer" at the end shows that he is one of the readers who have missed the irony. Nor is Forster quite fair to Anatole France, accusing him by implication of "passing moral or medical judgments." (And has Edith Cavell been cleared of the charge of using the Red Cross as a cloak for her spying, that Forster lists her with Christ and the Maid of Orleans?) Finally, in his mention of recent "mental exercises" upon Joan of Arc, he has overlooked the most invigorating of all, that won the last Goncourt prize—Joseph Deltell's "Jeanne D'Arc."

Deltell is one of the youngest of French writers, a member of the new super-realistic school, in which his masterpiece, "Cholera," begins: "Dedication: To God. Preface: Art, that's me." His book on the Maid is dedicated "to simple souls, to mad spirits, to children, to virgins, to angels . . ." He writes the book because he loves Joan: "that's reason enough." And he sees her as a girl of flesh and blood. Whether it be Mark Twain who makes her a saint, Voltaire who shows her a harlot, Shaw who makes her the moving creature of his philosophy, or France who makes her a starting-point for his kindly cynical observations, the writers on Joan have failed to make her human. This is typical of the treatment of all the saints. Deltell sweeps away all the rational or mystic trash, and refuses to see the Maid as anything but a real, a hearty girl. In childhood she leads the children of her neighborhood in a stone-throw against those of the nearby town, that favored the English. Tom-boy as she was, she blushed when the water came high along her legs, as she was going to the King. Had she been living today, behold: "a maid of 18, 'cloche' on her head, stick stockings. We must imagine her under our eyes, touch her with our hands. To imagine is to revive. She's a stenographer, or perhaps a salesgirl . . . small as a chicken; she was a chicken!" Not a victim of hysteria, not the catapaw of planning politicians (though these came swift upon her trail), but a healthy, human, husky country girl whose superstitious imagination grew out of her childhood play. Did not Babe Ruth knock 'em out for "The Giants" when he was

eight? Everyone else of her day, the King included, was equally superstitious.

As important as the new picture of the Sainted Maid is Deltell's recovery of her environment. Only Voltaire approaches the description of those days, and the technique of the new writer is

## Moral Criticism of Literature

By William Lea

EVER during the days of Shakespeare another prodigy was preparing to launch his virtues on a dazzled world: the divinely-guided Puritan. The Puritan himself is not a bad sort; Calvin, we are told, bowed of a Sunday. But in this life one must mind his "p's" lest they grow inordinately; the Puritan seems always capitalised into the necessity either of attacking vice in others or of denying hypocrisy in himself, and he grows into the Puritan of blue Sundays and censorship.

The influence of the Puritan reached its glorious peak in the triumph of decency known as the mid-Victorian period, when even tables had limbs instead of legs, when literature was judged by the morals of the author. In "Notorious Literary Attacks" (N. Y.: Boni & Liveright; \$2.50) Albert Mordell has preserved some of the best known or most vehement of the attempts to proclaim that a morally "bad" man must produce an artistically bad work. Oscar Wilde's remark, when the judge called a passage immoral, "You are right, your Honor; it's very poorly written," was reversed by these other, frequently intelligent critics, who insisted that the work was badly written because it was immoral—or in the few cases when they could not deny genius it was that much more damnable.

The comments of these nineteenth century writers ring strangely in our ears, yet some of the Watch and Ward Societies of today seem to echo their desires. "The bases of poetry are religion and patriotism," insists one. But social standing is apparently another standard, for Leigh Hunt, the commoner, is roundly rated for dedicating a book to a lord in such familiar terms as "My dear Byron." Today, however, the direct personal force of these attacks is their most entertaining feature. Coleridge "seems to consider the mighty universe itself as nothing better than a mirror in which, with grinning and idiot self-complacency, he may contemplate the physiognomy of Samuel Taylor Coleridge. . . . So deplorable a delusion as this has only been equalled by that of Joanna Southcott, who mistook a complaint of the bowels for the divine affluents, and believed herself about to give birth to the regenerator of the world when sick unto death of an incurable and loathsome disease." But Coleridge himself has been guilty of equal heat, as in his description of a rival's hero: "This superlatification of blasphemy upon nonsense—this felo de se and thief captain—this loathsome and leprous confluence of robbery, adultery, murder and cowardly assassination—this monster, whose best deed is the having saved his betters from the degradation of hanging him by turning Jack Ketch to himself."

Shelley, we are told in another attack, possessed "bold convictions for a young and inexperienced man, imperfectly educated, irregular in his application, and shamefully dissolute in his conduct." And on Byron: "Silence would be a very poor and a very useless chastisement to be inflicted by us, or by any one, on a production whose corruptions have been so effectually embalmed. . . . Even the calm Jane Eyre, now on the high school reading list, is 'unpardonably' coarse in tone and language, exhibiting (though here, and in other moments, the reader to-day may agree with the thought behind the too vehement phrases) the love for 'illegitimate romance' that popular education has gratified but not disciplined, that fans the circulation of the lurid love magazines of today. Of Charlotte Brontë's book the critic adds that he is convinced the author (it was

signed "Currier Bell") is a man, "for if we ascribe the book to a woman at all, we have no alternative but to ascribe it to one who has, for some sufficient reason, long forfeited the society of her sex."

It is interesting to see the work of poet laureate Tennyson hailed as gibberish, to find that "If Mr. Swinburne can a second and a third time find a respectable publisher willing to issue a volume of the same stamp, crammed with pieces many a professional vendor of filthy prints might blush to sell if he only knew what they meant, English readers will gradually acquire a truly delightful familiarity with these unspeakable foulnesses," to hear Rossetti and others damned in The Pious School of Poetry, for effects "weakening to the intellect," for "females who bite, scratch, scream, bubble, munch, sweat, wriggle, twist, wriggle, foam and in a general way slaver over their lovers."

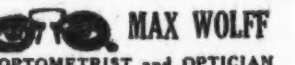
Sometimes such attacks as these are helpful, as that of Henley directed against the tin-god-Stevenson myth. Byron, hammered by critics, defied them by continuing to write poetry—which he has decided to abandon—and produced his best work. And when criticism destroyed Hardy the novelist it brought into being the perhaps greater Hardy the poet. But more often such vituperative attacks either crushed the author or aroused a resentful and vindictive spirit equally detrimental to his work. The critic has become more temperate in his attacks; the example of these many verdicts that time has overridden and mocked should make him more moderate in his judgment.

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# A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

## Quintet Born To Two Mothers

THE day we got back from Nantucket there was one of the worst rainstorms we have ever witnessed. In the midst of the deluge Funny Face, the sprightly young daughter of Isabel, our matriarchal black cat, went quietly into our bureau drawer and had a lovely tiger kitten by the name of Noah. Not to be outdone by any upstart of the younger generation, Isabel proceeded to give birth to four tiger kittens the following morning, bringing up her total of known offspring during the colorful nine years of her existence to one hundred and twelve. As copies of the "Birth Control Review," upon which she usually has her kittens were not available, Isabel selected the rotogravure section of the "The World," the one that has the colored pictures with the red off register spang on the end of the lovely lady's nose.

It was no trick at all to name Noah, but we confess to some perplexity about naming the four tigers of Isabel. Slis, Boom and Ah might do for three of them, with a good, long tiger on the end, but we don't want to go around the place sounding like a Princeton cheer-leader every time it is necessary to page our menagerie. It is our fond hope that some of our patient readers will come to the rescue with suggestions for names. To anyone who sends us a really appropriate name for a week-old tiger kitten, whose sex is not yet determined, we will send an autographed copy of "The Love Life of Isabel," a masterpiece of feline literature.

Brother Irving Mandell asks us to comment on the recent raving of H. L. Mencken, anent Socialists. Dr. Mencken, apparently running short of copy for his canned column called "Hiring a Hall," broke out with the important news that Socialists are gullible and that some of our former comrades who fled the ship during the war have taken up fasting, anti-vivisection, Free Love, numerology and chiropractic. This, says the learned Baltimorean, is because Socialists are more tender-minded, than their practical co-patriots and they will fall for almost anything.

I wish that somehow critics of Socialists could get together and agree on just what ails Socialists. During the war I heard an officer of the Intelligence (laughter and applause) Division make a somewhat similar crack to Mencken's. He said that Mr. Lenin's trouble was that he looked at the world through rose-colored glasses. All Socialists are dreamers, said this soothsayer, and they would be all right if they would only get in touch with realities. Then he implied they would at once cease being Socialists and become gyp artists like himself. On the other hand, I have had it dinned into me by all my extreme left wing friends that Socialists have lost their idealism and that when they get interested in things like rents and strikes and subways and coal they are losing their souls and that what the Party needs is VISION.

I guess we all will gladly admit that Socialists do go in for vegetarianism, anti-vivisection and so on. Some of them even pay fifty cents to read in "The American Mercury" every month what a low-down State Tennessee is. But does Mr. Mencken mean to imply that falling for fads is a peculiarly Socialist habit? As we recall it, it was a group of ostentatiously tough-minded Republicans who put the late Warren Gamaliel Harding into the White House. Mr. Mencken will hardly accuse the boys of the Ohio Gang of being tender idealists, and yet most of them found their way to the darkened parlor of a lady astrologer in Washington and had her tell them how the forthcoming primaries were going to turn out by reading the signs of the Zodiac. Table tapping is said to be a popular sport among the eminently practical members of Cal's Cabinet and, speaking of Cal, it wasn't the Socialists who believed that he was a strong, silent man who would make an ideal President.

The truth is that we are, all of us, a gullible folk, Socialist and non-Socialist alike. Otherwise there would never be any advertising, Stock Exchange, whiskey bottle labels or Western movies. As we understand Mr. Mencken's attitude toward the capitalist system, he thinks it would be swell if it were run by a group of highly intelligent and sophisticated philosophers, the Supermen of Herr Nietzsche.

As it is, he sees it everywhere in the hands of a bunch of Babbitts, whose mental status is that of Mr. Coolidge's pet pike. These overlords of ours he attacks with great gusto, jeering at their folkways, religion and literary tastes. He is suffering under the naive delusion that by this method he will hurt their feelings and that they will stop going to Rotarian banquets and take up biology and scientific research. In fact, in a recent column of his, he seriously proposed biology as a cure for Babbittism.

Now, if this isn't evidence of gullibility on Mr. Mencken's part, we are willing to read all the speeches of Nicholas Murray Butler. That you can cure a gopher by telling him that he should substitute a microscope for a mid-iron indicates a faith in the mutability of human nature that is not possessed by the most ardent Socialist.

Over in New Jersey they are rattling the bones of some four-year-old skeletons and they have juggled a stock broker and a simple-minded gentleman who wears a fireman's hat and appears slightly, balmy. The intriguing "Pig Woman" has once more taken the stand with her story of midnight rides on a braying mule and the roaring leopard has been shoved right off the front page. All of this makes merry reading for the tabloid gulgurs and brightens up an otherwise dull summer for the city rooms. Just why people should get so hot up about a couple of four-year-old murders we know not, but knowing something of Jersey politics we would not swoon to learn that someone is out to make a political rep for himself. It was not so long ago that one Charles Whitman walked into the Governor's chair of the Empire State by means of filling another sort of chair in Sing Sing. By convicting Becker and his pals Charlie got himself such fame that when the voters tired of him he fled to the bosom of the traction trust and was recently made head of the New York bar. If the New Jersey gum-shoe artists can pin something on an harassed old woman and her feeble-minded relatives there may be a fat political plum somewhere in the mess.

Miss Ellen Wilkinson, M. P., head of the British Miners' Delegation that is here to raise money for the women and children of the coal fields, says that the strike is by no means over and that every cent you give now will help the miners win a well-deserved victory. You can send your money to the British Miners' Relief Committee, Room 900, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

McAlister Coleman.

## Marxists' Replies to the Revisionists

### THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

(Continued from Last Week)  
Compensation vs. Confiscation

THE proletarian regime would probably seek the road to compensation. Kautsky contended, and payment of the capitalists and landowners. At first, such compensation would cause a stream of profit to flow to the capitalist class. However, it would have great advantage over the method of confiscation. For every increase in social wealth would henceforth adhere to the good of all society. Furthermore, "as soon as all the capitalist wealth had taken the form of bonds of states, municipalities and co-operatives, it would be possible to raise progressive income, property, and inheritance taxes to a height which until then was impossible. . . . The property which today is so hard to find then lies in broad daylight. It would then only be necessary to declare that all bonds must be public and it would be known exactly what was the value of every property and every capitalist income. The tax would then be raised as high as desired without the possibility of tax frauds."

It would also be impossible to avoid taxes through emigration, as the tax could simply be taken from the interest before it was paid out.

"The disadvantage of direct confiscation of all capitalists would be that such confiscation would strike all, the small and the great, these utterly useless to Labor and those the most essential to labor in the same manner." Confiscation through taxation, moreover, "permits the disappearance of capitalist property through a long drawn out process proceeding in the exact degree in which the new order is established and its benevolent influence made perceptible. It makes it possible to extend the process of confiscation over a decade so that it will be fully operative in the new generation. . . . Confiscation in this way loses its harshness, it becomes more acceptable and less painful. The more peace-

ful the conquest by the proletariat is attained and the more firmly organized and enlightened it is, the more we can expect that the primitive forms of confiscation will be softened."

Kautsky on Incentives  
After the revolution, the successful proletariat will have the gigantic task of keeping industry going. What incentives will be brought into play? "Certainly not the whip of hunger and still less that of physical compulsion. If there are people who think that a victory of the proletariat is to establish a prison regimentation where each one can be assigned his labor by his superior then they know the proletarian regime very poorly. The proletarian which will then make its own laws has a much stronger instinct for freedom than any of the servile and pedantic professors who are crying about the prison like character of the new state."

"The victorious proletariat will never be satisfied with any prison or bar-rack-like regulations. Moreover, it has no need of anything of the kind since it has other means at its command to hold the laborer to his labor." Custom can be depended on to keep large masses of people at their work. "I am convinced that when once labor loses its repulsive character of over-work and when the hours of labor are reduced in a reasonable degree, custom alone will suffice to hold the great majority of workers in regular work in factories and mines."

A much stronger motive is the discipline of the proletariat. "If the union once recognizes the necessity of the unbroken regular progress of labor we may be sure that the interest of the whole is so great that scarcely a single member will leave his post. The same force that the proletariat uses today to destroy production will then become an effective means to secure the regular continuance of social labor. The higher the economic organization develops today the better the outlook for the undisturbed progress of production after the conquest of political power

by the proletariat."

However, it must be realized that the discipline of the proletariat is not military discipline. It is self-imposed, democratic discipline, a free submission to self-chosen leadership and to the decisions of the majority of their own comrades. A democratic regime would from the beginning seek to organize production democratically. The maintenance of social discipline can only be achieved in that manner. Of course industries differ a good deal in their make-up and require varying forms of democratic organization. In such instances the workers would elect delegates who would constitute a sort of a parliament for the purpose of adjusting labor conditions and controlling the government of the machinery. In other instances, the control would undoubtedly be in the hands of the union, and still others would be cooperatively managed."

