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OHIO MINERS HOLDING FORT FOR NATIONAL UNION; OPERATORS AIM BLOW AT ALL SOFT COAL DISTRICTS

TIMELY TOPICS

By Norman Thomas

THE more liberal sections of public opinion in New York, including even some of the labor organizations, have failed to recognize the seriousness of Justice Guy's injunction in the cloakmakers' strike. This is not an injunction which merely forbids acts in themselves illegal. Against these there is plenty of law, and we do not need injunctions. It forbids peaceful picketing and a great many other things necessary in the routine conduct of the strike. If it is sustained it will become one more precedent adverse to every labor organization throughout New York state.

There is reason to believe that Justice Guy signed the preliminary injunction without properly familiarizing himself with its terms or all the supporting affidavits. At any rate, if he was correctly quoted in the press, two days after he had signed this preliminary injunction his mind was hazy as to its details. In other words, it would appear that in a spare hour before his week-end holiday a judge quite casually signed an order which ranged all the New York police force and the magistrates on the side of the bosses in a great industrial conflict.

But even if Justice Guy acted after careful study and due deliberation, it is monstrous that any judge should have this power. The right of judges, elected or appointed to enforce the law, to go outside of this judicial task and make the rules to govern an industrial conflict is a right that no democratic people should tolerate. It makes our judges oligarchs, and oligarchs who can be trusted, with very few exceptions, always to be on the side of one class. It is idle to talk of freedom when any judge can put such barriers in the way of thousands upon thousands of the workers in their struggle for better living conditions for themselves and their children.

One of the evils of this injunction procedure lies in the fact that there is so little protection against the whim of the enjoining judge by further hearing before another judge on the question as to whether the injunction shall be made permanent. These proceedings always take time. Even if the union wins a judicial victory in the case of the present injunction it will have had to divert money and time at a critical period of strike into a fight that ought never to have been necessary. Under the circumstances the union had no other course than to disregard the injunction it was to carry on the strike. In this case a formal obedience to an injunction would be disobedience to those great principles of justice which are above all judge-made laws. If, as Seward said, there is a higher law than the Constitution, emphatically there is a higher law than Judge Guy's injunction. We congratulate the leaders and the rank and file of the union upon their recognition of this fact. This is an issue upon which workers of the most diverse political opinion must present a united front. The right to organize and to strike cannot be left to the tender mercies of the lawyers whom Tammany Hall and the Republican machine may see fit to exalt to the bench.

This injunction against the cloakmakers makes it not impertinent to remind some labor leaders and their followers, and especially some of our Al Smith Socialists, of a little history. It is labor in New York which supports Tammany Hall. It is labor which turned in the huge majority of 1924 and 1925 for Al Smith and Jimmy Walker, respectively. Workers who in general voted the Socialist ticket in 1924, yes, and the Communist, cut the heads of these tickets in order to be sure that Smith might win. I went around the state pointing out how absolutely the Democratic party in its past record and even in its platform failed to deal with the terrible injunction evil. In one important city (not New York), a prominent labor man, a supporter of LaFollette and Al Smith, assured me that I was wrong and that Smith and the Democrats would give labor what labor wanted on injunctions. In New York City many of our nominally Socialist laborites gave us rather worse than no support at all.

CLOAK ARRESTS DENOUNCED BY PANKEN

Pres. Sigman Among
Hundreds of Strikers
Held Under Injunction

JUDGE JACOB PANKEN, candidate for Governor on the Socialist ticket, has sent a letter to Police Commissioner McLaughlin in regard to the wholesale arrests of picketing New York garment workers. He wrote:

"The newspapers report that hundreds of members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, now on strike, have been arrested by members of the police force for violating an injunction in regard to picketing issued by Supreme Court Justice Charles Guy. If these reports are true, it is evident that the New York police are being used by the cloak manufacturers to break this strike. All fair-minded people know that in most labor disputes an injunction is asked for by a firm whose workers are on strike solely to cow those workers into returning to their tasks. As a rule, too, trumped up violence on the part of the strikers is made the basis for the application."

"I have always felt that the question of the violation of the criminal laws should be left to the Police Department, and that it is clear that it is not the business of the police to enforce injunctions. That is a matter solely for the courts. The right to strike is no longer questioned in America. As to the right to picket, New York State Supreme Court Justice Howard, in the case of the Wood Mowing and Reaping Machine Company vs. Thomas Toohey (114 Misc. p. 185) has said:

"They (the strikers) have as much right to picket as to strike. Picketing simply means standing along highways of approach or near entrances to a plant in time of strike for the purpose of observing who is working and attempt to persuade them to quit."

"In this same opinion Judge Howard says: 'If then, it is law in this State (New York) that strikers on picket duty may use persuasion, what is persuasion? What language is permissible, what is prohibited? The nomenclature of a strike is not the language of the parlor.'"

"In the present instance the police are not only violating the patent rights of the strikers but are deliberately throwing themselves on the side of capital in the workers' uneven struggle for decent American conditions."

Morris Hillquit, counsel for the union, has submitted briefs to Supreme Court Justice Ingraham urging the temporary order be vacated. At the customary mass picketing in the garment zone, strike leaders, in addition to 200 pickets, were arrested for obstruction of traffic this week. Among them were Morris Sigman, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, whose case was adjourned until Oct. 1. He and Jacob Halperin, vice-president, were held in \$100 bail each for a hearing that day. Vice-President Joseph Moruchowitz, Isidor Stenzor, S. Weiss and others received workhouse sentences of a day apiece.

The new Madison Square Garden revived the memory of notable Socialist and labor demonstration held in the (Continued on page 2)

JUDGE PANKEN TO SPEAK AT YIPSEL BALL SEPT. 25

Judge Jacob Panken, Socialist candidate for Governor; August Claessens, candidate for Lieutenant Governor; and Miss Tony Sender, youngest member of the German Reichstag, will be the guests of the Young People's Socialist League, Circle 7, Manhattan, at their annual ball, Saturday eve., Sept. 25, at Webster Hall, 11th street and Third avenue.

Over two thousand people are expected to hear the opening address in this year's gubernatorial campaign from the lips of the Socialist judge. One thousand tickets have already been sold for the occasion. All those wishing to attend can get tickets at the hall on the night of the affair.

2 Socialist Congressmen From Wisconsin Made Possible by Labor Endorsement

Washington.—Possibility that Victor Berger, Socialist, will be joined by Sheriff Melms of Milwaukee in Congress is seen by Washington politicians in view of the fight made by the rail labor organizations on Rep. Schafer in the Fourth Wisconsin district.

"Labor," political organ of the rail labor unions, forecasts a definite endorsement of Melms' candidacy against Schafer. It declares that Schafer waited until after the date for filing nomination papers in the Republican primary had passed and then announced his opposition to the progressive ticket endorsed by labor; that his union and his own mother repudiated his action; that Melms has a perfect labor record and has made good in public office, and that the prospects are that Schafer will get few votes in November.

The paper describes Berger's opponent, Stafford, as a Republican standpatter and Berger as having a good record in Congress.

British Union Congress Cheers General Strike; Tomskey Message Resented

Bournemouth, England.—Cool, calm and determined, yet enthusiastic—reminiscent of the spirit of the workers during the General Strike—was the opening of the 58th Trades Union Congress at a wonderful welcome rally here.

Arthur Pugh, the quiet, decisive chairman of the Congress, who reminds one so much of the industry he is connected with—iron and steel—told a keen-faced, alert audience of the vicissitudes the Movement had gone through, and how, in his opinion, it was growing stronger in the face of its trials. Ernest Bevin, robust in expression, showed other facets of labor's great problems. The cheery Yorkshireman, Ben Turner, spoke of the religion of the movement, and Mr. Arthur Hayday gave illustrations of its practical application.

"If the basic trade union principle that an injury to one is the concern of all is to have any industrial significance—and a trade union is under an obligation to utilize its entire resources, if necessary, to protect a single unit of its membership from injustice—then it must be equally recognized that, with an organized movement, an attempt to impose unjust conditions on any section or part must be met with combined resistance from the whole movement."

These words were the keystone of the arch of the presidential address which Pugh delivered to the Trades Union Congress opening session.

First he struck a note of sadness and regret at the loss to the movement of Fred Bramley, the late secretary, and then turned to the reactionary tendencies of the Government's policy with regard to hours of labor. "The Government," he said, "has thrown off all pretence of sympathy with the policy of shorter hours of labor by ranging itself definitely behind the mine owners in the attempt to enforce by a lockout longer hours of work in the British mines than are recognized by any other important country."

Thoughtfully Pugh dealt with the mining dispute, showing the bankruptcy of the owners and the necessity for the modernization of the industry so that it will become a public service in which real justice will be done for the workers and so give a progressive improvement in their standard of life. The general strike, its objects and the motives behind it were then put by Pugh in a clear, concise picture.

After declaring that there was nothing secret or sinister in trade union methods or aims, he ridiculed the view that the strike was the outcome of "a sort of evil conspiracy of a few agitators meeting at Eccleston square."

He cited the growing discontent of the workers, and dealt with the whole structure and policy of the industrial system. Pugh appealed for more thought on problems of economic reconstruction, and for a broader vision in relation to the international policy.

The heart and fire of his address was the declaration that

Congress was not meeting in a mood of penitence nor with any consciousness of defeat. When Ramsay MacDonald, in company with the members of the General Council, mounted the platform for the opening of the Congress, there was a great outburst of applause.

It was a genuine tribute to British labor's first Prime Minister, and a mark of appreciation of the great efforts made by MacDonald to bring about negotiations with a view to an (Continued on page 2)

U. S. SHIPS CRUISE FOR TROUBLE

Kellogg Asked to Explain Presence of Destroyers in China

NEWS that American marines on board the Pigeon were wounded while the ship was patrolling the civil war zone near Hankow on the Yangtze River has prompted Dr. Harry F. Ward, chairman of the American Committee for Justice to China, to inquire what American warships were doing in that vicinity. The American committee contains on its national committee, among others, Glenn Frank, president of the University of Wisconsin; Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, Bishop S. J. McConnell, William Allen White, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, James H. Maurer, and a number of other prominent leaders of the labor movement and in the churches. Dr. Ward's telegram to Secretary Kellogg follows:

"Hon. Frank B. Kellogg,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

"The newspapers report that American destroyers are steaming to Hankow, 600 miles up the Yangtze River in the interior of China, despite instructions by the Chinese local authorities for all foreign vessels to move downstream because of the state of civil war about that city. Other units of the United States Navy seem to be patrolling the same river about Hankow, and United States marines have been wounded on board the Pigeon, and other ships in the civil war zone have been fired upon. We would respectfully ask under what clause of what treaty the United States claims the right to patrol Chinese internal waters with its warships and what act of Congress authorizes action which is so likely to involve the United States both in the Chinese civil war and in possible conflicts between China and other foreign powers.

"(Signed) HARRY F. WARD.
For the American Committee for Justice to China."

Notice! New York City Voters

Registration for voters in New York City begins Monday, Oct. 4. The polls are open from 5 p. m. to 10:30 p. m., and will be open every afternoon and evening on Tuesday, Oct. 5; Wednesday, Oct. 6; Thursday, Oct. 7, and Friday, Oct. 8, during the same hours. Saturday, Oct. 9, the polls are open all day from 7 a. m. to 10:30 p. m.

It is important to remember these dates. You cannot vote unless you register. Voters must reside at least 30 days in an election district before Election Day. In other words, if you contemplate moving before election, be sure to be in your new residence before Oct. 2.

WIS. PROGRESSIVE DISINTEGRATION GOING ON

Elder Statesmen of La
Follette Machine
Failed to Fight Len-
root, Reactionary

(By Federated Press)

WASHINGTON.—One of the sincerest of the younger Progressives who took part in the recent primary campaign in Wisconsin has explained to Washington friends the reason for the poor showing made by the LaFollette organization on Sept. 7. His statement is an amazing indictment of the old wheel-horses of the LaFollette party—a charge that they virtually boycotted the fight against Lenroot when they had secured the endorsement of organized labor for their own return to office. These men were the five veteran progressive congressmen from Wisconsin.

John Nelson of the Madison district, who managed the LaFollette presidential campaign headquarters in Chicago in 1924, is represented as having gone on vacation—stayed outside the state while vacationing, Ekern and Gov. Blaine were making the fight this year against the Coolidge ticket. Nelson had no opposition in his own primary race. Because he failed to speak a word against Lenroot, it is likely that State Senator Sauthoff will be run against him in 1928 as a progressive.

Rep. Henry Cooper, dean of the House, was silent. Rep. Frear went west for the summer. Rep. Browne could not be located any stage of the battle. Rep. Lampert disappeared. These are men whose political fate rested in the hands of the elder LaFollette for many elections. Now that he is gone the cause of progressivism as against Coolidge-Lenroot reaction does not arouse their interest in the home state's struggle.

One of the veterans did work hard for the progressive program. He was Voight, who had refused to run again but went into the field for Ekern and Blaine. He is now talked of for the independent nomination against Zimmerman for governor. Rep. Beck spoke for Blaine and for himself, and Rep. Schneider, member of the Paper Makers' Union, went to one of the Blaine meetings and shook hands. Rep. Schafer fought the Ekern candidacy. Rep. Peavey spoke only for himself.

Why the old LaFollette organization bogged down in this fashion in the first campaign after its founder's death is puzzling the faithful few who rallied around Ekern and supported the less-trusted Blaine. Some of them confess that Wisconsin progressivism had become a mere submission to the judgment of the elder LaFollette by masses of voters who trusted him, and that there had been too little enlistment of the young people of the state in political discussion and organization. No program and principle appealing to the younger generation survived the old senator. His lieutenants wanted jobs and power without the responsibility of a clearcut social program. This year they left the labor organizations and the devoted little groups of radicals in the various counties to carry on the fight against privilege.

Under these depressing circumstances, says the report from Wisconsin, it is not surprising that the Socialists are again finding hope of a revival. They will elect Victor Berger and probably Edward Melms to Congress from Milwaukee in November, and will resume their agitation for government ownership of railroads and super-power and for old age pensions.

The Wisconsin Socialists are also pointing out that Young Bob and his lieutenants have been considerably "toned down" the elder LaFollette's program, limited as it was from a Socialist point of view. His drift has been toward a sort of shame-faced "progressivism" in the hope of getting support from many "moderates."

SOCIALIST PARTY RATIFICATION MEETING

COOPER UNION

Saturday Evening Oct. 2nd

SPEAKERS:

JUDGE JACOB PANKEN
Candidate for Governor

JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN
Candidate for U. S. Senate

MORRIS SIGMAN
President of the International

Ladies' Garment Workers Union

MORRIS HILQUIT

NORMAN THOMAS
Candidate for State Senate, 14th A. D.

WILLIAM KARLIN
Candidate for Justice, Court of Appeals

Meeting Opens at 8:30 P. M.

ADMISSION FREE

LITHOS OUT FOR 44 HOURS

Careful Preparations
Made for Campaign
in N. Y. C.

By Laborite

The Lithographers' union is going to establish the forty-four hour week in its industry. Preparations are being made very carefully and by the time this issue of the New Leader has reached the reader a general membership meeting of Local 1 of New York City at Stuyvesant High School on Thursday evening, September 23, 1926, will have fired the first shots.

The Amalgamated Lithographers of America, affiliated with the A. F. of L., has at present six thousand members, somewhat more than a third of whom are in the lithographic capital of the country, New York City. Chicago and Baltimore take second and third position, while other places here and in Canada trail far behind. The A. L. A. Blaine is now talked of for the independent nomination against Zimmerman for governor. Rep. Beck spoke for Blaine and for himself, and Rep. Schneider, member of the Paper Makers' Union, went to one of the Blaine meetings and shook hands. Rep. Schafer fought the Ekern candidacy. Rep. Peavey spoke only for himself.

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GENERAL PARTY MEETING CALLED BY SOCIALISTS OF N. Y. CITY FOR SEPT. 29

All members of the Socialist Party in Greater New York are called to attend a general party meeting in the People's House Auditorium, 7 East 15th street, on Wednesday, Sept. 29, at 8:30 p. m. Plans and issues of the campaign will be considered.

Among the speakers will be Judge Panken, candidate for Governor, and Morris Hillquit, International Secretary of the Party. Make a note of this meeting and pack the auditorium.

WORKERS REFUSE TO LOWER STANDARD

Labor Must Bring As-
sistance as Winter
Threatens to Cause
Bitter Suffering

By Harvey O'Connor

COLUMBUS, O.—Attacked simultaneously on six fronts by the coal operators, Ohio's 40,000 union coal miners are holding the fort for the United Mine Workers of America in a crucial struggle which may determine the fate of the national organization. Besieged from one to three years by unemployment resulting from the country-wide effort to ruin the union, Ohio has become the critical point in the battle to save the soft coal industry for unionism. Largely successful in West Virginia and western Pennsylvania in wresting control from the union, the operators, backed by Wall Street financial interests, mean to force the breaking of the national Jacksonville agreement—and the union—in the heart of the central competitive field.

Ohio would have capitulated long ago if her coal diggers had not been born and reared in the union. Both the American Federation of Labor and the United Mine Workers were founded in Columbus, and Dist. 6 dates from April 15, 1890. Consequently unionism has become a tradition, a way of life for the men and women in the Ohio and Hocking valleys, the main mining districts.

Only 2,000 Go Non-Union
A swing around the coal fields fails to reveal the slightest weakening on the part of the workers, although the operators, both individually and through the newly organized Ohio Coal Operators Association, are constantly attempting non-union operation. So far they have succeeded in opening no more than half a dozen big mines, mostly in Pomeroy Bend, and do not employ more than 2,000 miners. In the past month six of the bigger companies have made overtures in 11,000 men to work at the 1917 scale of \$5 a day.

West Virginia, just across the Ohio River, is a powerful object lesson to the miners on the dire consequences of union defeat, and they are determined not to succumb to honeyed promises of more work at lower pay. Nevertheless unemployment, poverty and acute misery may force a break in the Hocking Valley if the national union does not succeed soon in lessening the pressure on the Ohio miners. If non-union West Virginia and the ever-growing non-union circle in western Pennsylvania are allowed to operate without effective opposition, sheer hunger this winter may force capitulation in the isolated coal regions of south central Ohio. Already the blight of non-unionism has secured a firm foothold in Pomeroy Bend, in southern Ohio across the river from West Virginia, while the West Virginia panhandle, a part of Dist. 6, is now lost to the union.

Winter Suffering Threatens
Miners and their officials are hoping for the lucky breaks, either in a readjustment of freight rates, a diminishing of the boycott on union coal or an uprising in West Virginia, to open the Ohio mines, not more than a quarter of which are operating. In the meantime, there is nothing for them to do but await national developments, as Ohio is quite dependent on the general coal situation. Unlike Illinois, she enjoys no extensive rail preferential into big cities such as Chicago and St. Louis. West Virginia coal is as near Cleveland and other lake ports as is Ohio coal.

Only 12,000 to 15,000 miners are working five days a month or more out of a district membership listed between 40,000 and 50,000. In the past two and a half years, nearly \$1,500,000 has been paid in relief and this winter union funds, it is admitted, will be meager. Even the pitiful \$3 a week may be lessened or cut off.

The British coal situation is absorbing millions of tons of West Virginia product, leaving a slight gap which encourages Ohio operators to open mines here and there in the state at the union scale. When the British coal market is settled, however, Ohio will feel pressure acutely as an effec-

Ohio Miners Refuse to Permit Breaking Down Standards

OPERATORS FAIL TO SMASH UNION

Labor Must Bring Assistance as Winter Threatens to Cause Bitter Hardship

(Continued from page 1)

tive boycott has been placed on union coal in this state by class-conscious wholesale and retail dealers, to lessen the domestic demand for local coal.

"\$7.50 a day or nothing." That summarizes the bulldog determination of 17,000 union miners in the Bellaire subdistrict of the union. Known as subdistrict 5 of district 6, they are by far the strongest unit in the state, and comparatively better off than their brothers in Hocking valley. Six thousand are working.

"Why should a miner work in the damp dark of a deep mine, surrounded by the dangers of rock falls and explosions, for less than \$7.50 a day, the Jacksonville scale?" they ask. "We'll quit mining before we'll throw away the union and its protection."

"There's another good reason why the miners won't quit their union. That is West Virginia. Just across the Ohio river, at Wheeling, Warwood, Wellburg, Moundsville and Benwood, scores of big West Virginia mines are operating at wages varying from \$4 to \$6 a day.

The silvery line of the river, cleaving union Ohio from nonunion West Virginia is the trench between warring forces in the biggest battle being waged on the American continent for industrial freedom. Mine owners, with heavy interests on both sides of the river, are anxiously awaiting the day when they can bring Ohio men down to the low wage levels and working conditions suffered by the serfs across the river.

"Many of the 9,000 union miners who have been unable to get work at the pits have found employment in the steel mills of Bellaire, Wheeling and Benwood and in other industries in this thickly populated section of the Ohio valley.

Tension has also been relieved by the recent opening of several big mines on the Jacksonville scale. The Powhatan mine, employing 500 men, is operating steadily for the Canadian Pacific railway, while several big Mahan mines supplying the Canadian National railway are giving work to 1,300 miners. The Rail & River Company's mines, whose management has been distinctly antagonistic to the union, are down. New Pittsburgh Coal Co., leader of the bitter forces among the operators, and notorious for nonunion operations in Pomeroy Bend, Ohio, and in West Virginia, posted notice of reopening under the 1917 scale, but not a man responded. Youghiogheny & Ohio, whose president, S. H. Robbins, heads the new Ohio Coal Operators Association, organized to beat down the Ohio Miners union, has tried nonunion conditions, but to no avail.

Many miners in the score of camps around Bellaire own their homes. With vegetables and fruits in their back yards they do not experience keen privation in summer months, even if unable to find work in the steel mills. When winter comes a different picture will present itself, and should the steel industry experience a slump destitution plenty will dog the little homes of thousands of the coal diggers.

