

Magistrate Rosenbluth, sitting in Jefferson Market Court, freed 420 oak pickets arrested Monday for violating the injunction, though the papers had not yet been served on strike leaders. The Magistrate warned the police and counsel for the manu-



## COOLIDGE KEEPS CORRUPT MEN IN OFFICE

Judges in Alaska, Re-  
fused Appointment by  
Senate, Hold Office  
Still

By Laurence Todd

WASHINGTON.—Because he has retained in office in Alaska Federal Judge Ritchie of the Third and Federal Judge Reed and District Attorney Shoup of the First division of that territory, who were unanimously rejected for reappointment last spring by the Senate Judiciary committee, President Coolidge has been publicly challenged by the People's Legislative Service.

In a telegram addressed to Coolidge, Basil M. Manly, director of the Service, recalls the fact that Coolidge himself was compelled by the showing of these men's unfitness to withdraw their names more than three months ago. Yet he has kept them in office in the face of general protest in Alaska. Those three were among the appointees backed by Harry M. Daugherty, now on trial for bribe-taking while in charge of the Department of Justice.

A telegram from P. F. Gilmore, Republican committeeman of the First Alaska division, quoted by Manly, says: "Conditions growing steadily worse on account of Reed, Ritchie, Shoup kept in office after their rejection. People have lost respect for courts. Law enforcement broken down. Information from Third division shows conditions worse. Situation serious."

**Charges Are Admitted**  
The charges that were admitted or fully proven before the Senate Judiciary committee, and which led former Attorney General Stone to order a clean-up and to declare that these men should never be reappointed were, says Manly:

"1. Ritchie, convicted of criminal libel in Utah, fled to escape payment of a fine and prosecution for perjury. He is still a fugitive from justice in the Utah courts.

"2. Ritchie keeps as personal secretary the wife of a convicted dope peddler, herself the object of serious charges in the hearings, and appointed as District Attorney the man involved with her in notorious scandal.

"3. Ritchie's conduct on and off the bench lends encouragement to lawless and criminal element. Publicly declared that violating prohibition laws constitutes no moral offense because people do not believe in them.

"4. Ritchie failed to act to check unspeakable conditions in salmon canneries resulting from importation of Asiatic labor, denounced by Valdez grand jury sitting in his court as follows: Use of diseased and syphilitic labor in salmon packing, open narcotic peddling, unnatural vice and lack of proper medical and sanitary inspection.

"5. Ritchie denounced the grand jury for indictment of fish trust corporations for flagrant violations of fishing laws and imposed nominal fines when convicted.

**Jailed Innocent Men**  
"6. Judge Reed admitted judicial tyranny in sentencing men to jail for contempt when there was no foundation in law or fact for such sentence.

"7. Reed and Shoup participated in unlawful conspiracy to defraud United States government by payment of fraudulent witness fees.

"8. Shoup permits red light districts to operate openly in Ketchikan and Juneau in violation of Abatement law and in spite of repeated protests from ministers, women's organizations and respectable citizens generally. Evidence on file in Department of Justice shows thousands of dollars tribute levied monthly on prostitutes by underlings for protection.

"9. Under Reed and Shoup administration of narcotic laws have degenerated into farce, minimum fines being assessed in the few cases where convictions are obtained.

"10. Reed and Shoup use their positions to protect salmon trust corporations and destroy independent fishermen."

President Coolidge heard this whole indictment a year ago from outraged citizens of Alaska. He told newspaper correspondents that it was probably a case of political jealousy by men who failed to get jobs. He ignored the evidence and the recommendations of all officials, including the Senate Judiciary committee, until forced to withdraw the reappointments.

## N. Y. MEETING GIVES TONY SENDER WELCOME; MORE LECTURES LATER

TONY SENDER, the youngest member of the German Reichstag and a prominent speaker and writer in the German Socialist and Labor movements, addressed a large audience of German Socialists and sympathizers at the Labor Temple in New York last Friday evening.

Miss Sender's address was delivered in German and she spoke eloquently and at length on the German economic and political situation before, during and after the war. She presented a graphic description of the tribulations of the new German Republic and the status of the Socialist and Labor movements under the new government. Her address was punctuated by constant interruptions by a small group of the disorderly element in the various German Communist organizations, but they failed in their attempt to disrupt the meeting. The audience expressed its disapproval of the interruptions by voting against a motion to grant them the floor for discussion. Miss Sender answered questions and arguments from the audience for about one hour and received an ovation when she concluded.

Morris Hillquit delivered a brief address of welcome in his characteristic vein, and Bruno Wagner, as chairman, ably guided the meeting through the troublesome periods.

Tony Sender will speak this Saturday evening, September 18th, at the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street, in the Debs Auditorium, at 8:30 p. m., under the auspices of the Young People's Socialist League. She will speak in English and her topic is "The United States of Europe." As Miss Sender is an ardent advocate of international peace and an active worker in the movements in Europe towards the abolition of war, her address will be appreciated by all Socialists and lovers of international concord. August Claessens will deliver a short address of welcome and Sol Deutsch, a well-known violinist and accomplished artist, has graciously volunteered to render a few selections. Morris Hillquit, former secretary of the Y. P. S. L., will act as chairman.

Further meetings to be addressed by Miss Sender in New York City and vicinity are Rockaway Forum, Rockaway Park, on Tuesday, September 21st; at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum on Sept. 24th; at the Borough Park Labor Lyceum on September 25th, and at Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., on September 27th.

## MACHINISTS HIT VICTIMIZATION

(Continued from page 1)

or discharged because of membership or a desire to become members in the shopmen's union.

He professes, in this circular, to have absolute faith in the desire of the railroad management to make good the pledges their spokesmen gave to the committees of Congress when the new law was under consideration last winter. The executives of the 22 standard rail labor organizations who joined with the railroad managers in securing this law are going to stand together, he believes, in making a test of this good faith on the part of the management.

"We recognize that railway management and railway labor are on trial as to the fulfillment of their pledges to Congress, the President and the American people," he says. "It is our intention to carry on the work of organizing railway employees in complete accord with the provisions of the Railway Labor Act and the understanding mutually announced both by management and the railway labor organizations."

"If it should happen that some railroad official attempts to coerce, interfere with or discharge employees for exercising the right of self-organization, we propose to place the responsibility where it belongs, and if necessary handle such cases to a conclusion as provided in the Railway Labor Act."

He emphasizes the necessity of getting the facts, in precise form, so that any such grievance can be promptly and effectively presented.

Have you not heard how it has gone with many a Cause before now? First, few men heed it; next, most men condemn it; lastly, all men accept it—and the Cause is won!—William Morris.

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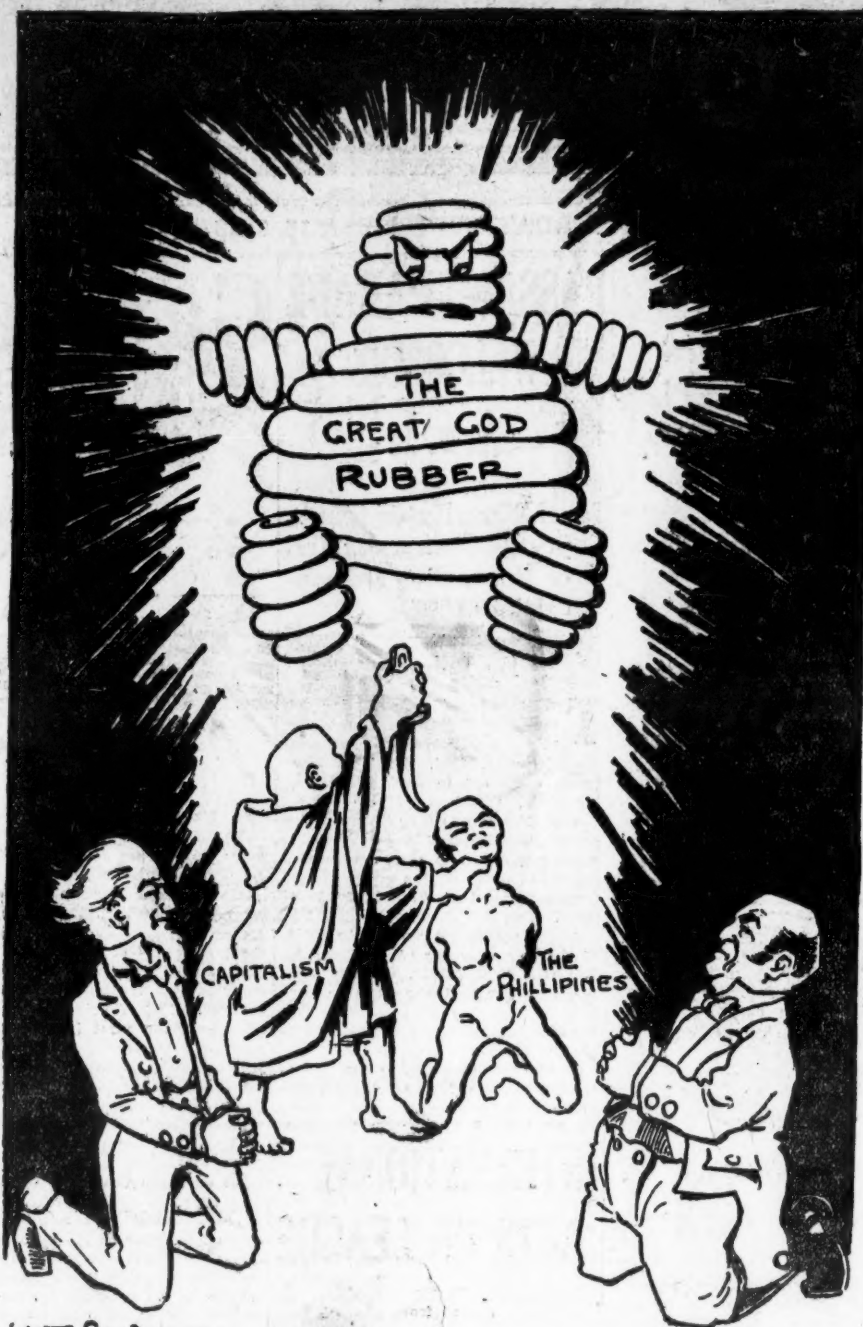
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## The Sacrifice



W.T. Brady

## The Stalin Speech; Is It True or False?

S KETCHY reporting of the news, amounting in many cases to out and out lying, has been an evil

widely prevalent in the American press. Whenever advanced groups of workers have banded together to publish their own papers, they have always made accuracy a cardinal principle. In the heat of factional bickering it has often been true that some publications laying claim to the workers' point of view have traveled far afield from this principle. Such papers have usually drowned in their own sea of lies; others have seen the ominous handwriting of past experiences and attempted to steer a truer course.

A current example of such belated love for honest reporting may be observed in The Daily Worker, the Chicago Communist daily. Recently it announced an end to its policy of vile abuse of all and sundry who ventured political views other than those ordained by the pristine pure revolutionists of the Third International. Frankly avowing its mistake, the Daily Worker, in its issue of June 19, said: "The heat of our utterances concerning the iniquitous practices of the labor officialdom has increased until our general approach and criticism can be described as a sort of venomous futility."

With its usual breath-taking speed the Daily Worker has within a short four months turned a complete revolution—in theory. In fact it still follows a policy "of venomous futility" and assumes to read lectures on journalistic honesty to papers less favored at the well of purity dammed up and led out by the Communist protectors of those bourgeois virtues—democracy and truth.

As might be expected of a paper to whom truth dawned only as an after thought, only to be discarded again, the Daily Worker is finding its new path beset with large-sized stumbling blocks. Yet it is on the right road; all should lend a helping hand to this new-born child of light.

If the Daily Worker would escape the enormous danger of infant mortality, it should avoid, if possible, such palpable hoaxes as it attempts to palm off on its readers in its issue of September 11, now before us. A front page headline announces: "Reported Speech by Joseph Stalin Repudiating World Revolution Is Branded Mendacious Falsehood." Then follows a reproduction of the Stalin speech.

This address, as may be suspected, is the one ascribed to the present leader of the Soviet Republic in reported proceedings of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party. It has literally set the world Communist movement on its ears, denouncing, as it does, Zinoviev's policy of alienating the world Socialist and labor movement from Russia, as "idiotic." There is no surprise to be occasioned if the Communists go to any and all lengths to paint the report of this speech false. It is tantamount to a confession of responsibility for the darkest page in modern

working class history, the splitting up of the world's workers at a time when unity was a matter of life.

The American Communists and their organ have labored a month to break down the authenticity of the reported Stalin speech. Witness the result: John Pepper announces Joseph Stalin's speech is a "falsification."

"Who is John Pepper?" We can hear that question on the lips of all of our readers. What authority does he have to speak for Stalin? Why does not Stalin speak for himself? (Mail those questions to the editors of "The Daily Worker.")

For the impatient, may we offer these facts concerning Mr. "Pepper": "John Pepper" is an assumed name for a representative of the Third International who departed these shores about a year or so ago. His function here was to guard the American Communist movement along the Moscow road. Of Mr. "Pepper," Benjamin Stolberg, a non-Socialist writer on the labor movement, said: "His capacity for misinterpretation takes your breath away."

Following one of the lightning changes in policy with which our Communists have startled their followers, Mr. "Pepper" found himself on his way back to Russia. He was replaced by a "Professor Grusev," in whom we are not at this time interested. It is this balanced surveyor of world politics and authority on proletarian procedure that "The Daily Worker" trots out to kill the Stalin story.

Another word on "Pepper." Not even the Communists have attempted to deny that the Russian Communist Party and the Third International is in the midst of factional fighting. Zinoviev is lined up against Stalin. Of this there is abundant proof in every Communist journal, including the American. Is "John Pepper" neutral in this conflict, that he can be taken as an arbiter on the falsity or truth of what passes between Zinoviev and Stalin? Is he with Stalin? Or is he with Zinoviev?

There is good reason for believing the Stalin story true. Some months ago Tomsky was reported in Improcor, official 3rd International journal, as making similar statements against the Zinoviev policy. If Tomsky, why not Stalin?

There is a better way to ascertain the truth of the speech ascribed to Stalin. Not only because "The New Leader" was one of the hundreds of labor and non-labor papers which published Stalin's remarks, are we interested in getting the facts about it. The workers need the truth about Russia. They have been led astray too often by knaves and fools, both white and red.

Stalin's address was printed in the Hearst papers in America (to which Leon Trotsky is a frequent and valued contributor). The circulation of these papers runs into the millions. Hundreds of labor papers here and abroad have printed the speech. If it is false, why has Stalin remained silent? This leads us to our proposal for getting at the truth of the matter.

## Stalin Asked to Affirm Or Deny Zinoviev Attack

Determined to obtain the facts concerning press reports of the remarks made by Stalin, Soviet leader, at the meeting of the Russian Communist executive, in which Zinoviev was reported to have been vigorously denounced, THE NEW LEADER has sent the following cable to Stalin: "Stalin, Moscow: Please affirm or deny authenticity of severe criticism of Zinoviev attributed to you in American press reports of the proceedings of the Russian Communist Party Central Committee."

"THE NEW LEADER."

Will "The Daily Worker" get from Stalin his own statement that the words ascribed to him are not his but the falsification of another? No other proof is valid, and if the report is a forgery, Stalin certainly will not hesitate to denounce it.

Should "The Daily Worker" obtain such a denial, we will offer them our thanks and print the denial in as conspicuous a position as we printed the speech. Until then all persons interested in the truth have the right to take this speech, which has gone the rounds of the world without a word of protest from its author, at its face value.

## TEXAS SOCIALISTS ENTER RACE

(Continued from page 1)

chairman of the State Executive Committee. Others on the committee are H. D. Winniford, secretary; P. H. Anderson, W. D. Allen and B. H. Williams, all of Dallas. D. W. King presided as chairman of the convention. He announced that arrangements for public distribution of the statement of political principles of the Socialist Party, embodying the State platform, have been made. He also said that a vigorous campaign will be waged in the general election, with probably the assistance for speakers from the national headquarters of the party in Chicago.

### To Open Headquarters

Temporary headquarters for the State campaign will be established at 502 North Texas Building. The main planks of the State platform are: (1) Repeal of the open port law; (2) Abolition of abuse of injunctions; (3) Repeal of poll tax requirement for voting; (4) Abolition of the fee system and payment of salaries for public officers; (5) Taxation of land values as distinct from improvements, so as to reach the unearned increment; (6) Establishment of system of voting by machines that will record and count votes automatically; (7) Establishment of State insurance, fire, life, accident and casualty.

## WOMEN'S UNION LEAGUE OFFERS FOUR COURSES FOR FEMALE WORKERS

The Women's Trade Union League of New York has announced a series of evening classes for working women to be given at the League Clubhouse, 247 Lexington Avenue, beginning October 4. This will be the fifth year of educational work arranged by the League.

The classes offered this winter are: Economics, under Dr. Dorothy Sells, to be given at 7:30 on Monday evenings; English, under Mary R. Griffiths, at 6:45 on Thursday evenings; Social History, under Lucille Kohn, at 7:30 on Wednesday evenings; Reading and Interpretation of Plays of Social Import, under Ellen Kennan, at 8:20 on Tuesday evenings.

The project method of teaching will be used this winter with the aim of helping the women who take the courses to find answers to questions of economics, history, science and problems which affect their daily lives. The course in economics will be a practical one, beginning with the study of how men and women earn their living, the problems they meet in the daily struggle and some proposed solutions for these problems. The changes in living and working conditions through various periods of history and their effect on men and women as workers and as human beings. The course in social history will include the study, analysis and interpretation of United States history, with special emphasis on the development of the labor movement.

Registration for classes should be made at 247 Lexington Avenue on October 4, 5, 6 and 7 between 6:30 and 8:30 p. m.

## TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

He does commit himself to an independent system not unified with the old lines. Apparently they are too dirty for the riders in his new clean subway to approach. Mr. Walker had a chance to make those subways cleaner by using the occasion of the I. R. T. strike to assert the power and influence of the city. He might even have taken a step toward recapturing the existing lines for the city. He did not take it. Yet on no other basis can Mr. Walker or any other political wizard solve the subway problem.

A short paragraph in the newspaper tells us that the union formed by the defeated subway strikers has been taken in by the Amalgamated Railway Workers on terms which mean that the subway men will not be split up into different locals according to departments. This business of splitting up the men, it will be remembered, was the great stumbling block during the strike. It is a good thing that this difficulty has been straightened out. For the present, it looks a little like locking the barn door after the horse is stolen. But other days are coming, and with them other opportunities to organize the workers.

There is little doubt that Germany's belated reception into the League of Nations is at once evidence of better feeling in Europe and some additional guarantee of its maintenance. The fact that Germany has a treaty with Russia would seem to be a make-weight against aggressive anti-Russian intrigue by the Powers in the League. Disappointing as is the League in many ways, on the whole its continued existence makes for peace rather than war. It is Mussolini and the dictators who hate it worst. The League showed considerable decency in refusing to be coerced by Spain and Brazil. Both those nations are likely to decide before long that, after all, they will not take their guns and other toys and go and play by themselves.

One may wish well to the League without thinking that the United States ought to join it on the spot. I still have my doubts whether the government of Calvin Coolidge would strengthen the real growth of internationalism within the League. It might, on the other hand, tend to revive certain imperialistic aspirations and to strengthen any feeling that may exist of uncompromising hostility to Russia.

Speaking of imperialism, all of us must be on our guard for events in China. England's troubles in Canton and elsewhere are none of our business. Simply from the standpoint of enlightened self interest we shall be awful fools if, by backing Great Britain in a so-called "strong" policy toward China, we pull her chestnuts out of the fire.

For one man to do good to another is good for both. For one man to do ill to another is bad for both.—Indian Proverb.

## ITALIANS IN N. Y. UNIONIZING

Spaghetti and Pastry  
Workers Among the  
Classes to Be Organized

THE Italian Chamber of Labor, a central body representing nearly 75,000 Italian organized workers, affiliated through their respective unions with the American Federation of Labor, has launched a general organization campaign to unionize between 35,000 and 40,000 workers of different industries.

General Organizer Leonardo Frisina, who is in charge of this campaign, stated at the headquarters of the chamber that besides the Subway Construction Workers' Union, which has been organized by the Italian Chamber of Labor recently, the piano makers, the cabinet makers of the furniture industry and the bushmen of the department and retail stores are conducting an extensive organization campaign to bring about a complete unionization of these industries.

He also stated that the hat block and die makers have already formed a 100 percent organization under the auspices of the Italian Chamber of Labor. This is only a small industry, probably one of the smallest in the city, comprising only six shops, employing between 125 and 150 men. Since the first meeting, a few weeks ago, every man working in these shops has now a union book, and preparations are being made by the newly elected officers and the executive board of the union to present their demands to the manufacturers.

The Italian pastry and ice cream workers are also trying to bring about union conditions in the industry and to establish the union label on all Italian pastry and the famous Italian spumoni.

The piano makers and the furniture workers, who were once organized, are also engaged in a big organization drive under the auspices of the Italian Chamber of Labor. The past experience of these workers has counseled them to work together, although affiliated under two different internationals, because of the fact that a piano maker is also a cabinet maker as well. These two organizations have come to the understanding that they must work together and fight together in order to bring about the unionization of these industries.

A move is being made to organize the spaghetti and macaroni workers in Greater New York. There are between 2,000 and 3,000 of these workers, nearly all Italians, working long hours and receiving poor wages. The Italian Chamber of Labor has taken a keen interest in these men.