A Socialist regime may more and more also depend on the attractive power of labor. Labor should be made a pleasure, rather than a burden, and as the proletarian regime develops, with shorter hours, more hygienic surroundings and a more friendly atmosphere, the labor process will gradually lose its repulsive side.

Socialism and Money  
Labor would be paid in money. Many advocated the abolition of money. But money "is the simplest means known up to the present time which makes it possible in as complicated a mechanism as that of the modern productive process with its far-reaching division of labor, to secure the circulation of products and their distribution to the individual members of society."

Increase of Production  
One of the first tasks of a proletarian regime would be to increase production in order to satisfy the enormous demands that would be made upon it. Production could be increased by concentrating the total production in the most perfect industrial plants and throwing all those out of operation which do not attain a definite

standard, and, in the second place, by utilizing the best labor saving devices, byproducts, etc. Revisionists have criticized those who believe that industry is ripe for socialization on the ground that in many industries the number of private plants is very great, and it would take a considerable time for competition to destroy the smaller plants. The answer to this is that while society might expropriate all of the plants at once, it would operate only the best equipped large industries. In the textile industry in Germany, for instance, of the 200,000 textile establishments there are only 800 plants employing more than 200 laborers. For the state to operate these 800 is not an impossibility.

"Here again there is another significant point of view. Our opponents and the pessimists in our own ranks measure the ripeness of our present society for social production by the number of ruins which are strewn around it and of which it is incapable of ridding itself. Over and over again the great number of little industries that still exist is triumphantly pointed out. But the ripeness of Socialism does not depend on the number of little industries that yet remain, but upon the number of great industries which already exist. Without a developed great industry Socialism is impossible. Where, however, a great industry exists to a considerable degree it is easy for a Socialist society to concentrate production and quickly to rid itself of the little industry."

Production would also be increased as a result of the increase in wages. For "the raising of wages in industry would set free a large number of labor powers whose existence today is merely parasitic. They maintain a wretched existence today in their little shops, not because these shops are necessarily bad but because their successors are in despair of finding their bread in any other place or because they cannot earn enough by wage labor and seek a supplementary occupation."

(To be continued next week.)

## Bad Debts And Bad Faith

I SEE by the papers that Clemenceau, the French Tiger, has asked Cal to have a heart and forget about those billions France is supposed to owe me and you and that Cal turned him down cold. . . . Now, in the first place, if a tiger asked a favor of me, I'd grant it right then and there. In the second place, I'm willing any time to forgive France the money it owes me as an example to my creditors to do the same.

One of my illustrious colleagues, Jonathan Swift, said once: "It is against my principle to pay interest and against my interest to pay principal," and them's my sentiments exactly.

There ought to be a law against debts, be they private, public, national or international. Debts impair a fellow's appetite and disturb his slumber. When a man is in debt he walks the sunny side of the street in July and the shady side in January to dodge his creditors. He sneaks through back yards and alleys and carries an umbrella on cloudless days to hide his face behind.

Some of the dearest friends I ever had I lost because I loaned them a few lousy dollars and vice versa. So, I say, if any one of you owes me two bits or four bits or even six bits forget it and I do the same with the hundreds or so I may owe some of you.

But to come back to that French debt something must be done to remove the aggravation or there will be no end to our troubles. They are already mobbing visiting Americans over there and if these folks heave rocks at Americans who come to them to spend money, what wouldn't they do if these same Americans had come looking for jobs or mooching for hand-outs? As it is, about the only two European capitals where American tourists and dollars are still treated with respect are Berlin and Moscow. And it is rather humiliating to realize that the only house a fellow is still welcome in is the one where he buried bricks through the windows the night before.

On the other hand, while I am perfectly willing to let by-gones be gone for good as far as the French debt to me is concerned, I want France to do the same in regard to Russia. It is true France spent all her kule and most of her cannon fodder to make the world safe for democracy, but Russia, under the Czar, sacrificed even more for the good cause than all the allied crusaders together.

This point is persistently ignored by the allied press and statesmen. They never grow tired telling us how much they sacrificed on the altar of democracy, but never a word about the undisputed fact that Russia lost more in dead and wounded while battling for government of, by, etc., for the people, than all the other allies combined.

Indeed, if it had not been for the twelve million Russians that the Czar and his grand dukes started to pour into Germany a day before the Germans managed to break into . . . gum our beloved partners over there would have been licked to a standstill three years before our first doughboy landed in Europe.

If the world is at last safe for democracy, as anybody can see, the credit belongs entirely to Russia and to Charlie Russia, at that. So while I am heartily in favor of cancelling the French War debt to me, I want France and her buddies to be just as liberal toward Russia as I am with them.

I don't mind being called a Shylock, but I'll be darned if I let a Shylock call me Shylock, and that is exactly what their conduct amounts to. They say to me "Let our corpses cancel your filthy dollars" and then they turn to Russia and say: "We got your rubles, now shell out the rubles, too."

## Don't Get Too Chesty

"The myth of the 'melting pot' has been exploded. Face to face with the inescapable fact that the United States can not find room, or houses, or food, for the surplus populations of the rest of the world, Americans have not hesitated to abandon the twin fallacies which seemed to mean so much a generation or two ago. We realize now, as we never realized before, that people who are unwanted in the lands of their birth have no 'right' to an asylum here."

Thus spoke an "honorable" congressman on the floor of the House—and richer rot has rarely been uttered.

America may not be able to feed the surplus population of the rest of the world, but it could feed the surplus population of Europe and still have a few crackers left.

Texas, for instance, is larger and as far as fertility is concerned, much richer than Germany and Switzerland combined, and yet supports fewer people than live in the mountains of the little Switzerland alone.

In the Mississippi delta are 25 million acres of virgin land, which if relieved of its virginity, would feed 25 million people, and do it easily, for there is no more productive soil on earth unless it is the celebrated valley of the Nile.

Another important point overlooked by the learned Solon is—that if the people who were unwanted in the land of their birth had not come over here, there would be precious few people in this country.

The Puritans, for instance, were unwanted in the land of their birth—so were the cavaliers—and the Quakers—and the "forty-eighters" of Germany—and a good many more I could mention.

Then besides these near desirables, there were millions of emigrants who were anything but desirable from the viewpoint of "100 per centers."

For centuries, the back door of every European poorhouse, prison and reformatory led to the "land of the free and the home of the brave."

And yet even these people made respectable ancestors for our wealthy patriots.

I know nothing about the antecedents of that jingo Congressman—but I bet dollars to doughnuts that, with a little diligence, he will have no trouble in finding a few jail-birds roosting in the family tree.

The fact is—there has been a tremendous improvement in the character of emigrants since the days when Virginia planters acquired future colonial "grand dames" by swapping tobacco bales for London "street walkers," and when felons, paupers and pickpockets were sent over here by the shipload.

Adam Coddigler.

## Immortality of Influence

O, may I join the choir invisible  
Of those immortal dead who live again  
In minds made better by their presence: live  
In pulses stirred to generosity,  
In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn  
For miserable aims that end with self,  
In thoughts sublime that pierce the night like stars,  
And with their mild persistence urge man's search  
To vaster issues.

Such is heaven.

—George Eliot.

## GOVERNOR MINTURN A Labor Novel of the Northwest

By M. H. HEDGES

(Continued from last week)

"And then you and Hugh would fight, to see who would get to lie behind the stove, so tired and stuffed with food you two boys were."

"Gheat days, eh, mother, days of real sport!"

"And don't you remember the long strike of 1893, and your first newspaper route?"

"I'll say I do."

"Your two dollars a week were a great help, Danny. And we lost the strike, and again in 1896, and in 1905. And you boys always helped. I don't know what we'd done without you boys."

So they talked, wrestling a vicarious happiness out of the illusory memories of past days. But, as usual, they talked themselves back into reality and into pain.

Dan glanced at the clock. He had been with his mother an hour. He had been generous today. He had to return. He mumbled his excuses, kissed her on the cheek, and went out.

To his surprise, he heard his mother tapping on the window, and turning, he saw her beckoning him to come back.

"I've been wanting to tell you, Danny, all afternoon, but I hated to—" she said, when he had returned to the living-room.

"Well, go on, mother."

"Alice and Hugh were married last night."

"Married?"

He was amazed, but beneath his amazement flowed an uncertain sense of pain, jealousy, loneliness. Why, they hadn't even told him. Why, they had shut him out completely from the family circle!

He turned to his mother. She was crying softly.

He forgot himself. He saw something of what the marriage meant to her. He knelt beside her. He put his arms around her, and pressed his face against her shoulder.

"There, there, mother."

"I wish I never had you children sometimes. . . . You're all gone now—all."

4

Bob's dire prophecies as to Ralph's disastrous, and precipitate marriage had proved untrue. His bride, the dowdy, stout Adelaide Grubb, proved to be an energetic and daring business woman. The firm of Ramsey & Grubb, advertising counselors, was handling accounts with the leading Twin City business houses; and they had a baby, too—Pelfett Grubb Ramsey—who was a sturdy replica of his mother. Before Dan had finished his rounds he had been in the home of his sister Nell, now Mrs. Al Erickson, who had been married but a year.

Of course, Hugh and Alice were not consulted, but when Mother Minturn offered objections to the scheme on the ground that she could not leave "father," Alice let it be known that she would take old Tom into her home. Trunks had to be purchased. A new wardrobe had to be bought for Dan's mother—a process Agatha took part in. All in all, there had not been such pleasant stir in the various Minturn households for years. It was almost like a family reunion. Dan's plan received universal approbation. Even

Hugh said, "It's the whitest thing he's ever done."

On the day of departure, the children all gathered at the old home—with the exception of Hugh. There were jokes and sly bits of advice.

"Now don't take any wooden nickles, mother," Robley said. "And be sure to get on the Pullman the night they change the sheets." There was laughter.

Dan, looking very important and responsible went about strapping suit cases, while Mother Minturn fussed with her new hat.

Agatha, who was to drive the travelers to the station, drove up in her new car promptly at the hour appointed. Robley picked up the baggage and started for the door. Dan turned to take Mrs. Minturn's arm, but was surprised to find her face drawn and wan. Her mouth was clenched in a set line. "I'm not going, Dan," she asserted. "It's no use, I just can't."

Disney among all the children. Pleadings, gentle ridicule, mild invective, all were of no avail.

"It's no use," she said over and over. "I can't go. It's so far, I'd rather stay home. What does an old woman like me want to be wandering about the country for?"

Dan was at first inclined to be angry. It seemed to be a signal act of ingratitude on his mother's part to refuse to give a gift. It was incredible. But her wan face, her trembling hands, the positively fearful look in her eyes, as, in her imagination, she surveyed the endless miles of travel before her, persuaded him not to upbraid her.

"Well, mother," he said. "If you don't want to go, you don't have to go. But I wish you had told me a week ago. You don't know what you are missing, I know that much."

She gave a little, startled shake of her head.

"Well, if I done without California all these years, I can do without it now. Won't you all stay for supper?"

"I'm not going, Dan," she asserted. "It's no use, I just can't."

(To Be Continued Next Week)

How can you have justice when you put private robbers in prison while public robbers are seen in purple and gold?—Cato.

## If It's Labor News

READ IT FIRST IN THE NEW LEADER

The NEW LEADER, though published weekly, regularly "scoops" the tremendous news-gathering agencies of the daily papers.

### A FEW RECENT EXAMPLES:

The New Leader, Aug. 13: "A. F. of L. Orders Probe of N. Y. Fur Strike"	The New Leader, July 30: "Anti-Fascists Split; Communists Cause Rupture"	The New Leader, July 17: "Electrical Workers Association Formed"
The N. Y. Times, Aug. 17, FOUR days later: "A. F. of L. Starts Fur Strike Inquiry"	The N. Y. Times, Aug. 1, TWO days later: "Communism Splits Anti-Fascist Group"	The N. Y. Times, July 24, SEVEN days later: "Electrical Workers Form New Union"

In Addition to These News Beats, The New Leader Prints Scores of Stories That Never See the Light of Day in Publications That Do Not Represent Labor's Viewpoint

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## Bakers Convention Adjourns; N. Y. Locals Get Merger O.K.; Path to Unity Is Opened Up

### The Field of Labor

The nineteenth triennial convention of the Bakery and Confectionary Workers has just terminated with a record of achievement that few unions can boast. The sessions were characterized by an obvious will-to-do-good. Plans were laid to fight the Bread Industry and request was made of the A. F. of L. to create a Food Industries Department. Not the least of the accomplishments involved the New York market. The five Jewish locals had asked to amalgamate into one single union. The convention agreed to their request in principle and asked the Executive Board to decide whether it would be more feasible to arrange to have the contracts of the different locals expire at the same time. A decision must be made before the end of this year. At the same time the consolidation of the New York bakers' locals with the independent Amalgamated Food Workers was faced equally. As explained in the last issue of the New Leader, the chief obstacle was jurisdictional. Would the Amalgamated agree to give up the shops in which Jewish bread is made, which it controlled. The convention left the Jewish locals and the A. F. W. to decide this among themselves. Otherwise, the Bakers' Union agreed to re-charter the seceded Amalgamated locals and charter the new ones, undertake an organization campaign and place the members of the independent union in the same standing in the beneficiary system of the Bakers' Union as they were in their own organization. In accordance with this plan, the Amalgamated agreed to turn over its benefit fund of thirty-two thousand dollars to its new parent organization. Fifteen thousand dollars were also appropriated to the New York unions for court expenses in fighting a scab organization of bakers backed by the bosses. Finally, the convention agreed to wage an organization campaign among the unorganized candy and biscuit makers. The Bakery and Confectionary Workers proved themselves a progressive union.

### UNORGANIZED THAT WERE ORGANIZED

WHAT a contrast there is between the behavior of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Workers in the New York subway strike with that of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees in the pier strike in the same city. In the one case, the "regular" union adopted a policy of watchful waiting for fear of sacrificing its dignity in a losing cause and then offering little encouragement to the strikers when they did inquire about affiliation. In the other, Harry J. Chapman, general representative of the Brotherhood, took hold of the situation and organized the men who had struck against the New York Marine Company for an increase of wages from fifty to seventy-five cents an hour with time and a half for overtime and holidays. These workers are engaged in unloading tropical and semi-tropical fruit, which is likely to rot if not moved to its selling destination.

Whether it is true or not that the company has obtained sufficient strike-breakers to obviate serious losses is immaterial. Persistent picketing may make a dent even in this field of the unskilled. The company insists these workers are only "floaters" and at the

same time claims that one hundred of their "regular" men are on the job. There is a slight consistency. Organizer Chapman is asking that the workers prove their stability by sticking to their new union. At any rate, if he gets them organized he may be able to bring them under the provisions of the new Railroad Labor Law as representatives of the workers.

We hesitate to draw any moral, but we recall that the Brotherhood has recently been expelled from the A. F. of L. because of a jurisdictional dispute with the Teamsters. We wonder that if it were still a part of the American Federation of Labor whether it would hesitate to jump in and organize these unorganized for fear of stepping on the jurisdictional toes of half a dozen craft unions.