\$25 Weekly for Lucky Ones.

The lucky miner who happens to be working is knocking out about \$100 a month, of which about 8 percent goes into various union funds for dues and relief. This average, however, lumps the men who are working six days a week and those working more than one. Thousands are receiving not more than \$50 a month, while at least 1,500 in this vicinity have no work of any kind. The subdistrict is buoyed up by long contracts with the Canadian railroads, but when they run out and are shifted to West Virginia—as may happen—Bellaire's plight may become as bad as Hocking valley's.

I. W. W.'s Released.

Charges of assault against James Sullivan, Joe Fisher, Harry Swelzer, Joseph Kowals and Fred Bliss, I. W. W. members who were arrested at Gracefield, Minn., on July 31 and jailed at Ortonville, have been dropped.

Milady's Fall Gowns Will Be Late Unless Workers Win Their Demands

An industrial conflict is impending in the custom dress industry of New York City. The workers in the private dress industry, which includes the large fashionable shops of the Fifth avenue and Fifty-seventh street district, such as Bergdorf & Goodman, Frances, Stein & Blaine and Henri Bendel, have presented demands to their employers for the approaching season to replace the agreement in the industry which terminates this Saturday, September 25th. These demands include the union shop, the 40-hour week, a guarantee of 44 weeks' work during the year, and an increase of wages.

The controversy in this industry threatens to be of a particularly serious nature because of the peculiar conditions in the trade where the skilled men workers, or ladies' tailors, are organized and have union conditions, while the great mass of the workers, who are women and girls, are unorganized and are working longer hours and for lower wages than is customary in the dressmaking industry in general. The demand of a union shop, therefore, involves the unionization of the thousands of women workers in this industry.

An active organization campaign is being conducted in the dress shops of the upper Fifth avenue district. A

number of street meetings have been held. The fact that the workers in this trade are mostly unorganized women has interested a number of outside women and women's organizations in the present organization drive which is being conducted in the Fifth avenue district.

A committee of women who are consumers in the industry has been formed, called the Consumer's Committee in the Dress Industry, to call the attention of the employers to the conditions of the women workers and bring pressure to bear for their betterment. This committee includes Mrs. Gordon Norris, Evelyn Preston, Mrs. Arthur Garfield Hays, Mrs. Arthur James Slade, Frieda Kirchwey, Susan Brandeis and Ann Craton, secretary. A number of women's organizations are also actively co-operating in this campaign.

The conflict in this industry will also involve all the workers in the dress shops, including the various occupations such as tailors, furriers, dressmakers, embroiderers and milliners. The unions in these occupations have formed a joint organization committee.

Conferences have been conducted during the past few days between the employers and the union, but the outcome is still uncertain.

BRITISH UNIONS IN SESSION

(Continued from page 1)

honorable settlement of the mining lockout.

An emphatic protest against the continuance of the Emergency Powers Act was registered by the Congress at its second session.

"A menace to the hard-won liberties of the British people," was the phrase used in the resolution submitted by Mr. Ben Turner, for the General Council.

A resolution, submitted by the National Union of General and Municipal Workers, and moved by C. Dukes, asked the Congress to approve the amalgamation of kindred unions, with the ultimate object of securing one big union. A resolution, taken as an amendment, opposed the one big union idea, and asked Congress to arrange for the merging of the separate unions into industrial unions.

Dukes asked Congress to have regard for the direction of capitalist industrial organization. He quoted the Ford motor works, where one firm controlled 42 different industries, and suggested that not 42 but one union would be more effective in protecting and improving the conditions of the employees in such a multiple firm.

The argument of Tompkins in moving the amendment was that there was much loose thinking on this question. What was necessary was industrial unions with a central leadership.

T. E. Naylor, M. P., asked Congress to refer the matter back to allow further and fuller investigation into the problem.

The next delegate, as he rose to take the floor, was met by a great burst of cheering. It was the miners' secretary, A. J. Cook.

"While we have been fighting," he declared, "others were blacklegging us because they were in another section." Within the terms of the resolution for the one big union, Cook made an eloquent appeal for the support of the miners, and sat down amidst another burst of cheers.

Ernest Bevin argued that the subject was one for careful consideration. His experience was that existing organizations must not be broken up, nor could the pride of craft be destroyed. With the growth into bigger forms of organization he believed the group idea would have to be adopted and greater attention given to the much-abused friendly side of trade-unionism. The amendment was carried by a majority of a half million votes. This means that the General Council will continue its efforts towards securing amalgamation and to secure further information on the subject of industrial organization.

Whether the General Council should be given greater powers was discussed at the second day's session.

The upshot of the debate was that the powers of the General Council remain as before, but they will be debated at the special conference of national executives, which is to meet

Pullman Porters Gain Wage Raises Through Efforts of New Union

Pullman porters received 200 per cent dividends on their union dues in the first year's existence of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, says a circular issued by that organization.

The wage increase of 8 per cent adds \$64.80 to the annual income, or a net total of \$42.80 after deducting \$22 for the \$10 initiation fee and the \$12 annual dues.

The wage increase was granted by the company for the purpose of allaying discontent the Brotherhood was mobilizing. But the Brotherhood tells the workers that much more is due them. In the eleven months ended in June the Pullman company net income was \$10,143,500 as against \$3,347,636 the year before.

After the mining dispute is settled, to consider the issues raised by the national strike. Arising out of this conference a report will be prepared for presentation to next year's Congress.

The resolution, which was moved with great force by J. Hallsworth (Distributive Workers), asked for further investigation into the whole question of the Council's powers, and for definite proposals next year. The amendment, moved by Tompkins (Furnishing Trades) would have given forthwith the powers on which the Distributive Workers desired an inquiry.

When the report had been carried by 1,689,000 to 1,336,000, the miners abstaining, the real debate began.

Hallsworth's case was that should similar circumstances to those in the general strike arise in future he would be prepared to say "To hell with no-licens. Strike your blow when you can."

Hallsworth made it clear that he was not against the leadership, but that his aim was adequate machinery to express the spirit and desires of the rank and file, who had shown a wonderful display of solidarity during the strike.

"Do it now," was the object of an amendment moved by Tompkins. They might defer giving greater powers to the General Council, he argued, but they could not defer the attacks being made on the workers.

Arguing in his persuasive way, for a real investigation and no recrimination, Bevin (Transport Workers) said that it would be fatal to take a rash and hurried decision. Clynes (General and Municipal Workers) favored a continuation of "the reflective mood the movement is at present."

C. T. Cramp (N. U. R.) said railwaymen definitely were opposed to giving any extension of powers to the Council. In short, their answer, he said, was "We've had some."

A storm of passion burst with lightning suddenness upon the calm of the Congress Thursday afternoon. Disorder reigned for nearly half an hour, but after a forty minutes' adjournment calm was restored.

Simillie, with his caressing voice, had on behalf of the General Council been making an appeal for financial assistance for the miners, and Congress was obviously moved by the appeal.

Bromley, who was to second the appeal, which took the form of an emergency resolution, was rising to his feet when "Point of order, Mr. Chairman," in a rich Lancashire accent, rang through the hall.

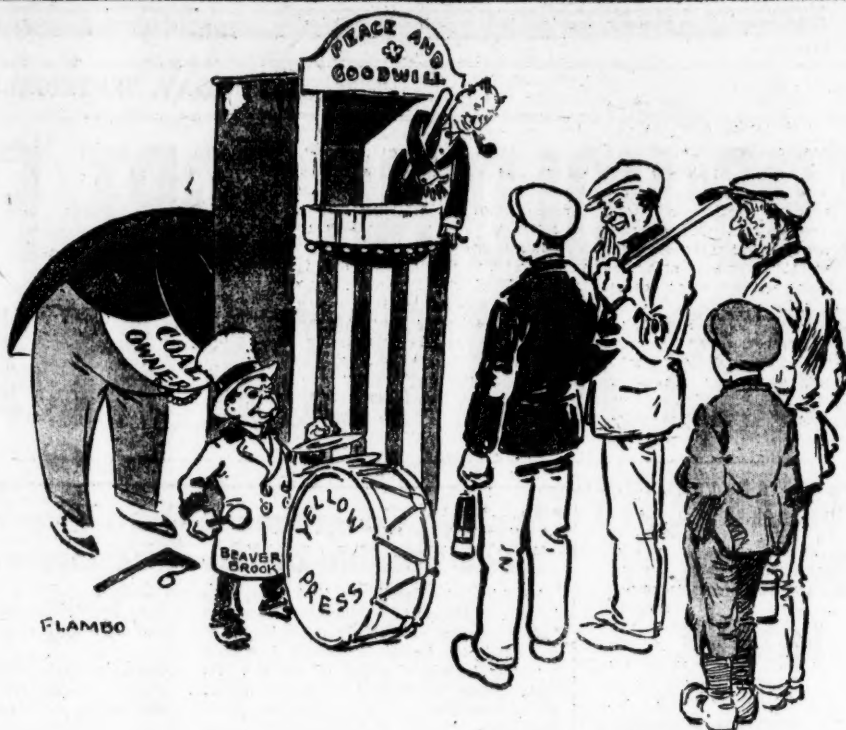
It came from McGurk, a miners' delegate, and he proceeded to ask whether the General Council had deliberately gone out of its way to insult the miners by asking Bromley to second the resolution.

There were shouts and cries from the miners' delegates in support of McGurk and a clamor of excited remarks, punctuated by the clang of the chairman's bell, came from other parts of the hall.

McGurk stood, with all eyes on him. He reiterated his demands for an apology, apparently in connection with a document on the general strike which had appeared in the journal of Bromley's union.

"Put Baldwin up," shouted a dele-

The British Strike in Cartoons



Baldwin, the Peace Puppet

—From the British Miner.

gate above the din, and cries of "Traitor" could also be heard.

Pushing forward toward McGurk with gray tousled hair, Hough, the Yorkshire Miners' treasurer, shouting to Bromley to sit down, and calling to the Council to put someone else up.

The chairman, hammering his bell, kept calling for order.

"Have you seen Bromley's poster used against us?" shouted another miner, and then Richardson, the Federation treasurer, could be heard appealing to his miner colleagues. "We have been humiliated, we have made our protest," he said.

There was a lull in the hubbub and Bromley, who had sat down, rose again to speak.

Mingled cheers and hoots greeted him and many miners and other delegates made to leave the hall.

The aisles were blocked with gesticulating, arguing and excited delegates.

Pugh, unperturbed, began to read the standing orders relating to the expulsion from the Congress of a delegate who refuses to obey the chair, but this warning of disciplinary action did not calm the storm. The miners and others shouted to Bromley to sit down, and then came the strains of "The Red Flag."

There was a pause and then the chairman was heard to say: "Congress will adjourn until 4 o'clock."

The General Council went into session and the miners also held a meeting.

Richardson, McGurk and A. Parkinson, M. P., went as a deputation to the Council and explained their position. They had made their protest, they said, and would no longer obstruct the business of Congress.

The atmosphere in the hall was still tense when the chairman entered again with the Council and took his place in silence. He explained the standing orders and spoke of the dignity of the Congress that had been sullied by the incident.

Richardson asked permission to make the statement that he had already made to the Council. He finished and then, to a final burst of cheers, Bromley made his speech in seconding the resolution.

During the day the General Council circulated a telegram from the Russian Trade Union Council, together with the General Council's reply.

"I think delegates will find it very interesting," was the only remark of the chairman of the Standing Orders Committee, when he announced that it would be circulated.

Only one delegate mentioned the matter. He asked when Congress would have an opportunity of discussing the telegram, and Mr. Pugh replied:

"I cannot say. I am not sure it will be a subject for discussion."

Tomsky's message opened with the hope that the British workers would "continue to defend their rights de-

spite furious attacks and capitalist betrayal by certain leaders of the general strike and the capitulating mentality of others."

Continuing, Tomsky declared "the conservative government willingly admits representatives of Amsterdam and the American Federation of Labor, who either blackleg on the miners or shamefully talk of loans on interest that would speculate like usurers on the unheard-of distress of the miners, on the tears and misery of workers' wives and babies."

"The Soviet workers believe that blame must be laid, therefore, on the bending the knee attitude toward the government of trade union leaders like Thomas. They were too loyal to capital and too disloyal to the working class."

In reply, the General Council circulated the telegram, at the same time stating it "feels it necessary to register the strongest possible protest at what can only be regarded as a most regrettable abuse of the ordinary courtesies expected of fraternal delegates. The general council has no intention of replying to this ill-instructed and presumptuous criticism."

"The General Council most em-

phatically asserts it cannot permit the position of a fraternal delegate to be degraded into a tirade against representatives of the British movement and the fraternal delegates of other countries, nor of countenancing an intolerable interference in British trade union affairs."

QUAKERESS TO APPEAL DENIAL OF CITIZENSHIP

An appeal from the decision of Federal District Court Judge Wolverton of Portland, Ore., denying citizenship to Mary King, a Quakeress, will be made by counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union. Miss King came to America from Ireland and became active in Y. M. C. A. and civic affairs on the Pacific Coast.

In 1924 she appeared before Judge Wolverton for citizenship papers. She was asked: "If you were a man and the Japanese invaded America, would you bear arms?" She declared that she would not, since the Quaker religion is opposed to war. Judge Wolverton thereupon denied her petition for naturalization.

CLOAK ARRESTS DENOUNCED BY PANKEN

Pres. Sigman Among Hundreds of Strikers Held Under Injunction

(Continued from page 1)

old structure, now gone, when every labor organization in Greater New York participated Tuesday at 5:30 p. m. in a mass meeting called by the 40,000 striking cloakmakers in protest against the injunction.

While individual pickets are disregarding service of these injunction on the picket line in the garment zone as an abrogation of their constitutional guarantees of peaceful assemblage, labor leaders in the city are priming themselves for a contest both in the courts and on the picket line with their traditional enemy—injunction against peaceful picketing.

The following labor leaders of this city participated in the demonstration: John F. Coughlin, secretary of the New York Central Trades and Labor Council; Hugh Frayne, organizer of the A. F. of L.; John Sullivan, president of the New York State Federation of Labor.

Following the mass protest meeting a conference of representatives of all labor bodies of Greater New York was held at Beethoven Hall Friday, which framed ways and means to combat the injunction should it be made permanent.

In the meantime the cloak union announces success in closing shops started out of town to supply non-union cloaks during the course of the strike. In Poughkeepsie workers downed tools in a shop operating for Wilkins and Adler of Manhattan, an industrial council manufacturer. Employers of the shop, the union announced, became so incensed at the work of pickets that they have applied for an injunction to stop their activity.

In Philadelphia the out of town committee, Jacob Halperin in charge, succeeded in stopping the shops of the Strauss Company, the Lastick Company and the firm of M. Isenberg, the latter working for Sprayregen and Marks, also an industrial council member. In New London, Conn., a shop working for a New York jobber was also shut down.

The Joint Board has made public resolutions received from the Cloth, Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers in support of the fight upon the injunction.

The union also made public an offer from Louis F. Budenz, editor of the Labor Age, to form a Citizens Committee to go out on the picket line. The offer, it was stated, will be accepted.

The simplest and clearest definition of economy, whether public or private, means the wise management of labor, and it means this in three senses: first, in applying your labor rationally; secondly, in preserving its produce carefully; and, lastly, in distributing its produce seasonably.—Ruskin.

The Bronx Free Fellowship

1301 Boston Road, near 169th Street
Sunday, Sept. 26, 1926
8 P. M.

LEON ROSSER LAND
"The Greatest Enemies of
Organized Religion"

Solo, Genevieve Kaufman
S. F. M. Sharp
OPEN FORUM
NORMAN THOMAS
"Plain Talk on Church and State"

Admission Free

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DECISION NEAR ON VACIRCA APPEAL

Deportation of Italian
Socialist Would
Throw Into Musso-
lini's Clutches

By Laurence Todd

WASHINGTON.—Vincenzo Vacirca, former deputy in the Italian Parliament and friend and associate of the murdered deputy, Matteotti, in the editorship of a Socialist newspaper in Italy, has invoked the right of refuge in free America. Ordered deported from New York because his temporary permit to visit this country has expired, Vacirca has appeared with counsel before the board of review of the immigration bureau in Washington and has shown that he is now a man without citizenship in his native land and likely to be murdered by the Fascist at the orders of Mussolini if he is sent back there.

His own statement of his situation is:

"I have no legal right to go anywhere, as I do not belong to any country. The United States is considered by me as my second country. My children, two girls, 9 and 10 years old, respectively, are native American citizens. In the name of the right that any man has to live somewhere, I ask to be granted the privilege to stay here with my wife and children until a change will eliminate the present persecutions and a new government will restore my rights as an Italian citizen."

In the Official Gazette of the Italian Government of April 7, 1926, is published a solemn decree signed by King Victor Emmanuel and Mussolini and Federzoni, denouncing Vacirca as a defamer and slanderer of Italy and the existing government, and as conducting "poisonous propaganda among the working classes, in particular among our colonies of emigrants," against the institutions of which Mussolini is the head. It describes Vacirca as a "resident of New York," and declares inflicted upon him the loss of his Italian citizenship and the confiscation of his property in Italy.

With the original copy of this decree Vacirca presented to the board an editorial published by the "Popolo D'Italia," a Fascist organ founded by Mussolini and edited by his brother, inciting the Fascist to hang Vacirca to a lamp post as a traitor because of his anti-Fascist activities in Switzerland and the United States. The language used in denouncing the Socialist deputy in this Mussolini editorial is too vile for translation into English. It was after similar denunciations of Matteotti and the liberal editor Amendola had been published in the Fascist press that those two leaders were deliberately murdered.

Vacirca filed with the review board a statement of his struggle for Italian liberty. Born in Italy 40 years ago, he lived in the United States from 1912 to 1919, marrying here in 1915. On his return to Italy in 1919 he was immediately elected to Parliament for the Bologna district and two years later from the Sicilian district. He held various local offices also. In 1921 the Fascist began their attempts to kill him. In four towns they shot at him, and on one occasion killed some of his friends. His house was ransacked, his wife beaten, and they both were ordered to leave the town under pain of death. In Sicily, Catania, Bologna, Casenza and other cities he was pursued, menaced and insulted and compelled to flee. When in January, 1924, he asked for a passport for himself and wife, Mussolini personally refused it, and they escaped to Switzerland without passports. The American consul in Zurich gave them temporary papers of identification, and Vacirca came to New York in May, 1925. His family joined him later. He has lectured and edited the anti-Fascist daily, "Nuovo Mondo," in New York City.

Since he has no passport and no citizenship, the Italian Socialist deputy cannot travel. If deported by the United States to Switzerland, the Swiss may surrender him to Mussolini to be murdered by the dictator's followers.

Raincoat Makers Vote \$5 Tax for Cloak Strikers

The members of the Raincoat Makers' Union, Local 20, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, have decided to assess themselves \$5 to aid the 40,000 cloakmakers now on strike for the twelfth week. The local has a membership of 1,000, which means that the total will amount to \$5,000. The union has in the meantime advanced a check for \$3,000 to the Joint Board while the assessment is being collected.

An assessment of \$15 per member has also been passed for the local itself to place it in a position where it will be prepared to meet any emergency that may come up with the employers in the near future. The union has succeeded in lifting an injunction that was secured last year by the Silver Raincoat Company of Staten Island to prevent the organization from carrying on any strike or organization activities. With the removal of this injunction the union immediately organized the largest group of workers in this shop and is now continuing an active strike against this firm, which is one of the last open shop strongholds in the city. A statement by the secretary of the union, Abraham Weingart, points out that the prospects of an early victory are excellent.

Few Public Libraries Have Standard Books on Labor

Investigation by A. F.
of L. Shows Need for
Circulation of Work-
ers' Books

WASHINGTON.—On a map of the United States hung on the wall in the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor is registered the steady growth of the number of educational committees among the labor unions in this country. There are nearly 300 of these, and they follow in general the line of expansion of manufacturing and mining as against agricultural industry.

From its inception the A. F. of L. has demanded universal free and compulsory education in every State. A committee on education was created in 1903, and the Executive Council was directed by the convention of that year to "secure the introduction of textbooks that will be more in accord with modern thought upon social and political economy—books that will teach the dignity of manual labor, give due importance to the service that the laborer renders to society and that will not teach the harmful doctrine that the wage-workers should be contented with their lot because of the opportunity that may be afforded a few of their number to rise out of their class, instead of teaching that the wage-earners should base their hopes upon the elevation of the condition of the working people."

In support of this fundamental policy, and in order to secure the adoption of better methods in the public schools and libraries, the A. F. of L. has promoted the formation of local committees on education, which are chosen by

central labor councils or large local unions. These committees have three main lines of activity. First is the securing of the selection of trade unionists as members of boards of education in order that labor's viewpoint may be represented in all official decisions on school policy. Second, is the getting of trade unionists into the membership of public library boards, for a like reason. Third is the definite promotion of the placing of books useful to the workers on the shelves of the public libraries.

Recently the A. F. of L. committee on education sent out to its local committees and to the American Library Association a list of books prepared for it by the Workers' Education Bureau. Each local committee and public library was asked to check off on this list the books actually contained in that local library. There were thirty-six books in the reading list. They began with the A. F. of L. History and included Atkins on Labor Attitudes and Problems, Mary Beard's Short History of the American Labor Movement, Commons' Trade Unionism and Labor Problems, Ely's Labor Movement in America, Frey's Labor Injunctions, four books by Gompers, Laidler's Boycotts and the Labor Struggle, Helen Marot's American Labor Union, John Mitchell's Organized Labor, Carlton Parker's Casual Laborer, Rubinstein's Social Insurance, F. B. Sayre's Cases and Authorities on Labor Law, Veblen's The Engineer and the Price System, and Wolman's Outline of the American Labor Movement.