The Italian Chamber of Labor will hold its annual convention at the People's House, 7 East 15th Street, on Saturday, Sunday and Monday, November 6th, 7th and 8th, 1926. Prominent labor leaders will address this gathering.

## BRITISH RELIEF FUND REACHES OVER \$25,000

WASHINGTON.—More than \$40,000 of trade unionists' contributions to the British miners' strike relief fund have been forwarded to London by Secretary Morrison of the American Federation of Labor. He will make a detailed report of the fund to the convention, which opens October 4 in Detroit. Meanwhile the sums pledged recently in various regions visited by members of the British miners' delegation continue to reach his office.

Morrison estimates that about \$125,000 has been sent to the British strikers from all trade union sources in America. The United Mine Workers and certain other organizations and the Women's Committee have sent their remittances direct to England.

## FALL OPENING The Bronx Free Fellowship

1201 Boston Road, near 160th Street  
Sunday, Sept. 19, 1926  
8 P. M.  
LEON ROSSER LAND  
"Education vs. Chaos"  
Solos, Genevieve Kaufman  
9 P. M. Sharp  
OPEN FORUM  
JOHN HERMAN RANDALL  
"Signs of the Times"  
Admission Free

## American Labor Party

MEETS EVERY  
THURSDAY NIGHT  
at 336 East 15th St., New York City  
At 8:30 p. m. sharp, we will conduct a study class and lecture on the  
WORKS OF KARL MARX  
HARRY WATON  
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Come and bring your friends

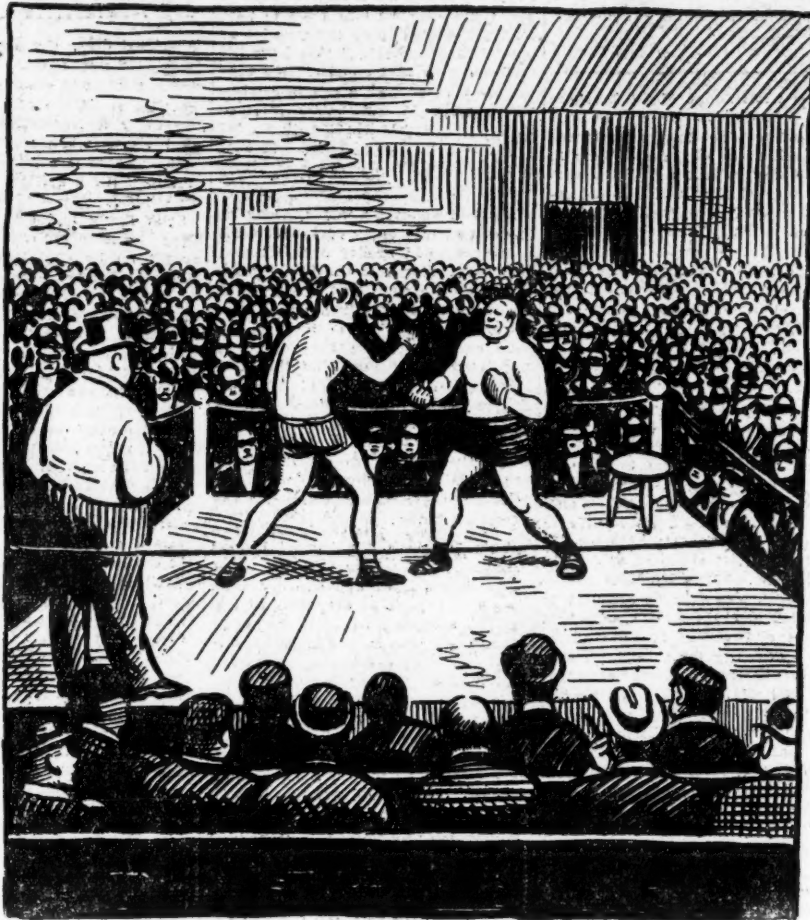
## LABOR TEMPLE SCHOOL

SYMPOSIUM: "The Interpretation of Life." SEPT. 19, 8:15 P. M.  
VILHJALMUR STEFANSSON: "The Scientific Interpretation"  
JOHN COWPER POWYS: "The Artistic Interpretation"  
WILL DURANT: "The Philosophical Interpretation"  
ADMISSION 75c.

FALL TERM SCHEDULE  
Course, Subject, Teacher, Dates, Fee Adm.  
1. English Language and Accent..... Beatrice Becker..... We. Oct. 11-Dec. 13 \$12.00 50c  
2. Correction of English Speech..... Beatrice Becker..... We. Oct. 13-Dec. 15 2.00 40c  
3. The Appreciation of Music..... Alfred A. Kugel..... Th. Oct. 14-Dec. 16 2.00 50c  
4. English Composition..... Bern'd Grebanier..... Th. Oct. 14-Nov. 11 1.50 50c  
5. Studies in American Literature..... John C. Powys..... Th. Dec. 16-Dec. 20 1.50 40c  
6. The Human Body..... Dr. A. Stone..... Fr. Nov. 19-Dec. 17 1.00 30c  
7. Contemporary Amer. Literature..... Will Durant..... Sa. Sep. 26-Jun. 24 8.00 25c  
8. Contemporary Psychology..... Will Durant..... We. Sep. 22-Jun. 22 8.00 25c



# How Capitalism Values Its Citizens



Jack Dempsey Gets \$450,000 for a Single Fight



The Whole Family of an American Worker Will Fight All Their Lives for a Poor Living

## LENROOT DEFEAT WORRIES CAL

### Coolidge Fears Chances of His Renomination Are Becoming Slim

WASHINGTON.—Defeat of Senator Lenroot in the Republican primary in Wisconsin at the hands of Gov. Blaine and the LaFollette organization is recognized in Washington as a serious injury to President Coolidge.

In this year's Republican primaries the Coolidge Senators who have been retired by the voters are: McKinley in Illinois, Pepper in Pennsylvania, Stanford in Oregon, Cummins in Iowa and Lenroot in Wisconsin. Corporation candidates named in Pennsylvania and Illinois will be challenged as to their right to seats in the Senate if they are declared elected. Coolidge Senators renominated but likely to be beaten in November are: Williams in Missouri, Harrell in Oklahoma, Ernst in Kentucky, Oddie in Nevada, Cameron in Arizona and Butler in Massachusetts. From any viewpoint the situation was difficult enough for the Coolidge organization before the LaFollette Progressives put an end to the tortuous political career of Lenroot. Now it is hopeless. The enemies of the administration will control the Senate after next March.

Look at the Senatorial map. Nebraska leads with the two foremost Progressive Senators—Norris and Howell. North Dakota will have two—Frazier and Nye. Wisconsin will have two—LaFollette, Jr., and Blaine. Iowa will have Brookhart, a Progressive, and Steck, a corporation Democrat who will follow the Democratic leaders. Minnesota will have Shipstead, a Farmer-Labor man. South Dakota will keep Norbeck and McMaster, who waver between the Norris and the Coolidge camps. Hayden, a Democrat, will probably replace Cameron, a Coolidge man, from Arizona, and Barkley, a Progressive Democrat, will replace Ernst, reactionary Republican, from Kentucky.

These inroads upon the regular G. O. P. organization headed by Senator Butler of Massachusetts will have a definite effect upon the Republican convention in 1928 because they involve the loss of control of Congress in March, 1927. The Senate, at least, will be in the hands of the combination of Democrats and Progressives. They will not only block the plans of Coolidge as to legislation, but they will prevent his misuse of the power of appointing federal officials—unless the reactionary Democrats make a deal with Coolidge as to a division of the spoils of office. Norris will be chairman of the powerful Judiciary Committee of the Senate, beginning this November, and he will begin to discourage the hopes of men like Lenroot to secure lame-duck appointments to the federal bench, for it has been assumed since this Wisconsin battle started that Coolidge would give Lenroot the chance to take a lifelong revenge from the federal bench on the labor organizations that have helped to defeat him on his record.

Anti-administration politicians in the Democratic and Progressive groups think that when Coolidge has lost the power of handing out federal jobs to standpatters—through the veto the Senate majority holds on appointments—his ambition to run again in 1928 will begin to wither. They are encouraged in this belief by his reappointment of Glassite to the Tariff Commission.

## 300 Children Troop Home From Labor Union Camps

THE two children's camps conducted by Pioneer Youth of America for workers' children of New York City, Philadelphia and vicinity have closed after an unusually good season. Three hundred children of trade unionists were accommodated. Eighteen were children of textile and garment strikers, who were taken care of without charge.

Both camps, one at Pawling, New York, and the other at Media, Pennsylvania, were situated on wooded hill-sides. The brooks, the woods, the farm, offered the children innumerable opportunities for close contact with nature. Hardened by life in the woods—tramping, hiking, sleeping in tents—they were ready to enjoy health-giving activities and athletic games of all kinds. Neither was the cultural side neglected. Music, dramatics, arts and crafts, folk-dancing, nature study, discussions and literary readings formed a vital part of the program. The reality of farm work fascinated a good many of the children, and the evening campfire, bringing everyone together in song and story, was a fitting close for each day.

The children were encouraged to develop their creative capacities, to grow in health and to learn to work and live together in a community. As a result of expert guidance, life in the open with healthful and interesting play activities, good food and care, many children who came to the camps under weight and with physical defects, returned stronger in body, freer

in mind and more ready to understand the social life about them. The gain in health was especially apparent among some of the children of the Passaic strikers.

On the staff in both camps were trained physicians, dietitians, camp mothers and counselors, expert in their various fields, all chosen because of their active interest in the Labor Movement. Five are members of the American Federation of Teachers. Other unions represented on the staff are the Actors' Equity Association, the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union, the United Mine Workers of America and the International Ladies' Garment Workers.

B. W. Barkas, of the Philadelphia Labor College, was the director of the Philadelphia Camp, and Joshua Lieberman of Pioneer Youth of America, was in charge of the camp at Pawling, New York.

The chairman of the National Camp Committee was Fannie M. Cohn of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and among the other members are Frank Burch, secretary of the Central Labor Union of Philadelphia; Thomas Drew of the International Printing Pressmen's Union, George Creech of the United Textile Workers of America, A. J. Muste of Brookwood Labor College, Dr. Henry R. Linville of the American Federation of Teachers, Norman Thomas of the League for Industrial Democracy and LeRoy E. Bowman, professor in Columbia University, and an active member of the New York Teachers' Union.

## PASSAIC LABOR ILL. LABOR GETS PARADES SMITH ISSUE

(Continued from page 1)

talk, boiled down to its essentials, follows:

1. We must reverse the old policies.
2. Weisbord had to be eliminated.
3. Take the advice of the U. T. W.
4. This is a fight for union recognition and not wages and hours.
5. You may have to work with scabs when you return.
6. The police and employers are not monsters, are they? (Some voices in front: They are!) If you think they are, you must take the consequences.
7. Do not use violence any more. (Some voices in the rear: We never did.)
8. Take the advice of the U. T. W.

Edward McGraw, organizer of the A. F. of L., and personal representative of President William Green, acted as chairman. The speakers were Charles Walsh, secretary of the Passaic Trades and Labor Council; Louis Budenz, editor of Labor Age; Miss Helen Todd of the mediation committee of the strikers; Mrs. G. W. B. Cushing of the Consumers League of New Jersey; William R. Vaneeck, chairman of the Associated Societies of Passaic and Vicinity; Alfred Wagnenknecht, chairman of the Strikers' Relief Committee; Gustav Deak, successor to Albert Weisbord; A. J. Muste, chairman of the faculty, Brookwood Labor College, and finally, McMahon himself. All the speakers stressed the new relationship of the textile strikers with the American Federation of Labor and were optimistic about the ultimate benefit of the connection. It is interesting to note that Gustav Deak read his address and that Weisbord's name was cheered when it was mentioned.

The meeting dispersed amid the cheers and songs of the strikers.

(Continued from page 1)

factory. In the building industry our brothers have had another fairly satisfactory year. Union labor has demonstrated its desire for a minimum of strife and a maximum of labor peace. Illinois has less labor trouble than any important industrial state.

"Prospects for the future are not so bright. I look for a decline in industrial activity which will become apparent soon after the Congressional elections."

Walker publishes considerable material regarding Senator Caraway's speech of June 26, in which the Arkansas Senator said: "I want to know how much money was given to John Walker and Frank Farrington, labor men who are said to have handled the labor vote in Illinois" (in the Senatorial primary). He repeats his own denials and tells of his vain efforts to appear before the Senatorial slush committee in Chicago.

## Ohio Socialist Platform Favors Public Ownership

DAYTON, O.—Public ownership of all natural resources in Ohio, particularly coal, is a leading plank in the platform of Joseph Sharts, Socialist candidate for governor.

"If elected governor," he says, "I would urge in the absence of such action by the federal government that the state take over our coal resources under its right of eminent domain."

## INTERNATIONAL ACTS ON LEAGUE

(Continued from page 1)

It draws attention to its former resolutions and acknowledged the service that the Socialists representing their countries in Geneva have been able to do for the drawing together of the nations according to the principles of the International.

"Each party should lay down the conditions under which any of its members may hold a mandate in the League of Nations. Close contact always is to be maintained between the delegate and his party. The Socialist and Labor International is to investigate regularly the problems occupying the League of Nations and supply the individual parties with the necessary fundamental facts. A commission is to be named to study the question of the democratization of the League of Nations and report to the next Congress of the International."

Consequently, if the majority of the French Socialists think Paul-Boncour's procedure at Geneva is in violation of the party's principles, they may vote to make him quit his League post or leave the party without any interference by the Executive Committee of the International. Of course, it is evident that the Zurich Secretariat will keep in close touch with the national organizations on the League question and will do its best to promote harmony without sacrificing Socialist principles.

The next Congress of the Socialist and Labor International will be held in London in 1928, instead of 1927, as the Executive Committee accepted a suggestion to that effect by the British Labor Party, which feared that the effects of the miners' strike would be still so much in evidence next year as to make it difficult for the British Socialists to welcome the Congress in the way they wish to. That the affiliated national Socialist parties will approve the Executive's action is taken as a matter of course.

In treating the question of the eight-hour working day, the Executive Committee praised the Belgian Socialists for having forced complete ratification of the Washington Convention through their Parliament in July and condemned the governments of Great Britain, France and Germany for hanging back with their ratifications. The British Tories were especially scored for their attempt to extend the miner's working day from seven to eight hours and Mussolini's decree adding an hour to the workday in Italy, bringing it up to nine, was denounced. A resolution adopted unanimously urged the Socialist parties to keep up the fight for the eight-hour day and to try to have it applied to colonial and mandated territories. The Socialists were asked to join with the International Federation of Trade Unions in celebrating the twenty-fifth birthday of the labor international on Sept. 19. This occasion is also to be used to agitate for the eight-hour day.

Reports from Italy and Hungary were made to the Executive Committee, but the details of these communications were not given out, for reasons apparent to everyone familiar with conditions in those dictatorial countries. Upon a motion by Arthur Crispian of Germany, the Executive Committee sent a message of cheer to George Kutechin, the Russian Socialist leader serving a ten-year sentence at solitary confinement in Saratov. It was directed in care of the Russian Political Police Bureau. Kutechin was recently reported to be on a hunger strike for some slight

## New Leader Forwards \$51 Sent In to Assist British Mine Strikers

The New Leader acknowledges the receipt of the following contributions for the Relief Fund of the British Miners:

Officers of the Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society of New York, \$41.00.  
Harry E. Berger, Belleville, N. J., \$5.00.  
Horace J. Williams, Niagara Falls, N. Y., \$5.00.  
Total, \$51.00.

The funds have been forwarded to the British Miners.

ameliorations of the severe regime to which he was subjected.

The Executive Committee decided to call a meeting of representatives of the organized movement of proletarian women in Brussels in December to consider a draft for the permanent organization of an International Socialist Women's Committee.

In a resolution adopted by the subcommittee of the Executive Committee working on a report on the most practical way to bring about disarmament, to be submitted to the next meeting of the Executive, it was pointed out that the methods being followed by the League of Nations' Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference were calculated to delay rather than to advance progress toward world peace. Instead of taking up some concrete propositions for reductions of armaments by the different nations, the League of Nations' body insists upon discussing the whole range of world-wide disarmament, and consequently gets nowhere. The accuracy of the Socialist diagnosis was confirmed on Sept. 9 by a Geneva dispatch saying that the various preparatory subcommittees of the League would not be able to report to the present session of the Assembly and would only be ready to report to the full commission next spring.

The Zurich meeting was attended by members of the Executive Committee from twenty parties in nearly every European country.

## BELSKY NEW SECRETARY OF BUTCHERS' UNION

Joseph Belsky, for a number of years actively associated with the Naturalization Aid League, has become the secretary-treasurer of the Hebrew Butchers' Union, Local 234, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workers of North America.

S. Jacoby, who has occupied the office for eleven years, resigned several weeks ago, due to failing health.

## NEW BUILDING FOR CARPENTERS IN CAPITAL

WASHINGTON.—Local 132, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, laid the cornerstone of its new eight-story building in the capital on Sept. 11. The structure, located one block west of the headquarters building of the American Federation of Labor, will cost \$350,000 and will be completed next spring.

Wm. L. Hutcheson, general president of the carpenters, and President Green and Secretary Morrison of the A. F. of L. were among the speakers at the ceremony. Officers of all national and international unions in the east were invited to be present.

## PORTERS' REFERENDUM IS NEAR COMPLETION

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

"One month after the institution of a nation-wide referendum among Pullman porters and maids by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, we are in a position definitely to state that most of the 12,000 porters and maids have signified their desire to have the Brotherhood represent them in their demand for a living wage, shorter hours and better treatment. Among the thousands who have already balloted are some who, while

not yet members of the Brotherhood, are, nevertheless, in complete agreement with its aims and demands, as shown by the replies they make to the questions asked in the referendum. Returns are still coming in from all sections of the country. We expect that within the next three weeks every man and woman in the service will have voted, after which the Brotherhood will institute action calculated to bring to a head the now year-old fight of the porters and maids for relief from the deplorable conditions under which they have been working."

The greatest captain is he who conquers with the fewest men, and the greatest orator is he who convinces with the fewest words. —Walter Savage Landor.

## BEWARE OF CLOGGED BOWELS

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

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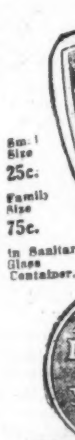
More than half your teeth are under the gums. Here lodge bits of food and the solid substances from tooth paste and powders. Here pus and pyorrhea develop.

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S. HERZOG Patent Attorney, Evenings and Sundays, 1435 Glover Street, Bronx. Take Lexington Ave. Subway, Pelham Bay Extension, to Zerega Ave. Station



## Democracy

## Europe's Crisis

By Norman Thomas

A little less than a hundred pages Dr. Bonn manages to give a singularly lucid and objective statement of what has been happening in Europe to the democracy for which Woodrow Wilson was going to have us make the world safe, no matter how many people we killed in the process. ("The Crisis of European Democracy." By Dr. Moritz Julius Bonn. Yale University Press.) It is a gloomy though not a hopeless picture which Dr. Bonn draws. What gives value to his book is his analysis of the reasons for this situation. He sees in democracy a process of government by conference, a method which, of course, has weaknesses, but is certainly to be preferred to the theory of practice and violence which was incarnated in various dictatorships of the past.

## Praise For Reich's Workers

Dr. Bonn in developing his theme pays a tribute to the German working class as the savior of democracy in that country. In the light of German experience he examines some of the problems of racial minorities. He remarks: "The Germans forcing the Czechs to learn German before the war may have been quite as wrong as the Czechs are now when they are compelling the Germans to use their mother-tongue, but there is one difference. The former forced the latter to become partners, unwilling partners, indeed, in one of the civilizations accepted as great by the entire world; the latter are cutting them off from the world at large and are forcing them to participate in a cultural system which has little chance of ever being anything but local." Some of our enthusiastic friends of small nationalities may not like this observation, but it is none the less true.

In like manner, certain Guild Socialists may not like Dr. Bonn's realistic comments on vocational Parliament. And some other Socialists may quarrel with him for dwelling on the degree to which employers and wage workers in Germany have discovered a community of interests at the expense of the consumer. I think, possibly, he exaggerates this latter point, and I am quite sure that his book suffers from his failure adequately to consider the impossibility of establishing genuine democracy while preserving the profit system.

OCEAN-GOING MECHANICS  
WANT WAGE RAISES

Twenty big steamship lines have been served with a written demand by the Ocean Association of Marine Engineers for wage raises bringing engineers' pay to shipping board standards. This would mean increases of \$10 to \$25 a month. Wages have stood still since the cuts that followed the last strike of 1921.

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The editor of the radical health magazine, *Rational Living*, Dr. B. Liber, has just returned from abroad and will resume the publication of the journal within a short time. Details about its suspension and its future plans will be found in the first issue. Old subscribers are requested to notify us at once in case of a change of address. The editor or manager may be seen by appointment only. Address: 738 Riverside Drive, New York. (Corner West 156th Street, subway station Broadway Ave. 157th Street.) Telephone Wadsworth 6929. Mail address: Box 2, P. O. Station M, New York.

Sample copies will be sent free to new readers upon request when ready.

## Mencken Explores the Sewers

By James Oneal

SOCIALISTS who have observed Mr. H. L. Mencken smashing bourgeois idols and American folkways knew that their turn would come. It arrived on August 8 when, in the N. Y. World of that date, he devoted his column to Socialists and Socialism. The writer of this got a "kick" out of his stabs and enjoyed it as much as he has the Mencken swats at Rotary and other American idols.