### THE WOMAN WORKER GETS THE CRUMBS

Special Bulletin No. 143, recently issued by the New York State Bureau of Statistics and Information, contrasts the earnings and employment of men and women in the factories of that State for the years 1923-1925. Once more the fact is borne home that women in industry are still at a disadvantage. Their earnings are half as much as men. The former received \$17.45 a week, the latter \$31.63. Not only that but women are restricted to a narrow range of occupations. Sixty per cent of them are in either the clothing or textile groups and ten per cent more in the food industries. Very few are employed in well paying manufacturing connected with building, where a boom has been in progress in recent years. Where women are employed they are especially afflicted with the evil of irregularity of employment. Their pay-rolls particularly fluctuate much more violently from dull season to busy season than those of men. And this is the age of the new woman!

### THE LABOR "BOSS" AGAIN

The obtaining of an injunction by Joseph Feldman, president, Brooklyn Local 2717 of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, against five union officials once more reminds us that not all the corruption in labor organizations exists where accusations by factions contending for power fly thickest. The building trades unions are always peaceful. Tranquillity reigns because good wages and steady employment permit the labor "boss" to do as he pleases. The court proceedings referred to above reveal a disgraceful state of affairs, wherein the officials of the New York City District Council of the Carpenters arbitrarily refused to permit the local to elect representatives of the local to take office and insisted upon continuing in power their own appointees. The referee ordered an accounting of the two hundred thousand dollars that have passed through the treasury of the local and restrained the tyrannical officials from interfering with the affairs of the local. Feldman and his followers are Socialistic and, therefore, dared to buck the machine. L. S.

### COMMUNISTS REPORTED AGAINST MATTEOTTI FUND

In connection with a report that Communists in Czechoslovakia are warning contributors to the Matteotti Fund being raised by the German Socialists of that republic, that their money will be used for "counter-revolutionary" purposes, the Zurich office of the S. L. I. has issued the following statement:

"The Communists are feeling some concern that the fund is to be used for 'countries without democracy'—to which unfortunately Russia belongs. In countries ruled by Bolsheviki there is just as little freedom for the Socialist movement as in countries ruled by Fascists, indeed perhaps in some cases even less. The Socialist and Labor International has never failed to help the Socialist Parties of Russia, which are affiliated with it, in so far as this has been possible, and in the future also it will not cease doing so. As to whether the Matteotti Fund might some time be used for helping democracy in countries ruled by Bolsheviki, this is a matter for the Socialist and Labor International itself, and only it, to decide. At present all possible means are needed to save those victims of specific Fascism—in Italy."

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## The Story of The Typographical Union

A Record of Struggle and Progress

By Louis Silverstein

### II. Gathering Strength (1853-1888)

#### What Has Happened Before

PRINTERS' organizations are among the oldest of any craft in the United States. The first strike dates back to 1776, the first organization to 1795, both in New York City. Of existing printers' unions, the one with the longest continuous existence, probably of any craft, is No. 101, at Washington, D. C., founded in 1815. In the early organizations the beneficiary and economic functions struggled for supremacy.

CLASS-CONSCIOUS trade unionism has made so little impression in the United States, even to this day, that it is not at all surprising that fifty to seventy-five years ago, when the country was just becoming industrialized, that printers had no conception of the union as an instrument of class struggle. They were, then, more concerned with the elementary task of separating the beneficiary functions from the economic. After all, American trade unions have accepted the psychology and organizational form of the benefit and fraternal orders. As we have seen, started out as mutual assistance groups. It gradually dawned upon the more alert printers that benefit systems kept many craftsmen out of the union fold because of the resulting high initiation fees and dues. At the convention of National Typographical Union in 1853 the unorganized book and job printers of New York City, indeed, made such a specific complaint. Their plea for a separate union was turned down, but a resolution was passed requiring subordinate unions that "as yet retain the 'beneficiary system' to alter their rules so as to admit to their fellowships such members of the craft who wish to be admitted for trade protection merely." This turned out to be only an expression of opinion, but it did help in defining the functions of a trade union. At any rate, proposals in 1853 and 1854 to adopt secret passwords, grip, signs and ritual for "creating a stronger bond of brotherhood among the craft" were permanently turned down. On the other hand, the identity of interests of labor and capital was repeatedly affirmed. As President Robert C. Smith said in 1853: "It is our hope to so soften the asperities of weak human nature that the employer as well as the employee shall so harmonize in feeling that their interests shall always be identical." Or a resolution 1852: "Whatever tends to the interest of employers must of necessity benefit ourselves."

#### Local Unions Were Unstable

One of the prime tasks of the Typographical Union was to forward its organization work. Unions came and went like mushrooms. Many were killed by strikes that had to fall for lack of funds and support from the national organization. Many lost their charters for not paying dues, frequently returning to good standing after a lapse of time. The years of depression following the panics of 1857 and 1873 increased the casualties. The Civil War estranged the Southern unions, though with the cessation of hostilities they quickly resumed their former relations. By 1873 the membership had sunk from a peak of 10,000 to a trough of 4,000. The number of delegates to the annual conventions declined. In the '80s the tide turned. The membership soon passed the 16,000 mark. Old unions were rechartered, frequently with new numbers, in order to fill gaps in the numerical sequence.

The unfortunate state which characterized the Typographical Union in the first three decades of its existence excited the efforts of its active members to cope with the problem of organization. A fraternal delegate from Nova Scotia had been seated in the 1837 convention of the National Typographical Society. In 1865 the jurisdiction of the National Typographical Union was extended to Canada and four years later the name International Typographical Union was adopted. In keeping with the new policy.

#### The Executive Unwieldy

When the National Typographical Union was founded in 1852 the custom was carried on of having the president appoint an executive committee consisting of one representative from each typographical union to execute the resolutions adopted by the convention and to collect information on trade matters. That, in short, was all the organization work, if it can be characterized as such, that was done at the beginning. With the increase in the number of locals the executive committee became unwieldy. It had had slight usefulness at the best and was abolished. Toward the close of our period more practical plans were tried out. In 1883 the president was authorized to appoint one deputy for each state, territory or province with the power to select an assistant in carrying on organization work in his territory. The sole compensation of these organizers was exemption from local dues and assessments. They still had to pay their international per capita tax. This arrangement was, of course, found to be unsatisfactory. There was no centralization of authority and there was lack of funds. In the following year, therefore, the office of chief organizer was created, with a stated salary and an expense account. He, in turn, could appoint local assistants. In 1888, when

the new constitution was adopted, his position was abolished. Seven districts were created with an organizer at the head of each, who was also a member of the executive council.

#### Unorganized Prove a Thorn

The unorganized printers became a thorn in the side of the union. They made excellent strikebreakers. Those in the country districts were particularly available at times of a walkout or lockout. Yet it was not until 1884 that the first steps were taken to unionize them. In that year working cards and permits were inaugurated for members in good standing, while "conditional membership" cards were issued to their rural fellow-craftsmen as a first step in keeping tab on them. The scheme failed because reliance was placed upon the local printers to carry it through. Somewhat later (1868) three months were set aside during which time amnesty would be granted to all suspended, expelled or penalized members of the union who should make application for same at their local unions. The latter did not take advantage of this opportunity to regain their wayward brothers and thus minimize the scabbing danger. Comparatively few pardons were granted, for not many persons were urged to ask for them.

It is plain that at the bottom of all the difficulties was the problem of finance, for if the central body could direct the general organizing activities and come to the rescue of locals in distress with money contributed by the more fortunate units, then success would be assured. But the individual unions hogged their own treasuries.

#### Oberly Faces The Problem

John H. Oberly has the honor of being the first president of the Typographical Union to devote himself especially to this question. In his annual report in 1867, the most comprehensive submitted up to that time, he pointed out that when all is said and done that practically the only thing that bound the union printers together at that time was the traveling card system, which gave workers mutual recognition in each other's cities. He declared that what was needed were (1) a new constitution which would grant power to the local unions independent of deriving it from them; (2) a uniform constitution for subordinate unions; and (3) a national fund. President Oberly had thought the matter out so carefully that he even submitted the necessary constitutions and laws to effect these changes. Carried away by his enthusiasm, the convention adopted his proposals. A small number of locals, however, led by Savannah, protested against the legality of the action on the ground that any alterations in the constitution had to be proposed at one convention and voted upon at the next. When the meeting adjourned, opposition to the new plans began to develop so strongly that President Oberly thought it wise not to proclaim them, although they had received a technical ratification. At the convention of the following year (1868) his measures were once more proposed and laid over for consideration until the next convention. The national constitution was adopted in 1869 with such important modifications as to destroy the original intention to subordinate local unions to the central body. The plans for a uniform constitution and a national fund were not even discussed.

President Oberly's ideas, however, lingered. They were presented in one form or another at various times. The central concept was the national fund for strike purposes. The chief objection to its establishment was the distrust of placing large sums of money in the hands of one person. Defalcations in the union were not unknown. Finally, in 1878 necessity brought about the passage of the long-needed law. It provided for the contribution of one dollar by each member, the payment of seven dollars per week to each striker, a three-fourths vote of the local to call a strike, and such numerous red-tape precautions that fraud was almost impossible. The plan was a splendid one, but the subordinate unions did not rush to subscribe to it. Even monetary prizes did not bring forth any acceptable reorganization plans. In 1885 another scheme, suggested by President M. R. H. Witter, was approved. It also provided for a failure because it permitted local unions who did not wish to participate in the fund to do so under penalty of not enjoying its benefits. This was corrected the following year to make the contributions of twenty-five cents per member compulsory and to require the approval of the executive officers before a union could inaugurate a strike. Otherwise it could receive no benefits. In the constitution of 1888 a defense fund was created to consist of sixty per cent of the per capita tax collected. Local unions had to notify their district organizer of impending trouble, and

every strike had to be sanctioned by the executive council, consisting of the seven district organizers, the president, vice-presidents and secretary-treasurer.

Before any of these schemes could be put in good working order trouble had arisen in 1887 as a result of the International Typographical Union's campaign to establish the nine-hour day. Although it was left to the discretion of the local unions whether to undertake such a fight, the whole proposal so vexed the employers that they closed ranks and formed the United Typothetae of America. To meet this immediate need, President William Ainslow invoked the "law of self-preservation," and issued a circular calling upon the subordinate unions to assess their members one dollar each. The response to this illegal call was magnificent. President Ainslow was not only forgiven. He was thanked. His action helped to save the union at a critical juncture.

## N. Y. TYPOS BAR CONCESSIONS TO PUBLISHERS

(Continued from page 1)

amount of bogus, the men simply laughed at it as highly improbable of fulfillment.

Much resentment was shown against President Lynch (whom the reader will remember was recently defeated for re-election largely due to the efforts of Rouse and Typographical Union No. 6) for consenting to have the matter come to a vote. The almost unanimous rejection of the proposal to eliminate the resetting of bogus even when accompanied by wage increases, is looked upon by many not only as a repulse to the Publishers' Association, but also to the Lynch administration. As we go to press negotiations are being resumed.

### SPORT INTERNATIONAL KEEPS BAN ON RUSSIA

As long as the labor sport organizations of Russia continue to arrange games with the bourgeois sporting groups of other countries there is no possibility of a union between the International Workers' Association for Sports and Physical Culture and the Communist Sports International. This conclusion was arrived at by the bureau of the former organization at a meeting held recently in Amsterdam. After a discussion of the movement for labor sport unity being promoted from the Moscow headquarters of the Communist Sports International, during which it was shown by reports in the Soviet press that Russian athletic organizations belonging to the Communist Sports International were constantly participating in matches with bourgeois groups all over Europe, it was decided to send a letter to Moscow pointing out that such action was in violation of the principles of the Lucerne Sports International and that, aside from the other differences of opinion between the two Internationals, it alone was enough to prevent any real steps toward unity.

The bureau approved applications for admission to the International for organizations in Poland and the United States. In Poland the German-speaking labor sport group as well as the regular Polish organization is now affiliated with the International. A split in the organization was reported from Alsace-Lorraine, and the bureau gave permission to the Socialist fraction to join the regular French unit.

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## Hague Court Rebuffs Anti-Labor Employers; Summer School Popular

### Labor Doings Abroad

ATTEMPTS by the organized employers of the world to limit the jurisdiction of the International Labor Organization of the League of Nations to wage-earners alone have received a sharp rebuff from the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague.

Following the adoption of a convention against night work in bakeries by the Seventh Conference of the International Labor Organization in 1925, the International Labor Office's governing body, at the demand of the employers' representatives in the organization, asked The Hague Court to give an advisory opinion as to the competency of the International Labor Organization to propose labor legislation which, in order to protect certain classes of workers, also regulates the same work when done by employers themselves.

On July 23 the Permanent Court of Arbitration issued its verdict in the form of an opinion, which it declared to be based solely upon the text of Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles. Having carefully studied this part of the treaty, it declared that measures which are passed in order to carry into effect Part XIII (for the improvement of working conditions, etc.) may deal with the rights and interests of employers as well as workers. It also draws attention to the agenda of the First Labor Conference, at which the use of white phosphorus was totally prohibited. It further makes reference to the prohibition of the use of white lead, in which likewise no distinction is made between employers and workers.

On Aug. 10 the Senate of Argentina approved a bill banning night work in bakeries, already passed by the lower house, and sent it to President Alvear for his signature. Similar legislation is before other parliaments.

APPLICATIONS for attendance at the Summer School held by the International Federation of Trade Unions in the Uccle Labor College, near Brussels, from July 19 to 31, were so numerous that room could not be found for all those who wanted to come. Through the efforts of L. Dolisino, director of the Uccle Labor College, accommodations were secured for 68 students in the college and neighboring hotels.

The nationalities represented by the students were German, Danish, British, Dutch, Japanese, Austrian, Swedish, Spanish and Czechoslovak. Many of the lectures were devoted to a thorough understanding of the trade union, co-operative and political labor movements of Belgium. C. Mertons, general secretary of the Belgian national center; Louis de Brouckere, member of the Executive of the Belgian Labor Party, and L. Dolisino all gave comprehensive descriptions of some one aspect or other of the Belgian labor movement. The lectures were supplemented by interesting excursions to the most important industrial centers or to the splendid labor clubs and co-operative enterprises of Brussels.

J. W. Bowen, member of the International Workers' Education Committee, welcomed the school in the name of the British Trade Union Congress. In response to a special request, he also delivered an interesting lecture on the events leading up to the general strike in Britain. Lectures were also given on the trade union movements of various other countries, on the International labor movement and on the problems of the Far East.

### ESTONIAN LABOR UNIONS STILL IN POOR SHAPE

Although the political part of the labor movement in the Baltic republic of Estonia appears to be gaining strength, the number of Socialist Deputies in the Parliament of 100 elected last May being 24, against 12 in the old one, the condition of the trade unions there is still discouraging, according to the following report sent out by the Amsterdam Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions:

"The Estonian workers are in a thoroughly dejected mood, the great mass being completely apathetic to

towards every effort to organize them. The chief causes are the low wages, only just enough for a bare subsistence, and the long-continued and heavy unemployment. The anti-labor newspapers are clever enough to know how to set the minds of the workers against the Labor Party and how to provoke them into Communist outbreaks.