Few of the libraries outside the largest cities had a majority of these books, although not one volume in the list could be considered in any sense radical. The effect of the canvass was to suggest to local librarians the need for putting these books on their shelves.

TEXTILE UNION ENDS SESSION

Appeal Issued for Funds
to Aid Passaic Strikers

A resolution calling upon all organized labor to assist the Passaic textile strike was passed by the convention of the United Textile Workers of America in New York.

The resolution was given out by Thomas McMahon, re-elected president of the United Textile Workers, requested that all internal unions of the American Federation of Labor circulate all their affiliations with a proclamation giving the history of the strike, its significance to the labor movement, and calling upon all local unions to aid at once.

"The textile workers," the resolution read, "must be assured of food until the strike ends. Organized labor must not allow a curtailment of relief lest it weaken the strike and result in a settlement not as advantageous as would be if the strikers, assured of the full support of organized labor, continue their struggle with lines unbent."

After three delegates from Williamstown, Conn., had told the convention of the prevailing situation in the American Thread Co. strike, the convention voted to send a delegation of women throughout the United States and Canada to tell the public the facts. Particularly, President Thomas F. McMahon said, they will point out that the American Thread Co. in 1925, cut wages 10 per cent, simultaneously with inordinate profit-taking.

The delegates from Williamstown were: Mrs. Loreta Oatley, Mrs. Mollie Parent and James Casey. They and others discussed the strike for two hours. The convention instructed the executive council to arrange for financial assistance so that the workers' fight for a living wage in Williamstown may continue indefinitely. The strike began 19 months ago. Of 2,500 who walked out, less than 300 returned to work.

The United Textile Workers re-elected their three international officers: President McMahon, Vice-President James Starr of Paterson, and Secretary-Treasurer Sara Conboy. The new executive council comprises John H. Powers, Pawtucket; John Hanley, Lowell; Tobias Hall, Philadelphia; George Hayes, Paterson; John L. Campos, Fall River; Alex McKeown, Philadelphia; Carl Holderman, Passaic; Joseph Bozek, Salem, and Joseph Piszcz, New York Mills, N. Y.

A wire from Manville, R. I. informed the convention that the Nourse Mills, one of the biggest concerned in the recent bitter strike there, had agreed to a 48-hour week instead of 54 hours. Dr. Stephen B. Wise, speaking for a group of prominent people who have pledged their support to the Passaic strikers until victory, endorsed the Passaic strike, and commended the delegates at the convention for their support of the strikers.

Company unionism was bitterly assailed by Louis Budenz, editor "Labor Age," in an address before the convention. He declared that in no instance has company unionism, although it has one million members enrolled, increased the workers' wages one cent or reduced the hours of work one minute.

Gustav Desk, chairman of the strike committee of Passaic Local 1803, U. T. W., in which the Passaic textile strikers are now organized, urged the delegates to back the new local to the limit of their ability.

The receipt of the following telegram from Henry F. Hillers was announced: "Convention of State Federation of Labor pledged Passaic strikers moral and financial support. Donated five hundred dollars."

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

because, as some of them were honest enough to tell me, they had to be for Smith and Tammany Hall. In 1925 they had to be for Walker and Tammany Hall. Now look what they got! Justice Guy is a Democrat. Justice Guy granted the injunction. Not for years has the police department been more openly on the side of the bosses in all strikes than it is at present. The enormous prestige of Governor Smith, his much-advertised liberality, the supposed friendliness of Mrs. Moskowitz and others of his kitchen cabinet for labor—all these things merely tend to deafen the public to the cries of labor. Surely labor can have no case against the party to which it has given its votes so generously!

Labor, according to the time-honored maxim, rewarded its friends, and its own reward is this injunction, broken heads and jail sentences. Labor has played practical politics. It has become too wise and too astute to bother with these Socialist idealists who cannot be elected. A little more of this wisdom and heaven help the labor movement!

Of course I shall admit that labor's main strength is in the economic arm, but the political arm is mighty useful. Even a right-handed man does not like to have his left arm in a sling. It was the rising Socialist vote, the election of Meyer London to Congress, and various of our men to the Legislature which Tammany Hall into some appearance of liberality. It will be the rebirth of the Socialist Party or the rise of a strong labor party which will scare Tammany Hall and the Republican machine alike into granting far more than the crumbs that can be won when labor bargains with the bosses and labor leaders hang around like beggars in the ante rooms of Tammany Hall. This ought to be a year when the policeman's club will teach a host of workers the value of voting the Socialist ticket without, this time, omitting the name of our candidate for Governor.

Newspapers report that the greatest radio hook-up in history made a recent speech by Vice-President Dawes available to more listeners than ever before could hear one speech. Now you know how these radio companies object to "controversial" speeches. I have heard it from them in writing and in speech more times than I can count. Did they, therefore, ask the Vice-President to talk about the weather, the greatness of the founding fathers, or the truth of the multiplication table? They did not. On the contrary, he repeated his usual attack on the rules of the Senate. There are many more important subjects in American life, but few which are more truly controversial. Yet there was no debate on the subject, and no one to date has had an equal opportunity to answer the Vice-President. But let any radical speaker seek an opportunity on the radio and see how quickly he will be told that, of course, the companies must avoid controversial material. "Well," as a speaker said at Wall Street's Constitution Day Celebration, "if you don't like this country you can go somewhere else." As for me, I like it here pretty well. I have a large family, and, anyway, the State of New Jersey keeps me here under \$10,000 bail. So I'll just have to stay and kick.

Let us reflect that the corruption of the best produces the worst, and that habits which subsist only in relation to a peculiar state of social institution may be expected to cease as soon as that relation is dissolved.—Shelley (1792-1822).

LEADER WRITER ARRESTED ON PICKET LINE

Fight of A. C. W.
Against S. Finkel-
stein Resolves Into
Long Battle

By Gertrude W. Klein

THE firm of Samuel Finkelstein & Co., one of the largest open shop clothing manufacturers in New York City and probably in the country, is meeting stiff resistance in its fight on the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' efforts at unionization. The settlement the union hoped for a week ago did not materialize, neither did the defeat the firm hoped for, the surrender promised Mr. Finkelstein by one of his foremen.

Instead of either of these results, the situation shaped itself for a prolonged fight. When Mr. Finkelstein returned from his "nervous prostration" vacation, the factory was not peacefully at work, as prophesied to him by his chief foreman when he left. The majority of the skilled workers in key positions were still out.

In fact, the picket line had with difficulty been restrained from meeting Mr. Finkelstein at the railroad station. A large reception, however, was staged by said picket line around the factory on the morning of Mr. Finkelstein's return. The pickets, in turn, were met by some of the firm's fancy gentlemen who treated them rough.

As a result, hundreds of workers from union shops all over the city came on succeeding days to picket the Finkelstein factory; and last Monday morning saw 200 of them, including your reporter, bundled into a patrol wagon in relays, to appear before Judge Jean Norris on disorderly conduct and blocking traffic charges.

This being the first time I was ever arrested, you will pardon a few personal details. The picket line had been marching quietly up and down for about half an hour, I was walking with three college-girl friends whom I had promised a demonstration in practical industrial economics. Suddenly, a stocky, red-faced gent with a crooked nose barked at us, "Get out of here, get out of here." I turned to him with what I hoped was hauteur and asked, "To whom are you speaking, to whom?" or words to that effect, stupidly forgetting that that was the only way of speaking the poor old thing had. "I'm speaking to you," he retorted. "You break up there; you can't walk four abreast." "Oh, is that all?" I answered. "Well, say so." And we broke up and walked on.

The Wellesley girl, by this time, thought she had had enough and dropped out, taking her friend with her. Pauline, an ex-Yipsel, and I kept on. I was pointing out to her the scabs being brought to the factory in beautiful limousines, when all at once we found ourselves stopped and lined up against the wall. All around us were policemen and plainclothes men. We were arrested! (If only that Wellesley girl had stayed! She had insisted that you couldn't get arrested for what we were doing; not in this country, and it had almost looked as though we wouldn't.)

In a little while the patrol wagon appeared, but there were a great number of pickets and only one patrol wagon, so we had a long wait. After complaining to the police around us about the poor service—only one patrol wagon, can you imagine?—I started to sing. The police became nervous. I knew they were getting nervous. The symptoms were the same the family gets when I sing. So I taught the men around me the chorus of "Solidarity Forever," and let them sing instead. The plainclothes men got nervous. One of them almost got apoplexy. He walked away, came back with a limousine and told us that the girls were to go with him. I told him I didn't go riding with strange men; that I'd go in the patrol wagon or not at all. But a uniform came along and said he was going, too, that it was all right. So we went.

First, to the police station. About sixty of our pickets were already there and let out a cheer as we walked in. A large bare room with two chairs. You had to stand. A lot of young policemen who looked as though they might be quite nice if they weren't policemen. A long wait again while they entered our names and pedigrees. "It's such a fine, grand day," I said to one of the policemen, "do you mind if I sing?" "Go ahead," he said, innocently.

"Solidarity forever, the union makes us strong!" The pickets took it up. The police station had enough of us! The detention pen next. Thirty pickets in each cell. Singing and cheering again. Breakfast handed to the pickets through the bars. What a day for all the little officials around the court-house! "For Christ's sake get them out of here."

In the courtroom at last. A woman judge. Good. Maybe. Maybe not. Dressed in a cold, hard face. A Tammany judge. "I have no sympathy with strikes. Five hundred dollars bail, EACH!" (Ha, ha! I'm laughing at all the "Governor Smith-Socialists," at all the "good man" or "good woman" advocates.)

The detective with the crooked nose wanted to get me in bad with the judge and kept repeating "She sang 'The Union Forever' all the time." The poor fellow was trying so hard to be a hundred per cent American. I wondered why he didn't know that "The Union Forever" is a line from one of America's most popular patriotic songs.

I sought to have Pauline let off by telling Her Honor I was responsible

Demand Leads Rand School To Raise Scholarships to 75

Fellowship Will Give
Concert and Dance
on Evening of Oct. 2

SO great has been the demand for the 50 scholarships offered by the Rand School of Social Science to trade unionists and Socialists that it has been found necessary to enlarge the number of scholarships to 75. Even at that figure, it may not be possible to handle all who are seeking to take the course.

The applications received thus far have been received from members of 11 different trade unions. Eight different nationalities are represented. Among the students will be several from the newly formed Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Officials of the school are now considering the advisability of asking interested trade union to provide 50 additional scholarships.

In the meantime, the Rand School Fellowship is re-organizing to use its membership to further the work of the

school during the coming terms and to aid in acquainting the new students with the spirit and method of the Rand School.

The Fellowship is planning a large social event for the evening of October 2, to be held in the Debs Auditorium of the Peoples House, 7 East 15th street. A concert and dance will be given on that occasion to the members of the American Socialist Society, to contributors to the school's sustaining fund. Among the entertainers of the evening will be Herman Epstein, pianist, and James Phillips, basso. Both are well known for their interest in the Socialist movement as well as for their excellent musical accomplishments.

Among the new courses just announced by the school are those by V. F. Calverton, editor of the Modern Quarterly, and a regular contributor to the New Leader, Vernon Leggins and Prof. Henry E. Crampton. Mr. Calverton, beginning Friday, October 1, will give five weekly lectures on "Contemporary Writers and Social Thought"; Prof. Crampton's subject will be "The Evolution of Life"; Mr. Leggins will give 12 lectures on Modern Poetry.

PACIFIST GROUPS MERGE

Youth Organization
Joins Fellowship of
Reconciliation

THE Fellowship of Youth for Peace, whose meetings at Concord, Mass., last June were severely attacked by rowdies, has now become a part of the Fellowship of Reconciliation as its Youth Section. This action was taken at the annual conference of the two fellowships at Watch Hill, Rhode Island, on September 11.

This brings the Fellowship of Youth for Peace back to the position it occupied when it was organized in 1924, and it strengthens the whole movement by uniting old and young in a repudiation of war, exploitation and racial discrimination and in commitment to a way of life creative of fellowship and unity. The Fellowship of Reconciliation has members and groups in all parts of the United States and is organized in 75 countries. The Youth Section has its clientele largely in the colleges.

A. J. Muste, head of the Brookwood Labor College at Katonah, N. Y., was elected chairman of the combined movement to succeed Gilbert A. Beaver, who has been chairman since 1915.

The conference at Watch Hill was attended by about 150 people, and it worked out in careful discussion methods of waging peace through publicity, through education, through personal action in situations of conflict, and by working through the established organizations such as churches, schools, clubs, etc. Among the speakers and leaders present were Norman Thomas of the League for Industrial Democracy, Rev. J. Nevin Sayre, Wilbur K. Thomas of the American Friends' Service Committee, Prof. Henry Raymond Mussey of Wellesley College, Emily Greene Balch, former secretary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union, and Bishop Paul Jones.

NORMAN THOMAS SPEAKS ON "CHURCH AND STATE"

What promises to be an address of unusual interest, in view of the unsettled relations between Church and State in Mexico and elsewhere, will be given by Norman Thomas at the Open Forum of the Bronx Free Fellowship, 1301 Boston road, Sunday evening, September 26, at 9 o'clock. Mr. Thomas will speak on "Plain Talk on Church and State." At the 8 o'clock meeting Leon Rosser Land, leader of the Fellowship, will speak on "The Greatest Enemies of Organized Religion," and Genevieve Kaufman will sing.

For her being there, which was true; also that she was just 17 years old, but that didn't prevent "five hundred dollars bail." Nobody had ever heard of such high bail in a picketing case before.

We had to wait in jail until the bail was raised. Jail. Walking into darkness behind a grating. B-r-r. Gooseflesh. Undeniably gooseflesh.

We waited half an hour. Half an hour in jail with five young women, two of them almost children, two of them colored, all of them immediately and openly interested in us. Trying to talk to the girls without appearing too prying, trying to get across some Socialist propaganda without appearing too obvious or blatant.

Five little cells with no direct ventilation. A long corridor fronting the cells. Nothing to do. No place to go. Nothing to see. What a life! Lunch. Stew in what looked like a huge aloft. Tin plates. No knives or forks. "No, thank you. We're too nervous to eat."

A key in the lock. Our bail had been obtained. We were out until Friday morning when we appear for a hearing. If it's the jail or the workhouse! And according to the sentences in some of the International picketing cases, this is quite possible—our favorite fruit is grapes.

Yes, there is still a picket line round the Finkelstein factory.

MILK DRIVERS SCORE NEW GAINS

Organization Campaign
Results in Signing Up
of New Firms

THE Milk Drivers' Union, No. 554, of Greater New York, is making a successful organization drive which has brought in several hundred new members for the union. This drive has been going on for several months and the members are much encouraged from the success they have had.

Recently the union signed up two important firms. These are the Morisania Stock Farms and the Beakes Riverdale Dairy. The signing of these firms brought quite a number of men into the union.

Gratified by the success realized in this effort to unionize the industry, the union is making a special appeal to all the organized workers of the city, to the public in general and to housewives in particular, to assist in obtaining union conditions and insure the distribution of good products.

The most effective method, the union declares, of helping in this work is, for consumers of dairy products to ask drivers to produce a union book, and button. The union men have these evidences of organization and those who do not have them immediately know that the consumer is interested in helping the union men.

Among the other firms in the greater city whose drivers are organized, the following are in Manhattan: The Prudential Dairy, the Stonyfort Products Co., the Walker Gordon Laboratory, the Dairyman's League Co-operative Association, the Smith Brothers, the Siffin Dairy Co., the Delaware Amity Milk Co., the Trinity Dairy and the Beakes Riverdale Dairy.

The union firms in the Bronx are: the Morisania Stock Farms, the Public Milk Co., the Bronx Farms, Orensteln & Beckman, and Hauck & Schmidt. The unionized firms in Brooklyn and Queens are: the Ferndale Farms, Inc., the Eastern Milk & Cream Co., the Jacob Smith Dairy, the Edelstein Dairy, the Whitehouse Milk and Cream Co., the Hegerman Milk Co., and the Queensboro Dairy.

Union headquarters where the union drive is directed is at 565 Hudson street, Manhattan. Those who wish to co-operate may telephone Chelsea 0124.

He is one of those wise philanthropists who in a time of famine would vote for nothing but a supply of toothpicks.—Douglas Jerrold.

Let's See Your Tongue!

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

EX-LAX

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

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.

Superior to Pastes and Powders!

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

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

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PYORRHEA LIQUID
It Heals as It Cleanses!
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Where Marie Reigns

By Dr. Jacob Pistiner

NOT only was the holding of all meetings, with the exception of a few towns, made impossible for the Opposition parties, except the Cuzists, but candidates were prevented from getting in touch with their agents. In order to leave a town it was in many cases necessary to have personal permits—even permits granted by the Prime Minister were not considered. If the prefect gave permission, the military commander refused to endorse it; or vice versa. Or if one had this permit in order, then the gendarmes were charged to appear ignorant of this and to conduct the candidates as far as the next gendarmerie station, and so on. In this not only days but health also was lost. Even worse happened to the agents, who were all day on foot and often under blows from the butt of a rifle, driven from post to post until released by the higher command.

Manifestos, even explanations of the very complicated election procedure, could not be circulated; but only in secret could some propaganda be carried on.

Wherever possible, candidates were hindered from giving notice of their candidature until the expiry of the period allowed for notification. This was the case with the Socialists in some of the Transylvania constituencies. Another stumbling-block was the fact that in very many constituencies the division of election expenses was only made among individual parties after the election, and up to then the whole amount had to be deposited by each party. This was especially aimed at the Socialists, as it was known that after the great strike in Reschitza they did not at the moment have funds at their disposal. Thus in Arad and Dolj the Socialists' candidatures were ineffective, as the money could not be deposited at the right moment. Only in 35 out of the 71 constituencies were the Socialists able to nominate.

These hindrances did not hold good for the Government Party or for the Cuzists. The Cuzists, or, as they officially call themselves, the "League for Defense of the Nation and Christendom," are Fascist-Hakenkreuzers (Swastika). They unite murderous anti-Semitism with jingoistic Fascism. They are in the service of the Government Party, which is, through them, preparing the ground for a Fascist dictatorship, and allows them to say and do everything which the Government cannot say, partly on account of foreign opinion and partly on account of the league of national minorities.

The following secret order issued by a district Commandant of Gendarmes gives an idea of what the Opposition had to contend with:

"Do not register this, but keep it by you.
"Circular No. 1718.
"To all Sections!
"According to a verbal command of the Prefect, all gendarme divisions are informed that any kind of propaganda, the circulation of pamphlets, etc., is forbidden in the municipalities to all parties except the Government Party and the League for Defense of the Nation and Christendom. All propaganda brought before the gendarme division. This decree is to be made known to all municipal authorities, notaries and government officials.
"Captain Stetescu."

Barriers were put up in all the village streets to hold up all motor traffic. Only the cars of the Government Party and of the Cuzists were allowed to proceed. Once the previous Prime Minister, Ionel Bratianu, Prince Nikolai, former Minister Angelescu were taken to the gendarme station and reprimanded on account of their car.

Under these conditions it was a wonder to find that the Government Party, supported by the Hungarian gentry, the bourgeois Germans, the Zionists, and united with the Hakenkreuzers, had only collected 53 per cent of all votes. The party which in the previous chamber had only five seats will now have 280. Its predecessors in the Government, the Liberals, will have fifteen seats instead of their previous 260. The Opposition Block, which is composed of Nationalists and Zaranists, will, with 30 per cent, have about sixty-five seats. The Nationalists are the old Rumanian National Party of Hungary, strengthened by very con-

As the State Department, hundreds of lesser public officials, the select circles of the American aristocracy and an army of hack-writers are prepared to prostrate themselves in the presence of Queen Marie of Rumania, The New Leader suffers a qualm of conscience at devoting some of its space to the Queen's country and its doings. We know that before long the American public will be sickened by the outpouring of sycophant adulation.

The New Leader offers this article as a bit of an antidote. Written by the man who was the lone Socialist member of the Rumanian Chamber of Deputies, it offers an interesting aspect of constitutional procedure in the land of Queen Marie. The article supplements reports of the last farical election which appeared in The New Leader and elsewhere and shows how General Averescu won his big majority in the present Chamber and the Senate.

siderable groups in the old empire. They are undoubtedly economically supporters of big business, but on grounds of tradition their adherents are drawn from large masses of the peasants in Transylvania.

The Zaranists are a movement still in the making. They call themselves a class party, without, however, demanding the removal of classes. Their program recalls sometimes that of Narodniki. Sometimes they stand for the furtherance of capitalist development. They want a still more radical agricultural reform, and are for far-reaching protection of labor, for the expansion of capitalism by attracting foreign capital, and also for the dynasty and the army. One meets a variety of tendencies within the movement, which extend from a sympathy with Bolshevism to a Left liberalism, embracing conservative and peasant elements also. They are more a movement opposed to the existing order than a party with definite tendencies. Undoubtedly, today they have the majority of the people behind them. Out of them and the Nationalists, modern middle-class parties, adapted to the special circumstances of Rumania, will develop.

The Cuzists may have seven or eight seats. That suffices for them, for the Government Party as a whole is Fascist. The Fascism of the followers of Averescu is a blend of the Spanish military dictatorship, of the Italian "law and order," and a special Rumanian anti-Semitism. This latter is linked with old traditions, which come from the time when the village Jew was the landlord and the usurer. But while the old anti-Semitism was openly anti-capitalist, so that riots of the peasants always led to destruction of landed properties, irrespective of the owners, Cuzism is now openly anti-labor, jingoistic and monarchist. General Averescu gives this movement a military turn. But the leader is the Minister of the Interior, Goga, who would himself like to play the role of a Rumanian Mussolini.