Before considering his column of smashes let us concede his merit. Mencken must be credited with being the first of his tribe to make us laugh at the stupidities of the droll numskulls who have been marketing "American civilization." He has been saying what many believe, but who have never had the courage to say it. Time after time he has marched into the temple of the bourgeois gods and left the floor strewn with rubbish.

Mencken is a destroyer of the folkways that screen and protect a ruling class, the most vulgar in the history of civilization. Whether this is his intention I do not know, but that this destruction is the effect of his work is certain. The customs, habits, superstitions and prejudices bound up with the present social order form a powerful barrier against human progress. For many people it is almost impossible to reason about these things, but when an increasing number begin to laugh at them there is hope. Mencken makes us laugh and the folkways wither when they encounter humor.

Stirring the "Yokels"

The custodians of the folkways are the pompous generals, illiterate politicians, servile editors, drooling pastors of the business code, and that large variety of realtors and professionals that Mencken embraces in "Rotary." The folkways are pocketed most securely in our vast rural areas. Here evolution is impious, Bryan is a saint, a cool glass of beer is the Devil's bribe, thinking is a misdemeanor, and Calvin Coolidge is a statesman. Marx had all this in mind when he referred to "the idiocy of rural life."

Has Mencken accomplished anything in disturbing the folkways? I think so. One has only to turn to such magazines

## "The Civilized Minority" as a Force for Social Progress

as The Century, The Forum and Harpers since the appearance of the American Mercury to note the more serious and intelligent contributions they contain. The big success of the American Mercury has undoubtedly contributed to the improved character of these magazines.

Moreover, there is reason for believing that the ashine doings of the Babbitts are being affected by the literary bricks that have been hurled at them. Duncan Aikman in the September Harpers has an interesting article on the current trend among the Babbitts. His study of the type and the literature of "Rotary" and similar organizations show that Babbitt is becoming conscious of the fact that he is being laughed at for his fooleries. He is half-ashamed of himself, often admits that he has been an insufferable ass and secretly confesses to a knowledge of Mencken and the American Mercury.

This is some achievement and to the extent that Mencken contributes to the process of civilizing these little barbarian leaders of American capitalism he is doing a useful service.

His Vulnerable Spot.

But there is danger in his method. Mencken is never careful of his facts and when he turns to the Socialists he is vulnerable. Not that we are immune from criticism. We have always been critical of ourselves and every Socialist can recall some incident or some program adopted by some section of the movement that has contributed to our collection of curios. Mencken is not acquainted with this lore or he would be able to hurl a few bricks our way that would be effective.

This is demonstrated by what he considers a forceful indictment of us in his contribution to The World on August 8. This has reference to Socialists and the war. "Practically all the more eminent Socialists of the United States took to the sewers in 1917," he writes, and adds that Debs

is an exception. Now Mencken cannot alter history and his statement does not accord with the facts. The "eminent Socialists" who took the course he mentions can be counted on the fingers of two hands.

What is still more important, the few who left us had a free hand in the attempt to displace us by another organization. They were not molested in this. They were even encouraged to the extent that they were given publicity in the press. They organized the Social Democratic League and it never recruited over a hundred or two hundred members. Then followed the National Party and it did not survive long enough to nominate candidates in a single election.

Moreover, the press of that period never ceased to charge us with the impious crime of adopting the St. Louis resolution. We never recalled it. To assert that the "more eminent Socialists" of this country "took to the sewers" simply does not square with the facts. We came into conflict with folkways which, in the hands of Woodrow Wilson and his intellectual conscripts, became barbarian malice, but we did not take to the sewers.

What happened to that "civilized minority" for whom Mr. Mencken so often speaks? It is a vague phrase and it has not been defined in all its aspects by Mr. Mencken, but if it means anything at all it must include those who are emancipated from the folkways, those who at least understand the trade of the Wilsons, Lodges, Burlesons and Hardings. Practically all of them were taken in as easily as Just Peters sold Brazilian diamonds to refugees in the West.

I recall here the most conspicuous one of our "civilized minority," Clarence Darrow. He has contributed some remarkable articles to the American Mercury and for a generation was the most conspicuous anti-war man in the United States. Clarence Darrow has

a profound knowledge of the influence of the folkways in history and on human conduct, and yet he was taken in by the hawkers of imperial plety in 1917. Darrow became a militant warrior. We stood alone and I do not recall one eminent representative of the "civilized minority" who came to us and subscribed to the St. Louis declaration. Those of this type who did not serve Wilson as altar boys "took to the sewers in 1917." To quote Mr. Mencken, they were "put to the test—and promptly blew up."

If in his eagerness to smash prejudices Mr. Mencken occasionally ignores history, he sometimes sins on another score. We do not want him to waste any bricks and we are willing to hand some to him from time to time to throw at the windows. Occasionally he throws rubber bags that return only to hit him. In short, he resorts to something like the trick known to Babbitt's greatest exponent of culture, Billy Sunday. When Mencken speaks of Socialists who "always succumb to some other and worse Marx, with long whiskers and dirtier fingernails," he substitutes a bag for a brick. I suspect that Darwin's beard compared fairly well with Marx's and from the fact that Darwin experimented for twenty years with earthworms I imagine that his fingernails accumulated more dirt than Marx's did. We think it better to leave the dirt and the fingernails to Billy Sunday and rely on good, solid bricks which crash through a prejudice or a taboo.

Mencken's Shortcomings

However, that is a matter of taste, but we feel that we owe a duty to Mr. Mencken to warn him not to adopt a vice that belongs to the Babbitts and to Babbitts alone.

Meantime, we share the fun that Mr. Mencken is having with the intellectual infants of the interior. To the extent that he destroys the defense mechanisms of modern capitalism we rejoice.

But this is not sufficient. It is also necessary to build, and on this phase of social evolution we may have to part company, especially on the question of the "civilized minority." We have little hope from that quarter. We cannot conceive of such a minority without a stake in some class interest. Such a minority without such an interest is a pure abstraction. It does not exist outside the realm of phantasy.

However cultured a minority may be, it cannot avoid being partial to some special class in society and, believing that social change comes from the aspirations of a class that is the victim of economic exploitation, social subjection and political domination, we take our stand with the underlying population of workers. Do they also have prejudices and taboos? They do, and to the extent that Mencken helps to remove them he serves. But instead of relying on an intellectual caste to rule society after the prejudices and taboos go to the junk heap we would have this lower class rise to power and assert its claims.

This has been the law of history whether we like it or not. An upper class comes down and a lower class goes up. Instead of the "civilized minority" assuming dominion its ranks always split, one section going over to the lower class, one to the upper class, and a third "taking to the sewers." It is not an independent and self-sufficient force capable of directing events in a period of social change. What cohesion it may have before this change is destroyed by the conflict of classes when the change is being effected.

And here we come to one of Mr. Mencken's prejudices. He believes that Socialists suffer from an "overwhelming compulsion to believe what is not true." Perhaps. History alone can give the final answer, but when he subscribes to the "civilized minority" as an enduring social force he has an "overwhelming compulsion to believe" what is in conflict with all history. It is a prejudice which he will have to abandon. It has no more justification in reality than many of the quackeries of Rotary.

## Social Decay in Fiction

Gloria Goddard, in a Remarkable First Novel, Depicts the Struggle and Wreckage of the Current American Scene—Condemnation Without Propaganda

By Clement Wood

THE most distinguished first novel that we have ever encountered is "Backyard," by Gloria Goddard (N. Y.: Robert M. McBride & Co., \$2.00). Readers of The New Leader are familiar with her scintillating book reviews which have appeared in its pages, and with her occasional poems; as poet, she is represented in Brathwaite's 1928 Anthology of Magazine Verse with three of the most enduring of the poems in the volume. But "Backyard" establishes that her first immediate major ranking has been earned as an epic fictional chronicler of the American scene.

The novel is masterly, both in theme and treatment. Its theme is the growth and decay of social classes in America. The scene is the Martin Alley, topped by the hillside Martin mansion; with three decaying middle-class houses on one side, and twelve slum hovels on the other. The novel tells how Ed Martin, trekking westward after gold, had been forced to stop here in mid-America by his wife's illness; how his house had grown to be a mansion, and his corn field to be the microcosm of a narrow alley parting bourgeois and proletarian. His son, a land speculator, had given place to a dilettante grandson.

Among the proletariat is an impoverished widow named North; her son, Ollie, becomes the Martin chauffeur, and elopes with the spoiled petulant Martin girl. Cut off from the Martin money for this, the inept couple return to live beside Polish families in the slum hovels of Martin Alley. Meanwhile, an impetuous Irish contractor, Connell, has pushed up from the hovels to secure the job of demolishing the Martin mansion, and ends in a fair way to being wealthier than the Martins ever were. The aristocratic family in the lowest of the three bourgeois houses has perished down to lisons with a washwoman's daughter across the alley, to selling its household chattels in the antique man, and in the end to wealthless extinction.

Depicts a Human Anthill

Yet it is almost unfair to the story to call this its theme; for Gloria Goddard writes with the aloof detachment of a Beebe, studying, instead of tropical and oceanic fauna and flora, the doings of a human anthill. She is interested in the whole human revue: as much in the cheap landlady with her house of a husband and the immobile bourgeois spinster in the middle house, or the stolid Polish children, as in the more significant social aspects of the Martin-Connell groups. Beebe writes exquisitely at times; but Miss Goddard writes exquisitely at all times.

So much for this untroubled yet omnipresent theme. The treatment is even more amazing. The method of "Backyard" has definitely enlarged the craft of fiction, by furnishing it with a new tool. The novel is purely objective, a panorama of the ten

backyards considered. We never enter the front yards, the houses, the introspective universes of the characters. It is the epic of America, told almost from the alterations of the burdened clothes-line in the backyards: the sort of thing that only a woman could have seen and done. A novel like "The Death of a Nobody," by Jules Romains, that study of mass thinking, created its own method, and earned enduring place thereby in the development of fiction; "Backyard" does as much.

It is almost unbelievable that no considerable novelist, in any method, has preceded Miss Goddard in this theme. We have splendid books, like "The Rise of David Levinsky," which show the ugly flower wealth arrogantly springing out of the mire of the slums; but we have never had the balise of poverty crescent to wealth, as aristocracy depresses to the gutter, as far as I can recall. Measured beside the slim half dozen best American novels, "Backyard" loses none of its impressiveness. If the author is less Aeschylean than the author of "Ethan Frome," she is more Olympian, more aloof, more truly scientific in her impassioned creation. There is not the broad sweep of almost melodramatic realism of "McTeague," nor the suave unfolding of Cahan's masterpiece, not the palpitation of introspection of "The Red Badge of Courage"; but the objective woman's backyard viewpoint is quite as invaluable as the best of these. The book establishes the author at first appearance as one of the most significant figures in fiction that America has produced.

The panorama of American life, from the Civil War through the World War, is given here an intensive objective depiction, with the emphasis upon the theme mentioned. There is no condemnation of the social system; a mere statement of the wreckage that it undulatingly creates is condemnation enough. The novel is an exquisite classic in prose; it is a social document of great value; and it is reassurance of a sound substratum in the American people, phibetomized spiritually as they are by adulation of Rudies and Trudies, of sentimentality and Rotary brotherhood, of the long slow poisons of warped thinking and superstition.

The law as it exists is a horrible incubus on civilization; one of the worst expressions of the rotten economic system. By its means the dead hand of the past passes heavily on the living present, and mankind are manacled by fetters forged by their brutal ancestors.—New Zealand "Worker."

That man, as a political animal, is susceptible of a vast amount of improvement by education, by instruction, and by the application of his intelligence to the adaptation of the conditions of life to his higher needs. I entertain not the slightest doubt.—T. H. Muxley.

A CARTOONAL REVIEW  
OF THE  
SPOKESMAN'S  
SECRETARY

by UPTON SINCLAIR

MAMIE MORON  
RIGGS  
CULTIVATES  
THE  
DIGNIFIED  
MR. EDGERTON  
OVER HER MANICURE TABLE  
AND DISCOVERS TO HER  
PROLETARIAN HORROR—

THAT HE IS SHIRT STUFFER  
EXTRAORDINARY TO THE  
STRONG SILENT MAN IN THE  
BIG WHITE MOUSE—

EDGERTON SOON DISCOVERS  
THAT MAMIE'S  
HACKNEYED  
IDEAS ARE  
NAIVE ENOUGH  
TO BE OFFERED  
TO THE PEOPLE  
AS THE SPOKES-  
MAN'S OWN—HE  
DECKS HER OUT  
IN HIS BENEFIT  
REAL DICTATOR OF THE REPUBLIC

BUT—ALAS—HER  
DREAM OF SERVICE  
IS SHATTERED—  
WHEN HE  
DISCLOSES  
AN ULTIMATE  
MOTIVE—

I AM  
DUMB  
BUT FINE  
SAYS MAMIE!

—W.T. Brady—

## WORKERS' SPORTS

The Soccer team division of the Progressive Sport Club defeated the Hagibor Soccer Club last Sunday by a score of 2 to 1. The Progressive Sport Club will celebrate with a dance on Oct. 2 at Clinton Hall, 154 Clinton street. Two silver loving cups will be awarded to the clubs most represented. We have also secured the services of the well-known Colony Club orchestra.

All those wishing to join our organization should come to our next meeting, which will take place on Tuesday evening, Sept. 21, at 204 E. Broadway.

## Cooperation and Politics

The Co-operative Movement in Italy as It Has Been Effected by the Changing Winds of Political Ideas—How It Has Fared Under Fascism

By Cedric Long

IN GIVING a most detailed picture of co-operative production and co-operative agriculture in Italy and in neglecting almost entirely consumers' co-operative and co-operative credit, Mr. Lloyd gives us a unique book (Co-operative Movement in Italy, by E. A. Lloyd: International Publishers, N. Y.; price, \$1.75) on the co-operative movement in one part of Europe. He devotes his chief attention to three types of co-operation: co-operative labor societies, co-operative societies and industrial production, and co-operative agricultural societies.

The co-operative labor societies are probably the most interesting of these three. They are composed of groups of manual workers organized to control their labor power collectively. They take contracts for the building of bridges, railroads, large municipal buildings, laying out of highways, and performance of other huge industrial undertakings. Large numbers of these societies form regional and national federations through which they procure the services of expert technicians and the large amount of capital which is essential for their work. In the early days these societies met many reverses and often were unable to compete with private contractors. However, after several years of experimentation they became well organized and disciplined and did remarkably fine work. Mr. Lloyd not only tells about the work they do, but explains to us in great detail the intricacies of their organization and administrative problems.

Industrial producers' societies are not nearly so numerous and have proved to be less uniformly successful. Here not only the labor power is organized co-operatively but also the ownership of great manufacturing plants and the marketing of their products in competition with private manufacturers. The most successful of these factories are for the production of wine bottles, tanning of leather, wood carving, printing, spinning of cloth and the manufacture of clothing, mattress making, etc. The chief obstacles in the way of great success for these societies seem to be difficulties in raising large amounts of capital and the failure to compete successfully in the competitive markets of capitalism.

Farm Co-Operation

Co-operative working of agricultural holdings has developed from two directions: The social trade unions and urban co-operative societies first

organized to lease large holdings of agricultural lands so that in periods of unemployment the city workers could find employment in the country. This type of society developed most rapidly in the north of Italy. Meanwhile, in Sicily and other parts of the south the peasants themselves were organizing to free themselves from the exploitation of absentee landlords who owned most of the agricultural lands. It was inevitable that these two types of agricultural co-operation should ultimately clash. After 1908 the agricultural societies of manual laborers incurred the open hostility of the peasants, and within three years strong political parties were aligned in the support of the co-operative groups—the Republican party supporting the peasants and the Socialist party the manual laborers. Rival central federations of co-operatives followed. After the war, a third group of ex-Servicemen's agricultural co-operatives developed to complicate the situation still further. In spite of these serious internal differences, however, the reclamation of waste land by rural co-operatives has been remarkable.

It is the political aspect of co-operation in Italy that is so interesting and instructive for the workers of other countries. The National League of Co-operative Societies was organized in 1887 and kept all of the organizations, whether consumers, producers, or credit, unified until 1920, when the majority, at a national convention, voted to ally itself with the Socialist party. Immediately all of the Catholic societies withdrew to form their own federation. To complicate the matter still further, the ex-Servicemen very soon thereafter also organized their ex-soldiers co-operative federation. And finally, in 1921, the Italian Syndicate of Co-operatives was organized as a central federation under Fascist control, to make the debacle complete.

The Fascist Attack

In the wake of the murder and pillage that raged among the co-operatives, this Fascist federation developed considerable power and the strength of the old National League began to wane, until in 1925 the National League is completely dissolved and only a weak Catholic federation and a still weaker ex-Servicemen's federation are left to dispute the field with the central co-operative organization which is controlled by the government.

Mr. Lloyd gives many very interesting pictures of the dramatic work done by these various types of co-opera-

## Sandburg

## Singer of Prairies

By McAlister Coleman

USK drops sharply down across the corn fields. Against pearl-grays and orange streamers in the west stand the coal mine tipples. Far away a locomotive wails. The wind starts whisperings among the stalks. There is a humming of wires overhead. Of a sudden, it is night on the prairies.

Such lights and shades, such far-flung movements and sounds, are caught up by Carl Sandburg in his "Selected Poems" (Harcourt, Brace & Co. Price \$2). Purple and pearl-gray, sunset shadows and smoke, these he uses most successfully to evoke the strange, half-mystical mood that hangs over mid-continent America. To be sure, there are other colors on his palette, the raw reds of blast furnaces, the seen at night from train windows, the blaze of noons beating down on hideous little main streets, and the morning sun on vine blossoms by kitchen doors.

But for all my sympathy with his revolutionary viewpoint, for all my admiration of the spirit in such poems as "At the Gates of Tomb," "Smoke and Steel," or "The Mayor of Gary," I turn from Sandburg, the flaming propagandist, to the poet who wrote "Prairie," "Laughing Corn," or "Good Night." Plenty of other American poets can damn with gusto the horrors of industrialism. Few can bring a brooding over the wonder and irony and sadness of life in the real America so successfully into print as can Sandburg. The sunset theme runs through all of his best work, softening its sometimes unnecessary coarseness, giving it a compelling wistfulness and haunting beauty.

There are those who profess to find no poetry in Sandburg. They tell you that his slang grates on them, that his choice of subjects is offensively vulgar, that his touch is heavy, and that there is no music in the man. Rebecca West, the English novelist, attempts a refutation of this criticism in her suave but not altogether understanding introduction to this first collection of Sandburg's poems. You'll find the book itself the best answer. Here you have Sandburg at his best and his worst. He isn't the sort of poet you can be a bit neutral about. Either you reject him or, as is the case with this reviewer, make him so much a part of you that, looking through his eyes, the whole American scene shifts for you and you cannot walk out onto an Illinois prairie at night-fall or go along the streets of a mid-West city slashed by evening rain, without recalling some line of Sandburg's that gives color and meaning to the event.

It is impossible here to describe the remarkable children's schools and experiments in workers' education developed by many of these larger organizations. The weakness of this book is in its failure to show the power of the consumers' societies before Mussolini's coming to power and the benefits which the workers derived from them, as well as from their producers' co-operatives. Nor does he give nearly enough attention to the co-operative banks. He does a genuine service in showing the havoc which has been wrought by the injection of political issues into the co-operative movement.

Men are usually more complacent in their social than their individual sins. Individual sins generally lack the sanction of public opinion, and experience proves the happiness derived from them to be both momentary and illusory. The social sins of modern life are, on the other hand, sanctioned by every tradition and retain advantages of power and prestige to the sinner which he believes to be neither illusory nor temporary.—Niebuhr.

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# A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

## Another Letter From the General

NEXT on our list of books to be reviewed is, "Listen Moon," by Leonard Gline, published by the Viking Press. If this is as good as "God Head," Gline's first book, it will be a corker. We never did understand why "God Head" did not go bigger. It had good reviews and was fairly well advertised. There were spots in it that were memorable for sheer beauty of writing. To be sure the central character was none too lovely, he spending most of the book in seducing the wife of the man who saved his life. But nowadays, heroes who live like Galahad are out of fashion and we don't suspect the book passed into comparative and not deserved obscurity for that reason. It remains our humble opinion that as a work of art, "God Head" was an outstanding performance and we hope that Gline has gone and done it again in "Listen Moon."

For one reason or another we didn't get to see "The Big Parade," until last week when pretty nearly everyone in our acquaintance had been to see Stallings' picture and come away raving over it.

Well, it is a stirring affair. There is practically no story worth the mentioning, but the way that the fifth and sprawling squelch of war is put on screen takes you by the throat.

For our part, our private war record is not very glorious. After we got a notice from the late President Wilson telling us that the government would like to have our emergency services, we found ourselves at Camp Humphreys, Virginia, as a private in the engineers, and what a bum private we were to be sure. The uniform that they hurled at us was taken from a dead Italian with the pre-war figure of William Howard Taft and you easily put a pick and shovel between your puttees and ourselves. When we weren't in the kitchen cleaning up about half a million plates or killing flies for the cook, we were running around doing errands for a half-baked Second Lieutenant who could never set eyes on us without hollering, "Snap out of your dops." None of this was particularly colorful or heroic and we often wished that we could get over, just to take one shot at somebody besides flies. But after seeing "The Big Parade," we are just as glad that the Kaiser having heard that we were on our way, called the whole schmeer off.