"The only organization with some influence on the masses is the Reval association of Works Councils, which has energetically set itself to found and assist trade unions. So far only two new unions have been formed, the Metal Workers' Union and the Union of Domestic Servants. The latter has more than 100 members and accepts unreservedly the Amsterdam platform. In the Metal Workers' Union there are, unfortunately, already signs of dissensions. Of the 20 members some are Communists, which makes further work very difficult. The workers employed in railway workshops have already submitted the rules of their union for registration and at present there is a possibility of the woodworkers calling a meeting to discuss the formation of a trade union also.

"The workers' powers of resistance are so crippled that it is impossible to get Parliament to carry through any new labor protective legislation. Moreover the anti-labor parties are developing a violent campaign against the existing legislation. They are, for instance, inciting women workers against the statutory prohibition of night work by women, using for that purpose the threat made by a large furniture factory to dismiss about 300 women unless they are granted permission, contrary to the provisions of the existing law, to employ women workers during the night. In view of the state of opinion generally the Ministry of Labor has granted this permission for three months. One might be able by means of a complaint to the high court to obtain a withdrawal of the permit, but the women workers were led by the anti-labor press to oppose the law in such a way that the labor works council thought it better not to take the question up.

"May Day demonstrations were this year forbidden by the Minister for Home Affairs, and the workers accepted even this without protest. On May 1 the only labor meetings were behind closed doors, three in Reval and about fifteen elsewhere.

### GERMAN SPORT LEAGUE FIGHTS DISRUPTIONISTS

Dissension within the ranks of the German Workers' Athletic and Sport League, due to the antics of the comparatively small number of Communist members, is being successfully fought by the executive committee, according to the report presented to the 245 delegates who attended the league's fifteenth national convention, held in Hamburg, July 24 to 27, by President Geller.

Despite the severe economic crisis following the stabilization of German currency and the establishment of the Dawes reparation plan, coupled with the Communist work of disruption, the loss of membership in 1924 and 1925 was only about 18,000, leaving at the end of last year 526,367 members more than fourteen years old in 4,144 local societies. In the first quarter of 1926 the number of new members enrolled was 15,197, an indication that the low mark has been passed and the upward march resumed. Business Manager Schubert reported that the league's financial condition was good, with its property valued at 1,437,000 marks (at 23.5 cents apiece).

Among the resolutions adopted by the convention was one calling upon all members to join a working class political party or a labor union upon passing their eighteenth year. Another left the matter of joining the Reichsbanner (the militant Republican organization) or the Communist League of Front Fighters up to each member's conscience. In principle, no matches are to be arranged with bourgeois sport groups. The necessity of uniting all labor sport organizations in a single international was also pointed out. The old officers of the league were re-elected.

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# The New Leader Mail Bag

Thanks The New Leader  
Editor, The New Leader:  
Just a word to express my sincere thanks and appreciation for the splendid spirit of co-operation you have shown with the movement to organize the Pullman porters.

You have been absolutely fair and maintained a high standard of journalism in the matter. Your work has been both a credit to your paper and a tribute to the race.

A Philip Randolph,  
New York City, General Organizer.

To Nuovo Mondo

Editor, The New Leader:  
A few weeks ago an Italian Communist weekly carried a scurrilous attack on some of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers officials. Sidney Hillman, general president; Abraham Beckerman, manager of the New York Joint Board, and A. Catalano, trade manager of the New York forces of that organization were pictured by that libelous sheet as having packed a membership meeting place with gangsters and policemen for the purpose of having them vote on the ratification of the agreement the union recently signed with the Manufacturers Association.

The outrageous slander was aimed at defaming more than any one else, the brave comrade, A. Beckerman, who was called Beckerman the "deceiver," the Fascist Beckerman, the Mussolinian Beckerman, the reactionary Beckerman who stinks, etc.

The libel, which the New Leader translated into English and published in its issue of Saturday, Aug. 7, calls for condemnation on the part of any decent man or woman in the labor movement.

What strikes me with surprise is the attitude of the "Nuovo Mondo," the Italian labor daily of New York City, which in answering the Communist attack defends Hillman and Catalano, leaving the malicious slander against Comrade Beckerman unchanged.

This is unfair. Had the "Nuovo Mondo," a paper largely controlled by the Amalgamated and edited by one of its officials, ignored the Communist attack altogether, no one would have noticed its strange attitude towards Comrade Beckerman. But since that paper so resented the attack that it found it necessary to nail the Communist lies, one has a right to ask why it ignored Comrade Beckerman in its defense of the other two officials of the Amalgamated.

This question has been put to the "Nuovo Mondo" through the columns of our "La Parola del Popolo," official organ of the Italian Socialist Federation, but to no avail. I maintain that the "Nuovo Mondo" has left room in the minds of its readers to doubt the honesty of purpose and the integrity of Comrade Beckerman. For this reason, again and through the columns of this paper, I ask the "Nuovo Mondo" to make its position clear.

Either Comrade Beckerman is what the Communists call him—and even then the "Nuovo Mondo" is duty-bound to fight Beckerman openly in

the Amalgamated ranks and see that he be ousted from the important position he holds—or, if Comrade Beckerman is worthy of the confidence and esteem of the Amalgamated membership it is the duty of the "Nuovo Mondo" to treat him equally with the other two officials, that it justly defended from the Communist libel.

S. Remaulet,  
National Secretary of the Italian Federation of the Socialist Party, Chicago, Ill.

Socialists and Dumbbells  
Editor The New Leader:  
As a Socialist I have been termed a nut, a damn fool, a guy with a lot of crazy ideas, and also a fellow with a lot of sense who has a lot of Socialist bunk in my system. A lot of people ask me why I ever became a Socialist, why I bother my head with that bunch, and also say that I would be a lot better off if I would stop wasting my time with the Socialists and Socialism.

Sometimes I feel that a fellow must be a nut to be able to go around trying to help some one else and then as a reward get kicked in the face, but they are not practical. What seems to get the goat of most Socialists is to have some dumbbell, who cannot even pronounce the word Socialism correctly, say that Socialism is a lot of bunk. A lot of Socialists lose a good deal of breath arguing about Socialism with people who are dead from the neck up. Others waste a lot of time explaining it to some one who knows more about Marx than the average Socialist Party member does. This is the bird that will argue with a Socialist just to learn how much the young fellow really knows.

Now my advice is don't discuss Socialism with a person unless you feel that he or she is in earnest. A good number of people will get you going just because they like to see you get excited, or they feel tickled when they fire some question that you cannot answer. Unless you are well acquainted with the principles of Socialism, it is best to say as little about it as possible.

A piece of Socialistic literature, or a copy of a Socialist newspaper, is more effective than a lot of talk. Never try too hard to convince anyone that Socialism is the solution of all world strife, or that Socialism is the hope and salvation of the masses. In fact, the less you argue with a Henry Dubb the sooner he will of his own accord join the party.

Finally, always remember that when you win over a person to Socialism, you are doing this person the greatest good that you possibly can do for him or her. When you cause one to become a Socialist, you have started that one on the right track. So let us use more discretion in the matter of carrying the message of Socialism.

MAX N. MOSER.

Trenton, N. J.

Socialism naturally goes with an unselfish or altruistic system of ethics. The most characteristic feature of the old societies was the exploitation of the weak by the strong under the systems of slavery, serfdom and wage labor. Under the Socialist regime it is the privilege and the duty of the strong and talented to use their superior forces and richer endowments in the service of their fellow-man without distinction of class or nation or creed—Encyclopedia Britannica.

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MORRIS SIGMAN, President ABRAHAM RABOWY, Secretary-Treasurer

**The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union**  
Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U.  
Office 231 East 14th Street Telephone Ashland 2600  
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION  
DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

**Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers**  
Union Local 68, I. L. G. W. U. Lexington 4869  
Office: 231 E. 14th Street.  
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.  
SECTION MEETINGS  
Downtown—231 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 8 P. M.  
Brooklyn—1870 St. & Broadway 1st & 3rd Tuesday 8 P. M.  
Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 3 P. M.  
B'klyn—185 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—78 Montrossary St.  
SALVATORE RINPO, General Secretary

**EMBROIDERY WORKERS'**  
UNION, Local 1, I. L. G. W. U.  
Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 591 E. 161st St. Harlem 7899  
CARL GRABHER, President.  
H. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

**Italian Dressmakers'**  
Union, Local 28, I. L. G. W. U.  
Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening at the office 26 W. 28th St. Phone: Luchawanna 4814.  
LUIGI ANTONINI, Secretary.

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SYDNEY HILLMAN, Gen. President. JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

**NEW YORK JOINT BOARD**  
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA  
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ABRAHAM BECKERMAN, Gen. Mgr. ABRAHAM MILLER, Sec'y-Treas.

**New York Clothing Cutters' Union**  
A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four."  
Office: 44 East 12th Street. Stuyvesant 5586  
Regular meetings every Friday night at 810 East Fifth Street.  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M. in the office.  
PHILIP ORLOFFKY, Manager. MARTIN SIGEL, Sec'y-Treas.

**PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD**  
OF GREATER N. Y. AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA.  
OFFICE: 175 EAST BROADWAY. ORCHARD 1357  
Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening at the Office. All Locals Meet Every Wednesday.  
MORRIS BLUMENREICH, Manager. BYMAN NOVODVOYE, Sec'y-Treasurer.

**Lapel Makers & Pairs'**  
Local 141, A. C. W. A.  
Office: 3 Delancey St. Drydock 3400  
Ex. Board meets every Friday at 8 P. M.  
BRIE SCHNEIDER, Chairman  
KINETH F. WARD, Secretary  
ANTHONY V. FROISE, Bus. Agent.

**Pressers' Union**  
Local 1, A. C. W. A.  
Executive Board Meets Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple 11-15 Union Square, N. Y.  
LOUIS CANTOR, Chairman  
M. TAYLOR, LEON ROCK, Sec'y Fin. Sec'y

**INTERNATIONAL "POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION"**  
Affiliated with The American Federation of Labor  
GENERAL OFFICE: 11 WEST 18th STREET, N. Y. Phone Chelsea 3084  
CHARLES KLEINMAN, Chairman CHARLES GOLDMAN, Secretary-Treasurer  
A. A. HILLACOFF, Manager

**PAPER BOX MAKERS' UNION**  
OF GREATER NEW YORK Phone Orchard 1299  
Office and headquarters, 701 Broadway  
Executive Board Meets Every Wednesday at 8 P. M.  
AL. GREENBERG, FRED CATOLA, SAM SCHNALL, FLORENCE GELLER, President Treasurer Fin. Sec'y  
Organizers: GEORGE E. POWERS, THOMAS DINONNO, Delegate, JOSEPH DIMINO.

**MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL 24**  
Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union  
Downtown Office: 610 Broadway. Phone Spring 4448  
Uptown Office: 30 West 37th Street. Phone Wisconsin 1276  
Executive Board Meets every Tuesday evening  
HYMAN LEDERFAR, I. H. GOLDBERG, NATHAN SPECTOR, ALEX ROSE, Chairman Ex. Bd. Rec. Sec'y Manager Sec'y-Treas.  
ORGANIZERS: L. H. GOLDBERG, MAX GOODMAN, A. MENDELOWITZ

**N. Y. Joint Board, Shirt and Boys' Waist Makers' Union**  
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA  
Headquarters: 621 BROADWAY (Room 523). Phone Spring 2258-2259  
H. ROSENBERG, Secretary-Treasurer  
Joint Board meets every Second and Fourth Monday.  
Board of Directors meet every First and Third Monday.  
Local 242—Executive Board meets every Tuesday.  
Local 243—Executive Board meets every Wednesday.  
Local 244—Executive Board meets every Wednesday.  
These Meetings are Held in the Office of the Union

**Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20, I. L. G. W. U.**  
120 East 52nd St. Madison Square 1994  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M.  
D. GINGOLD, A. WEINGART, Manager Sec'y-Treas.

**FUR DRESSERS' UNION,**  
Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union.  
Office and Headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn.  
Regular Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays.  
M. REISS, President.  
S. KINE, Vice-President.  
C. FRIEDMAN, Rec. Sec'y.  
R. WENNER, Fin. Sec'y.  
H. KALINOFF, Bus. Agent.

**INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS' UNION**  
OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA  
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor  
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# BRITISH MINERS TELL STRIKERS' NEEDS

Poor Dockers Caring for  
Bitmen's Children,  
Ben Tillett Declares

By Esther Lowell

"WED like to cable back quickly that American workers will contribute one or two million dollars—or five—to the million striking British miners," declared Joseph Jones, general secretary Yorkshire Miners' Assn. and executive member British Miners' Federation, upon the arrival of the British workers' delegation in the United States. "It is a critical time. We have been out 14 weeks and we need more help from American workers. The Russians, from all their unions, have sent 500,000 pounds (\$7,500,000) already and we'll gladly take as much more as they send."

James Robson, president Durham Miners' Assn.; Paul McKenna, agent for the Scottish Miners' and British Miners' Federation, executive member; Oliver Harris, treasurer South Wales Miners' Federation; Ben Tillett of the Transport Workers' representing the British Trade Union Congress, on whose general council he sits, and Ellen Wilkinson, Labor member of Parliament and representative of the Women's Relief Committee, comprise the rest of the official delegation seeking aid for the striking British miners.

All of them tell the story of the miners' privation and suffering—years of under-employment, unemployment and the breakdown of private capital in management of the industry. "Nationalization is the only solution," emphatically asserted McKenna, with the rest agreeing. "Of course, if Labor had the government it could tax the coal lords out and take control of the mines. Labor would sweep in if there were a general election now."

Baldwin Given Lie. "If Premier Baldwin told an American news service that there is no suffering among the British miners all we can say is that he lied," stated Harris. "Five years of unemployment hasn't given the miners any savings. The strikers and their families—a tenth of the population—depend on relief. They are fighting for their very lives."

"The government refuses to let Guardians of the Poor pay relief to any single miner," added McKenna. "Only the wives can get a bit. But it's the women who are bearing the brunt of the fight. The miners' women somehow manage. They get out and work in the soup kitchens from dawn on, their spirit never better."

Tillett told the Federated Press about labor solidarity over there. "London dockers, who have only two days' work a week, are taking in miners' children," he said, "one and two to the family. Tens of thousands of children have been adopted for the time of the strike by workers in other industries. The working class of England is showing more class consciousness than ever in its history."

"In nearly fifty years of strike experience," continued Tillett, "I have never seen a more brutal attack on the workers than the employers and the British government is making. Before the reductions were asked the miners were already making less than your colored porters in the south."

"The suffering is terrible, especially in the exporting fields of South Wales, Durham and Northumberland. But with the additional support we hope to receive the miners can be saved."

Tillett is a wholly plain blunt labor leader whose sinewy body looks as though he had kept himself fit by being very much in the fight.