The Clay-footed Giant Who Rules Millions

By Bert MacDonald

JOSEPH WHEELER, late Judge Advocate of the United States Army and author of diverse compendiums of law, has supplied the Village Atheist with endless ammunition for his ceaseless warfare against the cohorts of the Lord in this latest offering, "Is It God's Word?" (N. Y., Knopf, \$5.) In this ponderous volume Major Wheeler sets out to destroy that much-abused fellow, the God of Israel and his only begotten Son, Christ, Our Lord. Of course he succeeds, as must anyone who has taken the care to study the very ambiguous history of a squabbling, nomadic tribe. In the course of this rather boring diatribe, Major Wheeler picks the inspired word to pieces, verse by verse, chapter by chapter, so that no doubt the Church and the Synagogue should now come crashing to the ground.

But his analysis of the holy word is a cold affair. He quotes a verse and then shows by a verse that the former verse is just so much bunk. If the two religions which stem from Father Abraham were based on reason instead of sub-abdominal emotion, Major Wheeler's method undoubtedly would succeed, but where faith is supreme, what are a few contradictions? The cyclone which swept up out of Palestine, destroying the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome, and which persisted in the Gethsees of all the world after the Israelites were scattered from their desert strip, surely cannot be destroyed by logic. There must be a counter-emotion of overpowering proportions before the followers of Paul, Sacanarols, Bryan and Moses yield to the crafty logic of a strong mind, for this is an emotional not a logical world.

Major Wheeler goes about his hopeless task in a truly military fashion. He first sends out his scouts and learns the weaknesses of that erratic enemy, the army of the Lord. Then he prepares a careful barrage and gas attack, behind which the troops of reason and analysis advance unflinchingly. And although the ranks of Jehovah are only a thin red line, Major Wheeler is moved down because the Lord answers in brief to all his attacks on the inspired word: "What of it?"

Now, any civilized soul must admit the truth of Major Wheeler's theme, which is that the Bible, new and old testament, is nothing but a collection of Jewish fairy tales. One must also admit that the inspired word is very defective in its attention to detail. One must admit that the Jewish religion was no white different until well after the Babylonian captivity than that of the enthusiastically polytheistic neighbors, the Midianites, Jebusites, Moabites, Philistines, Canaanites, et al. One must admit that Christianity is stemmed from hundreds of different cults in the hot lands of Asia Minor where the Christ walked, and that as it advanced through Rome and Europe it absorbed the pagan gods as it

BRIEF REVIEWS

An Epic of the American Soil

THE next time a cultured American with a Greenwich Village English accent raves about "the vital folk novel of European literature," I'm going to challenge, with a chip on my shoulder, "Have you read Elizabeth Madox Roberts' 'The Time of Man'?"

This book (Viking Press, \$2.50) is an authentic peasant record, epic in its scope. It is as broad in its sweep as "Growth of the Soil," more realistic even than that glorious book in its faithful portrayal of the minutiae of daily living among a nomad tribe of poor white farmers who roam about Tennessee, Florida and the Carolinas. They settle for a month, a season or several seasons in a tenant holding, then, at the press of poverty, answer the call of the country over beyond, rooting up wives, babies, homes, and so on. The loves, marriage and motherhood of Ellen Chesser, daughter of a nomad farmer, later wife to one, occupies the book, rich in tribal background.

The style is excellent in its unobtrusiveness. One doesn't sense the omnipotent author, who, by the divine right of authors, knows all. Rather is the reader, by some miracle, inducted into the blood stream of these primitive, resigned, wise, superstitious folk. One knows the secrets of their capriciousness.

Anne Elias.

The Price of Liberty

WHEN two sentimental pacifists, such as Sherwood Eddy and Kirby Page, put in print their encyclopaedia of saints, it is to be expected that they will give themselves away; and they have done so by numbering Woodrow Wilson among the "Makers of Freedom" (Doran, 1926). When a pair of would-be advanced idealists have no more sense of proportion than to bestow such a title on the man who was responsible, above all others, for conscription, espionage, terrorism and slaughter as they harried the American people during weary years, the discerning student of affairs is confirmed in his mistrust of bourgeois liberals.

Almost any other of the heroes set forth in these "biographical sketches in social progress" can look his fellow shades in the eye with better grace than Woodrow can. There may be some misgiving about Booker Washington, St. Francis or Susan Anthony, yet we need not feel outraged at their inclusion in the honorable company of William Lloyd Garrison and Karl Hardie; but as for the faded deity of misguided American liberalism, his presence gives a bad taste to the whole book. If Eddy and Page had done their bit for peace at the time when, by the grace of his mummified majesty, Debs was immured in Atlanta and scores of youth were being tortured in prison for their devotion to humanity and freedom, they would have a different slant on the matter. It is clear that we can't afford to trust the leadership of men whose pacifism is of such late vintage.

Still, the book is not useless. One can gather from the materials assembled a fair idea of the economic and social conditions surrounding the men depicted, and of their contribution to a solution. The method is good, if only more discrimination had been shown in choice of characters.

Arthur W. Calhoun.

A River Romance

EDNA FERBER's latest book (Show-Boat, by Edna Ferber, Garden City, Doubleday and Page, \$2.00), is a splendidly living picture of middle-western life between the years 1870-90. But first of all, it is a rousing good story. Magnolia Ravenal, daughter of Parthenia and Andy Hawks, spends her early years on a Mississippi show-boat. Here she sees beauty, ugliness, love, hate, jealousy, pettiness, self-sacrifice, life, fundamental and unexpressed. Gaylord Ravenal, twenty-four, handsome, charming, arrives on the boat when she is eighteen, to play juvenile lead opposite her as ingenue of the troupe. The story of their love is a beautiful thing, heightened by the intense opposition of the shrewd and puritanical Parthenia.

A rousing good story indeed, a melodramatic one. Even the settings add to the melodrama. The lovely, and ugly, the turbid, the velvet-quiet Mississippi, the towns along the river with their population of small traders, pioneers, miners; Chicago, before it went civic-loud, vulgar, jovial—open prostitution, open gambling, open graft—New York today—emaciated in contrast to the rest—school-actresses, smart-Alec critics, highbrow theatrical producers.

In this book, too, as in her others, Edna Ferber shows her air for picking out the intense, the highly alive people in her midst and transferring them to her pages. The New England show-boat mistress, the delicate and frail Magnolia, Gaylord Ravenal, her troupe—all that travel through her pages do so with the breath of life itself.

Edna Ferber is not only a "best seller," she is also an artist.

H. M.

Nothing is more disgusting than the crowing about liberty by slaves, as most men are, and the flippant mistaking for freedom of some paper preamble, like a declaration of independence, or the statutory right to vote by those who have never dared to think or act.—Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Counsellor of Revolt

By James Oneal

WE would like to see members of the Knights of Columbus and of the Southern branch of the Ku Klux Klan compelled by law to study the life and writings of Thomas Jefferson. With the former raising a million dollars to support clerical domination in Mexico and the latter outlawing science by state legislation, both constituting the shock troops of the party founded by Jefferson and swearing by his name, we have an example of political illiteracy rare in the history of nations.

It would be too much to ask them to undertake this task, but two recent books on Jefferson and his views ("The Best Letters of Thomas Jefferson," selected and edited by J. G. de Rouillac Hamilton, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.; "Jefferson," by Albert Jay Nock, New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., each \$2.50), admirably summarize the life and philosophy of the third President. If the Knights of Columbus, after reading these two books, can reconcile Jefferson with their respective views and avoid apostasy they will come through a perilous ordeal.

Mr. Hamilton has performed a meritorious service for those who have no time to consult the voluminous writings of Jefferson left to posterity, and Mr. Nock has written a unique biography. What Jefferson wrote of hide-bound religious creeds is excellent reading in these days of Ku Kluxism and K. of C. demands for intervention in Mexico. Moreover, he did not worship the Constitution.

"Some men look at constitutions with sanctimonious reverence," he wrote, "and deem them like the ark of the covenant, too sacred to be touched. They ascribe to men of the preceding age a wisdom more than human, and suppose what they did to be beyond amendment." Jefferson would have

"A little rebellion once in a while is a good thing for our country" was what, in effect, Thomas Jefferson said in commenting on the uprising of the masses in Massachusetts in post-revolutionary days.

What would the Babbitts, Security Leaguers and hundred-percenters of today think of Jefferson if he lived today and, in keeping with modern economic developments, said the same thing?

This article reveals some interesting sidelights on the views of the third President of the United States not generally known to those who today honor him with word and deed which he would be the first to denounce were he here.

each generation "as independent of the one preceding as that was of all which had gone before."

Rebellion Held No Terrors

The rebellion of the masses in Massachusetts following the American Revolution did not alarm him. He wrote Madison from Paris: "Calculate that one rebellion in thirteen states in the course of eleven years is but one for each state in a century and a half. No country should be so long without one." Here we may observe thousands of Rotarians, Babbitts, Koo Koo's, K. of C.'s and 100 percenters fainting in company with Coolidge.

His view of the social order was just as interesting. The mass of the people lived by farming and Jefferson believed that agriculture was the basis of the best civilization. So long as we remained an agricultural people with hundreds of thousands of small farmers tilling the soil, he believed that wealth would be widely distributed and independence would be the rule for all. He hated crowded cities and manufacturing which herded workers into urban centers. He had seen enough of this in Europe, where ruling classes had "divided their nations into two classes, wolves and sheep." He believed that urban workers in industry were the "panders of vice and the instruments by which the liberties of the country are generally overturned." His social ideal was an agricultural paradise of small farmers.

He did not despise the industrial workers. He rather pitied them. He

would save them from exploitation by industrial capitalists by discouraging the development of industrial capitalism. He had seen infant capitalism in England and wanted none of it here. He had seen "the paupers" used as "tools to maintain their own wretchedness, and to keep down the laboring portion by shooting them whenever the desperation produced by the cravings of their stomachs drives them into riots." What capitalism he had seen was despotic, a system that kept the workers "down by hard labor, poverty and ignorance, and to take from them, as bees, so much of their earnings" leaving them "a scanty and miserable life."

"An Enemy of the Family"

If he would scatter land ownership in small holdings all over the country he would also distribute governing power among the masses just as widely. He would divide "very country into hundreds" with schools, "a justice of the peace, a constable and a captain of militia" who would manage "all concerns, car for roads, the poor," etc., and always be on the alert against despotic government. With the powers of government thus split up and deposited in thousands of small governing communes Jefferson believed that this power so distributed would always serve as a check upon the designs of any particular class to obtain supremacy and enforce its interests as law for all.

What is amazing about him is that all this came from one who lived in a society of aristocrats served by servile labor and ruling through a union of church and state. Jefferson smashed this union and took the leadership in destroying entails and primogeniture. He was a voracious reader and no man more fully subscribed to the complete freedom of utterance than he did. In religion he was a Deist and in politics a fundamentalist democrat. No man in public life was more maliciously assailed by the press. When it became evident that he was elected President in 1800 the pious aristocrats of New England were sure that Satan had triumphed, that the family would be destroyed, the churches would be proscribed, as Nock points out, "certain pious women in New England buried their Bibles in their gardens for fear that he would send out janitors to confiscate them."

Saw Old Order Change

Jefferson and Paine practically stand alone for their period. Patrick Henry became a conservative and even Samuel Adams was frightened into reaction by Shay's Rebellion. Yet Jefferson also had the limitations of his age. He was abreast with it but could not see beyond it. He expresses surprise that manufactures had made considerable headway at Pittsburgh, but believed that household industry would remain the chief source of supply for manufactured goods. Before his death agriculture declined and brought him financial distress. The old order was changing. Capitalism had obtained a firm foothold in New England and the system he hated had by the twentieth century reduced the yeomanry he loved to a position of economic dependence upon the owners of industrial and financial capital.

Jefferson represents the finest flower of a vanished age. His agricultural utopia was never realized and could not be. If those who claim to represent him today were to read what he wrote they would order the sheriff to burn his writings and punish any persons who concealed the prohibited literature.

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

The Lame Sparrow A Short Story

EVEN in the dingy backyard, with its soot-begrimed walls and its litter of packing cases and dirty straw, the freshness of the morning made itself felt. Mrs. Foster, coming out of the scullery with a basket of washing, stood for a moment with her head up before she hung out the aprons and stockings on the wire line that stretched from wall to wall.

Only the early morning traffic was abroad, so that the trams passing the front of her shop made a clear rhythmic rattle as they bumped the points, then left behind them what was, for that district, almost a silence. Sparrows cheeped lustily, and two pigeons on a neighboring house-top gave a pleasant suggestion of peaceful summer woodlands with their soft monotonous croonings.

Mrs. Foster hung out her washing, then stood idly watching a group of little birds feeding amongst the straw. The shop blind was still undrawn, and in the kitchen the kettle was boiling for breakfast; yet still she lingered, only half-conscious, perhaps, that she did so, for ordinarily she had no patience with day-dreams and daydreamers. A brisk, hard-faced woman she was, with greying hair and a face that time and a hard life were moulding into a rigid grey mask—a woman intolerant of fal-lals whether of dress, or food, or sentiment.

An outburst of angry cheepings, a noisy fluttering of wings and feathers roused her attention. The sparrows were pecking and driving away a lame bedraggled bird which tried to feed with them. Each time it fluttered painfully away as they advanced upon it, then, when the group had settled down again amongst the straw and were absorbed in their searchings, it hopped nervously toward them as if begging to be allowed to join the throng, but as soon as it came near they drove it away again with sudden vicious pecks and buffetings. Finally, however, a bellicose cock-sparrow chased it from the straw altogether, so that it seemed to give up hope and dropped forlornly on the outer edge, its feathers puffed out, its injured leg hanging down limply. Mrs. Foster cared little for birds or animals, she classed them all as thieves, but this dejected heap of sooty feathers, so evidently wanting the comfort of its kind and so evidently not getting it, roused her to a mild sympathy. She made a sudden lunge with the basket that sent the cheeping flock scattering to the scullery roof, then went towards the lame bird with the intention of examining its injury. It had either injured its wings or had become too weak to fly, for it fluttered and squawked in wild terror as she approached, battering its tiny body upon the stones; but as her hand reached out it raised its wings with what seemed like a desperate effort and flew to the wall out of her immediate reach.

"I won't hurt you, you little fool," she muttered, grimly. Then she must have remembered herself and the boiling kettle and the shop door still shut against early morning customers, for she went with her stiff quick walk into the house as if amazed at herself for wasting precious moments.

When she went into the yard later on in the morning to take in her washing the freshness had gone from the air. There was a strong smell of motor traffic from the road, and of dust, children, and cooking from the row of open back doors, and of decaying fish from the entry where a hawk had passed and spilled his refuse.

The sound of a more than usually noisy scrimmage outside sent her to the yard door to drive the boys away. She waged continual war against the boys of the neighborhood, and they in their turn waged war upon her, but she was more often the victor. They feared and hated her. Once an ailing mother, unable to control a wild lad, had asked her to take him in hand, and she had done it so thoroughly that the boys of the neighborhood still tell the story. Others might complain of windows broken by footballs, and back doors battered down, of stolen pigeons and watchdogs pelted with stones, but Mrs. Foster's yard, even with its boxes and straw so tempting to boys, was inviolate.

She opened the door and put out her head into the entry. At once there was a general decline of the clamor and a few of the more timid boys edged away. She saw that the tumult centered on the unfortunate lame sparrow. A small boy had seen it on the wall and caught it, then a bigger boy had tried to take it from him, others had joined in, and in the scrimmage the bird had escaped and was fluttering wildly round and round as it tried in vain to lift its wings and fly to safety. A lean tabby cat on the wall, with only one ear and a coat of dusty fur bald in patches, watched it sardoniously through slits of yellow eyes, but when Mrs. Foster appeared the cat raised its tail and stalked off. She drove the boys away and picked up the bird. Its heart beat so violently that she feared it would jump out of her hand; at each wild thump its beak opened and shut, but no sound came, its eyes stared pitifully. She made a clumsy attempt to stroke it into calmness, but her movements only frightened it the more. It was so seldom she put out a protecting hand toward anything that to be misunderstood annoyed her. She stood frowning, but before she could decide what to do with it there came the tiny tinkle of the shop bell. She put the sparrow on the scullery window ledge and went to attend to her customer.

It was dim in the shop after the sunlight in the yard, so that for a second or two she could not quite distinguish the face of a woman in a shawl who waited at the counter.

"Well," she said, leaning over the counter with what was for her, an affable manner, until she recognized her customer; then those deeply bitten lines round her mouth hardened and became fixed and inevitable; it seemed as if no possible movement of her lips, not even a smile, could do anything else but accentuate them. The atmosphere of the little shop became strangely still and hostile. The ingratiating, twisting lips of the woman in the shawl grew meaningless, her eyes took on a hopeless stare, the rush of warm, cajoling words she had been about to speak died up into jerky, hesitating phrases, blighted by the refusal conveyed in every line of the shopkeeper's attitude. Facing her, just behind Mrs. Foster's head, between cards of corn plaster and baby comforters, was a flyblown notice printed in black capitals, standing out boldly even in the confusion of a mixed and highly congested stock. It said: "Do not ask for credit, then you will not be offended if it is refused."

Mrs. Foster listened in silence; she did not smile or twitch as much as an eyebrow, just stood there motionless with one gnarled hand gripping the counter. There was not even contempt in her gaze; it was calm, sphinx-eyed, impenetrable, as if she had withdrawn far into herself, where no pleading, broken words of the woman could reach, where all visions of another's sufferings were dulled by a strong consciousness of her own inalienable rights. The hopelessness of her quest seized the woman in the shawl; her carefully prepared tale of the money she was expecting at week-end, which had sounded so plausible when she said it over to herself outside, shrivelled to the husk of a lie. Her hopes of credit dashed, tantalizingly, in the midst of plenty, her soft voice turned to an angry whine. "You're a hard

(Continued from Last Week)
Defense of Political Action

THE Socialists, on the other hand, maintained that to ignore political action was neither helpful nor possible. The workingman believes, they declared, in utilizing his right to vote, and if he is not given an opportunity to support working class candidates, he will vote for the bourgeoisie. Moreover, there is no other way of social transformation than through the capture of the state. The state, as an instrument of class rule, will disappear as soon as Socialism is established, but during the transition period it must be used by the Socialists, representing the working class, for the purpose of effecting the change.

Guesdism's Revolutionary Program
While all Socialists emphasized the need for political action, they were divided on the kind of political action that was most desirable and on the effectiveness of the immediate measures of social reform.

In the Congress of St. Etienne in 1882 the Socialist forces split, one portion of the delegates following Guesde, and taking the name, Parti Ouvrier Français, and another group pledging allegiance to Paul Brousse, and designating themselves by the name, Parti Ouvrier Socialiste Révolutionnaire Français. Later this group dropped the word, révolutionnaire, from the title. The party of Guesde emphasized its revolutionary and Marxian character. It denied the efficacy of immediate reforms under the capitalist system, and insisted that it was necessary to seize the political power of the state in a revolutionary fashion. "In multiplying reforms," writes Guesde, in *Le Socialisme au jour de jour*, "one only multiplies shame. For all rights granted to the workers in the capitalist regime will always remain a dead letter. The entrance of the Socialists into politics is not, therefore, to carve out seats of councillors or deputies, but because the political campaign gives to the Socialists a remarkable opportunity for reaching the masses with the party's educational propaganda. The main object of the Parti Ouvrier is to be a kind of recruiting and instructing sergeant preparing the

masses for the final assault upon the state which is the citadel of capitalist society."

Only a revolution, they insisted, would permit the working class to seize the political power and socialize industry. No party could, of course, create the revolution, but once the revolution was created, as a result of national and international crises, the Socialists would be in a position to direct it.

The party adopted a strongly centralized plan of organization and became in time the most active Socialist party in France. It was especially strong in the north among the textile workers.

Evolutionary Program of Broussists
The Broussists were called "possibilists" and "opportunists" by the Guesdists, because they believed that social reforms were desirable and that it was necessary "to split up our program until we make it finally possible."

They permitted greater differences of opinion within their ranks and a larger amount of local autonomy than did their rivals. The conquest of political power appeared to them to be a rather peaceful and gradual process of infiltration into municipal, departmental and national legislative bodies. Like the Guesdists, their final aim was collectivism and they were committed to the class struggle. They had a considerable following among the workers of Paris and among the lower section of the middle class.

The Broussists, however, failed to remain intact. A considerable section of the membership soon became disaffected from the leadership on the ground that it was too absorbed in politics, and too little interested in the building up of the party and in Socialist propaganda. In 1890 this group, under the leadership of J. Allemane, separated from the main body and formed a Socialist party of their own. They took with them a number of the most effective leaders in the larger syndicate.

Other Political Groups
Two smaller groups active during that period were the Blanquists and the Independent Socialists. The Blanquists, also known as the Comité Révolutionnaire Central, were held to-

gether by their loyalty to their former leader, Blanqui. For the most part they had been active in the Commune, returning to France when amnesty was granted in 1880. Though regarding themselves as the inheritors of Blanqui, they no longer practiced the secret tactics advocated by their former leader, but formed another legal political party. Their aim was the capture of political power and they approved all means that would bring about that desired end.

The Independent Socialists, the group that produced Jean Jaures, Millerand, Viviani and others of great prominence in later years both in Socialist and non-Socialist ranks, were the outgrowth of the Society for Social Economy, founded in 1885 by Malon, a former member of the International. This society was organized for the purpose of formulating legislative projects of a general Socialist character, which were published in a monthly, *La Revue Socialiste*. Gaining adherents among the Republicans and Radicals, it finally entered into politics, put forth measures for the gradual socialization of industry, for the democratization of the communes, for the protection of labor, etc., and became an influential factor in the political life of France.

All of these political groups coveted the control of the syndicate. They urged their members to join syndicates where they existed, to help in the creation of trade unions, and, incidentally, to draw the syndicates into politics. The result was that many of the syndicates were torn asunder by political dissension, and the differences between the various Socialist political groups found their expression on the floor of the conventions. At times the control of a syndicate by one section of the movement led to the organization of rival syndicates in the same trade and locality.