As we write this, we are reminded of our martial career by the receipt of another letter from R. L. Bullard, L. L. D., D. M. S., Maj. Gen. U. S. A. Rtd., President of the National Security League asking us to join up with his gang. This is the second time the General has written us. Time before this we wrote him an open letter in this column. We suspect that he doesn't get much chance to read, being so busy defending our institutions from the attacks of illiterate foreigners. Now he says, "The League is combating the activities of the radicals who seem to be well supported at all times."

Where do you get that "well-supported" idea, General? We have met a great number of "radicals" in our time but we have yet to meet one who would admit that he or she was "well supported." You must be thinking about that gold that we all get from Moscow every rainy Tuesday. Well if you will keep this a secret between members of the National Security League and the rest of us ex-service men, we will let you in on this. That gold hasn't been coming as regularly as it used to. At recent meetings of radicals hardly a ruble has been in evidence. In fact it looks as though the Muscovites that keep you awake at night had forgotten our addresses. Of course there are other sources for this subversive jack besides Russia. Some of us even earn money by getting up our own associations and asking people to join the same as you do.

But don't you find, General, that joining isn't as brisk as it used to be? There are so many associations for saving the world from this and that, that folks get all confused and finally decide to let the world totter along without sending in five dollars to the National Security League. You write that the League is doing a big job teaching school children all about the Constitution. I hope to Heaven that none of your ballyhoo men ever tell the kids the truth about how that historic document came to be written or the type of plutocrats who saw to it that property rights got all the breaks. It wouldn't be nice at all to have the dear little ones find out that the whole affair was done in the deepest secrecy and that it wasn't until 1837 when Madison's notes were published that any of us ever did learn what went on in that Constitutional Convention.

But of course, I'm not really worried that you fellows will go around blabbing out the truth about American history. I have just read the history that is being boosted by the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor and the American Defence Society and the Allied Marching Clubs of De Russes's Lane and I have no great fear that children who are fed on such a diet will ever go very wild. The thing is a masterpiece of fiction. It was written by a Professor of English and I suspect that when he isn't writing history he gives courses in the art of the short story.

So run along, General, and sell your membership cards. Only you'll have to get along somehow without

Sympathetically yours,  
McAlister Coleman.

## Pioneers

We have borne the burden and heat of the day  
When the boldest flinched and quailed;  
In the clinging dark on the broken way  
We have shown where the pathway failed.  
We have wandered in deserts far and far  
And dared the wastes of sea;  
For we had a dream of a lonely star  
And a wonder yet to be.

Lightly ye go by the way we found;  
Light seems our grandest deed;  
Your limbs are free that our hands unbound  
And the world is plain to read.  
But we, without guide or compass, strode  
In the van of the world's desire.  
Only we knew that the lone star glowed  
Till it filled our hearts with fire.

The days that we shall not live to see,  
The days of the wrongs redressed,  
The days of the hearths and homes made free  
And the spouters shames confessed—  
All these we saw through the dark afar—  
Ere the dawn had touched the height;  
For we followed the gleam of a lonely star  
Till we made the darkness light.

—W. L. in the Sydney "Worker."

They tell you the poet is useless and empty the sound  
Of his lyre;  
That science has made him a phantom, and thinned  
To a shadow his fire;  
Yet reformer has never demolished a dungeon or den  
Of the foe  
But the flame of the soul of a poet pulsated in  
Every blow.

—Bernard O'Dowd.

## Marxists' Replies to the Revisionists

### THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

(Continued From Last Week)  
Barbarett Organizes Conservative Unions

LOCAL trade unions were organized by the dōsh during the next year, followed by the creation of a federation in Paris of numerous syndicates. These, however, were largely swept away by the Franco-Prussian War, the Proclamation of the Republic, and the Commune. In 1871 the work of organization had to begin over again and for some time thereafter the workers avoided centers of syndical activity for fear of arrest.

The work of reestablishing the trade union movement was, curiously enough, finally undertaken by Barbarett, a republican journalist, who looked upon the syndicates as agencies for the elimination of strikes, which he regarded as fatal to the workers and dangerous to the republic.

Barbarett, in this work of reorganization, specified a number of things which, he felt, the trade unions should strive to do. They should organize employment bureaus, create boards of conciliation, establish libraries and courses in technical education, purchase raw materials and instruments of labor and finally, "to crown these various preparatory steps," develop co-operative workshops "which alone would give groups of workmen the normal access to industry and to commerce," and which would in time equalize wealth.

During the following years numerous syndicates were organized. This renewed activity culminated in the organization of the first French Labor Congress in Paris in 1876. This congress included over 400 delegates from syndicates, co-operative and mutual aid societies. The resolutions of this congress were of a mild order. They favored the peaceful solution of industrial questions, pronounced the strike an unsatisfactory weapon, affirmed the efficiency of co-operation as a path leading to working class emancipation, and repudiated the ideas of Socialism.

The Trade Unions Turn Socialist  
The second congress was a repetition of the first. The third, on the other hand, held in Marseilles in 1879, showed a distinctly more militant spirit. It

repudiated the leadership of Barbarett, accepted the title of "Socialist Labor Congress," and favored the collective ownership of the means of production and the formation of a workingmen's social political party.

This change in attitude was attributable to several things: the feeling that the republic was no longer in danger, since the election of President Grevy and the resignation of MacMahon, and that its cause would not be jeopardized by workers who took an advanced position on economic questions; the failure of the co-operative movement to bring about any considerable improvement in working class conditions and the activities of the Socialists. The next logical step was to take the Socialist position.

Jules Guesde Takes Socialist Lead

A group of collectivists, inspired by the ideals of the International, had existed in Paris since 1873. It was only, however, from 1877, when they secured a dynamic leader in the person of Jules Guesde, that they began to develop strength. Guesde was one of the most remarkable figures in the French Socialist movement and more responsible than any other one individual for the actual organization of the movement.

As a result of his editorship of "Les Droits de l'Homme," in 1870-1871, which expressed sympathy for the Commune, he was sentenced to a five year term in prison in the early seventies. He went to Switzerland for five years and there came into contact with the ideas of the International and of Marx. On his return to France he became the chief exponent of Marxian Socialism. In 1877 he founded a weekly, "L'Egalite," the first number of which outlined the policy the paper proposed. "We believe," declared the paper, "with the collectivist school to which almost all serious minds of the working class of both hemispheres now belong, that the natural and scientific evolution of mankind leads it irresistibly to the collective appropriation of the soil and of the instruments of labor." In order to achieve this end it is necessary for the proletariat to constitute itself into a distinct political party which will aim to conquer the political power of the state.

The year following the establishment of this paper, in 1878, a proposal was made to hold an international congress

of workmen in Paris. The government issued an order prohibiting such a gathering. Some of the moderates bowed to the governmental decree. Guesde refused, however, to heed the government order and went ahead with arrangements. The meeting was held but dispersed at its first session. Guesde was arrested and sent, with others, to jail. While in jail the Socialists issued an appeal for the organization of a labor party which secured wide circulation and helped to popularize the labor party idea.

Despite the general conservatism, the necessity of having a working class representation in Parliament was definitely admitted by the moderate co-operators and Barbarettists at the trade union congress of 1879, on the ground that the chasm that separated the bourgeoisie and the working class made it impossible for the representative of the former to understand the needs and aspirations of the workers. The 1879 Congress urged the creation of journals that would support working class candidates only. The triumph of the Socialists at the 1879 Congress at Marseilles was thus not entirely out of harmony with the previous gatherings.

The advocacy by the Marseilles Congress of independent political action was undoubtedly largely brought about by the action of the government in breaking up the gathering of the international. "When the International Congress," writes the committee on organization, "was brutally dispersed by the government, one thing was proved—the working class had no longer to expect its salvation from anybody but itself. . . . The suspicions of the government in regard to the organizers of the Congress, the iniquitous proceedings which it instituted against them, have led to the revolutionary resolutions of the Congress which show that the French proletariat is self-conscious and is worthy of emancipation."

Prior to the Congress, furthermore, a committee appointed at the Lyons had called on several of the more liberal deputies in behalf of labor legislation. They had found these deputies opposed to the limitation of hours of work in the name of liberty and to liberty of association in the name of the superior rights of the state. "The

remedy to this state of affairs," concluded the committee, "is to create in France a workingmen's party, such as exists already in several neighboring states."

The Marseilles Congress carried out with precision the desires of the Socialists. It took the position that co-operative societies could not be regarded as agencies sufficiently powerful to bring about the freedom of the workers. It favored "the collectivity of soil and of sub-soil, of instruments of labor, of raw materials—to be given to all and to be rendered inalienable by society to whom they must be returned. It also constituted itself a distinct political party under the name of the "Federation of Socialist Workingmen of France."

Thus the leadership of the syndical movement passed to the collectivists. Unfortunately, this caused considerable discussion in the ranks of the trade unionists and at the next Congress at Havre in 1880, the "moderates" and "co-operators" separated from the revolutionary collectivists. They formed a separate organization, which, however, soon passed out of existence. As soon as they were rid of the more moderate elements the collectivists also began to dispute among themselves. One branch consisted of parliamentary Socialists, who emphasized the political machinery as a means of social change, and another branch of the communist-anarchists, who rejected the idea of the state and felt that the first act in the social revolution should be the destruction of this instrument of working class oppression. Parliamentary action they later denounced as a "pell mell of compromise, of corruption, of charlatanism, and of absurdities, which does no constructive work, while it destroys character and kills the revolutionary spirit by holding the masses under a fatal illusion."

"The anarchists," writes Levine, "saw only one way of bringing about the emancipation of the working class, namely, to organize groups, and at an opportune moment to raise the people in revolt against the state and the propertied classes; then destroy the state, expropriate the capitalist class and reorganize society on communist and federalist principles. This was the social revolution they preached."

(To Be Continued Next Week.)

## GOVERNOR MINTURN A Labor Novel of the Northwest

By M. H. HEDGES

(Continued From Last Week)

SLOWLY the past impinged again upon the present. The vivid scenes at the Gaylard's—the music, light, warmth, laughter—came back as part of his immediate experience. It made the gray objects of the room, and the occupant of the bed seem altogether strange.

Dan's hand, wandering over the coverlet, found a rent through which the thin cotton stuffing protruded. Even her bed clothes were worn.

But he could not cry again. That first positive physical pain—as if some part of his own body had been lopped off—had passed. This that was left was something else, poignant and abiding.

When he came out of the bed room, the girls were there to greet him, in whispers, broken by sobs, and with a new, unobtrusive tenderness.

The details of the funeral had to be

talked over, and Dan had to be told how mother Minturn had died. Each had to relate her version dwelling with a kind of morbid emphasis upon each detail, while each new proof of her maternal love brought fresh outbursts of tears.

"Just think Dan, she was alone when she took sick—she had baked all day—I guess she was going out, for she had put on the new dress you gave her—I don't see how she ever did it, but she managed to get to the phone, and take down the receiver—that was about 10 o'clock—how she must have suffered, knowing that she was going, and none of us with her—Oh, I'll never forgive myself—Well, luckily Dad came in, and found her, faint and suffering by the telephone—he called Hugh first and then the doctor—she never knew any of us—her mind was terribly wrought up—she seemed, part of the time, to think that she was

going with you on that trip to California—and then she would talk about some baby—I was glad when it was over." By such fragments they told him.

5

At last, Dan got out of the house. At the door, he found the car waiting for him. The chauffeur told him that Mrs. Minturn had sent it. He was indifferent to the fact. But the car served to force him to a decision as to whether he should go back to the party. He couldn't go back.

"William," he said, "drive about a bit."

His was the death car. He had died, and, imprisoned in the black depths of the somber equipage, he was riding down the streets of his town—and then by inversion—down Pillsbury avenue to the grave of lost youth and buried hopes.

All the Christmas eves of the past

came back to haunt him. All the brilliant windows mocked him. The streets were cold, and gray and empty. "Mamma is dead."

The thought of his mother—and she had only been a thought—had made a warm, encompassing world into which he could escape from strife and fear. The world was cold now, and empty. His mind was a cold place filled with ruthless passions.

There was much to remember and no order to his remembering. The songs she had sung to him—the time he had struck her in the face with a whip—her patience—the night he and Hugh had fought—her conciliatory smile—her pathetic regard for finery—her pathetic dowdiness.

Emily Selkirk? Who were the Selkirks? If he had a child would it look like her? His mother's nose was too large. She was never pretty. She didn't know very much. But how good she was. How tender.

Who was his mother? Were the Selkirks of good blood? Is there a God? Is there a heaven? Does life on this earth go on, and on? Would he go on?

They passed an empty street car. They passed bare spaces of land without a light or tree.

He had never known his mother. He had only experienced her. He had come out of her body. He had sucked at her breasts. But he did not know her. Was there anything to know? . . . That was it. He regretted not that she had died but what she had missed. Married when a child, bearing numerous children, she had had nothing—nothing but rising of mornings, cooking of days, sleeping. Nothing. . . . It wasn't right to make a human body into a more domestic machine. . . . Now there was Agatha—beautiful and clever Agatha.

They crossed a make of railroad tracks. They entered a strip of wood. They saw a frozen pool of water. He saw a winking moon in the sky. He would go back now. It was fruitless to drive like this all night. . . . It was what she had missed. She had had nothing.

They returned. They found shivering city streets again. They were going home.

Suddenly out of his consciousness, the Voice: "You murdered her. Long ago. You killed her death. You are free now, free."

(To Be Continued Next Week)

How can the priest in his temple give God honest thanks "for all his mercies to the children of men" when he knows they are dying of poverty and squalor within a hundred yards of the altar? How can a gentleman sit down without remorse in the splendor of his home and pleasure grounds while those who make his wealth lead cheerless lives?—G. J. Moyle.

## Donkey, Bear And Monkey

"WHAT'S the matter, Adam? I don't hear you say anything about the senatorial election scandal in Illinois. Are you getting cold feet, too?" Thus a reader.

Well, brother, I must confess my feet are getting a little cold, and so is my head. The truth is these election debaucheries are beginning to leave me cold all over. Why should a first-class intellect like mine get hot up over such obvious things as buying elections? Is not everything else bought and sold in this best of all countries, so why not honor and office?

Besides, haven't I told you fellows over and over again that those who own the productive wealth of a nation own and always have owned the government of that nation? So, if the great American people are satisfied to take their gas, oil, coal, transportation, electric juice, meat, bread, and whatnot from private corporations, they have no kick coming when their government comes out of the same hepper.

The cold, hard truth is that political democracy and industrial autocracy go together like violets and limburger cheese. So, if the American people think they can rule or regulate the masters of their bread and meat baskets, they are simply kidding themselves.

Oh, yes, I know all about majority rule and public opinion and that sort of thing. I also know that there were a hundred feudal lords to every feudal lord in the days when knighthood was in flower and ten slaves to every slave-owner when slavery was in power in Sunny Dixie. To be sure, serfs and slaves didn't vote and there were no serf and slave journals, schools, and colleges to manufacture public opinion for the poor devils. And now we get the ballot and we can read and some of us can almost write and there are a few who can even think, and caged monkeys are learning to smoke cigarettes and eat ice cream like near folks. But these educated (?) monkeys don't roll their own and they don't know how to freeze ice cream, and besides, the freezer belongs to the other geezer, and we free men have no party that belongs to us, and no journals, schools and colleges worth speaking of to spread our dope. So we take the dope from the capitalist dope dispensaries and vote accordingly.

Labor ballots backed by labor brains, and a labor party fed by labor coin might get us somewhere. But pray, how many of us are willing to read a serious book on any subject? How much have you contributed to a political party of your own?

You know elections cost money—you know that somebody is paying for the deluge of posters, handbills, circular letters, and political advertisements that flood the land of the free around election time. You know someone is paying for the brass bands, orators, and workers at the polls. And perhaps you yourself have earned a few honest dollars bringing out the vote by voting dead men and dead-beats without asking yourself where the money came from. Oh, are you so naive to think that all these millions and tens of millions which are spent at every major election fall from heaven as manna to you? If so, bore a hole in your noodle and let the water out.

Governments, said Keir Hardie once, are like donkeys. If the donkey belongs to you, you can take it by the ears and make him pull your load, but if the donkey belongs to the other fellow all you can do is to get behind it and get kicked.

Well, we got behind the other fellow's donkey all right, and what that donkey's hoofs did to our countenance is almost too pitiful to relate.

The long and short of this woeful tale is that unless labor, and by labor I mean anyone who does not make his living by living off of others, cannot or will not support a political party of its own, it had better stay out of politics altogether.

Now I fully realize it is not easy to found an independent labor party in this country, and yet it can be done as experience in the La Follette campaign has amply shown.

Of course, we did not elect our ticket and no sensible person expected that we would. But with a wretched organization, insufficient finances, no press to speak of, mismanagement and inexperience, we reeled up nearly five million votes, coming within three millions of the vote cast for the Democratic candidate.

Well, brothers, five million votes is nothing to sneeze at. If these votes had been concentrated in five or six states, they would have elected a goodly number of legislators, congressmen, senators and governors. The mistake we made was to spread ourselves over too much territory. There wasn't a ghost of a show to carry a single one of the eastern states, the strongholds of plutocracy, or make a dent in any of the southern states, the home of dam-mockery.

Our strength laid in the north and middle west. It is here and here alone where our resources, energy and talents should have been concentrated. But we were hell-bound to carry the country. We wanted to put the roof on the building before even the foundation was laid. Then when we failed in carrying the plutocratic stronghold at the first onslaught, we crawled in our holes and pulled the holes in after us.

And right here let me say that it is not important that a political labor movement should be victorious in the first election that comes along. The all-important thing is that such a movement should grow—that it should impress the opposition with the idea that it is a comer and will keep on coming irrespective of temporary setbacks now and then.

Concessions from the other side come with growing strength. Grow and all other things will be added unto you. It was not necessary for the German Social-Democrats or the British Laborites to have majorities in their respective parliaments to secure the legal recognition of unions, old age pensions, invalidity and out-of-work insurance. These things were handed to them by Junkers and Tories in the foolish hope of stemming the ever-rising flood of labor votes. Of course they failed. The appetite comes with the eating, as the Frenchman says. Even as the unions which have secured the highest wages, shortest hours and best working conditions are the most militant when it comes to demanding still more, so the political appetite of labor increases with every slice of bread thrown to it by the opposition.

Not changing the subject, but here is a bed-time story that may illustrate my point:

A big bear was chasing a man. The big bear wanted to eat the man. But the man had no desire to be eaten by the big bear, so as the bear kept gaining the man threw up his cap behind him in the hope that the cap would satisfy the bear. And the bear picked up the cap as the man had hoped he would, but finding the cap rather useless, he renewed his chase after the man. Thereupon the man discarded one by one his vest, shirt, pants, B. V. D.'s, socks, and shoes until he was running stark naked through the woods. But no amount of outer clothing and underclothing would stop the bear long enough to let the man escape for it was the man he wanted, and being a persistent bear, he got his man.

Well, brothers, we too went after a man and the man threw us his cap to end the pursuit, and because we stopped at the cap our man escaped with outer garments, undergarments, hide-hair, and life, and all we got was a cap, and the cap was a fool's cap.

Adam Coldigger.

## THE CITY IN BOND

NO slave upon the market place  
With drooping head, and heavy heart,  
With wearied limbs and aching feet  
Could stand more desolate—apart  
From all that lifts the soul to life,  
From all that stirs the blood to flow,  
From all that calls the fires of love  
To fan the embers to a glow—  
Than each poor city held in bond  
With manacles its help has made,  
And welded on its shrinking form  
To hold—"til dust to dust is laid."  
Behold the city held in bond!  
And no redeemer comes to call  
That city from its leaden chains  
Which hold its soul in worldly thrall.

That head ne'er lifts, those lips ne'er smile,  
Those eyelids heavy as with tears;  
An anguished voice is muttering—  
For ears are hearing ribald jeers  
Of mockery at chains that bind,  
Of laughter at the bonds that gale.  
That naked form shrinks from the hold  
Of winds that blow across the world.  
See fires ascend from forged red,  
And chimneys vomit fire and smoke,  
And little children's bodies glow  
That furnace's glowing flame to stoke.  
So childish hands have helped to forge  
The chains that bind that body down,  
And childish voices piping sing  
A mammon's psalm of renown!

Look you and see where lights are red,  
The painted face, the haggard eyes  
Of daughters of a race that bled,  
To build anew a Paradise!  
Why are they there? Ask those who rule:  
There is not work enough for all!  
O, take a cloth of gold and hide  
The shame beneath with shining pall!  
Go cover o'er the life that's dead,  
Forgetting—let them be forgot—  
And in the maelstrom let them whirl  
Diseased, decaying—let them rot.  
Nay rather snatch that pall away!  
And strain thine eyes to see the cause,  
For evil lurks where darkness lies  
To shield result of broken laws.

"Where is thy brother?" Ask thyself  
Hath he his share of bread and rest?  
Or dwells he in a tenement  
Where vermin of the darkness nest?  
Hast thou, of plenty, helped the blind,  
Or stand they on the street to plead—  
With outstretched hand and timid voice—  
Sufficient for their daily need?  
When winter comes and hearts are warm;  
And thine—in comfort sit around;  
Dost thou forget thy fellow man,  
Who makes his bed upon the ground?

Draw back the curtain, look without  
See children hurry home from work—  
That thine may live in idleness,  
And later, every duty shirk.  
Nay, draw them close! How can't thou look?  
Or looking, how endure the sight?  
Shut out that vision of the child,  
Who works and hurries home at night.  
For in that little soul is bred  
The bitterness that shall awake  
To lethargy of sin and woe,  
Or every law of man to break.  
Injustice breeds the two extremes,  
The cringing slaves that bow and bend,  
Or rebels that revolt—and raise  
Thy structures, and thy mandates rend!