## Our Well-Ordered Civilization

Drawn by Hervey



## THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

### National

The big Labor Day edition of the American Appeal will be a hummer, and we should put out a half million of them. All orders should be in the National Headquarters not later than Aug. 28.

Locals and branches that desire a date for Miss Tony Sender, member of the German Reichstag, should write at once. The fee is \$50. This pays the speaker and all expenses. Don't neglect this if you want a meeting with one of the foremost women speakers in the world. Miss Sender speaks either in German or English.

#### Leaflets

The locals and branches should now order leaflets and put them out, for the campaign is on and the propaganda should be pushed. We have revised the following leaflets and they are in good shape:

"The Most Frequent Objections to Socialism Answered," four pages.

"What Is Socialism?" four pages.

"Why Socialists Pay Dues," four pages.

"A B C of Socialism," two pages.

"Why Don't You Organize?" two pages.

"A Big Undertaking," two pages.

Two-page leaflets cost 15c. per hundred, \$1.25 per thousand; five thousand or more, \$1 per thousand. Four-page leaflets, 25c. per hundred, \$2 per thousand; five thousand or more, \$1.75 per thousand.

Individuals not connected with the organization should also order a supply and distribute them. "Why Don't You Organize?" is a new leaflet and suited for boosting organization in unorganized places. Address National Headquarters, Socialist Party, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

### Utah

Doris Morris of Montana is now speaking and organizing in Utah. We expect great results from her efforts. She started out with a fine meeting at Ogden after covering several points in Idaho. The Utah Socialists expect to have a lively campaign.

### New Mexico

The following call has been sent out by the State Chairman and Secretary of the Socialist Party:

"Dear Comrade: "We extend this call to you for a State Convention of the Socialist Party, to be held at 1210 South Len Avenue, Roswell, N. M., at 2 p. m., Sunday, Sept. 5. Will you kindly see and communicate with others in your county and send delegates? This is vitally important for the work we have in view in this the greatest work movement today."

"Tom Banks, "State Chairman, "W. F. Richardson, "State Secretary."

### New Jersey

The Socialist Party of New Jersey held their State Convention on Aug. 8 and planned for extensive work throughout the State. Reports show the membership has increased, and plans were made to raise a fund of \$2,000. Following resolutions were passed: Asking for support of the British strikers; urging all Socialists to give liberally to this cause; urging party members to subscribe for the American Appeal and The New Leader; in behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti, and also for Tom Mooney; protesting against the attempt to embroil the United States in the Mexican controversy.

State Committee was empowered to raise a \$2,000 organization fund, apportioning quotas to locals and federations to be worked out by the State Committee. \$150 was contributed and pledged at the convention. Part-time organizers will be routed, giving such organizers supplies and literature for their work. Frederick A. Schwartz, 286 Central Avenue, Jersey City, N. J., was elected State Secretary.

#### Newark

Tim Murphy will speak Friday evening, Aug. 21, in Central Market Place.

### Washington

The following convention call has been sent out from Seattle by the Secretary, Max Dorn:

"The Socialist Party nomination convention will be held Sept. 14, between the prescribed hours, at 1915 First Avenue, third floor, in the city of Seattle, for the purpose of nominating candidates for the ensuing election. Participants are requested to appear not later than 6.30 p. m."

"MAX DORN, Secretary, "7221 Palatine Ave., Seattle, Wash."

### Montana

James D. Graham, state secretary, writes:

"We have passed the primary election and will be on the ballot at the November election. J. M. Kruse of Rock Springs, Mont., is our candidate for Congress in the Second District, Eastern Montana. Kruse is a real dirt farmer, and the only farmer running for Congress in Montana. He is a graduate of the State Agricultural College at Bozeman, and has been an active Socialist since he was a boy in his teens." The remainder of the ticket will be announced later.

### Illinois

State Secretary Snow is engaged in another trip down state and makes a good showing in dues collecting and gathering of funds for the campaign work.

#### Big Picnic and Banquet

The big banquet with the members of the National Executive Committee will be held Saturday evening, Aug. 28, at the Douglas Park Auditorium. Tickets are \$1.50, on sale at the Daily Forward, county and national headquarters. The big picnic at Riverview park will be addressed by members of the national executive committee. Party members, as well as readers of the American Appeal and friends, are urged to get tickets for the banquet and picnic right away. Don't forget to send your order for a big bundle of the Labor Day American Appeal. All orders should be in headquarters not later than Aug. 28.

### Maryland

The State Secretary of Maryland sends out the following call:

"The big job before the Socialists of Maryland is to get the Socialist state ticket on the ballot. In the congressional districts we have political standing. Let me know that you can get signatures and I will mail you a petition. Comrades who have petitions kindly let me know the number of signatures you have collected so that we may know how we stand. If you have not signed a petition yourself, do so at the state office, 1607 East Baltimore street, Baltimore, or at 2134 North Fulton Avenue, office of the state organizer."

"Dr. S. M. NEISTADT, "State Secretary."

### California

During the campaign for the primary election, Lena Morrow Lewis, candidate for Lieut. Governor, is having opportunity to speak before many clubs and organizations in behalf of Sinclair and the Socialist ticket. Paraphrasing the remark of a prominent citizen who once said, "I do not care what you say about me just so you spell my name right." Mrs. Lewis said in addressing the San Francisco Woman's Center at the gubernatorial candidates' meetings, "I do not care who you vote for in the August primaries just so you vote for Sinclair and me and the rest of the Socialist ticket on November 2." The suggestion received quite a hearty handclap, possibly indicating what might happen.

Tom Feeley is lining up his forces for a big campaign in the 21st District, as a candidate for the State Assembly. He gave his leading opponent a rather big scare at the last election, and it is safe to say that no effort will be spared by the campaign committee to get out a big vote for Feeley, as well as for the rest of the Socialist ticket.

### Missouri

William M. Brandt, a veteran member of the Cigarmakers' Union and of the Socialist Party in St. Louis, has been elected as one of two delegates of the Central Trades and Labor Union to the Detroit convention of the American Federation of Labor. Brandt received the highest number of votes cast. The central body also voted \$100 to the striking British miners.

E. T. Brehens of Sedalia, one of the pioneers in the Socialist movement of Missouri and also of the Cigarmakers' Union, has been selected business manager of St. Louis Labor, the organ of the Central Trades and Labor Union and of the Socialist Party of St. Louis. Labor is edited by G. A. Hoen, whose Socialist and trade union activities include forty years of service.

### New England

Patrick Quinlan's tour includes a meeting at Greenfield, Mass., on Saturday, Aug. 21; Worcester, behind City Hall, on Sunday, Aug. 22; Worcester, at Front and Church streets, on Monday, Aug. 23; in Boston on Aug. 24, 25 and 26; and in Amesbury on Aug. 27. Locals desiring his services are asked to write to the state office.

Ether Freeman's tour will begin at Pittsfield on Tuesday, Sept. 7. Comrades who want her to speak in their neighborhood will please write for dates.

Alfred Baker, Lewis is available for speaking dates in the eastern part of the state at the request of any local. Copies of the state platform are being mailed to officials of all the trade unions in the state. Party members are requested to see that the platform is brought up, and if possible read at the meeting of their local union.

Branch secretaries have been mailed sample copies of our state platform and the Unemployment Insurance leaflet. Socialists all over the state are urged to get busy in our literature distribution campaign by ordering copies of these from the state office at 21 Essex street, Boston.

### New York State

#### Work of Organizer Herman

Organizer Emil Herman is now in Poughkeepsie, where he will remain for a week or fortnight of work. During the 78 days that Herman worked in Buffalo his cash collections on Debs' bonds, local dues, appeal and New Leader subscriptions, literature, etc., aggregated \$787.41, while his salary and expenses amounted to only \$643.62. Including unpaid Debs' bonds in total of receipts Herman took in for the party during the 78 days \$952.41, or \$308.79 more than it took to keep him in the field.

The State Executive Committee meeting at its last Sunday meeting voted to get out special leaflets on the subjects of prohibition, superpower, housing and the general political situation, and have assigned their preparation to James O'Neal, Louis Waldman, Victor Lawn, Norman Thomas and Judge Jacob Panken.

### Local New York

Socialist Ticket Filed The City Executive Committee will meet on Tuesday evening, Aug. 24, at 8:30 p. m. in room 505, Peoples House. The primary nominating petitions have been filed with the Board of Elections, placing a complete Socialist ticket in the field in New York City. This immense and laborious job was handled by Julius Gerber, who gave his time and energy without compensation. He was assisted by Harry T. Smith, I. W. Chateauf, Arthur Robins, Samuel Grossman, Raphael Goldstein and others.

#### New Members

Fourteen new party members were accepted at the last meeting of the Executive Committee. G. August Gerber, chairman of the Organization Committee, has set the proper example. With a stack of application blanks he sallied forth and brought in five scalps, all in a couple of hot afternoons. Gus is still on the warpath and he challenges all comers in the contest of getting new members. Ethelred Brown is scouting in Harlem and he has brought in four ap-

plications so far. Secretary Claessens is also a participant in the drive. Joe Tuvin is rounding them up in Flatbush. Other hustlers get busy! The big drive is on!

#### STREET MEETINGS

Manhattan Friday, Aug. 20—Clinton and East Broadway. Speakers, Dr. L. R. Land, Ethelred Brown, Joseph Tuvin. Saturday, Aug. 21—5th st. and 3d ave. Speakers, Ethelred Brown, E. Steinberger, August Claessens. Corner 13th st. and 7th ave—Speakers, Frank Crosswath, V. C. Gaspar, Ethelred Brown. Tuesday, Aug. 24—133d st. and Lenox

ave. Speakers, Ethelred Brown, I. G. Friedman; chairman, V. C. Gaspar. Wednesday, Aug. 25—7th st. and Ave. B. Speakers, Dr. Leon R. Land, I. Korn, Mrs. Wingart. Thursday, Aug. 26—Grand and Norfolk. Speakers, Ethelred Brown, Jos. Tuvin. Friday, Aug. 27—Clinton and East Broadway. Speakers, I. George Dobsevage, Samuel E. Beardsley. Bronx Friday, Aug. 20—138th st. and Brook ave. Speaker, Samuel E. Beardsley, I. Geo. Dobsevage, Mathilda Tillman. Monday, Aug. 23—143d st. and Prospect ave. Speakers, Ethelred Brown,

### In Answer to Mencken

Editor, The New Leader:

I was quite sure that when I opened The New Leader it would be ablaze with indignation at the utterances of Mencken in his "Hiring a Hall" in the Sunday World. I did not think it necessary to write to you about it. I did write direct to the World, but of course, my letter has not yet been published, if it ever will be. It occurs to me that I should send a copy of it to you, which follows:

I presume it may be considered sacrilegious to utter a word of reproach against the great god Mencken. But, possibly the divine ire may be mitigated if I suggest the suspicion that he did not himself write the column, "Hiring a Hall," in Sunday's World. Possibly he took a vacation like the other columnists, and obtained the services of Stanwood Mencken. As a matter of fact it might have been written by any professional protagonist of capitalism, for instance, by Ivy Lee, who would have achieved it with more of suavity; by Frank Urban, who would have utilized a more logical method, or by Peter Collins, who would have been somewhat more rhetorical.

Just think of the narrow-minded bigotry embodied in this sweeping sentence:

"As I have said, practically all of the most eminent Socialists of the United States took to the sewers in 1917."

For the exposition of his sublime ignorance, I might simply ask him to mention the names of the "eminent Socialists" whom he excommunicates. But, a more practical method is to remind him of the Socialist National Convention held at St. Louis in April, 1917, at which the famous Proclamation and Program was adopted which declared, among other things:

"Our entrance into the European war was instigated by the predatory Capitalists in the United States who hoard the enormous profits of seven billion dollars from the manufacture and sale of munitions and war supplies and from the exportation of American food stuffs and other necessities. They are also deeply interested in the continuance of war and the success of the Allied arms through their huge loans to the governments of the Allied powers and through other commercial ties. It is the same interests which strive for imperialistic domination of the Western Hemisphere."

"The war of the United States against Germany cannot be justified even on the plea that it is a war in defense of American rights or American honor." Ruthless as the unrestricted submarine war policy of the German government was and is, it is not an invasion of the rights of the American people, as such, but only an interference with the opportunity of certain groups of American capitalists to coin gold profits out of the blood and sufferings of our fellow men in the warring countries of Europe.

"It is not a war against the militarist regime of the Central Powers. Militarism can never be abolished by militarism."

Those passages, and they are not all of a similar tenor, do they read as if the leaders of the Socialist Party had "taken to the sewers," or as Mencken elsewhere expresses it, as if "the high-toned members of the movement saw a great light and began to bawl and sob for the flag?" Those who are familiar with the Socialist movement as it existed in 1917 and exists today know well that the leaders of the movement were and are Eugene V. Debs, Morris Hilquit, Victor Berger, Norman Thomas, Judge Panken, James O'Neal, Scott Nearing, Algoner Lee, August Claessens, and those who do not nearly exhaust the list of those who may justly be called the leaders. Which one of these "took to the sewers," and "began to bawl and sob for the flag?" And because Spargo, Stokes and

Hunter weakened and became recreant to the principles of the party, is it fair or just, or is it not, rather mean and contemptible, to deny or belittle the brave and courageous fidelity of the hosts of those who remained true? Finally, it may be said to Mr. Mencken, that Socialism is something independent of personalities and leaders. If he were familiar with the trend of current thought and events in the world, he would know that the fundamental principles of Socialism are making their way in the thought and life of the peoples of the world, and have been for many years whether consciously or otherwise. To be blind to this is to manifest a degree of ignorance that is strange in one that makes the pretense of a Mencken. It is more characteristic of a Bishop Leonard.

MAX COHEN.

### BULGARIAN SOCIALISTS STILL HOUSE CLEANING

The house cleaning begun by the Social Democratic Party of Bulgaria at the special national convention of last March, when Assen Tsankov, a brother of the former reactionary Premier, and Dimo Kasasoff, one-time Socialist Minister in the Tsankov Cabinet, were expelled from the organization because of their refusal to abide by the will of the great majority of the party membership, which insisted that sharp opposition to the present government, headed by Andre Liaptchev, was necessary, is still going on, according to a Sofia dispatch of July 29 to the Berlin Vorwaerts. At the March convention it was decided that two minority organs, Napred and the Socialist Bulletin, which were constantly attacking the majority policy and its proponents, must be suspended not later than April 10, so as to leave the road clear for the official party paper, Narod. No attention was paid to this demand by the publishers of the minority papers and, after many attempts by the leaders of the majority to effect a compromise with the opportunist minority chiefs, three of them—Dahidrof, Tshernokof, and Dimitroff—have been expelled by the Central Committee.

Without justice society is sick, and will continue sick till it dies.—Froude.