Appeal to Trade Union Unity
Economic conditions, however, were forcing the unions to come together. The industries of France had been growing apace during these years and the employers were presenting a united front against the workers. Small, insignificant, isolated unions were unable to resist the demands of the employing class. The law of 1884

SYNDICALISM

THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

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legalizing syndicates compelled the unions to hand in the names and addresses of their officers to governmental officials; in Paris to the Prefect of Police. The workers considered this as a move on the part of the government and the employers to penalize active unionists. A general congress of syndicates was called for Lyons in October, 1886.

"Slaves of the same master, . . . suffering from the same evils, having the same aspirations, the same needs and the same rights," reported the Committee on Organization, "we have decided to set aside our political and other preferences, to march hand in hand, and to combine our forces against the common enemy. The problems of labor have always the power of uniting the workmen."

The congress resulted in the formation of a National Federation of Syndicates. The Party ouvrier was not slow in gaining control of the federation and during the next few years both the federation and the Guesdists met at the same time and place, welcomed, to a large extent, the same delegates, and passed similar resolutions.

The Bourses or Labor Exchanges
A rival to the federation soon appeared in the Federation of Labor Exchanges of France (*Fédération des Bourses du Travail de France*). Labor exchanges had been in existence for many years in French cities as centers where workers and employers could meet each other and arrange for jobs. Following the passage of the law of 1884, their functions enlarged and they were conceived as centers where all syndicates of a locality could "have their headquarters, arrange meetings, give out information, serve as bureaus of employment, organize educational courses, have their libraries and bring the workmen of all trades into contact with each other." The municipalities were to assist in their creation and subsidize them.

The first such Bourse was opened in Paris in 1887, others sprang up all over the country. The Allemanists obtained the control of most of them. The Federation of Bourses du Travail followed in 1892.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

GOVERNOR MINTURN A Labor Novel of the Northwest

By M. H. HEDGES

Chapter XV The Great Power and Drainage Act

AT the Golden Valley Hotel, overlooking the capitol, and the still, smoky city, Senator Daniel Minturn held vigil one April night late in the legislative session.

He had not been home for a week—scarcely out of his clothes. The long grind of the legislative mill was approaching an end. The power and drainage act over which the bitter fight in the 113th had been precipitated had deadlocked the session for weeks. There had been no other serious issue. From the first rap of the speaker's gavel until this moment, every skirmish, every bill, every move, every piece of strategy, every eventually had turned upon the power and drainage act. Now the law makers were facing a showdown.

Upon the table of Minturn's twelfth story room were piled books, legislative pamphlets, bills, a half-filled cigar box, a decanter and three glasses. He selected a cigar, gnawed the end meditatively, forgot to light it, and strolled to the window. The great buildings shrouding up through the glow and mist of the April night bespoke power in every lineament and line. The crowd crawling inchoately up the canyon-like thoroughfares shrank into insignificance—a file of purposeless animals—beneath the scrutiny of the watcher. Across the intervening blocks, where the Pioneer Hotel reared its symmetrical bulk, Minturn sought to fix with his glance the suite of rooms where he

knew Matt Gayland and his force of lobbyists were at work—busy, determined, and a little haggard. He turned and saw the glowing dome of the capitol, a dream of beauty in the soft light.

What should he do? He dreaded tomorrow. He fell to pondering chance, decision, and the emanation of destiny from those choices that individuals seem to make. "Make? If anyone ever made choices. He smiled bitterly.

Tomorrow when he passed through that door out upon the street, into that capitol, it was to cast a vote for or against the power bill. He cursed the fate that made him a decisive factor in the impending decision. He saw the bill for what it was, a makeshift, but makeshift or not, like so many pieces of legislation, it had become a symbol, an effigy, round which all the battling elements of the state revolved. Tonight as he stood quietly at his hotel window, a farm boy on a pioneer farm in a northern country was holding vigil also over that bill. A mechanic in the shops of the great railroad which brought the farmer's grain to the mills, was explaining the bill to his family. And his own wife, Agatha, was no doubt lying awake now pondering the terms of that bill.

Senator Minturn strolled back to the table, picked up Senate file 11,087, scrutinized it. Every word was familiar, every word detestable to him. He thought of other things; of Agatha, of his life with her, so self-sufficing; of the years behind; of his successful law practice; his growing political prominence; of the years to come; of his potential importance as a domi-

nant political force. He had achieved. He was somebody. He must go on. . . . His mind ran back over the events of the present session.

2
It was Biddies, I. W. W. and cynic, who first brought Dan to a sharp realization of his changed status in the legislature. Meeting each other in the Senate corridor one morning, during the opening days of the session, Dan prepared to greet his old acquaintance warmly. To his surprise, Biddies ignored the overture, and brushed by without a sign of recognition. It was an open slight, not without its effect upon Minturn.

An hour later he spoke to Goodnite about the incident—casually. He and Goodnite, ironically enough, were being paired in a number of transactions. By Senate leaders they were classed together as independents.

"Is Biddies back?" Dan asked.

"Yes, didn't you know that? I can't see how he fools those birds in the 137th all the time. True, he was out a term, but still in this year by a slim margin. The same old ranter. Jesus! how do they get that way?"

Dan found himself wishing to defend Biddies, but he remained silent. He and Goodnite had their attention attracted by the crowd that was jamming the rotunda, the broad steps, and the lobby to the Senate chamber—determined, business-like groups, that moved into the Senate galleries with an air of ownership.

"Whew!" Goodnite exclaimed, "if they come like this now, what will it be later? They're gone nuts in the country, I guess, and some of the fool women, who have nothing better to do, are trying to turn politics into a Sunday school."

"Well, why shouldn't they come?" Dan suggested. "I'm glad of it." The fat face of Goodnite broke into a grin.

"Orators always like audiences," he declared. "I was thinking of transacting our business. How can legislators get anything done?—He was winking knowingly—"if they are pulled this way and that by persons who don't know anything about what's good for them anyway? It's all right to talk about the dear people before election, but afterwards we ought to say 'get the hell out of here, and let us do some work.'"

"But it's natural to want to see the wheels go round."

"And it's human nature to like to heave hardware into the machinery," Goodnite asserted. "All these birds think now that they are going to bring the millennium on they can get a law on the statute books enabling the state to own water-power sites, and build power plants, and drain swamps. It's absurd. Now, haint it, Minturn?"

"What you trying to do, Goodnite," Dan replied good naturedly, "pledge me up before the bill's brought in? You ought to know me better than that." Goodnite looked sheepish. They strolled on.

It was as Goodnite had predicted.

This session of the legislature proved to be the most stubbornly and fiercely controversial in the history of the generation. The capitol was divided into armed camps. As the battle progressed members of the factions grew so bitter that they refused to speak to each other off the floor. Flat fights occasionally impended. Crowds thronged galleries and committee rooms. There was much oratory of the good, old-fashioned American type, much shouting about rights and interests, while the real business of the sessions was generally transacted over the coffee cups at the Nobe or in Gayland's room at the Pioneer Hotel.

Gayland had arrived on the first day of the session with a full office force, and was at work night and day. Dan saw very little of him—save when they met at home. There was a tacit truce between them; each refused to entangle the other in political discussion, but it was natural that they understood each other better than they pretended. What had happened in the 113th district during that final, crucial week had been as good as several hours of confidential conversations as a promoter of understandings. As senator, Dan found himself playing quite a different role from that of minority leader in the house. He was independent now. He "could look any man in the eye and tell him to go to hell." How he hated those words. How galling to be associated with Goodnite as one of the few members of the center bloc. Neither were invited to caucus with the right and left wings of the senate organization. But Minturn had been given important committee chairmanships and was listened to with attention whenever he chose to speak.

From the beginning it was apparent that the huge majority once held by the old-line leaders had been wiped out, and that the new minority was threatening to seize the reins of power at every sitting.

The country districts, restless and potent, had sent in a new type of legislator, the dirt farmer, innocent of legislative methods, but highly conversant with economics, and animated by a disdainful hostility toward the established order.

One ray during the earlier weeks of the eventful session—a session that was fast taking on the air of drama—Dan had pointed out to him a tall, little young man, with a hawk-like face, standing at a corridor door surveying the senate.

"That's Girard," he was told.

"So that's he?"

"Looks his part, doesn't he? He's made all the trouble for Gayland this year by sending the farmers up here. It's funny that the farmers would go bolshevik."

Looks harmless enough, Minturn insisted.

"He's the most dangerous force in Minnesota."

Though Dan did not see Girard again, the Great Organizer cast his shadow across the whole session.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

Of This and That

OUR mouths are watering over the appearance on our desk of the two volumes of "The World of William Clissold," H. G. Wells' much-heralded new novel, published by Doran. For the next few days we intend to lead the life of a recluse until we have read every last page. No doubt it is an indication of extreme superficiality; no doubt we are sadly sophomoric; we have no doubt but little grasp of the fundamentals; but we rise to remark that H. G. Wells has a way of stirring us mentally and emotionally as have few other writers, alive or dead, and that when he sits down and writes a book, like the baby in the advertisement, we won't be happy until we get it. It was said of William James that his words pulled triggers in men's brains. So Wells pulls triggers in that section of our head devised by Providence to contain our brains and the minor explosions that result are enough to send us chugging down new and fascinating highways. It may be because we got our first mistily utopian conception of Socialism from Wells long, long before the War; it may be because he is a master journalist dealing with controversial questions of the moment in a straightforward craftsmanlike manner; it may be because we are excited over the things that he is excited about—however, it may be Wells is one of our heroes and it will take a lot more than the young intellectuals (who are now sniffing at him) have shown so far to topple him off his throne. Next week we hope to give you more of an idea as to what "The World of William Clissold" is all about. But, in the meantime, our advice to you, boys and girls, is to save your pennies and spend five dollars on these two volumes. And we give you that advice "unsight, unseen."

We've just had a long talk with Jesse Lee Bennett, who came to New York to look after the fortunes of a new magazine that he is starting called "The Modern World." It is Bennett's altogether correct idea that instead of all hands sitting about bewailing the fact that what is called "the new knowledge" isn't percolating among the masses, someone get busy and start percolating. He has done a considerable bit of this himself. His Readers' Advisory Service, at 18 East Eager Street, Baltimore, is doing a grand job functioning as a mail order book business, suggesting for a small fee, books best suited to the individual's needs, sending lists of worth-while books and selling good books by mail at publishers' prices. He has started something in this idea of using the mails not to multiply the Babbitts a la Scranton, but to diffuse from Tulsa, Oklahoma, to Bangor, Maine, some idea of what things are really about. Bennett is one of those rare souls who would rather talk about his work than himself. He is more interested in getting folks interested in Giant Power, the new techniques of industry and what Bertrand Russell calls the prospects for an industrial civilization, than he is, in plugging Jesse Lee Bennett.

The San Francisco Bulletin recently let out a blat to the effect that Canada's Ontario hydro-electric project was a venture of "municipal Socialists." The Toronto Globe, hardly a radical sheet, answers aforesaid blat by the following: "The San Francisco Bulletin might interview the officials of every municipal partner in the hydro-electric enterprise without finding one who considers it anything but a safe and desirable business project."

"Here in Ontario is a God-given source of tremendous power, part of the public domain, worth millions of dollars a year to the Province if developed."

"According to the San Francisco paper, its owners, who are the people, should go to some private capitalists and say: 'Take this power, turn it into electric current, distribute it where you can most profitably, make all the money you can out of it; good luck.'"

"As a matter of fact, that is what the people of Ontario did at first and found that the interests of the Province were not receiving proper consideration. So a group of municipalities pooled their resources, obtained the indorsement of the Province, acquired the power interests, developed them further and sold the current to themselves at prices sufficient to cover operating cost and provide a sinking fund."

"There has been no dipping into the public treasury to make up deficits and there has been no burden on the taxpayer. On the other hand, power and light bills have been cut in two and the business is paying its way and taking care of the future."

We are all for the scientific approach, the engineering attitude, the fact-finding mind, and that sort of thing, but we are beginning to get a bit tired of the way in which the word "research" is being used. We have just finished reading an article by one of these new-fangled business economists, informing a group of supposedly fascinated business men about the magic that will be wrought for them by the employment of "researchers." These deluded folk are led to believe that if they will hire a group of young men with spectacles, Adam's apples and brief bags to hurry about collecting data that can be turned into nice pie-charts, graphs and long statistical tables, they will be able to extract the few remaining pennies to which the public is still desperately clinging. Facts are stubborn things, of course, and the lack of them is sometimes deplorable, but even the most prolonged and exhaustive researches and the accumulation of enough facts which if laid end to end would reach from here to Saturn, will not substitute for ordinary intelligence. "Now that you've got it what are you going to do with it?" is the question that may well be asked of the results of most research. It was the favorite saying of James McConaughy, than whom no better newspaper man ever shoved a lead pencil, that there were enough facts in the reports of the United States Census Bureau to start a revolution any rainy Friday afternoon. The School of Business at Columbia has just conducted a Research Magnificent which proves conclusively that men do more "window-shopping" than women. And our answer to that is, "What of it?"

All across the land bright young college graduates are preparing questionnaires as to whether gentlemen really do prefer blondes, why more people eat shredded corn husks than consume toasted bed-ticking for breakfast, and similarly momentous subjects. This all goes under the head of "research," and is a highly profitable undertaking. As a matter of fact, the few real research men in the country who are worth their salt, are fast sinking beneath the invasion of their field of a horde of the same sort of charlatans, quacks and get-rich-quick experts as have already taken over much of the property of the genuine psycho-analysts. A research into the researchers, their functions, selling methods and results might well pay anyone who is disposed to attribute something magical to this comparatively new profession.

McAlister Coleman.

First Workers' World Migration Congress Surveyed By Adler

Labor Doings Abroad

By Dr. Friedrich Adler
(Secretary of the Socialist and Labor International)

FOR four days workers' representatives from Europe, America, Asia and Australia discussed the problems of migration from the labor point of view. The June London Congress brought to light the multiplicity of the problems involved and the enormous difficulties in the way of their solution. In a certain sense there was a repetition of the deep impression made in London last year by the British Commonwealth Labor Conference. Last year's Congress may perhaps rank as a more instructive one because then European problems did not have to be dealt with and a whole week could be devoted to non-European problems; moreover the highly instructive South African problem, which could not be dealt with this time, was fully examined last year. As a year ago, the representatives of Canada and Australia took an opposite point of view to that of the representatives of India; the delegates of former immigrant white workers, now become native, were in opposition to those of the colored races. The contrasts were sharply outlined and no one attempted to conceal them, for the Congress had been called for the very reason that the difficulties were so great, and because the first step toward overcoming them must be a complete understanding of them.

The result embodied in the resolutions of the Congress is a very modest one, indeed. What was achieved was an agreement on practical measures to be taken. It was, of course, not to be expected that a solution of the fundamental problems could be found at this first attempt. Certainly, much more in this direction could have been expressed in common had the Congress been restricted to representatives of the two Internationals, which had called it, and a Congress of the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions or the Socialist and Labor International could go much further than did the London Congress. However, the task of this Congress was to establish connection with overseas labor organizations which are not affiliated with either Amsterdam or Zurich, and in this way to be able to view the problems in their entirety.

For White Australia

The extreme point of view in one direction is held by the representatives of the Labor Party of Australia. They declare without any reservation: Australia must be a white continent! Although the north coast of Australia is uninhabitable for whites on account of fevers due to the climate, and although to hundreds of thousands of colored people a means of livelihood could be offered there, the Australian Labor Party insists on prohibiting absolutely the immigration of colored workers.

It is quite different with the representatives of the Labor Party of New Zealand. They do not want the racial factor to play a decisive part, but rather the economic factor. In New Zealand there are yellow workers. The Labor Party, nevertheless, emphatically requires that immigrants shall not be allowed to lower the standard of life won by the working class of the country, and on this point the statements of the New Zealand delegates are in line with the problems of the majority of countries of immigration.

With the exception of the Australian delegate, no other delegate recognized the racial question as the decisive factor, although the pre-eminence of the question was emphasized in speeches made by delegates from those countries in which the color question is not a mere theoretical matter, but an immediate practical problem; which can hardly be understood in Europe, where there are only closely-related peoples. In spite of the fact that the overwhelming majority of the Congress recognized the old principle of the equality of races and nations, it was again and again emphasized that, from the

point of view of the working class, there arises a certain inequality, which will be of decisive importance in the solution of the problem.

Workers Are Modest in Demands

It was Lassalle who declared war on the "damned modesty" of the workers. The importance of this point of view has considerably receded in Western Europe; its international significance, however, is becoming more and more obvious. The workers of different countries differ from each other in the degree of their modesty. The Polish miner is satisfied with food and lodging which the English miner would never put up with. The colored worker is incomparably more modest than the white worker, and hand in hand with this goes the ultimate decisive difference between workers as to the degree of their trade union education and as to their degree of their industrial solidarity. This means in quite a noteworthy manner class opposition with regard to immigration. Capitalists are more "international" than workers. Capitalists favor the less developed nations and races. In Western European countries, with good trade union organization they want to open wide the doors to unorganized labor from Slav countries; they want to employ colored labor in the South African mines in order to economize on white labor. The workers are opposed to such "immigration" as represents only the import of wage-cutters and strike-breakers.

With regard to that, no doubt can exist that it is the representatives of the most soundly established trade union organizations who fear that the result of decades of work might be destroyed by an inundation of unorganized workers. France and Belgium are now faced with these problems in a practical manner. There is one remedy: The organization of the immigrants. But it is obvious that there must exist a certain relationship between the rate of organization and the rate of the immigration of unorganized labor, in order for it to be possible to maintain the labor position gained. The example of the workers' movement in the United States of America gave many opportunities for observing how capitalist interests again and again have understood how to use new troops of unorganized immigrant workers against the organization of the workers.

Hard to Get to Australia

We remember how often even three decades ago Australia was held up before the eyes of the workers in Europe as an ideal country for economic progress, a country where the eight-hour day was introduced at a time when it was still regarded as utopian in Europe. The Australian workers have understood how to improve their condition by persistently opposing immigration, and there is no doubt that opposition to immigration will increase still more when the Australian workers gain full power in their continent. Today, only Anglo-Saxon subjects are allowed to immigrate, and even these meet with the greatest difficulties, for the emigrating worker cannot himself afford to meet the expenses of a journey to Australia. He is dependent on support. The Australian and British governments have come to an agreement of their own as to the extent of support allowed, and there is no doubt that the Australian workers are anxious to decrease the amount of support to the lowest possible level. Thus the solution, considered by the Australian workers as in the interests of their class, is a monopoly for themselves, without consideration of the rest of the world. But the formation of islands of social legislation does not help to solve the great problems of the world proletariat. Australia was quite early a model country for standards of life for the workers, but it is not a model country for international solidarity.

Poland and India were the principal representatives at this Congress of countries with a great surplus population. In which the urge to go abroad to earn a living is most strongly prevalent. However much the organized workers fear the danger presented by unorganized wage-cutters, they cannot be indifferent to the appalling misery and suffering of fellow human beings who see no other remedy in this capitalist world than to accept even the worst terms, provided they offer food and lodging.

Majority for Free Migration

The resolutions of the Congress were unanimous. An attempt was made to

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"WATCH THE BILLBOARD"

LITHOS OUT FOR 44 HOURS

Careful Preparations Made for Campaign in N. Y. C.

(Continued from page 1)

After seven months of struggle the "bosses" gave up the attempt. Economic conditions have since justified the position taken by the union. Immediately after the resumption of work wages had to be increased in the bidding for workers to fill orders that had accumulated during the stoppage. Since that time the industry has prospered and wage increases have followed. At present the prospects are bright. Inventions have increased productivity. The union only last July 1 obtained substantial increases for all classes of workers. Now it has decided to carry out the newly stated wage theory of the American Federation of Labor even further and demand a reduction of the working week to forty-four from forty-eight hours, really forty-seven and a half, because of a half hour concession on Saturday, no doubt, in deference to the half holiday in other trades.

The Bosses Break Their Word

The demand for a reduction of hours by the Amalgamated Lithographers is somewhat belated. Fellow-printing craftsmen are surprised to hear that the lithographers are still to make the fight. In 1919 the unions in the Allied Printing Trades Council, the typographers, pressmen, photo-engravers and bookbinders, had secured a promise from the employers to have the forty-four hour week established on May 1, 1921. When that day arrived the economic depression following the war was in full swing and the "bosses" broke their word. A long drawn-out fight followed. Now, the lithographers had a similar agreement but when the fortunate day came, the employers revealed a "joker." They claimed that their promise had only been contingent upon the securing of the forty-four hour week by the typographers. The bad feeling engendered by the disappointment of 1921 and the lock-

express in them what is common to all delegates attending the Congress. It would be an extremely dangerous self-deceit if we were to ignore the fact that there exist deep and conflicting differences among the workers' interests. It is all the more gratifying that the great majority of the commission voted in favor of the principle of freedom of movement. In the resolution this is not mentioned, since a unanimous vote could not be obtained for it, in spite of the most careful choice of words. But the majority of the commission expressed this point of view at the Congress, whilst the point of view of the minority was voiced by the representative of Australia.

Among the arguments against freedom of movement there is one which touches problems of still another order. Countries in which the surplus of births is definitely restricted can use that fact as an argument against immigration from countries in which birth control is less, or non-existent. They restrict the surplus population in their own country, why should they then be obliged to provide for the surplus population of other countries and thereby endanger their own standard of life? This international aspect of the problem of birth control leads up to the most difficult problem which will have to be solved in the future. How is the problem of the division of the earth's surface between different races and nations to be solved in such a way that the urge of self-preservation shall not result in wars of extermination, but may be met by peaceful co-operation?

The magnitude of the problems and the magnitude of the conflicting points of view were powerfully disclosed to those who took part in the Congress, but, in spite of all that, they went home with the firm conviction that, with a few exceptions, the principle of internationalism clearly prevailed; as indeed also the subordination of the interests of workers of individual countries or of individual groups of migrant workers to the common interests of the international working class.