O, city chained, lift up thy head!  
Move but thy lips to ask release;  
Let not thy dormant form sink down,  
Let not thy prayers to Heaven cease!  
Stretch out thy hands, though bound and weak,  
Attune thine ear to distant sound,  
And staunch the blood that's trickling down—  
Thy dying body—from thy wound.  
Hope yet awhile! Despair not now,  
Some Savior yet may hear thy moan—  
Strike off thy chains, and lead thee forth  
To sit exultant on thy throne!  
That throne, where wait thy high ideals;  
Man's best—his justice—raise thy head!  
Thy soul is fainting, but—O, God!  
O, tell me, that—it is not dead!

Ella Costillo Bennett



## Labor Day Issues Reveal Poverty of Ideas Suffered By General Labor Papers

### The Field of Labor

THOSE whose regular and arduous duty it is to rummage through the hundreds of labor journals published in this country have never swelled with pride as they contemplated the native product. There is a carelessness or ignorance of typographical layout. The universal use of syndicated material makes for dullness and uniformity of reading matter. The expressions of opinion of labor officials on public questions are lavishly aped. Whatever local news is written up is so ambiguous that only those already acquainted with the facts can make head or tail of the story. The ideology is that of capitalism. There is a frank catering to the business interests. Finally, there is a liberal amount of advertising by the local government or by the storekeepers, manufacturers and public utilities.

The Labor Day issues of these newspapers might have been expected to be better than the usual output. The occasion was a special one, and it was natural to anticipate that the best thought and energy would be utilized to turn out editions worthy of American labor. And the best thought and energy, indeed, were consumed. Result? An enormous increase in advertising, amounting to outrageous proportions in numerous instances. In many cases supplements were added bringing in thousands and thousands of dollars for space sold. Were these "ads" contributed by trade unions and their allies there would be nothing but praise for generous assistance in financing the American labor press. But those who advertised were practically entirely representatives of capitalism. Expressions of sentiment friendly to organized labor were rare. There was not even the justifiable appeal to buy union label goods, because union label goods were not the stock in trade of these advertisers.

One wonders why business men should advertise in these supplements. It is doubtful whether they receive returns in increased patronage. Union labor today constitutes but a small element in most communities. Rather do we suspect that they are compensated by dulling the fighting edge of the trade unions, for this advertising on Labor Day and other special occasions finances these labor papers for the remainder of the year. These journals are chiefly private ventures, having official endorsement of central labor bodies. It is doubtful whether much improvement of the labor press can be expected in the present state of the American labor movement, but whatever progress will be made will come from intelligent agitation.

### UNION BENEFITS AND BENEFITS TO UNIONS

The compilation by the American Federation of Labor of the 1925 figures as to the amount of benefits paid out by the various national and international unions gives food for thought. Twenty and a half million dollars were distributed last year for sick, death, unemployment, old age, disability and miscellaneous benefits. Of this sum one-quarter must be deducted for sums paid by three of the four non-A. F. of L. big railroad brotherhoods. The argument is made that this is a complete rebuttal of the welfare schemes of company unions; hence, the desirability of joining a trade union. But the thesis works both ways. The company union is also a thoroughgoing reproof to the old-fashioned beneficiary union, and in practice the former has proved its point by succeeding. Benefit systems have made an obstacle in organizing the less skilled worker. They have tied up the funds of unions which should have been used in aggressive organization work. They have put a premium on the dropping

out of members since those who remained became heirs to the sums already contributed. They have absorbed the attention of trade unions often to the exclusion of industrial work. Finally, they have lost their appeal in an age of universal life insurance, workmen's compensation, savings banks, and unemployment funds conducted by an industry as a whole. Trade unions must offer something more than grand lodge attractions if they are to survive. L. S.

### LIMITATIONS UPON CONVICT LABOR

Convict labor in and by itself is not objectionable for a useful occupation is recognized as a road to redemption for criminals. Yet the trade unions have in general voiced a strenuous opposition to the practice on the ground that the products manufactured come into competition and undersell goods produced by free workers. Material made solely for prison consumption, however, has been considered permissible.

Seldom does a situation arise such as that in Missouri. The penal authorities of that state leased a coal mine from the Western Coal Company and put to work in it convicts for the purpose of mining coal for use in state penitentiaries and prisons. One hundred and forty-three union miners were thus thrown out of work. Rube T. Wood, president of the Missouri State Federation of Labor; John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, and other labor officials protested. Wood threatened legal action. There was a clause in the lease that required that the coal company find other work for the free miners by September 1. This had not been complied with. Had not organized labor been vigilant in this matter this provision might have been overlooked. However, in the face of determined protest Governor Sam Baker decided to use the saving clause to beat a retreat. The convict miners were ordered withdrawn and the principle that prison labor even for penal uses must not play havoc with free labor was affirmed. L. S.

### THE BABBITTS EN MASSE GREET UNION LABOR

Since the open shop drive of 1921 Streator, Illinois, has had a deadline thrown around it across which union labor has dared not step. Suddenly the lamb and the lion began a gambol together. On Sept. 12, 1926, the Illinois State Federation of Labor opened its forty-fourth annual convention at Streator. The central labor body and the chamber of commerce of the town united to make the occasion a memorable one. The Kiwanis and Rotary clubs arranged to hold meetings to hear addresses of the labor leaders. The merchants raised a fund to defray the expenses of entertaining the delegates and visitors and hired three hundred automobiles for an excursion trip. The Elks gave the delegates the freedom of their building.

What is all the hullabaloo about? Well, for one thing, to boost the town. A convention is a convention after all and if labor leaders are not adverse to assisting in reality and mercantile booms, why not be good sports? But somehow one has a faint suspicion that the character of the labor officials involved has something to do with it. The president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor is John H. Walker, who is perhaps considered a brother in arms after the recent disclosures of corruption in the Illinois primaries. Perhaps, figure the Streator Babbitts, union labor is not so vicious after all. L. S.

The land of every country belongs, not to the landlords, but to the people of that country.—John Stuart Mill.

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The New Leader, Aug. 13:  
"A. F. of L. Orders Probe of N. Y. Fur Strike"

The N. Y. Times, Aug. 17, FOUR days later:  
"A. F. of L. Starts Fur Strike Inquiry"

The New Leader, July 30:  
"Anti-Fascists Split; Communists Cause Rupture"

The N. Y. Times, Aug. 1, TWO days later:  
"Communism Splits Anti-Fascist Group"

The New Leader, July 17:  
"Electrical Workers Association Formed"

The N. Y. Times, July 24, SEVEN days later:  
"Electrical Workers Form New Union"

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## Factional Fights in Labor Unions

### A Study in Human Relations in the Labor Movement

By A. J. Muste  
Chairman of Faculty, Brookwood Labor College

IN discussing the more systematic training of labor leadership we have already indicated one way in which workers' education may contribute to lessening the amount of destructive internal conflict in the unions. We have now to indicate certain additional ways in which workers' education as directed both to members and leaders will be serviceable.

All labor colleges ought to make it a point to teach the "new psychology"—how the group mind and the mob mind operate, how the reasons we give for our actions are frequently not reasons at all but excuses we fabricate to hide from ourselves and others the real motives of our acts, how our conscious ideals often fail to indicate the interests and urges (love of power or display, sexual urges, fears, complexes) that move us subconsciously.

It remains to be seen of course to what extent we can truly become unprejudiced about our own prejudices and can deal disinterestedly with our own chief interests. Doubtless there are limits. A man can not lift himself by his own bootstraps nor jump out of his own skin. Nevertheless, ignorance and deep rooted prejudice ever and again have been overcome. It is within the lifetime of most adult Americans of today that practically a whole nation has learned to take to the fresh air and that the infant mortality rate has been drastically reduced by the spread of knowledge about scientific feeding and certain simple sanitary measures. Certainly there are degrees of simplicity and naivete. Some of us do not fool ourselves quite so readily as others nor indeed quite so readily as we did before we knew a little psychology. Some gain is bound to accrue from a more general spread of knowledge about how the minds of individuals, groups, mobs, act. Leaders and would-be leaders and trade union members will not fight quite so blindly nor misjudge themselves and each other quite so egregiously when this has been accomplished by workers' education.

Shop Classes.

Classes in "shop economics" most successfully developed in recent years by the Philadelphia Labor College and now being introduced in other labor colleges suggest a second way in which the workers' education movement may help to resolve some of the situations which lead to frantic internal strife in unions. In a class in shop economics the officers and active members of a textile union or railroad union or building trades union meet to study the problems of the textile, the railroad or the building industry. They examine the general condition of the industry and the specific situation of the firms for which they are working. On the basis of such a study, demands as to wages, hours, working conditions and improvement of production are placed before the management.

If our contention is sound, that the most disastrous factional conflicts occur when an industry is passing through a period of depression or transition and the union finds itself unable to cope with the situation, some relief is bound to result if the union can confront its own members, the employers and the public with authoritative information about the conditions and possibilities of the industry. On the one hand there will be less talking at random, less reckless handying about of unsupported opinion, which always adds fuel to the fires of conflict. On the other hand,

with this knowledge unions will be able to make much more substantial gains for their members, will be able to adopt a more confident and aggressive policy, which will furnish a sound basis for contentment on the part of the membership. When, for the moment, conditions are such that the union must mark time, this will be evident to all concerned and discontent may be reduced to a minimum.

Labor History.

Another subject that workers' education will emphasize is history—especially the history of the workers through the ages and the history of the modern labor movement in our own country and in other lands. This study will have two seemingly opposite effects. On the one hand it will be sobering. History reveals, for example, that many ideas which seem new and promising are as old as the hills and have failed whenever they have been tried. History gives one a sense of how slow and halting and erratic is every forward movement of mankind.

But there is a very different side to the story. If it be true, as we have several times insisted, that the trade unionist demands practical results from his organization, it is equally true that he demands something entirely different. It must provide him with something in the nature of a religion. He must feel that his movement has a tradition and is not a mere expedient of the moment; he must have heroes to worship; he must see vistas of progress and of freedom opening up before him. All this a knowledge of the history of the labor movement will give him. It will show him a heroic past that is his, and from a reading of modern history he will surely glimpse that his movement must fulfill a historic role, is the bearer of mankind's hope for a new day.

In some such way workers' education may harmonize, not in any absolute sense, but for practical purposes from day to day, the practical and the idealistic aspects of the labor movement, may enable its members to see that somehow the movement will achieve no ideals in this world unless it is an efficient business enterprise; that it will be an inefficient business enterprise if it is not dedicated to the pursuit of great human ideals of freedom and brotherhood.

Religious Fervor.

In speaking just now of the mass of the membership as imbued with a certain religious fervor for the movement through a knowledge of its history and social significance, we have touched upon an aspect of workers' education frequently referred to as mass education, to which a moment's thought must be given. One of the greatest tasks before the workers' education movement is to work out plans by which the international union, for example, confronted by an important issue, may get the facts about it before the membership in popular language so that they may understand the true situation and in the light of that understanding make a decision. As workers' education does that it will render another great service, namely, by making clear what is the true role of the rank and file in a democratic organization and how they may fulfill that role.

For the rank and file are neither so feeble and stupid or yet so all-wise and noble as they are alternately pictured. They are not original thinkers, scholars or experts; for the most part they do not pretend to be or want to be. In the long run, however, they want to decide for themselves what they want; they do not care to have some one else decide for them what ends they shall seek in life. We may rest assured that on this point they will do their own deciding in the long run, conservatives or radicals notwithstanding.

We must not let the apparent modern vogue of dictatorship mislead us on this point. The Russian peasants taught the Soviets a lesson along this line that will be remembered.

In a world that grows increasingly large and complex, however, the masses must have accurate information in simple form if they are to define their own wants rightly and clearly. Having it, they can be trusted in the long run to speak for themselves in the large crises more satisfactorily than anyone can speak for them. To work out the technique of providing the information is one of the greatest tasks of workers' education.

If a union has a small minority of active spirits who know some modern psychology, some shop economics and some labor history, and if at important junctures provision is made to convey accurate and unpoisoned information in popular language to the rank and file, that union will have a sufficient check upon such leadership as we have described in a previous section and may cherish some hope of being able to avoid serious internal strife.

### MORE TEXTILE WORKERS IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Data submitted at a meeting of the General Council of the International Federation of Textile Workers' Associations, held in Prague, Aug. 12 and 13, showed the membership in fourteen countries to be 842,361, against 937,489 at the beginning of the present year.

Reports from many countries told of hard times in the textile industry and of desperate, but successful, struggles to maintain the organizations.

Among the resolutions passed by the General Council was one providing for the organization of research tours to overseas countries to study the living and working conditions of textile workers in these countries and the economic situation there. One such tour will be made this year to India by Tom Shaw, the International Secretary, and representatives of the British and German textile workers' unions. The next tour will be to the United States. The various national organizations are urged to take part in these tours in view of their great importance to the international textile workers' movement. It is hoped to arrange for a study tour to Japan and China later.

### FALL OPENING OF THE BRONX FREE FELLOWSHIP

The fall activities of the Bronx Free Fellowship, 1301 Boston Road, will commence Sunday, Sept. 19. The Fellowship service will start at 8 p. m. Rev. Leon Rosser Land, Leader of the Fellowship, will speak on "Education vs. Chaos," and Genevieve Kaufman will sing.

The Open Forum will begin at 9 o'clock sharp, and John Herman Randall, of the Community Church, will speak on "Signs of the Times." The Fellowship is planning many new activities for this season, and preliminary announcements will be made about the new program at this first meeting.

The dictum that truth always triumphs over persecution is one of those pleasant falsehoods... which all experience refutes. History teems with instances of truth put down by persecution. If not suppressed for ever, it may be thrown back for centuries.—John Stuart Mill.

## Russian Union Wants To Join With Amsterdam; Bulgarian Parley Is Off

### Labor Doings Abroad

According to a report from Stockholm printed in the Leipziger Volkszeitung, the leaders of the Russian Union of Public Service Workers are anxious to link up with the Swedish Public Service Workers and also to join the Public Service Workers' International, affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions. During a recent visit of a delegation of Swedish Public Service unionists to Russia an agreement for co-operation between the Russian and Swedish organizations was made and the Russians expressed their willingness to affiliate with the Public Service Workers' International, as they had studied its statutes and had found nothing objectionable in them.

When the Swedish delegates then said that, if this were the case, there seemed to be no obstacle in the way of the Russians and Swedes working together, but that it must be remembered that the rules of the Public Service Workers' International barred Soviet Russian trade unions tactics, the head of the Russian union is reported to have shrugged his shoulders and remarked:

"Zinoviev has fallen and the leading men of the Red Trade Union International have no influence at all." The Russian Public Service Workers' Union claims 250,000 members. Although it is doubtful if its chiefs will dare to defy the All Russian Trade Union Council and apply for admission to the International without reservations, the agreement with the Swedish union is considered a step in the right direction.

### UNITY NEGOTIATIONS OFF IN BULGARIA

The prospects for unity of the trades union movement in Bulgaria, which appeared quite bright a couple of months ago, have again become gloomy. A report issued on Sept. 2 by the Amsterdam Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions says that negotiations between the national trade union center affiliated with the I. F. T. U. and that of the "independent" labor unions have been broken off.

The proposals of the joint congress of these centers, recently held at Sofia at the suggestion of the regular trade unions, looked at one time like providing a platform for co-operation. One point agreed upon was that in future the campaign of abuse and slander of the "independent" press against the I. F. T. U. should cease, and this would have created a friendly atmosphere favorable to the speedy formal affiliation of the united movement to the I. F. T. U.

But, as in so many similar cases, it presently became clear that the Communists were not playing fair. The campaign of slander still went on, and it turned out that the agreements, concluded during the absence abroad of the secretary of the Bulgarian center affiliated with Amsterdam (agreements which had led to withdrawal from the I. F. T. U.), were so worded as to leave the Communists full freedom of movement, without providing the slightest guarantee for equality of influence for both sides, a state of things which was triumphantly announced in the Communist press.

The Bulgarian Trade Union Center therefore considered it necessary to propose certain amendments to the agreement. These were rejected by the independents, and all idea of union is therefore for the moment at an end.

### BERLIN UNIONS GAIN MEMBERS IN FIGHTING

Fighting the economic battles of the workers of Greater Berlin agrees with the trade unions affiliated with the Central Committee of that city, according to a report presented by Secretary Sabath to a recent meeting of the committee.

In 1925 the Berlin unions were involved in 1,347 wage disputes, of which 248 went so far as to cause strikes. In 1,034 cases the unions won; in 183 compromises were effected, and in only 40 did the workers lose. Data on the result of some of the conflicts were not yet available when the meeting was held. Expenditures in these fights amounted to 2,563,865 marks (worth

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23.8 cents each), against 930,296 marks in 1924.

The membership at the end of 1925 was 294,204, a gain of 23,727 during the year. Receipts last year were 14,287,237 marks, against 8,349,291 marks in 1924, and expenditures for the same years were 13,033,824 and 7,733,999 marks, respectively. On Dec. 31, 1925, the balance in the unions' treasurer amounted to 1,253,412 marks, against 614,642 marks the year before.

Attendance at the Trade Union School totaled 2,566. The unions' legal bureau looked after the interests of 8,429 workers during the year.

### WHY BRITISH SEAMEN QUIT INTERNATIONAL

In confirming the report that the National Sailors and Firemen's Union of Great Britain and Ireland, at its thirty-seventh annual convention, held recently in London, had voted to quit the International Transport Workers' Federation, a number of European labor papers have pointed out that this action was not at all unexpected, in view of the reactionary attitude assumed on nearly every question of national or international importance during the last few years by Havelock Wilson, the aged chief of that organization.

Among the reasons given at the convention for leaving the I. T. F. was the alleged fact that the International "had proved to be more of a political organization than a trade union." Edo Fimmen, International Secretary, was accused of "issuing manifestos without proper executive instructions" and thus misleading the workers of Europe. The delegates upheld Havelock Wilson's stand during the British general strike last May, when he insisted that a vote must be taken by the members before responding to the call of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress. The membership of the Sailors and Firemen's Union is approximately 60,000.

### SWISS UNIONS HOLD THEIR MEMBERSHIP

A report on the activities of the Swiss Federation of Trade Unions during 1925 recently made public in Bern indicates that the membership of the affiliated organizations practically touched rock bottom in 1923, and that from now on gains, rather than losses, may be expected. After having risen to 223,588 in 1919, compared with 89,000 in 1913, the Swiss unions began to lose members rapidly in 1921 because of economic crises, internal rows and emigration. At the end of 1923 the membership had been reduced to 151,318. Then a halt was made, the figures on Dec. 31, 1924, being 151,202, and on the same date last year, 149,997. The Lithographers' Union, with about 10,000 members, withdrew from the Federation in 1925.

Receipts of the Federation last year amounted to 8,378,296 francs (at 19.3 cents apiece) and expenditures to 6,747,594. The corresponding figures for 1924 were 8,078,630 and 6,858,942. Of last year's expenditures 1,227,453 francs went to help unemployed members, 1,265,699 to sick and injured unionists, 583,745 for lockouts and strikes and about 1,500,000 for administrative expenses.

If de Lord had intended that one half of world should work hard to support de udger half we should have got de news long before this time.—American Plantation Proverb.

The highest man of us is born brother to his contemporaries; struggle as he may, there is no escaping the family likeness.—Carlyle.

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# The New Leader Mail Bag

## Organized Workers and Farmers

Editor, The New Leader:

There is a chance for the Socialist Party to make a ten-strike if the leaders can see and take advantage of it. The farmers of the north and west are in revolt against the Republican Party. They don't want to go over to the Democratic Party. They know from long experience that it gets them nowhere.

Organized labor is still following the will-o'-the-wisp of picking out the best men from both parties. It has got them nothing so far, and it will continue to get them just that. If they succeed in electing a good man in that way he can do nothing. There is an overwhelming majority against him.

Labor knows that the capitalists are determined to smash the unions if they can, but they apparently don't know that both old parties and the government are owned and controlled by the same small group of plutocrats. It ought to be easy to convince both farmer and laborer that their only hope lies in first taking control of the government out of the hands of the plutocrats, and the quickest and easiest way to do it is to form an alliance with the Socialist Party. It has the party machinery and a million votes. Neither group can win alone now, but if they join forces, they can. Make it clear that it is not a surrender but an alliance. They don't have to join the party or accept any more of its principles than they wish.

Put full tickets in the field everywhere with the candidates equally divided between the three groups. No two of them agree in all things, but they can all agree on the one question of most vital importance—taking the government out of the hands of plutocracy. When that is done, each of them can put through at least part of their program and none of them can put through any part of it until it is done. Now is the chance for the leaders of the party to show that they are really capable of leading.

W. C. LEWIS.

Newland, La.

South of Mexico

Editor, The New Leader:

I was very glad to read your editorial "South of Mexico," and you might have added that this same

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CHAS. ROBINSON, Secretary  
AMBROSE HAAS, Fin. Sec'y

ecclesiastical-financial, amited. Boy-cottling-criminal system is absorbing millions of dollars of the workers' finances each and every month, under the domination of North of Mexico. My observation as a Socialist for a half century leads to the conclusion along since formed that there can be no relief from this slavery of working men and women (including boy and girl slave workers), until open aggressive publicity awakens them to their peril. The correction of these violations are within their power, but the germ of future millionaire delusions are among the leading features that maintain this oppression of the worker. Emancipation can only come through education, and it is difficult to instruct a willing slave, who kneels when controlled by criminal selfishness. Fifty years back I was classified as "crazy" for my Socialist views, and this condition of slavery has not improved. It is the attitude of the worker that maintains this absolute crime. J. ERNEST HAMMOND, Providence, R. I.