Isidore Polstein. Chairman, Sidney Hertzberg. Friday, Aug. 27—138th st. and Brook ave. Speakers, Wm. Karlil, I. Korn, Chairman, Mathilda Tillman. Brooklyn Monday, Aug. 23—Saratoga ave. and Dumont st. Speakers, Anna Platoff, I. M. Chatcuff. Wednesday, Aug. 25—Broadway and Monroe st. Speakers, Hyman Nemser, Samuel H. Friedman. Corner Albany ave. and St. Johns place. Speakers, Samuel E. Beardsley, I. Ostrowsky (Y. P. S. L.), Chairman, Lester Shulman.

### Queens

Branch Jamaica will meet at the home of Barnett "off, 57 Beaufort ave., on Friday evening, Aug. 27. Readers of The New Leader, enrolled Socialists and sympathizers are invited to attend the meeting.

#### Circle Six, Juniors

Circle Six, Juniors, has accepted Circle One, Intermediates', challenge to a debate. The debate will be held Oct. 1 at Circle Six's headquarters, 62 East 106th st.

Circle Six will not hold a meeting this Friday evening. Instead it will attend the Senior Rally at the Rand School.

Next Friday all wishing to join the debating team will deliver five-minute talks on Current Events. The best will be chosen for the team.

### Bronx

All members are urged to aid the picnic to be held Sunday, Aug. 29, at Orchard Grove, Fairview, North Bergen, N. J. Tickets are on sale at local headquarters, 1187 Boston road.

The Bronx County Committee, S. P., will meet Monday, Aug. 30, at 8:30 p. m. sharp. All branches are urged to have their representatives present. Subcommittees on headquarters and annual Bronx ball and reunion are requested to have reports prepared.

The Central Branch, comprising districts 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 met Tuesday, Aug. 17, at its club rooms, 1167 Boston road. A wonderful new spirit predominated. It was decided by unanimous vote that two business meetings be held each month and also that two be devoted to lectures each month. It was further decided to hold a weekly social affair in the club rooms each week until further notice.

Strong committees were elected to further these various activities and were urged to make every effort to insure the success of these affairs. All enrolled Socialists are again urged to remember their duty on Primary Day (Sept. 14) and vote for all Socialist candidates.

It was also decided to hold a dance on Saturday, Sept. 25, at the headquarters, 1167 Boston road. Music will be played by a fine jazz orchestra. The admission will be 50 cents.

Branch 7 S. P. will meet Tuesday, September 7, at the club rooms, 4215 Third Avenue.

### AMERICAN APPEAL

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

Editor-in-Chief EUGENE V. DEBS

Managing Editor MURRAY E. KING

Published at 2853 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

### MODERN MARRIAGE PROBLEMS

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# A m u s e m e n t s

## D R A M A

GYPSY O'BRIEN



One of the principals in the London success "The Ghost Train" opening next Wednesday night at the Eltinge Theatre

### 'The Little Spitfire' Same Old Hokum

Audience at the Cort Theatre Jarred and Amused by Myron Fagan's Play

ANOTHER play, which had its premiere on Monday night is titled "The Little Spitfire," from the pen of Myron C. Fagan and presented at the Cort Theatre by B. F. Witbeck. The play is old, very old, melodrama stuff, clothed in modern up-to-date raiment. We have a working girl who marries out of her "class"—a chorine of our stage who falls in love and is loved by a millionaire owner of a chain of tobacco stores. And, of course, the family objects—at least, the mother of the millionaire does—and trouble upon trouble comes to this love affair. Mr. Fagan's tale follows the marriage of "Gypsy" Gorman of the Gormans of the Bronx—whose brother is a \$35 a week clerk in one of these self-same chain stores—with James Ralston of the famous family of Ralston of Plymouth Rock and Southampton. Of course this can never be, and the author plays upon our sympathies until we despise the mother, hate the villain and would be more than willing to murder the evil skulking villainess. And for good measure Mr. Fagan throws in another brother, a mere youngster, who is tempted to steal \$3,800, only to be saved by his glorious sister—the fighting spitfire.

All of this does not make good material, but you must like such stuff. The audience, we must admit, "ate it up" and called for more. There is also much humor in the play set up by the \$35 a week brother—a show-off if there ever was one—whose ideas run big but get nowhere, and his practical young wife who knows him for what he is. These two always nagging good-humoredly at each other, furnished the laughs of the evening.

Sylvia Field plays "Gypsy" and does it well, but she should have better material. Louis Kimball did excellent work as the millionaire hero, James Ralston; Peggy Allenby made a good catfish villainess, with Dudley Hawley as her evil partner in crime. The quarrelsome couple were excellently handled by Russell Mack as the brother and Eileen Wilson as his wife.

This melodramatic comedy may and probably will appeal to a goodly percentage of our native theatregoers, but to others it is old-time melodrama polished up somewhat.

### Hippodrome Opens with Pop.

Price Policy August 30  
Fifty cents will be the highest price for a seat at the Hippodrome when the house is opened for the season, August 30. E. F. Albee announced yesterday.

The best seats will be sold for 50 cents for evening performances except Saturdays and Sundays, when the scale will be a little higher. Orchestra seats for week-day matinees will be sold at 30 cents.

The Hippodrome will open as a combined picture and vaudeville house. Toytown will be retained as an attraction for children.

## The Drama of America

By Joseph T. Shipley

NOTE: This is the third of the series of articles studying American life as revealed in its representative plays; through the three volumes brought together by Montrose J. Moses: "Representative Plays by American Dramatists" E. P. Dutton, \$3 each. The first article dealt with colonial drama, the second with the plays of the Revolution, the present with the period of construction that followed the fight for independence.

### III. Americans All

FOR the thirty-five years after the Revolution, the United States were still struggling for their proper place in the international free-for-all of history, and at the same time were worrying through the internal disputes and differences that more than once threatened to destroy the infant Union. The necessity of standing firmly against the outside world, especially against the "mother" country, which, like all mothers, was reluctant to admit that the apron-strings were untied, brought a greater national self-consciousness; and the constant mingling of representatives from distant states, the regular and the frequent special congresses and delegations, the sharp disputes and stirring of wits and tongues, and the quick seizure upon foibles and vulnerable parts, all brought into recognition the various types in the national populace. It is natural that both these preoccupations should find direct expression in the drama.

The stir of the recent Revolution, and the still subordinate status of the new country, which led to the War of 1812, led patriotism at fever heat. In any artistic or literary sense the United States, to be sure, were still sucklings of England; in the preface of "The Indian Princess" (Pocahontas) J. N. Barker protests as early as 1808 against the tendency of critics to damn every American literary product: "for the gentlemen castigators seldom take the pains to distinguish Innocence from Guilt, but most liberally bestow their stripes on all poor wanderers who are unhappily of American parentage." A half-century later an essay was written "On a Certain Condescension in Foreigners"; yet the American sense of inferiority to the English in breeding and culture has by no means died, though it is today balanced by the peculiar sense of superiority based upon money-power that has made the American tourist the ideal victim of European shopkeepers. But however long the Americans continued to feel a cultural dependence, they early insisted upon the expression of full political

A. L. Erlanger has engaged Marion Copley to play the leading woman's part in "Service for Two," the comedy by Martin Flavin, which opens at the Gaiety August 30.

BERT LYTELL



Plays the hero in the new film "The Lone Wolf Returns" coming to the Moss' Broadway Theatre Monday night

liberty; and in the early days after its political establishment, this fervor took the form of an intense interest in government and also—in some quarters—a jingoism that was almost pure 100 percent spread-eagle intolerance.

In "The Politician Outwitted" (1789) the plot hinges upon the quarrel of two old men over the new constitution; one refuses to permit his son's marriage because the prospective father-in-law favors the new constitution. The fact that a plot might be made to depend upon a political point of view shows how deeply emotions were involved. "The Contrast" (1790) owes its very being to the politics of the day, for Royall Tyler, who had never been to the theatre, came to New York in pursuit of the leaders of Shays' Rebellion, and was there taken to a performance of Sheridan's "The School for Scandal". Although his play—finished three weeks later—closely follows the model, its plot is American, the hero a dignified, patriotic ex-soldier, set in strong contrast with a fop who was educated (and taught to waste his fortune) in England. The first performance of "Andre" (1798) revealed still another aspect of American patriotic feeling. On learning that Andre is doomed to be hanged as a spy, his friend Bland tears off his American cockade and throws it to the ground. This act almost ruined the play, which was saved only by the insertion of an apology and the re-insertion of the cockade on the second night.

While American spirit was held high against all suggestion of disloyalty, the citizens of the country were taking one another's measure. State was striving for power against state; tax barriers were maintained at imaginary lines that marked borders; and Yankee Jonathan wondered how much advantage he could innocently wrest from Delaware Richard and Virginia Charles. In the plays of the period, therefore, types first appear, shrewd revelations of the weaknesses and the homely virtues of our various groups of citizens, never since to desert the American stage, and in their broader aspects forming the leaven of our vaudeville and burlesque. The Yankee himself first gawks upon the stage, cumbersome and shrewd; the darkie compounded of subservience and impudence, of superstitious stupidity and cleverness; the Frenchman who came to fight with Lafayette and stayed to plough a farm—or to become the city fashion-barber; the Irishman with his potatoes and his bulls; the Pennsylvania Dutchman, whose German-English and whose dull thoroughness were the comedian's stock-in-trade until the advent of the Jew: all these types now appear in the drama, and indicate the concern of the people to know one another—Americans all.

## The Cake-Eater Has the Stage

Sam Janney's "Loose Ankles" Full of Wise-Cracking Humor at the Biltmore

A GROUP of cake-eaters, who make good use of their "loose ankles" at the many dance palaces on and off Broadway, are the principal heroes of the new Brock Pemberton production, "Loose Ankles," which opened Monday night at the Biltmore Theatre.

The author, Sam Janney, has given us a pleasing comedy, chock full of wise-cracking observations, seen through the eyes of those male hoofers who make their headquarters dancing about—professionally of course—with long-limbed females and ladies who go in for dancing afternoons and evenings at the above mentioned palaces. He gives us a close insight of their make-up, their thoughts and opinions, their psychology—and all this with much understanding, and crowded with so much humor that the audience at the opening performance reeled with laughter.

Briefly, the story deals with the contents of a will leaving a large sum of money to the heroine of the play, providing she marries within a specified time, and her choice is approved by three of her large family of aunts and uncles, who can only share in the balance of the fortune left by this erratic relative if the first provision is carried out—the marriage of our heroine. The little lady, of course, objects, and decides that she will give her mercenary and puritanical relatives a shock. She will advertise for a young man who will "compromise" her and in that way shake off the close supervision of the aunts and uncles.

This part of the play is rather dull and tiresome. It is only in the second scene, when we meet the cake-eaters, at home in their furnished room in the Fifties, that the sparks begin to fly. From that moment on to the end of the play, so long as these hoofers are on the stage, humor and fun is the password. For you must know by this time, that one of the boys reads the ad and applies for the job—at least he is forced to by his mates.

In the complications that ensue fol-

WILLIAM ELLIOTT



Heads the cast of the new George M. Cohan farce, "The Home Towners," which opens Monday night at the Hudson Theatre

### "Gentlemen Prefer Blondes" Heads Edgar Selwyn Plans

A BUSY season is ahead of Edgar Selwyn, whose production of the Anita Loos-John Emerson comedy, "Gentlemen Prefer Blondes," is still the leading success in Chicago, with June Walker and Edna Hibbard as Loretta Lee and Dorothy. This play will open at the Times Square Theatre on September 28. Three additional companies of "Gentlemen Prefer Blondes" will fare forth to the Pacific coast, the South and Middle West.

Other plans include "The Imaginative Girl," by Roy Bryant and Harry Durant. This play opened in Asbury Park on August 2 with a cast including Tom Wise, Dorothy Burgess, Eric Dressler, John Milner, William E. Mack, Catherine Proctor, Molly Nell and Beatrice Blinn.

In October Mr. Selwyn will present Arthur Richman's dramatic study "A Proud Woman," in which Elisabeth Riedon, Margaret Wycherly, Anne Morrison, Ralph Morgan and Herbert Yost will play leading parts.

This will be followed by a musical comedy with music by George Gershwin, book by George S. Kaufman and lyrics by Ira Gershwin.

Also for midseason is another play from Anita Loos and John Emerson, based on "Why Girls Go South," the magazine serial by Miss Loos. Still later, Mr. Selwyn will present a play of his own.

## The Nation's Laugh Hit

### MY COUNTRY

is doing more than the League of Nations to forge the chain of universal brotherhood!

Elbow You Way In! Laugh Your Way Out!

CHANIN'S 46th ST.

Theatre, W. of N. Ave., Even. 8:30 Matinee Wed. & Sat. 2:30

HARRIS W. 42d St. Eva. 8:30

"A RIOTOUS AFFAIR"—TIMES  
GEORGE MACFARLANE Presents

A New Farce

### HONEST LIARS

With

ROBERT WOOLSEY

## Music and Concerts

### STADIUM CONCERTS

N. Y. PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA  
FREDERICK STOCK, Guest-Conductor  
LEWIS STADIUM, Aug. 25, 8:30 P. M.  
Sunday Night at 8:30

SCRIABIN "DIVINE POEM"  
Weber, Delamarter, Debussy, Chabrier  
ARTHUR JUDSON, Manager, Stationary Piano  
Prices 25c., 50c., \$1.00

### "Scheherazade" to Be Feature of Passaic Milk Fund Benefit

Joseph Marlevsky, who played opposite Greta Nissen in Florenz Ziegfeld's Revue, and who was a leading man in all of Balloff's "Chauve-Souris," has been engaged by Alexis Kozloff to appear as the Shah in Rimsky-Korsakoff's ballet, "Scheherazade," which is to be produced at the Coney Island Stadium the evening of Aug. 28, for the Bread and Milk Fund for the Strikers' Children in Passaic. David Mendosa will conduct a symphony orchestra of 100, while a mixed singing chorus of 250 voices will be led by Jacob Schaefer.

## Broadway Briefs

William J. Perlin, whose play, "My Country," is now settled at Chanin's 46th Street Theatre, will have another opus presented by the Messrs. Shubert. The play, "Another Day," will be presented out of town the latter part of September.

"The Student Prince" will be presented in Jewish Sept. 3 at the National Theatre, Houston street and Second avenue, with sets and costumes from the successful Broadway production. Samuel Goldenberg and Jacob Jacobs are the singers who will be featured.

Jacques Deval arrived here last week to witness the rehearsals of his latest play, "The Cardboard Lover," in which Laurette Taylor will be starred during the coming season by Charles Frohman, Inc. in association with A. H. Woods.

Charles K. Gordon announces a change in the title of the new musical comedy, "A Regular Girl." This is the new piece for which William Cary Duncan has written the book, Irving Caesar the lyrics and Stephen Jones the music, and henceforth the title will be "Maybe I Will." It opens at Long Branch Sept. 6.

Richard Herndon will give Chicago an opportunity to see "Treat 'Em Rough" before he brings this new play by Frederic and Fanny Hatton to Broadway. Genevieve Tobin and George Gaul are the featured members of the cast. The play opens in Chicago at the Harris Theatre Aug. 28.