We are still very far from the time when this principle of internationalism will find interpretation at every step, but again at this Congress, of so complicated a composition, it has been seen that this is the only guiding star for our actions.

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HUGH REILLY BECOMES SECY OF N. J. FEDERATION

WILDWOOD, N. J.—After 17 years' service as secretary of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, Henry F. Hilfers was defeated here for reelection by Hugh Reilly. Both men live in Newark. Opposition to Hilfers grew from criticism by union men of his directing of a two-day strike of brewers in Newark last spring. It was reported. Other officers elected were Arthur A. Quinn of Sewaren, president; E. J. Reid of Newark, first vice-president; Thomas E. Ames, Millville, second vice-president; J. J. Buckley, Jersey City, treasurer. Camden will be the scene of the federation's 1927 convention.

out of 1922 has made the workers very determined. They have also realized that the increasing productivity of the industry and the possible resulting displacement of workers justified lesser hours of work. Consequently, about two years ago a defense fund began to be collected in preparation for any emergency that might arise. Last September the convention of the A. L. A., meeting in New York city, decided to carry out a statistical inquiry into the state of the industry to throw light on the advisability of making the forty-four hour week demand. Wages, degree of unionization, number and size of plants and related topics were studied. In May of this year the International Council considered the results of this investigation. It decided to launch a campaign to establish the shorter working week, but profiting from the difficulties of the International Typographical Union in attempting to carry out this proposal everywhere at the same time, the Council adopted a different plan of operations. Individual localities would make their own drives, but arrangements would be made so that cities which would be likely to compete with one another would be tied up at the same time.

New York Leads Off

Local 1 of New York is taking the lead. A Forty-four Hour Week Committee of twenty-five has been studying the problem. It has decided to make April 1, 1927, the beginning of the new regime in order to give employers time to make adjustments. The membership meeting on September 23 will by this time have probably adopted the committee's report. Chicago will probably fall in line very soon.

The one hundred and fifty-four plants in New York city constitute a little less than one-half of the number in the entire industry in this country. Therefore, the local campaign will be a determining one. The special kind of lithograph done in this center increases the chances of victory. Six plants in New York city already enjoy the shorter week because of the presence of type printing departments. Twelve others in the country are in the same category.

The forty-four hour week slogan has invigorated the organization. New members are joining, old ones are returning. The losses sustained in the lockout of 1922 are being recouped. The determined front of the union and the inevitability of the shorter week in line with industrial trends may induce the employers to accede to the demand. But some are obstinate. They want to put up a fight. They claim the union has just obtained wage increases and should be satisfied. They assert that a shorter week would put them at a disadvantage in the competition with alternative forms of printing. The Amalgamated Lithographers of America refuse to be frightened by these bugaboos. They are out to win.

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SACCO SECRECY DENOUNCED

Prosecution Admits Justice Department Conspired to Convict Radicals

By Esther Lowell

DORHAM, Mass.—"When a government values its own secrets more than the lives of its citizens it has become a tyranny," declared William G. Thompson, defense attorney, in his closing argument for a new trial for Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti. Answering Assistant District Attorney Dudley Ranney, Thompson said that no public officials were so exalted that their word could not be challenged.

"I say unequivocally," said Thompson, "that the real reason why the Federal files covering the Sacco-Vanzetti case have not been produced for this hearing is that the opening of those files would bring disgrace and shame upon the Boston office of the U. S. Department of Justice, and because it would show the innocence of these defendants of the payroll murders at South Braintree, for which they were convicted."

Replying to Thompson's argument, Ranney admitted that the state and Federal authorities worked together secretly to convict Sacco and Vanzetti of murder, as one way of disposing of radicals whom they could not legally deport. Ranney defended the action of his predecessor in office in placing the spy, Carbone, in the cell next to Sacco's, saying this was "an extreme but not unusual method of police investigation."

Ranney sought to sweep aside the evidence offered by the defense to show that the Joe Morelli gang of Providence perpetrated the South Braintree murders. He attacked the veracity of Constantino Medeiros, the Portuguese, who has confessed that the Morelli gang committed that crime, and that he took part in the holdup.

In the face of a notable resemblance between photographs of Joe Morelli and Sacco, Ranney denied that any great resemblance existed. He dismissed the defense's arguments lightly and depended upon dramatic speech, harking back often to the trial, with evident effort to impress Judge Webster Thayer. Ranney denied that he had any thirst for prosecuting the defendants.

When Ranney finished the court asked for the full record of the case so he might go over it. There are 1,600,000 words in the trial transcript and 500,000 since, and Judge Thayer indicated that it would be several weeks before he could rule on the present motion. Thompson contended that the original trial record and the Supreme Court's decision in this case had no bearing on this present motion, reiterating that the showing of new evidence just made is ample in itself for the indictment of the Morelli gang for the South Braintree crime. This point, if conceded by the court, would automatically give Sacco and Vanzetti a new trial.

St. Louis Open Shoppers Succumb to Union Labor; Mills in Mine Regions

The Field of Labor

It is so obvious that it is overlooked that, outside of appropriate economic conditions, a prime requisite for thorough unionization of any community is a favorable public opinion, especially among the workers themselves, toward unionism. The trade union must be an accepted institution for better or for worse. The town or city involved must be union-soaked, if you please.

St. Louis, Mo., is a case in point. The local Chamber of Commerce in 1920 declared a war to the finish against organized labor. Under the secretaryship of Paul Bunn it became a model for the open-shop movement. The unions of this old Socialist stronghold put up a staunch defense. One of their allies was the St. Louis Trades Union Promotional League. With a branch in each of the twenty-eight wards of the city, meeting monthly, the league was able to agitate in favor of trade unionism. It did much to create a public opinion favorable to labor unions. It helped in organization campaigns. It boosted union-made goods.

Recently the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce came to its senses. It selected a new secretary by the name of Findley, who had been secretary to former Mayor Kiel for twelve years and had always been friendly to trade unionists. He made overtures to the labor men. His body had organized the Greater St. Louis Exposition, which ran from Sept. 3 to Sept. 19, 1926. Findley appeared before the Central Trades and Labor Union and asked for the official participation of labor in the affair. He assured the delegates that only union labor would be utilized in the construction work and that union-made cigars would be sold exclusively. The central body and its affiliated unions co-operated in the exposition, and Labor Day turned out to be a gala occasion for the trade unions. The St. Louis Union Label League even had a booth advertising union-made goods. Thus far the only complaint has come from the bartenders and waiters' unions, but the central body has been slow in taking up their grievances. It remains to be seen whether the open-shoppers have definitely retreated.

THE POCKETBOOK MAKERS SOLVE A QUEER ONE

We remember one hot day last summer when we found Abraham Shlipacoff, manager of the New York Joint Board of the International Pocketbook Workers' Union, in a very much perturbed state of mind. The "bloodless" victory of the union had culminated in an agreement with the Associated Leather Goods Manufacturers on July 21, 1926. But an unusual circumstance was marring the occasion. A group of small manufacturers and contractors, had formed a Pocketbook Manufacturers' Association in March and had asked to deal with the union collectively. This union could not consent to do, first because the major negotiations with the Associated had yet to be settled, and secondly these contractors were small fry, who were irresponsible. A collective agreement might have resulted in less control over their books. Moreover, they worked for the members of the Associated and might help undermine union standards.

On several occasions thereafter spokesmen for the Associated appealed in vain to the union to deal with these organized contractors. When the agreement of July 21 was signed the union prepared to deal with the independents and even with the Pocketbook Manufacturers' Association. Then an astounding thing happened. The Association was dissolved and its members were elected to membership in the Associated, thus obtaining the favorable terms which the union had refused them. The union objected. It refused to submit the matter to the impartial Chairman but agreed to have him preside at any conferences. Stoppages had to be called against the offending "bosses" and in the end the impartial Chairman recommended that the newly elected members resign. This was done. The Pocketbook Manufacturers' Association was revived and it is at present in negotiation with the union. The principle of differentiation between employers and the code of ethics in collective bargaining enunciated by the union have been affirmed.

SILK MILLS IN MINING REGIONS

It was stated during the recent anthracite coal strike that one reason why the miners were able to hold out so long was because the women folk had found employment in the silk mills which were springing up in Pennsylvania. At any rate, this assertion called attention to new textile centers that were arising in the State, and it was to be expected that the strong union sentiment in the coal regions would make unionization of the mills inevitable.

An important victory in this direction has just been gained. Last spring a strike at the Leon Fernbach silk mill, in Parsons Borough, resulted in a settlement favorable to the workers. A short while later, however, the management declared for an open shop and discharged the members of a committee representing the local branch of the United Textile Workers of America. A strike ensued. It lasted nineteen weeks. The entire labor movement of the Wyoming Valley was aroused. The United Mine Workers and the Wilkes-Barre Central Labor Union threw in their support. The four State mediators were kept busy trying to secure a settlement. In the end the union was recognized, strikers were reinstated, discrimination against union members was banned and equal division of work in slack times was introduced.

The unionization of this important mill has proved the mettle of the women workers; it has meant the substitution of one and at the most two looms per operator for the usual six in non-union establishments; it has shown the solidarity of labor in the Wyoming Valley. It is expected that the United Textile Workers will capture the other mills in this section.—L. S.

BARBERS' CONVENTION WAITS ON FUNDS

The part that the practical matter of finance may play in impeding the carrying out of the abstract principle of democracy in a labor union is well illustrated in the present referendum among the members of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union. (In another union, for example, the administration has used the lack of funds as a pretext not to call any convention at all). The sixteenth convention of that organization is to take place in 1929 and yet at this early date the officers have called attention to the fact that there is not a cent set aside to finance that undertaking. The convention fund is penniless. It has been the practice to set aside five cents per capita tax for this purpose, but whereas originally delegates received five dollars per day, today the amount has been increased to nine with three cents per mile additional for railway expenses to and from the convention. The fourteenth convention's fund was short \$22,000, the last \$40,000, and it is estimated that the next will show a deficit at the present rate of \$100,000.

The general executive board in the absence of a referendum vote to the contrary must issue the call for the convention. It can defray expenses by borrowing, transferring one fund to another or levying an assessment. But these eventually hit the rank and file anyway—the last the hardest, since it comes in one bulk sum and may lead to the disfranchisement of delinquent locals. The present proposal is to increase the monthly per capita tax to the international from seventy to eighty cents, the extra dime to go to the convention fund. Whether the members will vote favorably on the proposition is not predicted. The ballots must be cast by September 30, 1926.

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The New Leader Mail Bag

Durant Weds Art and Wealth

To the Editor of The New Leader:

It is amusing, when it is nothing more serious, to notice how the capitalist press twists and everything to its purpose—the justification of the existing order. A recent article of Dr. Durant in the New York Times was no naive attempt to connect art and wealth, that I yield to the impulse to point out its fallacies. Did the Times print my letter? It did! But—by omitting the opening paragraphs the closing comments, and over a dozen sentences and phrases in between, it neatly extracted the sting. Then it twisted the most obvious bit of irony into the support of another bulwark of things as they are, and gave my letter the heading, "Art a Product of Religion, Not Wealth, Is Contentious." I hope you will find room in your columns for the entire letter, which needs no explanation, and makes its stand quite clear.

JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY.

New York City.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Times:

Every age and every system has its horde of sycophantic apologists and justifiers. Often they wear the weeds of respectability and high repute. It is their function to explain, in words of sufficient subtlety to hoodwink the dissatisfied, why things must be as they are, why, in spite of the objections that can be raised, this is the best of all, is the best of all possible worlds.

One convenient and not too difficult avenue for these lackeys is to single out some element of life commonly considered precious, piously held as a sign of man's spiritual progress, and to show how this valuable phase of man's being is possible only in the state of society they are happening to defend. Such an element of life is art, which seems a sign of man's progress toward higher things; link this intricately with our social system, and the group seemingly most remote from material concerns and influences becomes the justification of the present order. So these oily-tongued apologists are spreading the doctrine that art depends upon the continuance of things as they are.

The latest to join this group is Will Durant, who in the Times Magazine of August 29th is given first page prominence for his presentation. In his first dozen lines, this popularizer of philosophy, whose outline has become a best-seller, makes three blunders in elementary logic, any one of which would bring the teacher down upon a high school senior. He begins: "Will America witness, in the coming half century, a great outburst of literature and art? The argument for such a renaissance is very simple, if true. America is becoming the center of the world's wealth. But historically those nations and periods that were marked by accumulating wealth were distinguished also by an efflorescence of art. Therefore . . . Let us assume the major premise as a platitude, and pass on to the minor. What have been the great periods of art in European history?" In the first place, Dr. Durant (doctor of philosophy, the basis of which is logic) imagines that by putting his minor premise first, he makes it the major premise. Secondly, he says "those nations and periods" without making clear whether he means "all" or "most" or "merely some"—though of course he implies "all." And finally, he falls into the most obvious fallacy of post hoc ergo propter hoc: assuming that because wealth and art occur together, the one is the cause of the other.

What concerns Dr. Durant in the body of his article is the proof of his major premise, that "those periods that were marked by accumulating wealth were distinguished also by an efflorescence of art." Here the implied universality of the statement (necessary, and caught up again, for the conclusion about the United States) is qualified. The writer protests his ignorance of many ages; he finds it necessary to apologize for the late development of Roman culture (he really seems, indeed, to mean culture rather

than art, for his whole thesis rules the primitive, to mention nothing more out of court). But it is safe, despite the rather poor case Dr. Durant makes out, to admit the truth of his major premise.

For art is of such frequent appearance in the world that any fairly intelligent person could adequately establish that it occurs when there is wealth in the world. Dr. Durant knows enough logic to be aware that to prove his case he would have to show that:

1. Every period of great art is also wealthy.

2. No period of wealth exists without great art.

3. No period of poverty has great art.

The most he attempts to establish by his major premise is item 1. Let us grant what he submits as "proof" of that—the same can be shown of half a hundred other things. Dr. Durant declares that "in drought or pestilence, in war or revolution, life returns to half-conscious and artless immaturity"; but Dr. Elie Faure has just given us a beautifully written book, "The Dance Over Fire and Water," to prove that art is a product of periods of war. Is it not, really, a product of religion? Let me mention no more than Hebrew literature, most of the Greek, Dante, Spenser, and Milton, and the medieval Gothic architecture, as religious even in substance; culture came at the height of the inquisition in Spain; Flemish art when Puritanism was most intense; Shakespeare when the Church of England made its Virgin Queen the subject of an embracing Mariology. But stop! Can it not almost as readily be proven that art rises out of periods of slavery? of greed? of lust? of dissatisfaction? of any conceivable thing any imbecile or blinded partisan desires to forward?

Let art alone! Art is the product of an increased awareness of the world. It seems natural to suggest that such increased awareness may be the result of some sort of dissatisfaction—consciousness itself, says Carlyle, is a sign of disease. We seldom think how we walk, or digest, until our legs or stomachs are out of order. The poet declares of his songs that "Out of heartbreak and bellyache into clear joy their way they take." These words of Ralph Waldo Emerson, however, picture only a portion of the artistic products of the world; it is equally conceivable that "increased awareness" may spring from the exuberance, the excess energy of abundance and joy. But it is harder to fancy it coming from the possession of a bank account. Millionaires may endow libraries; they do not create the taste for reading. The Romans knew that they could keep the masses in more or less contented submission by offering free bread and circuses. The great artist may come under the patronage of a wealthy man, but it's dollars to doughnuts the patron didn't take him under until he showed signs of greatness, and it's millions to maggot that it wasn't the patronage that made him great. Enough art has come out of the proverbial garret to make mention of negative instances unnecessary.

Dr. Durant violates his entire argument, such as it is, in a closing paragraph. He declares "Only one thing more is necessary before our renaissance can come; we must learn to love liberty as the vital medium of art. We cannot create if we are not free. And this means much less the freedom of the stomach than the freedom of the mind." I do not know, as Dr. Durant does not attempt to develop this statement, whether he would prove freedom essential to art by the same specious method he has employed for wealth. Nor do I know whether by "only one thing more" he chooses to imply that a widespread freedom of the mind is imminent in America; it would be interesting to hear him on that point. If increasing wealth be accompanied by increasing intolerance, what then becomes of art? Obviously, Dr. Durant is talking at cross-purposes; and it grieves me, who remember his alertness and earnestness when he sat near me under the stimulation of Dr. Montague's wisdom a dozen years ago, to see him now so shallow—or insincere.

Sycophants, apologists, pleaders of causes: Let art alone!

JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY.

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A m u s e m e n t s

D R A M A

The Drama of America

By Joseph T. Shipley

VII—The Plays of Today

HAVING described the plays of yesterday as those that, mentally and morally, reflect the attitudes of childhood, we may characterize the plays of today that we see in the theatre around us, as adolescent, those of tomorrow as mature.

The child sees no grays; to him everything is black or white. But this state of affairs does not disturb the child; he likes his villains black; he would not understand and would detest a half-hearted criminal; he enjoys hissing as much as he does cheering. The adolescent sees the world as black and white, but is greatly troubled by this state of affairs. He feels the urge of the reformer, he would make all blacks white, he would have his villains repent—and forgive. It is the adolescent, the youth (of whatever physical age) that leads all revolutions. The mature man, on the other hand, has discovered that there are no such things as pure light and absolute darkness; everything is one or another depth of gray. "Never hit anyone in cold blood," says Bernard Shaw, knowing that maturity always keeps cool. The child obeys this injunction, but the adolescent, even though he may sincerely say "This hurts me more than it does you," believes in punishment for the offender's good. It is the adolescent mind that puts faith in corporal punishment for bothersome children, in prisons for individuals who bother society and in war for bothersome nations. It is the adolescent mind that demands and tries to impose on others a heaven and hell of rewards and punishments, such as closes Sutton Vane's "Outward Bound."

Montrose J. Moses, who carries us through the dramas of today, presents two interesting examples of this phase of our theatre. The first of these, "The New York Idea," carries along the concern for sex. In its way the piece is a satire on divorce; it was deservedly successful in 1906 with Mrs. Fluke and with Grace George in 1915, and its dialog still sparkles and entertains. The author, Langdon Mitchell, declares "What I wanted to satirize was a certain extreme frivolity in the American spirit and in our American life—frivolity in the deep sense—not just a girl's frivolity but that profound, sterile, amazing frivolity which one observes and meets in our churches, in political life, in literature, in music; in short, in every department of American thought, feeling, and action. . . . Our frivolity is, I feel, on the edge of the tragic." This sense of the heedlessness, of the absence of serious purpose in life, of the shallowness that replaces love in the choice of a mate, is exceedingly well pictured in the play. Yet the divorced husband and wife turn out in this instance to be really sincere persons, capable of deep love, which they do feel for one another after all, as they discover—and reunite—at the end.

In passing, the play makes a most piercing stab at our political pretense. A member of an old, respectable family, one of the "four hundred," remarks of another: "A very respectable family. Although I remember that his father served a term in the Senate." That such words, spoken by such a person, could be relied on to win immediate laughter, shows what a sorry opinion the average man has of the government. Crowds may gaze at the president on parade, but how many not directly concerned in pulling plums give serious thought to political office?

The second play of today in the collection is one of the rare sort that goes out of the beaten part for themes. David Belasco's "The Return of Peter Grimm" has its typical villain, its ruined woman off stage, its almost betrayed heroine, and its simple, virtuous hero. In their mingling is material for a good melodrama, a well-wrought play of yesterday. But Belasco keeps all these elements carefully subordinate to another interest: the return of Peter Grimm after his death, to rectify the last great error of his lifetime. With considerable skill the playwright succeeds in making us accept this return; he manages so that coincidence, suggestion, guilty conscience, may be substituted for the spirit by those who refuse to credit the return, and are worried about such things in the theatre—for that, save for its contribution to the play's success, is beside the point. What is material here is the fact that the adolescent urge to reform is sustained even after death. The dead return, hovering almost helplessly about us, desirous of repairing the damage they have wrought. In one sense this play is a transition toward the plays of tomorrow. For the sign of youth is not merely that it accepts a social and moral creed, but that it seeks to "reform," to impose that creed upon others. And what Peter Grimm seeks, upon his return after death, is to remove the imposition his living will had set upon the heroine; with death he has grown up. Belasco, however, has not matured so fully as his creature.

Plays of today, when well constructed, are often commercial successes, though rarely with the long runs of the plays of yesterday. The child insists on the happy ending, the

youth desires it, the adult may not mind it. But the child and the adult are both impatient of the moral. The youth wants to better the world; the child hasn't begun to think about the world, and the adult has given up. Youth is the period of ideals, maturity the age of disillusion. The optimist is therefore mentally forever young—save that senescence recaptures for other purposes the old illusions of youth. Youth spreads its dreams into a structure that shall shelter the world; age draws its dreams into a hut that shall shelter itself. Maturity has no time for dreams, being too busy with life. Whatever the child or the adult finds in his way, he seeks without qualms to destroy. Youth either tries to win it over, or finds pious phrases to justify the destruction—in the name of liberty, or god, or king, or country. The child fights because he hates, the adult because he desires, the youth to make the world safe for democracy. The extent to which the shrewd and tricky among the adults can take advantage of the sincere and ingenuous youth is shown by the recent—or probably any—war. The child is even more easily reached, with propaganda of hatred. Offer the child a sugar-stick, or tell him some one wants to take it away; give the youth a pietistic slogan. (In all this, I repeat, the reference is of course of the age of the intellect and the will—the mental and moral age—regardless of physical years. Our army average, you remember, was under 13 years mental development.)

The author of the plays of today may either sincerely follow a code in which he believes, or deliberately employ that which his audience acknowledges. In the theatre, beyond the plays that appeal to the childhood of our intellect, there is a great body of dramas, from O. Henry's "Alias Jimmy Valentine" to Eugene O'Neill's "Anna Christie," that play upon the impulses and powers of youth.