**Defeat La Guardia**  
Editor, The New Leader:  
May I suggest to the "old-timers" also to the "new" comrades of the 20th Congressional district to go in this next campaign with the determination of winning that district for the Socialist party.  
The present incumbent of that office, Mr. La Guardia, should be shunned by all honest and sincere voters. He does not deserve the respect of the men and women of that district. Please, comrades, the less time you waste on him, the more successful you will be in winning the election for your own candidate. I have in mind that great veteran of our movement, a recognized leader of the Socialist party of America. We need him in Congress. You, comrades, can do it. I hope he is in good health for the task. Nominate and elect Morris Hillquit as congressman from the 17th district.  
S. BASS.  
Newark, N. J.

Absolute belief in your own view of truth is sincerity. The refusal to others of a chance of proving their own truth is intolerance. Standing up for your own belief in truth is not intolerance, but duty.—G. J. Holyoke.

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Local 344—Executive Board meets every Thursday.  
Local 248—Executive Board meets every Wednesday.  
These Meetings Are Held in the Office of the Union

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# Amusements



## DRAMA

STANLEY LUPINO



The noted London comedian, is featured in "Naughty Riquette," the new Oscar Straus operetta, which opened Monday night at the Cosmopolitan.

### "Service for Two" A Bedroom Farce

Martin Flavin's Latest Effort at the Gaiety Theatre Light Entertainment

WHEN one of our sad young intellectuals takes French leave of sex, psychoanalysis and suppressions and makes a flank attack on the box office it has been the wont of the devotees of The New Drama to shake their collective heads in cynical sorrow. "The Ravages of Commercialism" score another victory over "Untrammelled Art."

There may be a great deal of head-shaking and nose-tilting at Martin Flavin's venture in the field of money-making successes. If there is, none of it was evident at the performance in the Gaiety Theatre of "Service for Two," Mr. Flavin's new comedy.

Except in the display of a large order of technical skill, "Children of the Moon" and "Service for Two" have nothing in common. The first, it will be remembered, was a tense and gripping study of inherited insanity. Flavin's present offering might be classed as a hotel-room farce, in most cases the hotel rooms being also bedrooms.

Remembering that the farce deals with a beautiful movie star, engaged to a British peer, who proceeds to take an apartment adjoining one occupied by the same peer and his bride, it can be realized that there are opportunities aplenty for complications. There follow two hours of door-slammings and furious word fencing interspersed with a number of unexpected laughs—which is something that does not usually come with these complication plays.

Mr. Flavin received not a little assistance from the blithe Mr. Hugh Wakefield as the unhappy Englishman whose burden it is to keep Americans amused by persistent dignity in a storm of crude horseplay. Miss Marion Cookley ably carried her role of a movie star.

We should say that "Service for Two," as a bedroom farce, ranks pretty high. If you are willing to park your high-brow inclinations for the few hours of its duration you can have a lot of hearty laughs.

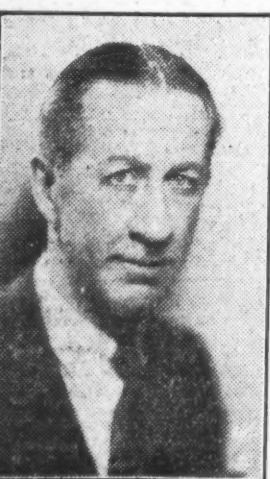
### "Honeymoon Lane," with Eddie Dowling, Opens Monday at Knickerbocker

A. L. Erlanger will open the season at the Knickerbocker Theatre next Monday with Eddie Dowling in his new musical comedy, "Honeymoon Lane," which has already been received with acclaim in Atlantic City and Philadelphia.

This new piece is in a prologue and two acts, with book, lyric and music by Eddie Dowling and James Hanley, and staged by Edgar MacGregor.

Others in the cast include Florence O'Denishawn, Pauline Mason, Gordon Dooley, Martha Morton, Al Sexton, Kate Smith, Adeline Seamon, Leo Beers and Florentine Gosnova.

ROY ATWILL



Is responsible for much of the entertainment in "Americana," J. P. McEvey's satirical revue, now crowding the Belmont Theatre.

## The Drama of America

By Joseph T. Shipley

### VI—The Plays of Yesterday

YESTERDAY, today, and tomorrow are all present on our stage. The difference is one of maturity, not of time nor of technique. The plays of yesterday are most likely to be the hits of the season, for they strike for the raw-boned, crude emotions that maturity has added to but not destroyed. A high-brow can, in the proper mood, be entertained by "Able's Irish Rose," "The Bat," or "The Whip"; such plays are the normal diet for persons physically adult, but childish in mental and moral development. Broad comedy and melodrama, then, are the plays of yesterday. There was a time when the ten-twenty-third melodrama ran riot and the author of "Convict 999" was called the Augustus Thomas of melodrama, the author of "Jennie, the Sewing Machine Girl" was called the Clyde Fitch of melodrama. Now that the movies have at least removed the pain of dialog from that type of play (comparable to the penny dreadful schoolboys hide inside their grammars), we recognize that the authors honored in the comparison are themselves melodramatists. Mr. Moses gives three samples of the plays of yesterday: "In Mizoura," by Thomas; "The Moth and the Flame," by Fitch; and "The Easiest Way," by Eugene Walter.

The two-fisted, or, even better, the two-pistoled he-man is put on exhibition in a host of Western plays, of which "In Mizoura" is a better-than-average specimen. Produced in 1893, the author took it seriously enough in 1916 to revise it for publication. The play comes at a period (of mental growth) in which New York still believes the legend of the pioneer West, but uneducated sheriffs (Abe Lincoln in the bud) spare the criminal, even aid his escape, for the sake of the well-educated heroine, who rewards the sacrifice with her hand—and as a wedding-gift fate sends a fortune. Oh yes, in his introduction and in his play Mr. Thomas cleverly accounts for the fortune, but none the less there it is, to clinch the happy ending. Plots of this elemental crudity, of the many virtues so proudly and baldly triumphant, have virtually disappeared even from the feature films of the cinema.

The equally obvious theme of sex, which has been more persistent on the film, is of course the mainspring of most dramatic action, and in the plays of yesterday is especially dominant. Some peculiar sense of guilt it may be that makes the authors protest their righteous endeavor: Fitch, "What I am trying to do is to reflect life of all kinds as I see it. To write, first, plays that will interest and mean something; and after that, amuse. And always and in any case with a result to the good." And Walter, "To my mind a good play must have a tremendous uplift in thought and purpose." The most frequent variant of the theme of sex

is that in which the roué tempts and almost betrays the unsuspecting and innocent heroine, only to be foiled at the end. In "The Moth and the Flame," produced just after a period of national financial stress (1898), and again (1908) just after a panic, the villain is not quite the "Marry me or I'll tear up the child" variety; he merely threatens to expose the father's criminal gambling himself into bankruptcy if the daughter dares to withdraw from the wedding. (He's a weak villain, too; for instead of having his oath rammed down his throat by the militant hero, he fades out when the bold heroine calls his bluff.) These coercions are less fashionable among grown-up playgoers, but they flourished when New York was more interested in society, where arranged matches are expected, by those outside. Society, in the sense of the pride in the family tree, in having descended from a thief sent out to Virginia, or an intolerant nuisance run to Connecticut, has been supplanted by the more easy group who remember not forebears but Wall Street bears and fortunes.

A second variant of the sex-play is achieved by reversing the engine, to show an honest man saved from the lures of a wicked woman. This is perhaps more daring; it was once assumed by gentleman dramatists that every woman was a lady—unless they kept her in whispers, and offstage. Even Walter himself is a bit surprised at his boldness in picturing a prostitute, for he adds, after his remarks about uplift: "The Easiest Way" has none of this. There is not a character in the play really worth while, with the exception of the old agent. The rest, at best, are not a particular adornment to society, and the strength of the play lies in its true portrayal of the sordid type of life which it expressed. . . . It is rather devilishly clever, but a great work it certainly is not. (Modest fellow!) Really, the play is a mixture of forces, Walter pictures his heroine forced by the deliberate planning of his villain into a poverty out of which she escapes by becoming his mistress. Then, to justify the hero's throwing her over, he must show that the villain is not such a bad fellow, and that the girl is fundamentally weak, anyhow, not fit to be an honest man's wife.

This confusion, combined with admissions in the words of the authors, indicates the genesis of the plays of yesterday. They are "devilishly clever," perhaps; but they are patched, are deliberately concocted, for the consumption of mental and moral children. The alternative to this is that the author himself is such a child; either Ann Nichols is in the intellectual level of "Able's Irish Rose," or she has deliberately written down to that level. And the great success of such plays shows how many of our adult men and women, voters in this government of and supposedly by for the people, have never grown out of childhood.

### Grant Mitchell in "One of the Family" At Bronx Opera House

"One of the Family," the comedy which played on Broadway last season, and in which Grant Mitchell is starred, comes to the Bronx Opera House, Monday night, for a week's engagement.

In the cast in addition to Grant Mitchell and Louise Glosser Hale are Lella Frost, Edward Donnelly, Beulah Bondi, Lorraine Frost, Fleming Ward, Robert Montgomery, Jean Arden and Carolyn Humphreys. The play is the work of Kenneth Webb, and is presented by John Tuerk. The locale is Boston and there are three acts.

"Not Herbert," a sensational drama, will be the following attraction.

### Golden's Theatre to Have New Stage Lighting Effects

John Golden's new 58th street theatre, now building, will be installed with a new method of stage lighting. Harrison Wiseman and Willy Pogany, in charge of the lighting and decorating of the new theatre, spent some months in Europe and from the methods used abroad evolved this new lighting system. A novel feature of the plan is a booth hidden in the body of the balcony. Installed therein are chemically pure sheet aluminum reflectors, their surfaces so treated as to give over 90 percent of the reflection of perfect mirrors.

Tests on the stage of the new theatre have proven that the light beams emit no harsh outlines or edges, completely dissipate shadows and are very likely to render unnecessary the use of make-up.

The chief electrician, who has hitherto worked from the stage, will by this arrangement work from this hidden booth, watching the light effects as the play progresses, observing them from the viewpoint of the audience and in position to instantly make any necessary variations.

BIANCA SAROYA



One of the principal song birds in the San Carlo Opera Company now at the Century theatre.

### "Lion Tamer" to Open Neighborhood Season

THE Neighborhood Playhouse will begin its thirteenth season in its delightful little theatre on Grand Street on October 7, with "The Lion Tamer," a satiric play

from the French of Alfred Savoir. This will be followed with a repertoire of dramatic and lyric productions, including the following: "Pinwheel," a new American play by Francis Edward Farago; a new lyric bill, and revivals of "The Little Clay Cart" and "The Dybbuk."

"The Grand Street Follies" will, as usual, top off the season.

One of the novel features of the season's program will be the inclusion in the lyric bill of a 17th Century Commedia dell'Arte, done in an English version of the original text and with the music of the period.

Although the adoption of repertoire last spring was a new step for the Neighborhood Playhouse, it does not mean any change in policy. Since 1915 the theatre has shaped its course with a view to developing a permanent company and the experiments of the past few seasons have convinced the directors that the organization is now ready for a full season's venture. The schedule permits a preliminary run of from two to three and a half weeks for each production before it alternates each week thereafter with a second bill.

The permanent company, some of whom have been with the Playhouse ever since the beginning, includes Albert Carroll, Otto Hulticus, Marc Loebell, Lily Lubell, Ian MacLaren, John Roche, Dorothy Sands, Blanche Talmud and Paula Trueman.

To approach even in some slight way the increased cost of operating repertoire, the box office price of orchestra seats has been raised from \$2 to \$2.25. The balcony price and the subscription rates in both orchestra and balcony remain the same.

### Vaudeville Theatres

#### PALACE

Willard Mack in "Kick In," with a big cast: Mlle. Odell Capeno, dramatic soprano; Marion Harris, in song recital, assisted by Billy Griffith; The Lockfords, with Paul Tisen's Orchestra; Eddie Clayton and Frank Lennie; Jack C. Flippen; and The Erfords.

#### HIPPODROME

Anna Braille and Andre Paillo and Yugoslav Royal Orchestra; Alice Zepilli, grand opera soprano; Charles O'Donnell and Ethel Blair; Dave Kramer and Jack Boyle; Harry Bennett and Helen Gould; Mastin and Richards' Revue, with Wilton Crawley; the Albertina Rasch Ballet; Toots; photoplay, "Alimony Only," with Leatrice Joy.

#### MOSS' BROADWAY

The vaudeville program next week at B. S. Moss' Broadway Theatre will feature Bobby Folsom and Al. K. Hall & Co., late feature of the "Vanties," will present a group of songs. Al. K. Hall will be assisted by a company including Morris Lloyd, Genevieve Blair and Helen Ardell. Jack Hanley; Van Lane and Veronica are other acts. The photoplay feature will be Harold Lloyd in his latest laugh picture, "For Heaven's Sake," with Jobyna Ralston.

"The Eternal Thief," a new play by Tom Barry, will be Walter Hampden's first production of the season, opening at Mr. Hampden's theatre on Thursday night, Sept. 30. The play is laid in the Rome of Tiberius Caesar and calls for a large cast.

### WINTER GARDEN

Even. 8:30 Matinee  
Tues., Thurs. & Sat.

### The GREAT TEMPTATIONS

Staged by J. C. HUFFMAN  
By HAROLD ATTERIDGE

Winter Garden—Sunday Night  
FIRST CONCERT OF THE SEASON  
ALWAYS THE BEST SUNDAY  
ENTERTAINMENT IN TOWN!  
STARS AND NUMBERS FROM  
BROADWAY'S CURRENT REVUE  
AND MUSICAL COMEDY HITS  
SMOKING PERMITTED IN ALL  
PARTS OF THE HOUSE. BUY  
SEATS EARLY AND AVOID BEING  
ONE OF THE STANDEES

44th ST. Theatre  
West of Broadway  
Even. 8:30, Mats. Wed. & Sat.  
2nd EDITION

### A NIGHT IN PARIS

"Better than the first."  
Herald Tribune.

### JOE LAURIE JR.

in the  
New McGuire Comedy

### IF I WAS RICH

MANSFIELD Theatre, W. 47th St.  
Even. 8:30, Mats. Wed. & Sat.

### YOU'LL SIMPLY ADORE

### "THE LITTLE SPITFIRE"

MYRON FAGAN'S  
COMEDY OF LOVE  
AND LAUGHTER  
CORT Theatre, W. 48th St.  
Mats. Wed. & Sat.

### Broadway Briefs

"Happy-Go-Lucky," A. L. Erlanger's new musical comedy production, had its first presentation Monday night at the Colonial Theatre, Boston. After a fortnight there it comes to the Liberty Theatre, opening on Monday evening, September 27.

Winthrop Ames started rehearsals of Philip Barry's new play, "White Wings," that is scheduled to open here Tuesday evening, October 12.

A. H. Woods will present Lowell Sherman in a play hitherto called "A Woman Disputed Among Men," but with a now-uncertain title, at the Forrest Theatre, Monday evening, Sept. 27th. Ann Harding, Crane Wilbur and Louis Calhern are the featured players.

"My Country," now playing at the Forrest Theatre, will end its engagement here this Saturday evening.

GRANT MITCHELL



Star of "One of the Family," the amusing comedy which opens a week's engagement at the Bronx Opera House beginning Monday.

## THEATRES

SHUBERT Theatre, 44th St.  
Even. 8:30, Matinee  
Wed. and Sat. 2:30

### COUNTRESS MARITZA

ALL STAR CAST  
Staged by J. C. HUFFMAN

GREATEST OF ALL OPERETTAS

GRAND OPERA ENSEMBLE  
OF 80 VOICES

### COSMOPOLITAN

Direction MESSRS. SHUBERT  
Evenings 8:30, Matinee Wed. & Sat.

"Best Musical Play in City."  
—Alan Dale, N. Y. American.

### MITZI

Surpasses All Her Former Triumphs in the Musical Play

### NAUGHTY RIQUETTE

with  
STANLEY LUPINO

### SAN CARLO GRAND OPERA

Direction FORTUNE GALLO

Evenings at 8:20 Sharp

Monday, "GIOCONDA"

Tuesday, "TRAVIATA"

Wednesday Evening, "FAUST"

Thursday, "FORZA DEL DESTINO"

Friday, "TOSCA"

Sat. Mat., "TALES OF HOFFMAN"

Saturday Evening, "AIDA"

San Carlo Grand Opera Ballet

Maria Yurleva and Vechaslav Swoboda

Premier Danseurs

Popular Prices: 50c. to \$3, plus tax

Tel. Col. 8800

### SEASON'S LAUGH SENSATION!

### LOOSE ANKLES

BROCK FEMBERTON Presents

BILTMORE Theatre, 47th St.  
Evenings at 8:40  
Mats. Wed. & Sat.

### A. H. WOODS presents 3 CAPACITY HITS 3

FLORENCE REED in  
THE SHANGHAI GESTURE  
THE GREATEST MELODRAMA IN THE WORLD—BY JOHN COLTON  
8th Month CHANIN'S 46ST.  
W. of B'way, Mats. Wed. & Sat.

In association with Arch Selwyn and by arrangement with Julius Frank  
A MILE A MINUTE HIT  
The GHOST TRAIN  
BY ARNOLD RIDLEY  
ELTINGE Theatre, W. 47th St.  
Mats. Wed. & Sat.

H. L. MENCKEN says: The play gave my old bones a salubrious shaking up. In fact, I roared so loudly that I probably annoyed my neighbors.  
LUDWIG SATZ & POTASH and PERLMUTTER DETECTIVES  
RITZ Theatre, W. 48th St.  
Mats. Wed. & Sat.

after which the attraction goes to Chicago.

### Bronx Amusements

### BRONX OPERA HOUSE

149th St., E. of Third Ave.  
POP. PRICES 10c. Mats. Wed. & Sat.

BEGINNING MONDAY NIGHT

JOHN TUEK Presents

GRANT MITCHELL

In the Uproarious Comedy

ONE OF THE FAMILY

With LOUISE CLOSSER HALE

and the original Eltinge Theatre cast intact

Week of Sept. 27

"NOT HERBERT"

The Sensational Drama

## MUSIC

### San Carlo to Present Two New Artists Next Week

THE second week of the San Carlo Opera Company's engagement at the Century, announced by Fortune Gallo, will include two artists not heard during the week just closed. The week will also see the repetition of "Aida," presented on Saturday night. The new ballet, headed by Vechaslav Swoboda, Maria Yurleva and Pedro Rubin, will be presented during each of the operas, with the exception of "La Traviata" on Friday.

The two artists are: Gladys Axman, former Metropolitan Opera Company soprano, singing the title role in "Tosca," and Tina Paggi, coloratura, who will sing Monday night in "La Gioconda" and Tuesday night in "La Traviata."

The operas for the week:  
Monday, "La Gioconda," with Mmes. Jacobo, Ada Saleri, Messrs. Tafuro, Lull, Mongelli.

Tuesday, "La Traviata," with Mmes. Tina, Paggi and Besuner; Messrs. Tafuro, Conati, Cervi.

Bomar Cramer, pianist, a pupil of Josef Lhevinne and a fellow of the Juilliard Foundation for two years, will make his debut in Aeolian Hall October 17th.

The Russian Symphonic Choir under the leadership of Basil Kibichich will begin its new season at Aeolian Hall October 17th.



## WORLD LABOR GROUP AIDS MINERS

### Amsterdam International Scotchmen Communist Charges of Lukewarm Attitude

**E**XASPERATED by the constant repetition in the Communist press of all countries of the charge that the International Federation of Trade Unions is not doing its duty in the British miners' strike, the Amsterdam Bureau of the I. F. T. U. has issued a statement on the actual situation reading, in part, as follows:

"The Communist organ, Rote Fahne (Berlin), makes its comment on the opening by the I. F. T. U. of a special fund for the assistance of the British miners as follows:

"It has taken time enough before the I. F. T. U. has responded to the repeated appeals of the Communists and of the British trade unions to take official action on raising funds."

"It is not surprising that the Communists should calmly take the credit for the action taken by the I. F. T. U. for the illusion of energetic effort which they produce is based on just such imaginary exertion of influence. That the Rote Fahne considers the period required for its influence to take effect to be a long one is, however, more remarkable. For it is quite plainly to be seen in the appeal by the I. F. T. U. for assistance for the English miners, which the paper reproduces, that this appeal was published on the very day on which the request from the British Trades Union Congress for the opening of such a fund was received in Amsterdam. This is apart and aside from the fact that already up to that time everything which the British General Council considered to be necessary and effective had been done by the I. F. T. U."

**Immediate Aid Given**

"Even before an exact report was to hand from the British T. U. C. (and according to Congress decisions such an official report must precede the taking of any relief measures) the I. F. T. U. immediately on the outbreak of the general strike, entered into correspondence with the T. U. C. with a view to organizing support. In spite of the very unfavorable conditions prevailing in the trade union movement in many countries, considerable sums of money were available even before the receipt of any British request for assistance, sums which in all probability compare very favorably with those collected by the Communists in the same countries, in regard to which, by the way, so far absolutely no information has even been published."