The Messrs. Shubert have begun preparation of the new edition of "Gay Purr-ee." The cast, so far engaged, includes: Winnie Lightner, Charles "Chic" Sale, Benny Rubin, Douglas Leavitt, Richard Bold, Mary Milburn, Frank Gary, Rath Brothers, Alice Poulson, Max Hoffmann, Jr., Marga Waldron, Newton Alexander, Marge Finley, Lorraine Welmar, Violet Strathmore, and others. There will be a new troupe of Gertrude Hoffmann Dancers, recently from Paris.

"Dancing Around" will be the first burlesque production of the Columbia Theatre's new season, opening on Saturday night, August 28. In the cast will be Erin Jackson, Bob Greer, Abe Sher, Paul Reno, Vinnie Phillips, Ruth Mayer and Cherie and her living models.

"Potash and Perlmutter, Detectives," opened Tuesday night in Rockville Center with Ludwig Satz as Abe Potash. The comedy comes to the Ritz Theatre August 30.

WINTER GARDEN  
44th ST. THEATRE  
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A NIGHT IN PARIS  
Better than the First—Herald Tribune  
Matinee Wed. & Sat.

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Revue  
Hits  
First!

The GREAT  
TEMPTATIONS  
Staged by J. C. HUFFMAN  
by HAROLD ATTERIDGE

Smartest  
Comedy!  
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Music!  
Prettiest  
Girls!

SEASON'S FIRST LAUGH HIT!

BROCK PEMBERTON  
Presents  
LOOSE ANKLES  
A NEW COMEDY  
SAM JANNEY  
BILTMORE Theatre, 47th St.  
Evenings 8:30  
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Walloping Hit!

RICHARD HERNDON'S Production of J. P. McEVY'S  
"AMERICANA"  
with LEW BRICE and ROY ATWELL  
"At last we have a revue with a whole lot of brains and originality."—Metropolitan—Wall St. Journal.  
"Music best on Broadway."—American.  
BELMONT THEA. 46th Street, East of N. Ave. 8:30  
Matinee Thursday & Saturday 2:30

Plymouth Theatre  
West 4th St. Eva. 8:30 Mat. Thurs. and Sat. 2:30  
POPULAR MATINEE THURSDAY  
WINTHROP AMES presents GILBERT & SULLIVAN'S  
IOLANTHE  
"I have yet to see an opera cast so perfectly—don't miss 'Iolanthe'."—Samuel Chotzinoff in "N.Y. World."

MUSIC

Verdi's Requiem With Chorus  
And Soloists at Stadium

THE next to the last week of the Stadium season marks the end of Frederick Stock's period as guest conductor and the return of Willem van Hoogstraten for the remaining concerts. Mr. van Hoogstraten's first and second programs on Wednesday and Thursday will be entirely devoted to the Verdi Requiem, which had so great a success on the occasions of its first Stadium performances last summer. The Requiem will enlist the services of a chorus from the Oratorio Society, and the same soloists who sang in Beethoven's Ninth Symphony: Amy Evans, soprano; Doris Doe, contralto; Lewis James, tenor, and Fraser Gange, baritone.

Programs for next week:

Sunday—Overture, "Liebesfrühling," Schumann; Symphony No. 4 in E minor, Brahms; Suite, Op. 19, Dohnany; Indian Waltz, Langley; Rakoczy March from "The Damnation of Faust," Berlioz.

Monday—Overture to "Euryanthe," Weber; Symphony No. 3 in C minor, "Divine Poem," Scriabin; Symphony No. 2 in G minor, after Walt Whitman, De Lamar; Afternoon of a Faun, Debussy; Spanish Rhapsody, Chabrier.

Tuesday—Chorale and Fugue, Bach; Abert; Symphony No. 3, "Eroica," Beethoven; Selections from "Tristan and Isolde," Wagner; Pines of Rome, Respighi.

Wednesday and Thursday (Willem van Hoogstraten Conducting)—Requiem, Giuseppe Verdi, with chorus and soloists.

Friday—Overture to "The Marriage of Figaro," Mozart; Variations on a Theme by Haydn, Brahms; Slavic Dances, Dvorak; Symphony No. 4 in E flat, Beethoven.

Saturday—Overture to "William Tell," Rossini; Two Movements from the "Rustic Wedding," Symphony, Goldmark; Polovetzian Dances from "Prince Igor," Borodin; Symphony No. 4 in C minor, Brahms.

"The Adorable Liar" Opens  
At the 49th Street August 30

Edgar Selwyn's first production of the season, "The Adorable Liar," opens at the Forty-ninth Street Theatre Aug. 30, with Dorothy Burgess in the title role. Henry Stephenson will replace John Milne. Otherwise the cast remains unchanged, and includes Tom Wise, Eric Dressler, William E. Mack, Mary Horne Morrison, Nelly Nell and Beatrice Blinn.

"My Country," the comedy by William J. Perlin, at Chanin's Theatre, will shortly appear in book form. The publication will be illustrated by scenes from the play.

WILLEM van HOOGSTRAATEN



Returns to the Stadium next Wednesday night for the final fortnight of concerts

## Music Notes

Many noted Jewish actors will participate in the actors', cantors', and writers' concert and spectacle to be held at the Coney Island Stadium this Saturday evening, under the joint auspices of three famous national Jewish organizations, the Jewish Writers' Club, the Hebrew Actors' Union and the Jewish Cantors' and Ministers' Association. Two hundred Jewish cantors will sing two numbers on traditional themes by Rumshinsky and several other numbers.

The schedule of the concerts on the Mall, Central Park, for the remainder of the season will include Goldman concert, Saturday, August 21; Ridgely's Sixty-ninth Infantry Band, Sunday, August 22; New York Symphony Orchestra, Saturday, August 28; D'Aquin's Concert Band, Sunday, August 29; Naumburg Memorial Concert, Labor Day, Monday, September 6, by Hugo Riesenfeld's Orchestra. The Labor Day concert will be held at 3 p. m., all others at 8:30.

Concerts in the parks of Queens Borough, announced yesterday by Commissioner Butler, will be given as follows:

Forest Park (8:15 p. m.)—August 25, 29; (3:30 p. m.), September 1, 8, 15, 22.

Astoria Park (8:15 p. m.)—August 25, September 1, 8, 15, 22.

Highland Park (3:30 p. m.)—August 22, 29, September 5, 12, 19.

King Park (8:15 p. m.)—August 28, September 1, 8, 15, 22.

Linden Park (8:15 p. m.)—September 1, 15.

## THE NEW PLAYS

### MONDAY

"THE HOME TOWNERS" George M. Cohan's farce comedy opens at the Hudson Theatre next Monday night. The players include William Elliott, Robert McDade, Chester Morris, Ben Johnson, William Walcott, Georgia Caine, Peg Entwistle, Florence Earle and Doris Weisman. Mr. Cohan is producing the play.

"HENRY-BEHAVE!" a farce-comedy, by Lawrence Langner, will be presented by Gustav Blum at the Bayes theatre, Monday night, with John Cumberland in the leading role. Others in the cast include: Edward G. Robinson, Carrie Weller, Gladys Lloyd, Walton Butterfield, Elisha Cook, Jr., Justina Wayne, Irene Young, Beresford Lovett, Mary Walsh, Gail de Hart, Pat O'Brien and Lorraine Lally.

### TUESDAY

"VANITIES," fifth edition, will be presented by Earl Carroll, Tuesday night, at the Earl Carroll theatre. Among the principals in the new show are Moran & Mack, Julius Tannen, Smith and Dale, Harry Delf, Yvette Rusel, M. deJarl, Gilbert Wells, Florence Brady, Thelma White, and the Aven Comedy Four.

### WEDNESDAY

"THE GHOST TRAIN," a new play by Arnold Ridley, will open next Wednesday night at the Eltinge theatre, presented by A. H. Woods and Arch Selwyn. The cast includes Robert Rendel, Gypsy O'Brien, Walter Wilson, John Williams, Claudette Colbert, Gladys Follott, Eric Fiore, Isabel Elson, Arthur Barry, Henry Mowbray and Arthur J. Wood.



# THE NEW LEADER

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

## Contributing Editors:

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

Morris Hillquit  
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One Year.....\$3.00  
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The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the struggle of the organized working class. Signed contributions do not necessarily represent the policy of the New Leader. On the other hand it is a vehicle for the expression of opinion consistent with its declared purposes. Contributors are requested not to write on both sides of the paper and not to use lead pencil or red ink. Manuscripts that cannot be used will not be returned unless return postage is enclosed.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 21, 1926

## WARNING TO RUNAWAYS

WE are sure that Mr. Hedley of the Interboro regrets that the law does not permit the customary thirty-nine lashes on the back with a whip which was assessed against disobedient slaves in the days when cotton was king. In those glorious days the runaway was taught the "duty" he owed his employer and courts recognized the punishment as constitutional.

Deprived of this disciplinary measure, the Interboro proposes to use the courts against the men who recently ran away from its service to the great displeasure of the princely owners and their faithful agent, Mr. Hedley. The thirty-nine lashes cannot be imposed on the runaways, but it is hoped that any extra change they may have accumulated out of their magnificent wages will be handed over to the Interboro by order of the court.

In short, suit for the recovery of \$239,000 from 62 strikers will be pressed in court, the Interboro relying upon the precedent set by the Danbury haters' case and the Hitchman case against the miners. The complaint charges that the runaways had agreed not to join any other organization than the one which Mr. Hedley provided them with and in running away from his fraud they were guilty of "conspiracy."

This should prove to be a very interesting case. If the Interboro is given the decision the company "union" will be given the blessing of the robbed aristocracy of the bench. The company "union" will become a sacred American institution and all potential runaways will have a constant warning not to desert the kind masters who permit them to work for a bed and three meals per day. Marking time in the lockstep of capital's chain gang appears to be the ideal.

## INVESTIGATING FURRIERS

THE proposal of the A. F. of L. to investigate the strike of the New York Furriers conducted by the Joint Board may be an unusual procedure, as the latter claims, but no one acquainted with the facts will deny that an unusual situation exists in the organization. If there is justification at any time for an investigation it certainly existed when a local body is at war with its international and when that local body has made a settlement of strike which has been questioned in trade union circles.

There is another consideration involved. The Joint Board is confident that its course throughout the strike, its handling of finances and the settlement made with the employing class are models of trade union administration. If these claims are true an investigation of the records will verify them and set at rest the gossip that is going on. Moreover, the publicity given to an investigation that will vindicate the claims of the Joint Board will enhance its prestige with the members and with the unions in other trades that came to the assistance of the Furriers in their struggle.

Every consideration involved in this issue justifies instant welcome of the proposal of the A. F. of L. officials, providing the Joint Board really has a good case. If it is not confident of its claims one can understand why it should hesitate to accept the proposal.

## STATE RIGHTS

THE dogma of state rights has never been consistently maintained by any party or any class throughout its history. Virginia and Kentucky were the first to assert it as a part of the Jeffersonian creed. The Federalists then proclaimed it some ten years later upon approach of war with Great Britain, and the Jeffersonians opposed it. Within less than twenty years the political factions again changed sides when South Carolina proposed to nullify a Federal tariff act.

Something like this is going on in Australia. In that country reaction has a majority in the Federal Parliament, while the Labor Party is powerful in a number of states. Premier Bruce, who owes his prominence to the Labor Party and who left it during the World War, is anxious to have a number of constitutional amendments adopted in a coming referendum which would take from the states much of the power they have. He would invest the Commonwealth Parliament with power to regulate terms and conditions of employment and with much of the labor legislation that now belongs within the province of the states.

Of course, the labor legislation varies in the states and Bruce insists that it should be uniform throughout the country, and this cannot be realized without vesting Parliament with the powers he wants. This may be true, but the kind of legislation that would be uniform

when enacted by a capitalist majority in Parliament would differ widely from the varied legislation in the states where the Labor Party is powerful. Bruce's plea for uniformity is therefore a plea for smothering what effective labor legislation the Labor Party has won after years of struggle, and that party is perfectly right in opposing Bruce's program.

## HOKUM

GEORGE B. LOCKWOOD, who edits the National Monthly for the G. O. P., entertains the faithful with a refutation of Socialism and "the reactionary Karl Marx." Curiously enough, he casts overboard a large supply of bunk that is the stock in trade of G. O. P. politicians in order to refute the Socialist view. In order to establish his contention that the conditions of the masses have improved he resorts to a contrast of the present with the past. A hundred years ago, he insists, rural and urban workers "were only a half century away from a condition akin to peasantry." North and South "there was a caste system, with the workers in the lowest stratum of the social order," and so on.

Very well, but what becomes of that glorious "freedom" and "democracy" which every patriotic orator insists that the American Revolution brought? If it left the producers of wealth a servile class, differing little from the status of European peasants, somebody has been distributing hokum for several generations and the G. O. P. itself has been one of the most conspicuous offenders.

On the other hand, in dumping a large supply of fiction into the ash can, Lockwood is telling the truth, but if the politicians of the G. O. P. follow his course they will be deprived of one of the most essential articles of their trade. What will the orators of the Teapot Dome party have to say if the Lockwood view of the revolution becomes general?

This brings us to the contrast he draws. Consider the worker of today and the worker a hundred years ago. Has there not been a big improvement? He answers: Yes. So do we. But is that a refutation of Socialism? Not at all. That improvement was not a free gift to the workers. It is the fruit of a struggle by a class that was once "the lowest stratum of the social order." The Socialist movement is based upon a comprehension of this struggle. It does not deny that conditions can be improved under the present social order. It simply insists that if they are to improve the working class must fight for them. This class fought for them and conditions improved, fought for them against Republican and Democratic legislation, judges, injunctions, etc.

So Brother Lockwood's essay upon analysis turns against him. Stick to the hokum, Brother Lockwood. Once you get away from it you get into deep water and are likely to get drowned.

## RUBBER PIETY

THE WORLD presents the most thorough analysis of the program for the exploitation of Philippine rubber by our rubber capitalists and the Coolidge Administration. The plan includes a division of the islands, the rubber areas to be immune against Philippine labor laws, so that peon labor can be imported in large quantities. In these areas our capitalists vision wages lower by one-half to two-thirds of what are paid where the labor laws are in force. Our rubber capitalists want wages low enough to compete with the coolie labor in the Dutch and British-East Indies. By providing a separate jurisdiction over the rubber fields our modern slavers will have a free hand, protected by the American flag and sweating half-starved laborers to obtain fortunes out of their miseries.

This revolting program cannot be argued on its merits, so religion is lugged in to give a pious aspect to it. The division of the islands is urged "in the name of religious liberty—to protect the Moros of the south (who are Mohammedans) from persecution by the Christian Filipinos of the north." Thus, rubber profits, the flag and religion are a screen behind which the rubber fields are to be overstocked with laborers exploited by merciless greed. It remains to be seen whether the Coolidge Administration will enact this slavery into law and have Coolidge bless it with one of his pious addresses.