WILLIAM HODGE



Will open his local season in his new play, "The Judge's Husband," which opens at the 49th Street theatre Monday night.

Civic Theatre's Repertory At the 14th St. Playhouse

EVA LE GALLIENNE announced yesterday the production schedule for the first ten weeks of the forthcoming season of the Civic Repertory Theatre in Fourteenth Street. Between October 25 and December 13 Miss Le Gallienne will make six productions, including four plays in which she has not previously been seen.

The opening play will be Benavente's "Saturday Night," and will be followed the night—October 26—by Tchekov's "Three Sisters." On November 1 Miss Le Gallienne will revive Ibsen's "The Master Builder," and on Nov. 8 she will give "John Gabriel Borkman," Goldoni's "La Locandiere" will have its first performance on November 15, and "Twelfth Night" will be produced on December 13, with Miss Le Gallienne as Viola.

These six productions will be played in varying sequence during the first ten weeks of the season. Another series of plays, to be announced later, will be offered during the second ten weeks, beginning December 27.

Butler Davenport, director of the Braham Playhouse, in a letter to the "New Leader," suggests that that prospective subscribers take advantage of the above, and subscribe at once. The prices range from 30 cents to \$1.50.

Lowell Sherman Stars in "A Woman Disputed"

At the Forrest Theatre next Tuesday evening A. H. Woods will present Lowell Sherman in a new romantic drama by Denison Clift, entitled "The Woman Disputed." The play has been presented in Brooklyn and Newark under the title of "The Prisoner." Ann Harding, Louis Calhern and Crane Wilbur are the featured players in the large company.

LOWELL SHERMAN



Returns to the bright lights of Broadway in "The Woman Disputed," opening Tuesday night at the Forrest theatre.

Survey to Be Made Of "Art Theatre" Groups

THE Independent Theatres Clearing House announces that it has initiated a survey of the experimental and "art" theatres throughout the country. It will take a census of the independent producing groups of all sorts, including those generally termed "amateur" and "semi-professional," and also such fully professional organizations as the Theatre Guild and the Actors' Theatre.

Information is being sought particularly regarding the extent of the subsidies at the disposal of independent producing companies. A special part of the survey work will deal also with the college and university theatres.

The Clearing House officials estimate that probably five million dollars is being spent yearly to promote the various forms of independent stages in America, and they want to ascertain, and to let the public know, how wisely this great sum is being expended. They point out that within five years the independent theatre movement, from being concerned with a few scattered "little theatres," has progressed to the point where perhaps a thousand individual producing groups are concerned, ranging from amateur clubs to the true type of institutional playhouse, and spending millions of dollars in staging plays above the "business stage" average in artistic values. These independent companies are said to reach a larger public than either the stock companies or the first-class road companies sent out by Broadway producers.

The actual cash subsidy enjoyed by non-commercial theatres probably amounts to less than half a million dollars annually, according to the estimates. But to this is added the rental values of the Neighborhood Playhouse in New York, the Goodman Memorial Theatre in Chicago, and the new Community Theatres in Pasadena and Santa Barbara. Among the new buildings to be occupied by independent groups during the coming season, the Clearing House reports the Dallas Little Theatre, now being erected at a cost of \$45,000, and the Cleveland Playhouse group containing two complete theatres.

The survey is being undertaken by the Independent Theatres Clearing House as a step in its plans to help stabilize the creative independent theatre in America, and to stimulate a wide-spread interest in their development and support. Its first work was in aid of the local experimental groups, the Actors' Theatre, the Stagers and the Provincetown Players. It also has helped in the plans for the International Theatre Arts Institute, which will establish its school of the theatre and its acting company in Brooklyn in the autumn. The survey has been started under the supervision of Sheldon Cheney, Director of the Clearing House. It is hoped to have preliminary returns in and checked over for announcement at the Independent Theatres Dinner, which is to be held at the Hotel Astor here on the evening of October 3 under the auspices of the Actors' Theatre, the Neighborhood Playhouse, the Stagers, the Provincetown Players and the International Theatre Arts Institute.

Provincetown Playhouse to Open Season with "Turandot"

The season's plans for the Provincetown Playhouse include a possible half dozen productions, the first of which, opening in November, will be Gozzi's comedy, "Princess Turandot," a version of which was recently staged by Max Reinhardt at Salzburg. The Provincetown adaptation will be the work of Henry G. Alsberg, who translated "The Dybbuk," and Isaac Dan Levine. It will be directed by Leo Bulgakov, formerly of the Moscow Art Theatre.

This will be followed by a play by Eugene O'Neill—either an original work or an adaptation of the Book of Revelation. The other productions will be chosen from Calderon's "The Mayor of Zalamea," translated by Edward Fitzgerald; "In Abraham's Bosom," an American play by Paul Green, and an opera in the style of "Orpheus," which was produced at the Provincetown last season. Revival of "Orpheus," "The Emperor Jones" and "Fashion" are also among the possibilities.

Mitzi Back in New Strauss Musical Play

Lupino Provides Moments of Humor in "Naughty Riquette" at the Cosmopolitan

THE new Oscar Strauss musical play at the Cosmopolitan Theatre, "Naughty Riquette," which is well worth seeing, is particularly interesting because of the comparison it forces home, of our stage today with our new pictorial paper policy for the reading public. Mitzi herself has added no new features to that charm for which we still prize her, though when the novelty of her petite appeal has worn with the years we find it somewhat unsubstantiated by depth of personality. But Stanley Lupino, fresh from the English stage, brings a laugh every moment of his appearance, and proves that our "cousins across the water" are little different from our unbenumbed selves.

The plot of the play does not matter; there is enough of it to carry the action along; though in its unreality it matches the daily comic, it differs from them in that the stage still seems to prefer the appearance of high life. Yet "Keeping Up with the Joneses" or the adventures of that family which now frolics in the Sunday color supplement through jobs in the movies are on a par with the activities of these directors and employees of the French telephone company. The music is also simple enough for common consumption, and tuneful enough for common enjoyment; and the dances, especially of the toe ballet and of Sylvan Lee and Jane Moore, are difficult and clever. The important element is the fun.

Stanley Lupino uses everyone as foils for the swift parries of his humor. As pantomimist, in the rapid movement of his husband, lover and police officer shift, he is a scream; as a clown he is a triple somersault; as dealer in language and smart repartee he is what we might call a wow! For his appeal is directly to the fundamental horse-play sense that still lurks in the man most weaned with sobriety, and part of our pleasure came from watching the dignified critic across the aisle finding it impossible to control his laughter at some of Lupino's antics. Plainly, the man makes a fool of himself, but so wholeheartedly that we fall for his foolery. When some one remarks "Adieu!" he counters "No, a Protestant!" When slapped on the back, he falls in a full turn off the chair. Burlesque show tactics, perhaps. But nonsense that at times is of the Gilbertian order. And all the play is equally—though less often Gilbertian—comic strip in its fun. Mitzi, taking some cake from a passing waiter, and told "Those are not good manners!" replies, "But they're good cakes!" And that part of us that looks at the picture players has a good time.

"Happy-Go-Lucky" Opens at Liberty on Thursday Night

"Happy Go Lucky," A. L. Erlanger's new musical comedy production, will open at the Liberty Theatre Thursday evening.

"Happy Go Lucky" has a book by Helena Phillips built around the tired business man, and music by Lucien Danni. Leading players in the big cast are Robert Emmett Keane, Joseph Cawthorn, Lina Abarbanel, Nydia D'Arnell, John Kane, Edith Shayne, Walter Craig, Bettie Gallagher, Ralph Whitehead, Madeline Cameron, Herbert Belmore, Gladys Baxter, Ethel Mutholland and Mary Bothwell.

"Not Herbert" at the Bronx Opera House

"Not Herbert," which played at the Klaw Theatre last season, is the next attraction at the Bronx Opera House, beginning Monday evening. The comedy is from the pen of Howard Irving Young, and will be presented here by the Playshop, Inc., with almost the entire Broadway cast, including A. J. Herbert, A. S. Byron, Norma Millay, Ruth Patterson, Edna May Spooner, Karen Gates, Kirah Markham, Ashley Cooper, Duncan Penwarden and Eugene Larue.

Jeanne Eagles returns to the Bronx in "Rain" the week of October 4.

ANN ANDREWS



Has a leading role in "The Captive," adapted from the French of Edouard Bourdet's "La Prisonniere," which opens at the Empire Wednesday.

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Tues. "LUCIA DI LAMMERMOOR"

Wed. Ev. "IL TROVATORE"

Thurs. "ANDREA CHENIER"

Fri. "MME. BUTTERFLY"

Sat. Mat. "MARTHA"

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A MILE A MINUTE HIT

MUSIC

'Lucia,' 'Chenier,' 'Martha,'
First Time At Century

THE San Carlo opera season at the Century Theatre will be extended to include a fourth week, according to the announcement made by Fortune Gallo, impresario, who states that, due to an unprecedented demand, it is necessary to present eight more performances during the additional week.

The third week, beginning Monday night, will be featured by three operas as yet not presented during the present season: "Lucia di Lammermoor," "Andrea Chenier" and "Martha."



The repertoire and artists for the week follow:

Monday, "La Boheme," with Mmes. Saroya and Paggi; Messrs. Onofrei, Conati and Mongelli.

Tuesday, "Lucia di Lammermoor," with Mmes. Escobar and Besuner; Messrs. Taffuro, Lulli, Cervi.

Wednesday, "Il Trovatore," with Mmes. Jacobo and Salori; Messrs. de Gaviria, Interante, Mongelli.

Thursday matinee: "Aida" with Mmes. Jacobo and Glade; Messrs. Ismaele Voltolini, Lulli, Mongelli.

Thursday, "Andrea Chenier," with Mmes. Saroya and Schalkers; Messrs. Taffuro, Conati, Mongelli.

Friday, "Madame Butterfly," with Mmes. Onuki and Schalkers; Messrs. Onofrei, Patton, Mongelli.

Saturday matinee, "Martha," with Mmes. Escobar and Schalkers; Messrs. Onofrei, Interante and Cervi.

Saturday evening, "Cavalleria Rusticana," with Mmes. Jacobo and Glade; Messrs. Taffuro and Lulli; followed by "I Pagliacci," with Mmes. Saroya; Messrs. Tommasini, Conati and Interante.

Carlo Peroni will conduct all operas.

Music Notes

Marie Sundelius before the opening of the Metropolitan opera season will appear as soloist with the Syracuse Symphony October 9 and give recitals in Mercersburg Academy on October 12 and 13; in Louisville, Ky., on November 2, with Hans Kindler, cellist; in Rochester, N. Y., on November 27, and with the Duluth Symphony at Duluth on the 14th.

Florence Easton will fulfill concert engagements at Winthrop College, Rock Hill, S. C., on October 1, and at Paterson, N. J., on the 19th, and as soloist with the Detroit Symphony October 21 and 22.

Richard Crooks will give a recital at Newburgh, N. Y., October 11. Other recitals include Erie, Pa., October 25; two appearances as soloist with the New York Friends of Music Society October 31 and November 7. Mr. Crooks' New York recital will be given Thursday evening, October 21, at Carnegie Hall.

The annual Worcester music festival will take place October 6 to 9. Albert Stoessel directing a chorus of 300 voices and the New York Symphony Orchestra of 88 musicians. Verdi's "Requiem" will be sung on the opening night to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the composer's death. Monteverdi's "Sonata Sopra Santa Maria" will be given its first American performance.

Willem Mengelberg will sail next week to begin rehearsals for the Philharmonic Orchestra concerts which begin in Carnegie Hall on Thursday evening, October 14. Mr. Mengelberg

SARA SOTHERN



In "The Little Spilfire," Myron C. Fagan's amusing comedy now in its second month at the Cort theatre.

AMERICAN APPEAL

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

Editor-in-Chief
EUGENE V. DEBS
Managing Editor
MURRAY E. KING

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THE CAROLINA INDEPENDENT

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Enemy of Reaction
A New Voice from the Most Progressive State of the New South—North Carolina
Weekly—Printed in a Tailor Shop
\$2 a Year—\$1.25 for 6 Months
The Carolina Independent
RALEIGH, N. C.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

Mississippi

Dr. A. J. Adams of Paden, Miss., is doing excellent work in getting subscribers to the American Appeal, selling books and distributing national platforms. Adams writes for an application blank and expects to organize a Socialist local in his city. Other Socialists in Mississippi should follow in Comrade Adams' footsteps. Socialists in this State should either organize locals or become members at large.

Idaho

The Socialists of Idaho have re-elected C. H. Cammans of Boise as State Secretary-Treasurer of the Socialist Party. Mrs. Doris Morris continues her excellent work in this State. Local Boise has been reorganized and has a large membership of active Socialists. Comrade Morris has also organized locals in several other districts and is selling many subscriptions to the American Appeal, besides selling books and taking good collections. Mrs. Morris' work in this backward State has so enthused the Socialists of that State that they are up in arms now for the rebuilding of a strong Socialist Party in Idaho. Comrade Morris will soon finish her work in Idaho and move to Washington.

Ohio

The Socialists of Cleveland have made arrangements for two meetings for Miss Tony Sender. The meeting for Oct. 8 will be in Moose Hall, 1000 Walnut avenue. Her subject will be "Socialist and Trade Union Movement of Germany." She will speak in Socialist Turn Verein Hall, 3919 Lorain avenue, on Oct. 9, and her subject will be "The German Republic." The meeting on Oct. 9 will be in German.

Tickets for these meetings are 25c. Readers of the American Appeal and The New Leader should get in touch with John G. Willert, 218 Superior Building, Cleveland, and help make these meetings a big success. Willert writes that he had received a dispatch from Columbus that the State Election Commissioners had decided that the Socialists had not secured a sufficient number of names to place their ticket on the ballot for the November election. Nothing definite has been received up to this time.

Miss Tony Sender will speak in Dayton on Oct. 17.

Missouri

W. L. Garver, State Secretary, reports the Socialist Party convention at Jefferson City endorsed the National Platform adopted at Pittsburgh and reiterated their position on the State platforms for 1922 and 1924. There will be a full State ticket for the electors to vote for in Missouri.

Indiana

The Socialists of Indiana are making a strong effort to get a sufficient number of names to place their petitions with the Board of Election for the November election. All readers of the American Appeal and The New Leader should not lose any time in assisting in this work. Those having petitions in their hands must get signatures immediately and those not yet having secured petitions should immediately write to Effie M. Mueller, 205 Holiday Bldg., Indianapolis. These names must be filed at the State House at Indianapolis by the State Secretary in a very short time. Get busy and see that the required number of names is on hand. You have only a very few days in which to accomplish your work.

Illinois

The Socialists of Illinois are quite active in getting their petitions filled so that they may be able to place their state ticket in good time. Several Congressional and Legislative districts also have petitions out for the purpose of placing candidates on the ballot. Wm. R. Snow has just arrived from down state and reports good activity. A new soap boxer has arrived at the Snow home at Lincoln, Ill.

Miss Tony Sender, member of the German Reichstag, will speak in Douglas Park Auditorium on Sunday, Oct. 10, 2:30 p. m., admission 25c. Tickets can be had at the County Office, 803 West Madison, Room 315.

Kentucky

John L. Wreather, of Mayfield, has been doing excellent work in selling literature and getting subscriptions for the American Appeal. He reports, however, that the voters in that section are afraid of carrying the red card. Kentucky is still Kentucky. Comrade Thobe, State Secretary, who is candidate for United States Senator, is making a campaign for that office. He expects a good vote in the fall election.

Kansas

The Socialist Party of Kansas has adopted a state platform and has en-

tered an active campaign for the party candidates. The platform declares in favor of a new social order "where the machinery of production shall be operated for human needs rather than for human greed." Among the immediate demands the Kansas Socialists favor the recall and referendum, a unicameral legislature, establishment of a state printing plant and publishing of a weekly paper "which shall print all legal notices, proclamations and judicial decisions," each political party to "have exclusive use of a page or part of a page for political purposes"; taxation of the full rental value of land, repeal of the anti-syndicalist law, complete enjoyment of civil liberties, and abolition of county farms and adoption of "old age and disability pensions for the victims of peace-time commercial warfare." The platform is very suggestive and will attract attention of many voters.

Connecticut

At a congressional convention of the Socialist Party of the Third District, Martin F. Plunkett of Wallingford was nominated to Congress.

The Socialist Party of New Haven has nominated Joseph Pede and Joseph Freedman for Representatives in the State Legislature, Charles O'Connell for sheriff of New Haven County, George Miller for Judge of Probate, and four State senatorial candidates, S. S. Kahn, Eighth District; Gertrude D. Smith, Ninth District; William Loeftstedt, Tenth District, and I. Miller for the Eleventh District.

Joseph Pede acted as chairman and Mary Ragaza as secretary of the convention.

The Socialists of the Twelfth Senatorial District will hold a convention in Hamden Friday, September 24, to nominate a candidate.

The State Executive Committee and the State Campaign Committee will meet at Machinists' Hall, New Haven, Sunday, September 26, at 2 p. m.

New Jersey

Trenton

With a bundle of New Leaders, American Appeals, and propaganda literature, State Organizer Newman held the first Socialist open air meeting in two years. Newman spoke on "World Events From a Worker's Viewpoint," and on Saturday evening talked on "Socialists' Place in American Politics." Both meetings were well attended, in spite of the fact that Socialist activities were long at a standstill.

Organizer Newman met a number of Jewish Party members who were much interested in his plan to organize an English-speaking branch. A date for a mass meeting in the Capital City was discussed and will be definitely decided as soon as the speaker can be secured. Trenton Socialists should get in touch with the undersigned.

M. MOSER,
132 East Front Street, Trenton, N. J.

Pennsylvania

Philadelphia

A branch of Local Philadelphia will be organized in South Philadelphia Friday evening, Oct. 1. The organization meeting will be held at the Labor Institute, 803 Locust street, at 8:15 p. m., and will be addressed by the local organizer. All readers of The New Leader in South Philadelphia are cordially invited to attend and affiliate with the new branch.

The fall and winter activities of the North Philadelphia Branch got away to a flying start with a large and enthusiastic gathering at Branch Headquarters, 3647 North Sixth street, on September 16. The gathering was highly entertained by the rendition of several artistic numbers by talented members, and by a stroke of good fortune was favored with the presence of National Executive Committeeman William J. Van Essen and Patrick Donohue of New York. Dr. Van Essen delivered an inspiring address. Mrs. Van Essen rendered several beautiful vocal solos, and Comrade Murphy entertained with several of his inimitable recitations. This splendid affair has placed the North Philadelphia Branch on the road to certain success.

New York State

Official Judicial District conventions of the Socialist Party will be held this Friday evening in the 2nd, 3rd, 5th and 6th Districts at Brooklyn, Albany, Syracuse and Elmira respectively. There are vacancies on the Supreme Court bench in these districts, one each in the 2nd and 3rd, two in the 5th, and one in the 6th Judicial District.

Three candidates for Justice of the Supreme Court are to be nominated at the 1st Judicial District convention to be held at People's House Saturday evening. The official State Convention is to be held on the same evening. It is expected that the action of the unofficial convention of July will be approved. A candidate for United States Senator will be selected in the place of Harriet Stanton Blatch whose declination of the endorsement of the unofficial convention has been reluctantly accepted. The official State Committee will meet and organize following the State and Judicial conventions.

The State Executive Committee will meet after the meeting of the State

Committee, time permitting, and again at 10 a. m. Sunday morning, Sept. 26.

Organizer Emil Herman has been putting in the week in Syracuse and vicinity. Next week is to be devoted to towns in the "southern tier," so-called.

Arrangements are being made for Judge Panken, candidate for Governor to speak at Buffalo on the evening of Oct. 17.

BUFFALO

Miss Sender's Meetings

The youngest member of the German Reichstag, Miss Tony Sender, will lecture in Buffalo in English and German. This is a splendid opportunity for Buffalo people to hear one of the most striking figures of the German Labor Movement. Miss Sender will lecture in English Friday, Oct. 1, at 8 p. m. at the Elmwood Music Hall. Subject, "Germany and the United States of Europe." The German lecture will be held Sunday, Oct. 3, at 8 p. m. at the Harugary Temple, 1257 Genesee street, opposite Kehr. Admission to either lecture in advance is 25c. At the ticket office 35c.

Miss Sender is the first elected official from Germany to speak in Buffalo since the war. Miss Sender is a native of Dresden and a student of industrial and political problems. She has been an active worker in the Socialist and Labor movement of Germany and France since childhood, and has taken part in every important event for the advancement of the struggling masses. She was elected to the German Reichstag in 1919 and has been serving ever since. At the time of her first election she was but 21. Miss Sender is a splendid proof that the future belongs to youth.

Buffalo Socialists will give a reception in honor of Miss Sender on Saturday evening October 2. Former members of the Y. P. E. L. will be invited to attend. If in need of tickets or advertising posters call Jeff. 2527, Martin E. Helsler, secretary.

Judge Jacob Panken, Socialist candidate for Governor will speak at the monster demonstration at Cairo Hall, 760 Main street, cor. of Edward, on Oct. 17 at 8 p. m.

Negro Socialist in Buffalo

A Philip Randolph, one of the best orators in the Socialist and labor movement, will lecture in Buffalo under the auspices of the Negro progressive club, Tuesday evening, Sept. 28, 8:30 p. m. at the Labor Temple, Jefferson avenue and William street. Randolph is not a stranger in Buffalo, where he is held in the highest esteem because of his ability and devotion to the emancipation of the workers. In the last two years the organizing ability of Randolph was strikingly displayed when he completed a strong organization of the Pullman porters. For information call secretary Helsler, Jeff. 2527, secretary local Buffalo Socialist Party.