"When the I. F. T. U., after the conclusion of the general strike, was approached for the second time by the British T. U. C. with a request for further action, this request was immediately acceded to in the manner desired by the British General Council. I. e., a loan was raised among its affiliated national centers, the proceeds of which brought the total sum placed at the disposal of the British T. U. C. by and through the I. F. T. U. to about 1,500,000 Dutch guilders (at 40 cents each). The position with regard to the newly instituted fund for the miners is this: The I. F. T. U., as the international representative of national trade union centers, may only proceed to action in support of a single trade when this action is proposed by the national center in the country concerned. This is a question of organization, and may be taken as axiomatic; for, in the ordinary way, action taken internationally in support of a single trade naturally comes within the province of the appropriate international trade secretariat."

**Fund Is Growing**

"Meanwhile the fund opened by the International Federation of Trade Unions at the request of the British Trades Union Congress is going ahead. Everywhere the appeal of the I. F. T. U. is meeting with a prompt response. District and local organizations in the various countries are taking action so as to bring the appeal home to every individual worker. Rumors regarding a speedy conclusion of the struggle have their one and only foundation in the fact that the miners now, as always, are prepared to resume negotiations on the basis of more reasonable conditions and of the urgently necessary reorganization of the mining industry. They are, however, equally fully determined to continue the struggle, should the government and the employers act on the assumption that they can, by means of starvation and terrorism, lower the form of the miners, who form the vanguard of the European working class in its struggle for the eight-hour day and a living wage. There is at present absolutely no indication of the relinquishing by either government or employers of their intransigent attitude."

"This means for the workers the necessity of the collection of the largest sums that can be raised to finance the continuance of the conflict. The struggle has now entered on its final phase. The sacrifices already made will have been made in vain if this final phase is not fought out with every ounce of strength. So, to the collection of funds for the British miners, with energy and goodwill!"

What more crushing proof of human degradation than to sell one's labor of hand or brain? This act, too degrading for any citizen of Sparta or Rome, is the only resource left to the producer in our capitalist society; wage labor is a form of slavery.—Paul Lafargue.

# THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

## National

The National Platform is now ready, a fine piece of propaganda, four pages. Locals and Branches everywhere should send in their orders right away and put them out. They sell for 40c. a hundred; \$3.00 a thousand; in lots of 5,000 or more, \$2.75 per thousand. Address the National Office, Socialist Party, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

## California

Local Manzanita has adopted the following resolution:

Whereas, The last Socialist National Convention adopted a resolution favoring light wines and beer, and

Whereas, The liquor question has no relation to Socialism, and

Whereas, There are many in the Socialist Party who cannot endorse such a resolution.

Therefore, be it resolved, That we condemn said resolution and we want it understood that under no circumstances would we favor any plank being placed in our platform that will in any way commit the Socialist Party to the wet program.

## New Jersey

**Trenton**

Arthur W. Newman held two open air meetings last week. Attendance and book sales were very good. On Sunday morning an organization meeting was held with members of the Jewish Branch and former members of the old American branch present. A committee was selected to work in cooperation with the State Committee in reviving the movement in Trenton and arrange for open air meetings in September and October. A large mass meeting is planned to be held in Workers Circle Hall on October 31 to complete the work of organization. Prominent speakers will be obtained.

**Newark**

A Sacco-Vanzetti protest meeting will be held Friday evening, September 17, at Central Market Plaza and Broad street. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and other prominent speakers will address this meeting.

## Pennsylvania

**West Philadelphia**

The West Philadelphia Branch of the Socialist Party launched its fall and winter activities with a highly successful gathering on Sept. 9. There was an excellent attendance, new members were admitted to the party, and many members back from their summer vacations put their dues in good standing. The members of the branch are looking forward eagerly to the next meeting, which will be held on Thursday, Sept. 23, 8:15 p. m., at 5222 Haverford avenue. All readers of The New Leader living in West Philadelphia are cordially invited to attend the meetings of this branch.

## Colorado

The Socialist Party, which hasn't any contests, and hence was not in the primary election Sept. 14, took advantage of the first day for filing its tickets for the November general election. The ticket is as follows:

Governor, Frank H. Rice; Lieutenant Governor, Daniel McGinley; Secretary of State, John Bradfield; Attorney General, Charles T. Hickey; Treasurer, Walter Moore; Auditor, George Diebel; Superintendent of Public Instruction, John E. Kring; Supreme Court, Albert Watson and Fred B. Keller. The party also filed the name of Clyde Anderson as candidate for Congress in the Denver district. All the candidates named are residents of Denver.

So far as Carl S. Milliken, Secretary of State, in whose office these lists must be filed, knows, there are no other independent party tickets to be filed.

## Kansas

Kansas Socialists have filed their complete State ticket and have started on the campaign. Their platform has been adopted, and the following are nominees: M. L. Phillips, McDonald, U. S. Senator; H. Hilfrich, Syracuse, Governor; M. L. Pruett, Pomona, Lieutenant Governor; J. B. Shields, Lost Springs, Secretary of State; T. W. Dunstan, Syracuse, Superintendent of Insurance; Ralph Gilman, Baldwin City, Treasurer; C. G. Tettler, Eureka, Auditor; Ida A. Beloff, Wichita, Superintendent of Public Instruction; James Chase, Columbus, State Printer.

## Ohio

The Socialist ticket will be on the ballot, thanks to all comrades for their co-operation in the work. With just a little more of this kind of help, Socialism will make progress. Never before have our chances been so encouraging. There is a possible chance of casting votes enough to become an official party, which means progress and the elimination of the need of securing signatures.

This is an appeal to all comrades to help. Letters must be sent to readers of the American Appeal and The New Leader. Papers must get our message

throughout the State. Literature and platforms must be printed and distributed. Speakers must be sent into the State. In fact, we must have MONEY and organization—that will spell success.

Let your donations flow in, and as much as you can afford. The more the better. More people will be reached with our message and the stronger our forces will be. Become a member of the party; pay dues and donate all you can to assist in carrying on the work for the emancipation of the wage-slave. Your comradeship and your financial support is solicited. COME!

Don't let this appeal go to naught. It is your fight. It is your party. Be a worker in the Cause for Humanity. Write John G. Willert, State Secretary, 218 Superior Building, Cleveland, Ohio.

## Idaho

Mrs. Doris Morris has been doing fine work in Idaho, organizing locals, securing members at large, taking subscriptions to the American Appeal, etc. It is interesting to know that for some time C. H. Cammans, State Secretary, was very much discouraged and in communications to the National Headquarters he invariably insisted that the voters of that state were so sound asleep that it would be impossible to awaken them until something happened to tear them loose. But since Mrs. Morris got to work and since she came in contact with her enthusiasm, he sends in the following tribute to her as a Socialist worker:

My Tribute and Homage to Comrade Mrs. Doris Morris.

A Fighter for Human Rights. An Eponent of Economic Equality. A Soldier whose guns are trained on the heart of Capitalism. A "Deliverer of Messages" who is gladly heard by the Multitude.

To have become acquainted with and to have had the privilege of meeting this valiant oracle of Labor is indeed a fortunate occurrence. Her message cannot fail to inspire us to better things in life and to set aglow the spirit of human kindness, unless one is possessed of a heart of stone.

In the name of my hopes for Economic Justice, and also in the name of class-conscious workers, of whom I claim to be one, I thank you most sincerely and fraternally for having sent Mrs. Morris to Idaho.

## Illinois

The Jugo Slav Socialists at Gillespie planned a picnic for Gillespie and surrounding mining camps for Sunday, Sept. 5, but the rainy weather made the picnic a failure. These comrades are not discouraged but are going ahead with the campaign work.

On Labor Day George Koop, candidate for Congressman-at-Large, spoke at a monster celebration given by the United Mine Workers of Gillespie and surrounding territory. More than 5,000 people were in attendance. J. M. Corneille was so pleased with the reception given Koop's speech that he wants him to come back for a meeting some time in September or October. These comrades also asked that Wm. H. Henry, our National Secretary, be sent to that territory for two or three meetings before the close of the campaign. Several other places in the State have asked for speakers.

The Socialists of the 6th Congressional, 2nd and 19th Senatorial Districts, are planning a campaign conference at Douglas Park Auditorium, Monday, Sept. 20. All those interested in the district and State campaign be sure to attend this meeting.

## New York State

**Emil Herman's Work**

Emil Herman, State Organizer, has been putting in the week in Utica and Oneida and vicinity. He will go to Syracuse on Sunday, remaining until September 27. On the 27th Herman is scheduled to be in Cortland, on the 28th also, and on the 29th and 30th in Ithaca. He will reach Elmira on October 1, and then will be routed along the "southern tier" of cities and towns. While in Syracuse, Organizer Herman will make side trips to Auburn, Watertown, Fulton, etc.

The next meeting of the State Executive Committee will be in connection with the official conventions of September 25. The official State Committee, consisting of one member from each Assembly District elected at the primary, will be formally organized on the evening of the 25th.

State Secretary Merrill has made an allotment of Y. P. S. L. voluntary assessment stamps to the locals of the state, and is urging comrades to encourage the movement of the young people by purchasing these stamps. The Co-operative Commonwealth, declares the State Secretary, will never come without the interest and co-operation of the rising generation.

## New York City

**STREET MEETINGS**

**Manhattan**

Saturday, Sept. 18, 125th street and Fifth avenue. Speakers, Tim Murphy and Andrew Regaldi.

Corner 123d street and Lenox avenue. Speakers, Frank Crosswath and V. C. Gaspar.

**Monday, Sept. 20, 10th street and Second avenue. Speakers, Ethelred Brown and Samuel E. Beardsley.**

**Tuesday, Sept. 21, Seventh street**

and Avenue B. Speakers, Ethelred Brown, Nathan Fine and Jos. Tuvim.

Friday, Sept. 24, Clinton and E. Broadway. Speakers, Wm. Karlin, A. Scall.

## Bronx

Monday, Sept. 20, Longwood and Prospect avenues. Speakers, Wm. Karlin, candidate for justice, Court of Appeals; Samuel Orr, candidate for Congress, 23d Dist. and Isidore Polstein, candidate for Assembly 4th A. D.

Thursday, Sept. 23, 169th street and Boston road. Speakers, Samuel Orr and Ethelred Brown.

Friday, Sept. 24, 168d street and Prospect avenue. Speakers, Isidore Polstein, Dr. Leon R. Land and Samuel E. Beardsley.

## Brooklyn

Wednesday, Sept. 22, Pitkin avenue and Herzl street. Speakers, Ethelred Brown and Jos. Tuvim.

Corner Havemeyer and So. Fourth street. Speakers, Hyman Nemeser, candidate for Assembly 4th A. D.; I. M. Chatcutt.

Corner Broadway and Monroe street. Speakers, Samuel E. Beardsley and Samuel H. Friedman.

## Staten Island

Saturday, Sept. 18, Fort Richmond Square. Speakers, Ethelred Brown and Walter Dearing.

## Bronx

**Branch 7**

Branch 7, at its clubrooms, 4215 Third Avenue, through its Educational Committee outlined a plan for conducting lectures during the coming season. It was agreed that application for a new lease be made. All members are requested to attend the general party meeting Sept. 16 at 1187 Boston Road, 8:30 p. m. In order to expedite constructive Socialist work it was decided to meet every first and third Tuesday in each month. All members of Branch 7 are urged to note said dates, as every effort must be made for a hundred percent attendance at all future meetings and also at the coming lectures.

The next meeting of the branch will be held Sept. 21 at 8:30 p. m. at 4215 Third Avenue. Members are urged to attend this meeting, as further plans for campaign work will be presented.

## TO UNATTACHED SOCIALISTS

### Why Don't You Organize a Local or Become a Member at Large?

**I**F there isn't a Socialist Local in your town or community, then why don't you get the Socialists together and organize one? And if there are not enough Socialists to have a local of at least five members, then become a member-at-large.

The above query is important. Socialism to the Socialist means complete emancipation from capitalism to Socialism; from wage-slavery to industrial freedom. If we believe in Socialism, then we should not be backward about doing OUR part.

It is the dues-paying members that constitute the Party. It is they who manage the affairs of the Party, name its officers, nominate its candidates for office, raise campaign funds and manage the campaigns. It is the red-card, dues-paying members that constitute the Party. If you are not a member, then you are not a real Socialist.

You will agree with me that you should have a local in your town. Then write to the National Office Socialist Party, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill., for an application for charter. This application will be forwarded to you at once. Then your next step is to call the Socialists together at your home or anywhere you can arrange for a meeting. Send a letter or pass the word around. When they have arrived call the meeting to order and have the group select a Chairman for the meeting. Then elect a Secretary-Treasurer, who will collect the first month's dues, 50 cents. Have each one sign the application blank furnished by the National Office; the Secretary-Treasurer will then send the application and money to the National Office. On receiving the application, the National Office will forward stamped-up membership cards and charter with all the necessary instructions to guide you in the future work of the local.

The local, when organized, shall set a time for regular meetings so the members will know when and where to meet. The Secretary will attend to all correspondence, affix dues stamps to the dues books of its members and keep books showing the standing of each member. Any member in arrears more than three months is not a good-standing member.

The big work for a local is to carry on the Party work of nominating candidates for office, putting out Socialist leaflets, books and getting subscriptions for the Socialist Press. The American Appeal is our paper, owned by the National organization. It is a weekly, a four-page paper, and you get

sent for approval of the members.

The Educational Committee submitted a list of the most prominent lecturers in this part of the country and expect to be successful in booking several for a series of three and four lectures each.

It is anticipated that said method will prove more interesting and add to the attendance. The admission fee will remain the same—25c.

All members of Branch 7 were urged to aid in every way the activities under the auspices of the City Executive Committee.

## BROOKLYN

**Ratification Meeting in Brownsville**

The opening of the big campaign in Brownsville will be celebrated by a huge mass meeting at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, Friday evening, Sept. 24. The guest speaker is Tony Sender, the brilliant orator of the German Socialist and Labor Movement and the youngest member of the German Reichstag. The following candidates will address this meeting: Abraham I. Shipiloff, for Congress, Tenth District; August Claessens, for Lieutenant-Governor Albert Halpern, for Senator, Seventh District; Morris Paris, for Assembly, Twenty-third Assembly District.

## Yipseldom

**Circle 2, Brownsville**

Circle 2 of Brownsville is planning a series of five educational programs. There will be alternate weeks of miscellaneous matter and lectures. The miscellaneous matter will consist of such things as book reports, current events, the reading of the circle newspaper, etc. The lectures will be followed by discussions.

On Sept. 18 Circle 2 is holding a dance in conjunction with Circle 13 at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum at 8 p. m. Come, comrades, and make it a success. Admission 50c.

On Sept. 19 Director Agros will give the first of a series of lectures, which will take place at our regular meeting room in the Labor Lyceum. Everybody is invited.

it for 50 cents for six months, or \$1.00 per year. A big list of readers in your community will mean a live, active local, a big Socialist vote and a fine neighborhood to live in.

If you are with us, write us today for an application for Charter and get the local started. A single Socialist can be a member-at-large by sending his name and address, with the first month's dues, to the National Office.

Write today. Address THE SOCIALIST PARTY, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

## Critical Cruisings

(Continued from page 10)

Science cannot know; art or religion may guess. This limits, not the sphere of science, but the scope of the intellect. But it is mere superstition to imagine that what cannot be known in the mind and by intellectual symbols may be apprehended in its most logical form—mysticism which pretends to be, not merely an alternative to scientific truth (and therefore under certain conditions an acceptable mysticism) but something more inclusive of reality than the scientific method.

Later on Mr. Read states, in way of tentative conclusion:

"Instead of cloudy abstractions like art and life, it is better to deal in actual attributes, realities in their literary aspect. And in this preliminary essay I wish to define the actual attributes of criticism. I have, I hope, cleared some of the ground by proposing a standpoint more actual and by more historically congruous than that of Mr. Waldo Frank. We have now to come closer to the actual texture or type of the critical mind."

To say that Mr. Read always achieves his aim of being "a scientific critic" would be an exaggeration to which even Mr. Read would object. In many instances his style is guilty of the same vagueness that at times he attributes to his opponents, Mr. Frank in particular. But there is an unflinching grace of expression which, howsoever lacking in vigor and however minus in definiteness, gives to his essays on "The Future of Poetry," "The Disciples of Diderot," "Psychoanalysis and Criticism," and "The Modern Novel" an element of appeal that is characteristic only of distinctive criticism. It is neglect of the sociological approach that prevents such penetrating studies as "The Definition of Comedy" from being profound as well as brilliant.

That Mr. Read's criticism, nevertheless, is important to the modern trend, is proved by his eagerness to encourage the scientific instead of the metaphysical, the logical instead of the mystical, attitude.

## WORKMEN'S SICK & DEATH BENEFIT FUND

OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
ORGANIZED 1884

MAIN OFFICE: 9 SEVENTH STREET, N. Y. C.  
Number of Members December 31, 1925  
57,115

346 BRANCHES—98 in the State of New York  
TOTAL ASSETS—Dec. 31, 1925.....\$2,530,781.96

Benefits Paid

Death Benefit.....\$3,481,370.89

Sick Benefit.....8,461,033.81

**WORKING MEN, PROTECT YOUR FAMILIES!**

in case of sickness, accident or death!

Death Benefit, \$250. Sick Benefit, \$360 to \$900 for 80 Weeks.

For Further Information Write to the Main Office or to the Branch Financial Secretary of Your District

## Jersey Trolley Men Renew Wage Pact for Three Years

NEWARK, N. J.—By a vote of 2,574 to 1,263 the trolley men in Newark, Jersey City, Elizabeth and six other cities in the northern half of New Jersey voted to accept the proposal of the Public Service Corporation of New Jersey, their employer, for a three-year renewal of the present wage contract on a 65-cent an hour wage basis. Slight improvement in working conditions include heated cars.

The company's earlier demand for a ten cent an hour cut was met with a strike vote. The men countered with a demand for a fifteen cent wage increase.

A strike loomed; all efforts to get company officials in conference failed till early September, when executives of the Amalgamated Association of Electric and Street Railway Employees met with the local workers' committee and an officer of the company.

## GERMAN LABOR RUNS MINES

(Continued from page 1)

until 1923. This change to a stock company with greater freedom of action and absence of legislative interference was done under great duress. During the war the government mines had suffered more than the private ones. Production per man-day was down 30 to 40 per cent of the prewar rate. There had to be a housecleaning or the whole thing might have gone under. The workers, the officials and the board of directors got together and made the concern go. It seems to be on the way to being one of the most productive companies in Prussia. In this co-operation the workers were influenced by a realization that their efforts did not go to any profit takers, but that one of the goals of the company is to get to the place where it can set a wage policy which the private companies will have to equal.

"The function of such a company in setting the pace on costs and prices may grow to be very considerable. The German Socialists who are devoting themselves to this practical revisionism see the Prussians as a counter monopoly to the monopolization of private industry. When the State still owned the mines in the Saar which are lost for awhile to France and the mines in Oker-Schlesien the possibilities for such a company were less limited. What it is now trying to do is to extend its production by efficiencies and by purchase of other companies and also to enter into the field of the finishing industries. If it is to extend its influence it must follow the private companies in the direction of both horizontal and vertical development. It already owns several steel works as well as a host of miscellaneous industries."

"The people who are running this company are mainly Socialists who consider it a necessary piece of State Socialism and who are giving most of the energy which formerly went into dialectics to setting an example to the State and Nation."

Mr. Raushenbush spent most of his time studying the coal kartell in the Ruhr with his headquarters in Bochum.

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"In all my experience in labor cases, I have never met such a peaceful strike," Wason told the court. "There has been no violence at all involving the union. Why, in the furriers' strike recently, there were attacks, assaults and brutality on all sides. There was near murder. This cloak strike has been peaceful throughout."

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## WORKERS OF PORTO RICO MIGRATE

### Economic Distress in Island Compels Laborers to Seek Work in United States

WASHINGTON.—Reports have been received from San Juan, Porto Rico, from Rafael Alonso, general secretary of the Free Federation of Workmen of Porto Rico, giving the information that on Sept. 9 the first expedition of 300 labor families sailed for Arizona. These workers have been contracted for by a cotton company to work in the cotton fields of Arizona. Santiago Iglesias of the Pan-American Federation of Labor has issued a statement declaring:

"The labor officials of Porto Rico requested the American Federation of Labor to inquire whether these workers who are going to be employed in the Arizona cotton fields will minimize the scale of wages and lower the living conditions of the workers of that region. We do not know whether they are going to be placed as strike-breakers or whether they will be used as free workers and citizens."

"We request you to extend the inquiry not only to Arizona, but through the Labor Department of Washington in order to communicate the results of your findings to the people of Porto Rico. The Secretary of Labor has already, through the Associated Press and the United Press, made known that the workmen of Porto Rico are citizens of the United States and can enter freely in the field of work of the United States, but we are anxious to know if our fellow workers are being taken from the island to break strikes or to lower conditions of work."

**No Prosperity in Porto Rico**

"The common people of the United States are prosperous, . . . but the people of Porto Rico, a possession of the United States with 1,400,000 human beings, are not enjoying the blessings of such prosperity. Two-thirds of the population are out of employment and the wages that are obtained by those who work are very miserable."

"The prosperity of Porto Rico is being enjoyed by only a half dozen of corporations that are deriving all the fruits of the island for the benefit of those who live outside of the country. The prosperity in the island of Porto Rico has never been well distributed. The salaried man and wage-earner are anxious to see a change of the deplorable conditions which now exist."