This recalls the devout Puritan captains of slave ships who rolled their eyes to heaven and gave thanks to God that they were rescuing the Africans from idolatry by kidnapping them and selling them to planters in Virginia and the Carolinas. The colonial records of New England are filled with evidence of this union between piety and profits. The petty thief who makes no pretense to piety is entitled to more respect than these sanctimonious frauds.

## The Failure

He kept his soul unspotted,  
And he went upon his way,  
And he tried to do some service  
For the people day by day;  
He had time to cheer the doubter  
Who complained that hope was dead;  
He had time to help the cripple  
When the way was rough ahead;  
He had time to guard the orphan, and one day, well satisfied  
With the talents that were given him, he closed his eyes and died.

He had time to see the beauty  
That the earth spread all around;  
He had time to hear the music  
In the shells the children found;  
He had time to keep repeating  
As he bravely worked away:  
"It is splendid to be living  
In the splendid world today!"  
But the crowds—the crowds that hurry  
After golden prizes—said  
That he never had succeeded.  
When the clouds lay o'er his head—  
He had dreamed—"He was a failure," they compassionately sighed,  
For the man had little money in his pockets when he died.  
—Exchange.

# THE CHATTER BOX

YE editor thanks Mr. A. M. Sullivan for the relief he affords us this week. We trust our dear readers will approve as heartily as we do his splendid poem on

## Manhattan

The city is not narrow—  
Her canyoned trails  
Through clean-faced bluffs of marble  
Are patterned by an equilateral god  
Whose pulse, unrhymed, flutters  
With sharp expectancy  
Under the dull staccato  
Of ceaseless worshippers.  
These paths through endless perpendiculars  
Are yet as wide as prairies.  
And the inch between our elbows  
Is a mile of reticence.

Down in the pregnant street  
Amid the clamoring crowd stalks Loneliness,  
Burned by that hot vacuity of soul  
Which craves a spoken syllable.  
Be it the savage, hell-born hiss  
Of some blind beggar in defeat  
Or the shallow sneer of one demoted lady.

But here are friendly towers  
Who drapes a soft incognito  
About your sin-burned shoulders.  
The pilgrims of the pavement feel  
No pained compression in their walls.  
And on their necks they bear  
Light decalogs of stone.

Oh, the city is not narrow,  
But has a fine capacity for souls—  
Souls who won't repress the circumstance,  
But with a keen resiliency  
Rebound from sin's warm rendezvous  
To wash their minds in cool Oblivion,  
Remembering the dawn.

The city is not noisy—  
These shrill cacophonies of steel  
That stab my soul's tough diaphragm  
Are shrewd improvisations of the god  
Who writes the newer euphony  
Of siren, wheel, and gong.  
His orchestrations are unique,  
And call for every instrument  
That sends a sharp vibration to the sky.

If from this jangling pot-pourri  
We own a grieving tympanum,  
The blame is in the small capacity  
Of Man's receptacles of sound.  
We cannot, with precise absurdity,  
Say: "This is music,  
And the rest is noise."

The city god is most ingenious:  
He fashions song from such prosaic things—  
The steel-ribbed fan  
Of freight-yard terminals  
Becomes a huge, distorted harp;  
And from a million copper strands  
He strings his high-pitched violins.  
The timbrel is the chattering rivet gun,  
Bickering high in Euclid's skeleton,  
Or savage drills who sink their metal fangs  
Far in the bloodless entrails of the rock.  
The bass drum booms in shadowed cavities,  
Where dynamite beats pompously and loud  
In irritation on the door of earth.  
The cab, the car, the just-throated truck  
Are beating brass, and braying saxophone;  
All play their part in conscious unison,  
Yet each a virtuoso  
To himself.

At dawn I hear a lyric reveille  
Saluting proud the sun's ambassador,  
With notes that die in strangled tremulo  
Far in the amber mist  
Now curtaining the bay.  
And I can hear the day-long symphony

Enthralled by variations of the theme,  
And swift, abrupt excursions of the mood,  
Until the flattened shafts of gold  
Fall on the hooves of Night.

Nocturne becomes a muffled monotone—  
After a sprightly overture to dusk,  
And a melody to the bulging moon,  
Musicians drowse,  
And many lips are mute.  
Only the obligato of the chiming  
And nasal antiphons  
From prowlers on the bay,  
Are heard above the breathing of the god.  
Sometimes, on awakening, he stirs  
The vagrant wind to play his clarinet  
Through eerie streets and reedy alley-ways.

Oh, the city is not noisy—  
Its spirit builds a pyramid of sounds  
From guttural horns, and unmelodic bells;  
Percussion brass, and weary granite slabs.  
His ears, spread out like broad acousticons,  
Are tuned in pitch  
With anvils of the gods.  
So I will pray my ears so pious  
Will find the drums of Vulcan and of Thor  
So I may drink the vital resonance  
Of tong and hammer,  
And hark within the darkened studio  
The mellow orison of looms,  
The assonance of wheels.

The city is not dirty—  
The dust which eats the membranes of your lungs  
Through August noons  
And shrill November dawns,  
Blows from a million feet of clay  
That tread the stony corridors  
Within the idol's heart.

These particles of primal sin,  
Revitalized in pulsing dynamos,  
Drift back upon the ugly deity,  
A cooling tale  
To soothe his chafing flesh,  
Kissed raw by faithful heels  
Of countless servitors.

The acrid fumes that climb above the street  
Are exhalations from his savage breast,  
That mingle with the incense of the jets  
Above his sooted shrines.  
If, in this fetid atmosphere, I reel  
Like some divine inebrate,  
Then blame the greedy chimneys of my soul  
Which won't discharge the smoke of ecstasy.

Beneath the high, diluted dark,  
His liaison with Industry and Mirth  
Brings forth the nimble charioteers,  
Who point their two-pronged shafts  
Into the soft, but omnipresent black.  
The pallid air is charged  
With pungent clouds of myrrh  
From cushioned hooves of swift, demonic steeds  
Who leap like evanescent dreams  
Along a string of pearls.

Oh, the city is not dirty—  
The battlements are worn  
By elbows of the wind.  
The god himself betrays  
His finite ancestry  
Beneath the rasp of that blind artisan  
Who chips the days from granite calendars.

The years that drop on marble bastions  
Soon pulverize our high-piled vanities  
Into a low and unrecording dune.  
This swift erosion of our images—  
This cycle of the crumbling clay—  
May prove that Man and all his monuments  
Are fated to a kind oblivion.  
But in the stars a hand that sifts the dust  
Will save an atom of each entity  
Which you and I may argue is the Soul.

A. M. Sullivan.

# The News of the Week

## China Asserts Her Nationhood

One of the most momentous steps taken by China to recover her independence is her notice to Belgium that her commercial treaties and extra-territorial privileges will be abrogated October 29. This action complies with the customary three months' notice required in the denunciation of treaties. In return Belgium will be offered a treaty similar to the one made with Austria, which grants customs equality and provides for tariff reciprocity. If Belgium does not agree with the new arrangement her business in China will be boycotted. A dispatch from Geneva to the World states that Great Britain is bringing pressure on Belgium not to enter negotiations except in accord with other powers. This means that the big powers want the little ones to wait on the big ones in dealing with China. What Belgium will do remains to be seen. Germany, Austria, Persia and Finland have renounced special privileges in China and negotiations are going on with Turkey, Lithuania, Latvia, Hungary and Russia for the same purpose. It is the big imperialist bullies of a "world made safe for democracy" that stand in the way of a China possessing her own house and directing her own affairs. It is certain that China would not take this step if she did not have some confidence in realizing her aim. It is further evidence of an awakening China which will eventually throw off the imperialist vampires that have sucked her blood while pretending that the bleeding was for the special good of China herself. A unified and strong China will also bring the addition of a big working class movement to the liberating Socialist International that will reconstruct the world on a basis of economic equity.

## Steel May Keep Europe Quiet

Although there appears to be some doubt as to whether the exact form of the much-heralded European steel and iron combine has been definitely agreed upon by the representatives of the majority of the steel interests of France, Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg and The Sarre Valley, the eventual conclusion of such a deal is regarded as a certainty. That the peace of Europe depends more upon some plan to divide the profits of the big industrialists in what to them seems an

equitable way than upon the maneuvers of the diplomats is generally recognized by the press and public and it is pointed out that when the United States, Great Britain and Italy are brought into the proposed combine, which is considered only a matter of time, practically all the other steel and iron producing countries, including Russia, will soon join up. While such a combination will present a formidable problem to organized labor, as has been emphasized recently by many European labor leaders, it is up to the workers of the various countries involved to see to it that their political and economic organizations are made strong enough to defend labor's interests, regardless of the size of the enemy. While the world is applauding the spirit of self-sacrifice with which the Belgians are battling to save their financial and economic structure, cries of alarm are raised in Paris because it is rumored that Belgium is negotiating with Germany for the sale of the tiny districts of Eupen and Malmédy, on the German frontier, given to Belgium by the Treaty of Versailles. In Russia the process of strengthening the "center" group in the government has been continued by the removal of Leon B. Kamenef from the post of commissar of trade to make room for M. Mikolain, a friend of Joseph Stalin, the head of the governing faction, which is battling against opposition on the right and on the left.

## Coolidge Will "Aid" Farmers

In November there will be a Congressional election and the politicians of capital and finance are a little worried about the farmers in the West. On the first page of this issue readers will find a story of farmers in Montana using castor oil on a sheriff whose mission was to seize some land in payment of a debt. It is merely one indication of the desperation of a generation have been going into the pockets of bankers and exploiters for a number of years. Coolidge is worried and is turning his attention from the poor fish up-State to the poor fish out West. He is reported as "giving intensive study to the farm problem" as well as prospective election returns next November. One plan suggested is to interest bankers in a mortgage loan of \$100,000,000 to "assist" farmers in the extension of co-opera-

## Mexico Firm in Her Struggle

There does not appear to be much change in the struggle between Church and State in Mexico. The clerical squad of the Knights of Columbus has not received any encouragement from Washington in the attempt to spill American blood while the Mexican clergy declare that they have no intention of starting a revolt against the Government. Perhaps the clergy have noticed what happened to military adventurers in recent years who attempted the old game of armed revolt. Latest reports are that the bishops are discussing a peace plan to offer Calles, but it is not likely that the Government will consider any compromise in the matter of enforcing the fundamental law of the land which has been either ignored or openly violated by the Church since the sixties. On Monday Gen. Enrique Estrada, former Secretary of War for Mexico, with 174 men were arrested in California together with a large quantity of arms and ammunition. Their destination was Mexico, but whether Estrada's venture was a private one or was linked with oil and piety is not known. All accounts agree that the clerical boycott has been felt somewhat, but it must be remembered that it is a sword that cuts both ways. Clerical business is bound to be affected, and all history testifies to the fact that when profits of clerics decline the enthusiasm for

# Critical Cruisings

By V. F. Calverton

## Rationalization and Thobbing

RATIONALIZATION has become the word of the hour. The use of it has become a charlatanism criterion. Armed with this verbal weapon, one is immediately converted from a scavenger of the ordinary into a surgeon of the mind. Deriving its background from Freud and its verbal form from Jones, the word has been used more often as an equivocal escape than as a scientific technique of explanation. The first difficulty presented by the word rationalization is its limits and demarcations. Where ends rationalization and begins ratiocination? Every psycho-analyst tells us to guard ourselves against our rationalizations, but if we examine the implications of the word, what right have we to believe that the psycho-analyst is not rationalizing his need for economic subsistence or social prestige when he writes his book of counsel against rationalization? The situation is complex. Rationalization, after all, means judgment, explanation, or excuse that is motivated not by the close logic of comparative reason but by emotional drives and predilections. Since all reason, according to the orthodox Freudian, is determined by our emotional complexes, or as the poet would say is but the laughter of our emotions, then the process of rationalization becomes unintermittent and ubiquitous. Our plight is deep and dour. According to our examination, all reason is rationalization, and, therefore, psychoanalysis is but a systematic rationalization-perpetrated, the behaviorist might say, by scientists and scientists eager for prestige or anxious for wealth. The situation, however, is not so simple. Quackish devious do not necessarily ruin the theories that they pretend to expound and practice. Psycho-analysis has made a contribution to thought. Its loose terminology, unfortunately, has exposed it to such rasping ridicule. Its use of the word rationalization is one of its worst errors.

Let us for a moment consider the famous Psycho-Analytic Congress, which Wittels has described in such exciting detail. Freud's denunciation of Jung, Jung's sneers at Freud, the peculiar force of Adler's claims, what do these reactions mean? Were these psycho-analysts the observers and not the protagonists in this spectacle of superiority-claims, they would classify the reaction as megalomaniacal, and pass on to the next case. Why should we not conclude that Freud's vaunting of his conceptions of sex, Jung's defense of his libido, Adler's advocacy of organ-inferiority and inferiority complexes in general, are not all rationalizations of their own egos, excrements of personality-patterns instead of expressions of scientific observation?

In the final analysis, it is the rationalization that is most persuasively cogent that triumphs. The psycho-analyst is as guilty of rationalization as his victims. At the present time his rationalizations have carried the day. Freud has become the fashion—with the sentimental virgins as well as with the readers of The Quill.

When someone with a superb sense of irony writes a book on The Rationalizations of Freud, tracing his psychological theories to a frustrated sexuality or an explosive megalomania, a new tour de force will be consummated.

In "Thobbing" (Indianapolis. Bobbs Merrill Co.; \$2.50) Henshaw Ward has given the process of rationalization a new name. "If you dearly love a theory," the author writes, "you are thobbing," and his book is dedicated to a recounting of the thobs of well-known thinkers. "Thobbing" is undoubtedly a delightful book. With all of its superficiality, it is never dull, never wearisome or weighty. Scientists as well as philosophers suffer in its pages. The conceptions of a score of thinkers are shown to be thobbing—of course Mr. Ward does not reduce them to their precise emotional basis in rationalization, as would the astute psycho-analyst, but that they have such is implicit throughout the exposition and argument. The social basis of thobs and rationalization is left a little untouched. It is this basic omission which renders the book superficial. A study such as Tawney's "Religion and the Rise of Capitalism" is a valuable contrast. Without devoting his book to the acrobatics of thobbing, Tawney reveals by scholarly analysis and quotation how the ideas of priests, prophets and economists were but pure social thobs, varying exactly when the social conditions necessitated new social thobs. Of this phase of the thobbing process, Mr. Ward is either ignorant or neglectful.

And after exposing the thobbers with satire that is sharp and irony that is merciless, Mr. Ward ends his book with a wholesome thob:  
"We are still expressing science in the low terms of those who begin stumblingly. We shall learn the higher expression. That is a cause of happiness to all who turn their backs on thobbing."

As one piece of wood and another piece of wood may meet together in the ocean, and having met, may part again—such like is the meeting of human beings.—Sanskrit proverb.

piety also goes down. Meantime American Ambassador Sheffield is returning to the United States, and it is rumored that he will take a stand for more coercion of Mexico. Whether this is true remains to be seen, but we shall not be surprised if piety and oil form a united front for the bullying of the Mexicans. With rubber and piety united for a raid in the Philippines anything is possible by our capitalist class and its political agents.