"As a matter of fact," the reports conclude, "the Congress of the United States should legislate in an economic way favorable to the island, so that our workers will have favorable employment in the island rather than to enter into this kind of immigration."

According to the administration in Washington the remedy that it has in mind is that 300,000 workers should be taken out of Porto Rico to relieve the conditions there.

The public that sinks to sleep, trusting to constitutions and machinery, politicians and statesmen for the safety of its liberty, never will have any.—Garrison.

## ANTI-INJUNCTION FIGHT ON

(Continued from page 1)

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## THE NEW LEADER

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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1926

## SACCO-VANZETTI

EVIDENCE now being presented at the Sacco-Vanzetti trial promises to make that case more infamous than the rail-roading of Mooney and Billings in California. According to sworn affidavits of two former agents of the Department of Justice, that department of the government, unable to deport the two accused men, decided to convict them of murder as "one way of disposing of them." The agents made full reports to Attorney General Palmer while engaged in this work while as many as twelve agents were at work to fasten the Braintree murders on Sacco and Vanzetti.

This recalls the statement of Judge Anderson following Palmer's illegal raids early in 1920. This Federal judge asserted that the Department of Justice had its agents assist in organizing the various "radical" organizations and instructed the agents all over the country to have the local groups meet on the night set for the nationwide raids. A reprint of these instructions later appeared in a protest to the Department of Justice by a group of eminent lawyers, headed by the Dean of the Harvard Law School, together with other informing documents which showed that the department under Palmer had no respect for the law which he had taken an oath to observe.

The "frameup" seems to have become a common practice in the United States, and workmen have always been the victims. The class bias back of the administration of "justice" is too often apparent. The worker in court, even if he faces no perversion of law, is in the first place handicapped by lack of funds to hire the legal talent always available to men of great wealth. When to this is added an attitude which assumes that he belongs to a servile caste entitled to no consideration, he is helpless before his enemies. It is time for a crusade to make the courts safe for workingmen.

## CAPITALISM IN FOOD

JUST to confirm the general belief in the blessings of capitalism in supplying food, consider the distribution of milk in New York City. How many inspectors have been removed for shady transactions we do not know, but this week the list is increased by two, one a chief inspector and the other a legal advisor to the department. Two high officials have been convicted of graft, one is awaiting sentence and two others are under indictment.

Meantime a war is being waged between rival milk firms. Milk is being adulterated, rivals have been slugged, and one milk distributor had his delivery wagon burnt. Sabotage has become a weapon in the war. Milk has been soured with chemicals and refuse has been placed in milk cans. One extortioner who is under indictment is said to be in the coils because of evidence presented by rival extortioners. Health Commissioner Harris is reported as having found graft being levied on restaurants and lunch rooms in return for which proprietors are given immunity to violate the health code.

Are the capitalists, agents and officials involved in this sabotage, violence, graft, extortion and poisoning criminal defectives? Not at all. They are the average type of men to be found anywhere in society. They are simply shaped by the business code of capitalism. In their family and social relations we have no doubt that they are real human beings, but when it comes to getting profits out of the business, ethics go into the dust bin. Capitalism is gambling and war. It spawns the grafter, the extortioner, the saboteur and the poisoner.

Socialization of the food supply might be better; it certainly could not be worse.

## MUSSOLINI

THE attack on the life of the Italian Dictator was to be expected and so long as he suppresses the aspirations of the Italian people for free initiative in economic, political and cultural organization his life will be in peril. He and his Black Hundreds are reaping what Nicholas and his Black Hundreds reaped before the Romanoff dynasty went down in ruin.

Political assassination as a means of economic, political and social change is futile, but when despotic rule becomes unbearable it hatches the daring and desperate individual who conceives his mission to be an avenger of social wrongs. History has no more meaning for the avenger than it has for the despot. Mussolini believes that his

regime can be perpetuated by terror. The avenger believes that it can be ended by terror. Both are wrong. Mussolini can no more shake off the nemesis that follows him than he can avoid his own shadow.

As this is the third attempt on his life it is evident that Italy has entered on the period of duels between the Fascist Government and desperate individuals who seek to end the nightmare that broods over that unhappy country. The Black Hundreds may take reprisals as the Black Hundreds of Russia did, but these merely add to the hates that seethe because of the dictatorship.

The Russian despotism vegetated on the edge of Europe while the Fascist oligarchy survives in the heart of Europe. It is all the more dangerous to the peace of the world. Mussolini's insolent statement which hinted at the responsibility of France is an example of the danger. An international commission should sit in judgment on the paranoic who rules at Rome and order his removal to a padded cell.

## SOCIALISTS RETURN

THE election in Maine shows a heavy decline in the vote compared with the election of two years ago. About 65,000 voters stayed home. In this state the primary vote shows a considerable decline. All indications are that the voters are not interested in the elections this year, and it is probable that a very light vote will be cast in all states.

The reader who turns to the Socialist Party page of this issue will find some striking items which show that in a period of apathy we are recovering some ground which we lost in the period immediately following the end of the World War. It will come as a surprise to those who have followed the fortunes of the Socialist movement in the West to learn that Texas Socialists have not only nominated a ticket but have formed a state organization. Kansas never had a strong organization before the war, but it is represented with a state ticket. Colorado and Idaho send the same report. Idaho a few years ago had a very promising independent labor and farmer political movement with which Socialists cooperated, but it failed to rise to its opportunity. It disintegrated and the Socialist Party again forges to the front. For the first time in years Ohio Socialists were able to obtain the 25,000 signatures required to get on the ballot. Montana is rapidly recovering and promises a substantial increase in the Socialist vote.

All of which is encouraging. Our "friends" of the "left" have practically no influence except in a few unions in Chicago and New York City. The Socialist Party is again the third party in many states. Get to work. Let us make the most of an encouraging tendency, build for the future, and avoid some of the mistakes of the past.

## A SUPERSTITION

THE great superstition that survives is the belief that private individuals or corporations must own the forms of production and distribution of wealth. Various deposits such as coal, minerals and oil; railroads, factories and shipping; telegraphs, telephones and power sites—are all possessed by a few. All theirs, surrounded by a barrier of laws and protected by police powers if necessary. The rest of us should be satisfied, even happy, that a few possess and the rest do not. It is the best arrangement and to upset it would be more of a disaster to us than to them.

Occasionally there is dissatisfaction with the arrangement. The few get so much and the rest of us so little at times that complaints become vocal. Sometimes the whole arrangement goes to smash by ending in industrial prostration with many millions out of work. Grumbling is heard on all sides. Is it the best arrangement after all? Then the editors, politicians and university men step in. It is their function to smother the dissatisfaction. It's too bad, of course, but don't make a noise about it. Above all, retain your faith in holy private property in the powers of production and distribution.

The result is that we muddle through the misery until the rickety industrial structure is pulled together only to go through another collapse. Meantime a few sit at the top pocketing hundreds of millions and toss some financial contributions to agents of their two parties to keep us shifting from one party to the other. Masses are herded from one political camp to the other by these agents and economic mastery continues no matter which party wins.

Bowing to a totem pole is no more absurd than this veneration of the property and power of a class of idle owners.

## True Patriotism

Not in the belching cannon's roar,  
Not in the piper's lay;  
Not in the flag which we adore,  
Nor yet in holiday.  
Not in fulsome studied speech,  
Not in pomp and show;  
Not in the rockets' sizzling screech,  
Nor in the fires' glow.  
But in the heart, where doth abound  
A nobler, finer plan;  
Where country's weal is the profound  
And holy love for man.  
There is our future's heritage,  
There is our country's hope;  
There doth the patriot's true gauge  
Confound the misanthrope.

—Charles L. H. Wagner.

## A Nation's Strength

Not gold, but only man, can make  
A people great and strong—  
Men who for truth and honor's sake  
Stand fast and suffer long.  
Brave men who work while others sleep,  
Who dare while others fly—  
They build a nation's pillars deep  
And lift them to the sky.

—Emerson.

## The News of the Week

### "Impartial" Justice

Simultaneously with the announcement that Edward L. Doheny is finally before the Supreme Court in an appeal to reverse two decisions against him in the notorious oil scandals comes the news that Charles W. Morse, charged with \$90,000,000 alleged shipping frauds, is still unable "to undergo the strain" of a "protracted trial." President Taft released Morse from the Atlanta Penitentiary in 1911 on the ground that the old gentleman would probably live only a few months. It is fifteen years since he went home to die. He managed to survive, but must not be disturbed in his comfortable Maine home. He might collapse. In the case of Doheny more than two years have elapsed since the original equity suit was filed, and one point in the action brought by his counsel is whether the Government should reimburse him for \$12,000,000 he claims to have expended for oil storage tanks at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii! Before the case is ended we shall not be surprised if Doheny brings suit for a few million dollars damages against the Government because of the mental distress it has caused him for its action. Contrast the two cases with the merciless vengeance displayed in the pursuit of Sacco and Vanzetti by agents of the Department of Justice. Contrast the latter with the years that have passed since former Attorney General Daugherty became involved in the questionable deals now being barred in a Federal Court. Contrast Morse, Doheny and Daugherty with the fate of Tom Mooney, who still serves a life sentence in California in spite of the fact that a special commission of the Department of Labor years ago reported evidence to show that Mooney was the victim of a "frame-up." What about "equality before the law"? If these things continue, to wear working-clothes will justify arrest on suspicion.

### Rivera Holds His Plebiscite

In spite of having had to yield the place of honor in the news to his fellow-dictator in Italy (due to Mussolini's lucky bomb incident), Primo de Rivera managed to get considerable space by holding a comic opera plebiscite in which the Spanish people had the privilege of registering approval of all that the dictator had done during his three years on the job and of his plans for setting up a puppet Parliament. No chance was given to record an opposing opinion, so the result was unanimous. According to reports from Hendaye, on the Spanish-French border, only about one-third of the voters

went to the polls during the three days they were open, and most of those who did go were women, to whom the exercise of any kind of a vote was a novelty. Now, with the artillery officers' revolt stamped out, for a time at least, and with the "solemn approval" of the people, Rivera will go ahead and organize a new National Assembly, composed of some 350 representatives of chambers of commerce, universities, bank associations and similar bodies, not overlooking labor unions, mostly of the Catholic variety, to which about forty seats are to be offered. This National Assembly is to meet in October and prepare the ground for a new Cortes, which is expected to function as a national debating society without being allowed to interfere with the actual working of the near-dictatorship. Some dispatches from Madrid say the Socialists are inclined to send some of their representatives into the National Assembly for the purpose of getting their views before the public. In Geneva, Germany was welcomed to the League of Nations with due ceremony, and no tears appear to have been shed at the withdrawal of Spain. Blasco Ibanez, self-constituted spokesman of the Spanish republicans, has assured the League by wire that as soon as Rivera is overthrown Spain will be back.

### "Moral Duty" to A. Thompson

Colonel Carmi A. Thompson has completed his inspection of the Philippine Islands and has made a note of about everything which he thinks American capitalists should have and will leave early in October to report to President Coolidge. Rarely in the history of any nation has there been such a naked prying into other people's property with the bland admission of intention to transfer the property to the pockets of others. Thompson will stop two weeks in Hawaii to see whether our American masters have overlooked anything there. At one time he had thought of visiting Guam and Samoa, but he has changed his mind and will pass them by. We think that this is a wise course, as American capitalism in these islands has already plucked what values were worth taking and there is nothing left but the natives' shirts to swipe. Thompson will hurry back so that Coolidge will have time to recommend to the next session of Congress just what our imperial magnates want in the Philippines. A Times cable from Manila states that Thompson will "recommend Congressional action looking to the opening of the Philippines to the development of rubber, coffee, iron, coal and other mineral and agricultural resources and us in the Salvation Army."

## THE CHATTER BOX

EVERY now and tomorrow the chronic soul poisoning of American life breaks out in a malignant and surface ulcer. Today it is the Hall murder case. For four years it has lain like an incipient boil under the skin, hardening and ripening. All the poisons, salves and hypodermic injections, from church authority to ward healer, have failed to drive it away. It has persisted, and it's due to break out with foul and ugly eclat. Whoever is guilty, whatever is pathetic and miserable under it all, hardly matters. It is the disease we are slowly dying of spiritually that alarms.

Scratch the surface of any Ku Kluxed Community and you find Sodom and Gomorrah. The more vicious and militant a neighborhood waxes in defence of an established form of puritanism or morality, the more certain it is that consciously or otherwise it is all a smoke curtain for secret iniquities. There are Phillips Farms and pig-women and Dr. Halls and Mrs. Mills all over our states. The fact remains that all our business and social life is over-saturated with tales and tellers that reek with smut and drip with juicy scandal. Enter any Pullman smoking room, become loquacious on any subject of impersonal import, and you are tolerated as a bore or an impostor. Wink yourself into a narrator of drolleries or personal improprieties, and even the colored guardian forgets to turn up his palm at station stops. You start something. The world listens, and then joins, and what was started as just a means of laughing away the tedious miles, ends somewhere between obscenity and abandon.

The millionaire can afford to even publish his social transgressions. The wealthy manufacturer or broker can discreetly sidestep and slip through the gossip gantlet with well-feathered love nests and business trips within the Mann Act. The poor man! Well, he hasn't enough to live properly, let alone love even monogamously. And since he does nothing but carry the rest of the social strata on his back—he cannot even be privileged with a discussion of his insignificance in such an important matter as sociological sin.

It is within a large and economically powerful class, however, where the condition we speak of lies suppressed and ripe with mischief. The butcher, the baker, the doctor, the clergyman, the shopkeeper and bookkeepers, the white-collared, silk-bloomered middle classes, low and high, who fill the schools, colleges and seminaries; who invest the high places in small churches, and small places in tremendous establishments—it is among these that our investigation brings forth chimeras and gorgons of dreadful design.

They are the backbone of Rotaries, Phi Beta Kappas, church conventions and charity bazaars. Masonic, Elk, and Pythian fraternities are woven out of their wool. Listen to any of these at their public rostrums, and you are bathed in the balm of chastity. Snoop in behind their furtive looks and hear the whispering, whether it be at a cabaret table or in the vestry nook of a small town church, and the literature of the French decadents falls in interest.

Prove it, you say. Give us the facts or keep mum, you foreigner. We're a hundred per cent. Americans, and don't say anything you can't prove or we'll string you, tar and feather you, deport you, or frame you up so you'll keep your trap shut. The Mann Act works both ways, stranger.

Gosh, the entire State of New Jersey has been trying for four years to uncover a tale in which a minister and his inamorata, a respectable married singer in the church choir, were finally traced to their trying place by jealous and interested enemies. It might reasonably appear that they were done away with in a dastardly manner before the vision of a half dozen visitors to the same palace of romance. Those who saw and know were in like manner illicitly present. And since the witnesses were also of high degree in a small realm, their silence and fear of exposure have virtually assured the low murderers four years of immunity, and may even defeat whatever justice there may be left in modern life.

And, peculiarly enough, the very disease that brought about the murder is reacting toward its solu-

tion. The same scandal hounds that yawped the relatives or friends into shame and vengeance have kept whining and whelping, smelling and scratching, through the dark of many nights in graveyards of forgotten horrors, until they have exposed bone by bone and rotted shred after shred to the light of day—and their own ghoulish delight.

The desire, the overwhelming love, for a name or picture in the paper has shown us a few of these, whose whisperings and hints prove conclusively their own undiscovered culpability in a hundred mental or actual affairs. Modern science has made an intense study of these perverted types. All of which accounts for the peculiar confusion in the case.

All in all, when this case is finally disposed of, if ever it will be in all justice, the canker will be appallingly ugly to sight and smell.

In some small town of uncivilized Europe a gossip was discovered after weeks of unfounded poison spattering. So a recent news item tells, and after a short hearing, the populace led her to the square and quite brutally cut out her tongue. Of course, we are the last to suggest such inhumanities. And yet what is there to be done with a people that is slowly dying of its own secret vices and scandalizings, wherein each culprit hides his guilt in the outrage he assumes over his neighbor's indiscretions. Whispering dementia Americana—what is your cure?

S. A. de Witt.

## Juggins

A fool there was, and he dug a hole,  
Even as you and I;  
And he slid in the hole on a slippery pole,  
And worked like the dickens digging coal,  
Even as you and I;  
He struggled away till the work was done,  
And found when 'twas over he'd dug a ton;  
And he pointed proudly to what he had done,  
Even as you and I.

He brought the coal to the light of day,  
Even as you and I;  
And he dropped his jaw as he heard the boss say,  
"I'll give you a scuttful for your pay."

Even as you and I;  
It was piling a ton upon the dump,  
And getting rewarded with just one lump,  
Even as you and I.

So what did he do when the truth he found?  
Even as you and I;  
Why, he went right back to his hole in the ground,  
And still dug a ton for a measly pound,  
Even as you and I.  
And the Juggins, he still digs in that hole,  
And election day, when he goes to the poll,  
He votes for his boss who owns the coal,  
Even as you and I.

—Exchange.

## Critical Cruisings

By V. F. Calverton

### Criticism and Science

LITERARY criticism has been noted for its arbitrariness and futility. The literary critic, with his penchant for esthetic evaluation as detached from environmental circumstance, is without significance to the intellectual development of the modern world. He is still living back in the mysticism of a medieval world. He has a faith in universals, noumenal realities, metaphysical essences, that is fundamentally fallacious. In fact, he is the eunuch in the literary harem.

The literary critic, as interpreter of the abstract meaning and value of literature, has no *raison-d'être* except ignorance. The mad multiplication of books has necessitated a filter for the distillation of the finer from the cruder—the literary critic, one may say, is that filter. It is because people want to know what books to read and what to avoid, that the parasitic middle man of literature, the reviewer and critic, attains audience, influence and prestige. If readers were intelligent enough to decide for themselves, they would not need the recommendations, denunciations and admonitions of the critic. The only remaining function of the literary middle man would be swinging his scythe among the wheat, destroying the chaff and preserving the grain. This could be done in diagrammatic outline, without waste of words, as a catalogue stars the meritorious and omits the trivial.

The only justification of the critic of literature is when he endeavors to turn from the subjectivity of esthetics to the objectivity of science. The process of esthetic evaluation, after all, is but dallying with the subjective and ephemeral. In such evaluations little is to be found of significance. Critical taste changes with social relations. The dominance of Johnson in one age becomes the decadency of Johnson in another. Dallas in "The Gay Science," Hennequin in many of his critical studies, J. M. Robertson in his "Essays Toward a Critical Method" and "New Essays Toward a Critical Method," have considered the problem of scientific method in literary criticism. Robertson's work is the most illuminating, suggestive and practical. Yet at best scientific method in criticism has made little progress. If scientific method is to be applied to criticism it must become sociological. To replace subjective criticism by scientific, we may say, is a necessary evolution in critical technique. Without this evolution, all criticism is but gymnastics of the pen.

What scientific method is being applied to criticism today is largely in the direction of the sociological approach. The clarity of criteria provided by historical materialism has led to many promising discoveries and results. In America, there is today a school of sociological critics who use historical materialism and the class-struggle not as the means to wild propaganda, but as aids to clarification of literary doctrine and explanation of literary phenomena. Sociological criticism of literature, for instance, is not concerned with the minor problem of tagging a piece of art with a value of 88 or 89, but with the major problem of relating art to social life. In this way, the sociological school has advanced scientific method in criticism, and furthered that synthesis of literature and life that ultimate criticism demands.

In "Reason and Romanticism" (Faber & Gwyer, England), Herbert Read has written a book of criticism that is devoted to the defense of the scientific and the denunciation of the metaphysical attitude. In its motif the volume is significant. It is its ever-reminiscent contemporaneity that is impressive. It expresses part of the scientific spirit of our era. In other words, it is not criticism like that of so many of our contemporaries, that is retrogressive or static. It is not repelled by science, but attracted by it. It does not view art or criticism as soiled by the growth of the scientific outlook, but benefited by it.

The first essay in "Reason and Romanticism" is the most signal. This essay entitled "The Attributes of Criticism" is devoted to a statement of Mr. Read's attitude toward criticism, and also to a criticism of the metaphysical attitude embodied in the critical attitude of Waldo Frank. Beginning by denying the validity of Mr. Frank's statement that "there has been a common culture for the entire term of history in the western world," Mr. Read points out correctly and illuminatingly that there have been a pre-Renaissance culture, and a post-Renaissance culture, and proceeds to discuss in detail "the fundamental unsoundness of his (Mr. Frank's) position." In the muddled mysticism of Keyserling, Mr. Read sees a certain resemblance to the attitude of Waldo Frank. Of course, even Mr. Read himself does not point out the economic causation of the pre and post-Renaissance cultures, the influence of the commercial revolution and later of the industrial revolution in shaping the expression that these cultures eventually attained.

Mr. Frank's argument that "the forces of intellect have destroyed our only unity, which was religious, and (that) therefore the form of our life is decomposing" meets with sharp rebuke. In reference to the distrust of science—Mr. Frank maintains, quoting his own words, "the disqualification of positive science from any contact with causes." This does not imply, however, that when science is disqualified, art or religion or any other function of the human mind can step in as the equivalent of the scientific method. It merely

It is necessary to be quite plain on this issue: modern science, dislodging itself from nineteenth century science, has undoubtedly declared its disability to "enter the domain of the noumenal; the disqualification of positive science from any contact with causes." This does not imply, however, that when science is disqualified, art or religion or any other function of the human mind can step in as the equivalent of the scientific method. It merely

(Continued on Page 9)