Re-Union and Ball

The Annual Bronx Re-union and Ball is to be held at Hunts Point Palace, January 31, 1927. A committee of nine members was elected to manage and direct all matters tending towards a successful affair. J. G. Friedman was elected chairman of the Ball Committee. It was decided to have an auto as first prize. A Buffet and Booth were also arranged for. The price of the tickets was placed at 75c in advance and \$1.00 at the box office.

The Central Branch met Tuesday, September 22, at its club rooms, 1167 Boston Road. The organizer submitted a very encouraging report on work done among members in arrears, some members paying as much as for four years. All Bronx members are urged to be present at the monthly dance to be held Saturday, September 25, at 1167 Boston Road. A good band has been engaged and a lively time is promised. Admission, including hat check, is 50 cents.

On Friday evening, September 24, the Bronx Campaign and Watchers' Committee will meet with the candidates for public office at the headquarters, 1167 Boston Road. Plans for and the issue of the campaign will be discussed. Samuel Orr, candidate for Congress, and Isidore Feinstein, candidate for Assembly will lead the discussion.

Branch 7 held its regular session on Tuesday, September 22, at its club rooms, 4215 Third avenue. Members have promised all possible support to the campaign. It was decided to start some open air meetings and a systematic distribution of literature, leaflets, American Appeal and The New Leader. All open air meetings will have the American Appeal and The New Leader on sale and for distribution.

New York City

STREET MEETINGS

Manhattan

Friday, Sept. 24, Clinton and East Broadway; speakers, William Karlin and A. Scoll.

Saturday, Sept. 25, 125th street and 5th avenue; speakers, E. Brown and Andrew Regaldi. Corner 133rd street and Lenox avenue; speakers, Frank Crosswaith and V. C. Gaspar.

Monday, Sept. 27, Clinton and Broome streets; speaker, E. Brown.

Tuesday, Sept. 28, 7th street and Avenue B; speaker, Ethelred Brown and others.

Bronx

Tuesday, Sept. 28, 167th street and Prospect avenue; speakers, I. Feinstein and George Friedman.

Thursday, Sept. 30, 163rd street and Boston road; speakers, Samuel Orr, Ethelred Brown and I. Feinstein.

Friday, Oct. 1, 163rd street and Prospect avenue; speakers, Samuel E. Beardsley, Dr. Leon R. Land, Isidore Phillips, Isidore Feinstein.

Brooklyn

Wednesday, Sept. 29, Broadway and Monroe street; speakers, Samuel E. Beardsley and Samuel H. Friedman. Corner Ellery street and Tompkins avenue; speakers, Wm. Karlin and Joseph Tuvin. Corner Herz street and Pitkin avenue; speakers, Ethelred Brown and Simon Wolf.

Friday, Oct. 1, Havemeyer and South 4th street; speakers, Ethelred Brown, Hyman Nemser. Corner Stone street and Pitkin avenue; speakers, A. I. Shipiloff, Morris Paris, Harry Brodsky.

Sat. Oct. 2, Bristol street and Pitkin avenue; speakers, Morris Paris, Ethelred Brown, Jack Altman.

General Party Meeting

The City Executive Committee will meet Tuesday, Sept. 28, at 8:30 p. m., at 7 East 15th street.

A general membership meeting of the Socialist Party of Greater New York will be held in the People's House auditorium Wednesday, Sept. 29, at 8:30 p. m. This meeting is called for the discussion of the issues and plans of activities for a stirring city-wide campaign. Morris Hillquit will be chairman, the City Executive Committee will render its report on campaign plans, and Judge Jacob Panken, candidate for Governor, will address the meeting. All Socialist Party members must attend this important meeting.

Ratification in Cooper Union

Socialists and their friends and sympathizers will gather in mass meeting in Cooper Union Saturday evening, Oct. 2, to ratify the Socialist Party nominations. The doors will be open at 8:30 p. m. and the admission is free.

Judge Jacob Panken, candidate for Governor, will be the principal speaker. Other speakers will be Jessie Wallace Hughson, candidate for United States Senator; Morris Sigman, president of the International Ladies Gar-

ment Workers' Union; Morris Hillquit, international secretary for the Socialist Party; Norman Thomas, candidate for State Senator in the 14th Senatorial District, and William Karlin, candidate for Justice of the Court of Appeals.

Branches should make no conflicting arrangements. Make this a big Socialist demonstration.

At 6th-8th-12th A.D.

A get-together of all members of the 6th-8th-12th A.D. members of the Socialist Party will take place which will serve the double purpose of discussing the plans in the campaign to elect Samuel E. Beardsley to Congress from the 14th Congressional district, Norman Thomas as State Senator, Nathan Fine and Morris Novick to the Assembly from the 6th and 8th districts respectively, as well as a social gathering.

A fine program has been arranged which will include Sol Deutch, violinist, well known to radio audiences, and all the candidates. Refreshments will be served and all members are urged to come. The event will take place at the party headquarters in the heart of the district 137 Avenue B, and the date is Saturday, October 9, at 8 p. m.

Bronx

The General Party meeting on September 16 transacted a large volume of business. Samuel Orr was chairman. A Campaign Committee of eleven members was elected to manage all work in the county in co-operation with the City Campaign Committee. A Watchers' Committee of three was elected with instructions to make every effort to have all polling places in the several important districts fully manned on Election Day.

Re-Union and Ball

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Yipseldom

Three cheers for Circles 1, Bronx, and 8, Manhattan. Last Sunday they had a party at which members of both circles were present. A real lively spirit of comradeship prevailed. Harry Diamond acted as the host for the occasion. There were many speeches and the spirit was so fine that upon the suggestion of one of the comrades \$7.55 was donated to the City League. The City Office appreciates this and asks everyone to join in the three loud cheers that they deserve.

Those interested in the Yipsel classes to be held Saturday afternoons, kindly get in touch with the City Office. Here is an opportunity to learn the elementary principles of Socialism and Trade Unionism. All Yipsels should not fail to attend the classes. After all, this is the real work of a Yipsel. Within a few days you will receive a letter asking you to attend. All members are asked to kindly set-

SHIRTMAKERS STRIKE

6,000 Quit Shops in Answer to Bosses Lock-out

The entire shirt industry in New York and vicinity came to a standstill when 6,000 shirt workers, members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, walked out of the factories in response to a call of the union for a general strike. The action was the answer of the union to the employers, who had declared a lockout because the union refused to accept a 15 per cent reduction in wages and a number of other demands that would have robbed the workers of many gains that they had achieved in the numerous struggles of the past.

In this strike the workers are resolved not only to show their employers that they will not give up previous gains, but that they will not go back until the present conditions are improved.

All the shops are being picketed by strikers every day, and a vigorous campaign is being waged to organize all the open shops at the same time.

In going to press the New Leader learns that a large number of employers have already come to the union asking for settlements.

SOCIALISTS MOURN THE UNTIMELY PASSING OF CORA BIXLER OF PENN.

SOCIALISTS acquainted with the personnel of the movement in Pennsylvania will regret to learn of the death of Cora Bixler of Lancaster last week. Miss Bixler had been sick for several months but a few weeks ago she appeared to be on the road to complete recovery. The announcement, coming so soon after this assurance, is a shock to all who knew her.

Miss Bixler for two decades was one of the most active and useful members of the Socialist Party in Pennsylvania. She was frequently elected by the members in that state to national conventions of the party and was always seen at state conventions as a delegate.

tie up for the Tony Sender and the picnic tickets. Do so immediately.

Yipsel Juniors

The Executive Committee is meeting Saturday evening, September 25, at 8 p. m. at the Rand School. The Educational Committee is meeting Saturday evening, Sept. 25, at 8:15 p. m. at the Rand School. Every circle must be represented. Educational directors who cannot attend are requested to appoint substitutes.

At the last Central Committee meeting, held Sunday, Sept. 19, Louis Yarnier resigned from the position of executive secretary. Louis Rehn was elected to the position, to hold until the next convention in December. Joseph Friedman was elected vice executive secretary; Lillian Kaplan, recording secretary; Reba Pushkoff, vice recording secretary.

A meeting of the financial secretaries of all circles will be held Saturday evening, Sept. 25, at 7 p. m. at the Rand School. Kindly come prepared to pay taxes—full attendance essential.

Circle 6, Juniors, will hold its regular Friday night meeting at 7:45 p. m. at 62 East 108th street.

Circle 1, Int., has changed its time of meeting. Starting Sunday, Sept. 26, Circle 1, Int., will meet every Sunday evening at 1336 Lincoln place.

At the meeting held Tuesday, Sept. 14, circle elections were held. Circle 1, Int.'s officers are: Organizer, Joseph Friedman; educational director, Mac Drucker; recording and financial secretary, Martin Stregack; athletic director, Mac Drucker; social director, Gertrude Ivahner.

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THE NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement
Published Every Saturday by the New Leader Association
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The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the struggle of the organized working class. Signed contributions do not necessarily represent the policy of The New Leader. On the other hand it welcomes a variety of opinions consistent with its declared purpose. Contributors are requested not to write on both sides of the paper and not to use lead pencil or red ink. Manuscripts that cannot be used will not be returned unless return postage is enclosed.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1926

"CONSIDERING GEOGRAPHY"

WITH George W. Olyany and a dozen other Tammany leaders meeting in quiet conference to select the ticket for the voting stock to ratify, we have a sample of the "democracy" hawked by Governor Smith. This comes swift on the heels of his attempt to get the garment workers' strike out of the way regardless of the effect of the settlement on the workers who are involved. A strike is a nuisance when the brokers are figuring on places at the public pie counter.

There is some dissatisfaction over the "fixing" of the "slate" and a threatened fight in the convention by several ambitious statesmen who did not get what they wanted at the secret conference. However, the convention appears to be also "fixed," and the squad of Tammany salesmen of "democracy" will do a brisk business at Syracuse. Smith's program for super-power, the state to develop resources and the corporations to reap the gains through distribution, is assurance that Tammany is safe for big capitalist interests, and as for the voters—well, Smith will give them another generous supply of speeches. The big capitalists get the substantial riches, while the voters will continue to get the hot air.

In a statement that appeared in Tuesday morning's papers Governor Smith used a phrase that should become a classic. Referring to the conference that selected the "slate," he said, "We merely considered geography." This should go down in history with "I am speaking for Buncombe" and Speaker Reed's classic that "a statesman is only a dead politician." We are certain that when the Tammany chieftains were considering "geography" they did not overlook the great power sites in northern New York, not forgetting the Capitol building at Albany.

BUTLER SERVES

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, proud possessor of a decoration bestowed by Bill Hohenzollern, was properly recognized as temporary chairman of the New York County Republican Committee, which elected Samuel S. Koenig as its chairman for the sixteenth time. The head of Columbia University has been true to the traditions of the institution since the days when Alexander Hamilton declared that it should be a servant of the infant capitalism served by the Federalist Party.

Yale and Harvard also played the same role. Shipping, banking and commerce, united with a clergy whose salaries were paid out of public taxation, Yale and Harvard served to educate the youth of wealthy families to support the "standing order," as it was called. With the development of industrial corporations in the first half of the nineteenth century their owners were admitted to the sacred circle and shared in shaping the "culture" of capitalistic New England.

In the old days Harvard and Yale were openly connected with Federalist politics, but they became discreet with age. Not so with Columbia. Butler maintains the old traditions and does not hesitate to connect the institution with the politics of the ruling classes. Therefore, it was fitting that he should appear in an official capacity at the Republican meeting. The higher capitalism of today never had a more faithful servant than Nicholas Murray Butler.

We wish that chiefs of some other "educational" institutions were as frank as Butler is. Some serve the "interests," but deny it. Butler serves, and has often paid homage to the class he serves, just as he once declared his affection for the head of the house of Hohenzollern. He will carry the flag of reaction to the last ditch.

EXPLOITING THE WORKER

FROM the U. S. Department of Labor we occasionally get some important items regarding the increased exploitation of labor. A recent study by the department of an American cotton mill shows "an increased output of almost 80 per cent in the weaving process in 1925 over that of 1911." This increase was due largely to "better equipment" and "more efficient labor management." Moreover, "the rise of labor costs, particularly during and after the war, has been largely offset by the increased labor efficiency and by the substitution of unskilled labor in some of the tasks previously done by skilled workers."

Two other items on this page, one on iron puddling and the other regarding an increase in the number of freight cars hauled by a

giant electric locomotive, tell the same story. Economic and mechanical progress tends to destroy skilled labor, increases the productive power of the workers, and while the latter may obtain an increased income, the increase is not in the same ratio as the increased production. The owners of industry reap the big gains of this progress.

A simple illustration will show what happens. Assume that the labor day is one of eight hours. A portion of the day the worker produces values that return to him in wages. The rest of the day he is producing values that go to the owners. Assume that in a given industry the workers labor four hours for themselves and four hours for the owners. The labor-saving arrangement is introduced. The working day may still remain one of eight hours, but the laborer now works three hours for himself and five hours for the owners. The laborer may even win an increase in wages under the new conditions and yet be more exploited than he was before.

Roughly speaking, this is what happens under the present economic system. To the worker the wage he receives appears to be compensation for the entire day, because he is hired by the day. The owner does not say, "Work a certain number of hours for yourself and the rest of the day for me." That would be to expose the secret of exploitation. But because the owner does not say this does not alter the transaction. The money wage conceals the deception and makes it difficult for workers to understand what happens.

If this elementary principle of how the masses are exploited became common knowledge the system could not survive very long. Until it is understood there is little hope of changing the system and making industry serve mankind instead of permitting it to be used to enrich a few by monopolizing the main fruits of economic, mechanical and technical progress.

RAIDING PICKETS

FOR the Tammany administration to bag 314 striking garment workers for picketing in one day is "going some." About 175 were sent to jail, and in the Bronx a Tammany magistrate released 121 in \$500 bail, each to appear for examination on Friday. Following within a few weeks of the brutal clubbing of Interborough strikers, there are a lot of working class votes coming back to plague those who cast them last year.

It is an opportune occasion to speak frankly. For many years there has been a tendency of many workers in the needle trades who are radical in sentiment to support this or that "friendly" Tammany candidate for office, and Governor Smith has benefited by it. Smith is the leader of the party whose lesser agents in office are responsible for these raids and assaults on union pickets. Tammany is no less a representative of powerful property interests than the Republican Party.

No section of the working class can make inroads on the capitalist parties and then take a backward course without paying the penalty for it. In the first place, a partial retreat does not win the respect of the enemy, and when the enemy no longer fears a united assault it does not hesitate to act accordingly. The decrease in the Socialist vote has been accompanied with increasing insolence on the part of Tammany officials toward striking workers. Had that vote continued to rise, the working class would be able to wage their struggles with less interference on the part of public officials. Milwaukee, with its large Socialist vote, does not have these brutal incidents in labor struggles.

To win respect we must have confidence in ourselves, our organization, our political independence, and put fear in the hearts of the political servants of capitalism. The tendency we point out may be sincere enough, but it is short-sighted and brings disappointment in the end.

A FOOL'S PARADISE

THAT the United States cannot forever fatten on Europe is a certainty, and that industrial depression will come whether Republicans or Democrats are in office is also certain. Capitalist possession of the powers of production and distribution of wealth makes this inevitable. All the speeches and legislative magic of Congress cannot prevent the depression when it is due. Like an earthquake, it overwhelms us when it comes. "Surplus production" is the explanation of editors and statesmen. Yes, but we do not produce in excess of our wants. We produce in excess of the purchasing power of the masses—those who want things, but cannot buy them.

Roger W. Babson, who supplies financial and industrial corporations with studies of the current trend in finance, production and distribution, recently declared that "a distinct recession in business and possibly a panic within two or three years would not be surprising." Not at all. The United States had already entered the period of an industrial check in 1913. Unemployment was becoming widespread, and President Wilson explained it away by declaring it a "psychological condition," but these sweet words did not enable the unemployed to pay the grocer and the landlord.

The World War saved the situation, and impoverished Europe, in need of supplies since the end of the war, has continued to draw on the United States. But Europe is getting on its feet, and as she continues more and more to build up her own industries a sea of surplus commodities will pile up here. Before the end of the Coolidge administration the present "prosperity" may flatten out like an empty bladder. The politicians will be helpless and their only solution will be police to keep the unemployed in order.

Of course one cannot predict with absolute assurance on this matter, but that we will eventually land in the ditch unless the statesmen get us into another war is certain. When the collapse occurs it is likely to prove the most devastating in our history, with a working class possessing no power in the law-making bodies. Socialist votes are more important than they ever were in our history, for we are now living in a fool's paradise.

The News of the Week

Undermining Skilled Labor

Three items in the news this week show the enormous increase in the productive powers of the workers of this country. Some twenty years ago a locomotive that hauled thirty or forty freight cars was considered a remarkable improvement, and trainmen began to complain of the difficulty they faced in being responsible for such trains. This week a giant electric locomotive hauled a mile-long train of 108 freight cars, consisting of 3,000 tons, 144 miles on the New York Central north of New York city. In earlier days it required a jerk by the locomotive to start the longer trains. The new giant started without subjecting couplings to this strain. A second item reports experiments to abolish the old hand process of puddling iron which has been very expensive. A mechanical method of puddling has been found to be satisfactory, and it is probable that the puddler, who has been conspicuous in iron history for several generations, will be displaced by the mechanical puddler. A third item, which refers to the saving of labor in a cotton mill, is considered in an editorial on this page. What is said there applies to the increased productive power of the working class in all fields. The upper sections of the working class of this country are organized, but they cannot contend with this mechanical power that is undermining skill and transforming the skilled workman into an unskilled laborer. It is a process that undermines the trade unions and increases the exploitation of labor. It simply emphasizes the necessity of giving more attention to the organization of the unskilled and semi-skilled and making changes in the unions that will enable this work to be done effectively.

A Dishonest Occupation

Probably the most dishonest occupation today is that of the professional politician. We marvel that he can get away with so much devilry, so many contradictions and inconsistencies and face audiences with the knowledge that his trade is one of deception and chicanery. He is now on the job with his regular line of goods. In Detroit the Wayne County Republicans met in convention and indulged in a free-for-all fist fight while in New York Smith and the brokers gather behind the back stairs to prepare a "slate" for the faithful. At Washington the Democrats have brought out a

campaign book which declares the Coolidge Administration "morally and intellectually bankrupt." The chairman of the Democratic National Campaign Committee yawns that the Coolidge Administration is not "economical." Both Democrats and Republicans have in recent years become alarmed because about one-half the voters of the nation no longer go to the polls so a national Get-Out-the-Vote Club was organized a year or two ago. In some states prizes were offered to stimulate voting, and the club now cackles that in 1924 the tide turned in presenting the first increase cast in many years, but the percentage of non-voters is still high. We have no hesitation in predicting that this increase will disappear this year and the club will have to go in for more stimulants and on a larger scale. It is a striking fact that about 50 per cent of the voting population is not interested in elections. It appears that a majority of these voters having lost confidence in the capitalist parties have lost interest in all politics instead of turning to any other movement to fight what they dislike. It is possible that these sullen voters will some day assume a positive instead of a negative attitude. If so, we may see a striking political upheaval worth while.

Filipinos Firm For Freedom

The Philippine Islands still retain their place in the headlines, thanks to the insufferable arrogance of a number of Americans on the ground. Henry L. Stimson, former Secretary of War, has been chumming with Governor General Wood and recently declared that the Filipinos are satisfied with Wood except for a few political leaders. If it were not for the latter everybody would be happy. Stimson was sure of this view after enjoying a nice dinner with Wood. Manuel Quezon, president of the Philippine Senate, made an effective rejoinder to Stimson and the Times correspondent in Manila points out that Quezon heads the National Supreme Council which is an "extra-legal coalition of Filipino political parties designed to show national solidarity for independence." Philippine political parties have their domestic differences and issues, but it is a fact that all of them are united in favor of independence and for an American politician to saunter into the islands and assert that only a few political leaders favor independence he is guilty of impudence. These traveling agents of

American capitalism assume that, after a few hours in the islands, they know more about what is in the minds of the natives than the latter do themselves. Quezon was just as emphatic as ever in restating what the Filipinos want. He declared that "Our demand for immediate, absolute and complete independence means that we are prepared to assume all the burdens and responsibilities, all the attendant risks of independence and national existence." Nevertheless, American capitalism is expanding overseas and we do not expect the Filipinos to ever be released from the American yoke until a Republic of Labor is established in this country.

Mexican Yeggs Endanger Peace

The kidnapping and murder of Jacob Rosenthal, an American citizen, by Mexican bandits for the moment appeared to be another "incident" favorable to our corporation interventionists, but the prompt action of the Mexican Government relieved the tension. This occurred the same week in which the Governor of Florida warned Kluxers in one county that some drastic action would be taken if white bands continued to fog white women. The implication is that the white floggers should confine their attention to Negro women. As Heywood Brown remarked, no marines are being landed in Florida. Meantime the attorney of the Rosenthal family, in a letter to Secretary of State Kellogg, writes that the people in the vicinity where Rosenthal was murdered are "beyond the pale of civilization." He adds that "they appear like vermin, fit only for extermination." If this is not a covert suggestion that we should go to Mexico to "civilize" that country we do not know what it is. When we clean up our own dirty back yards like Florida it will be time to volunteer for similar work elsewhere. The Mexican Government has also executed three spies who were stirring up the Yaquis in the State of Sonora and one account has it that these spies had documents on their person showing that they were in the employment of American firms. Sonora was the scene of the De la Huerta revolt two years ago, a revolt that had the support of old Mexican reactionaries and the secret sympathy of American investors. The government arrested 200 Catholics charged with violating the laws by holding a political meeting in the home of a priest. They were assessed a nominal fine and released.

THE CHATTER BOX

Hurricane

Heap your arrogant obelisks against the blue,
Chisel and rivet out your pride in glamorous cities;

Busy your sharpened senses,
Glut your markets with wares and with traffic,

Clamor your gains to envy of dullards,
Rankle their greed with your new burnished fortune;

Make yourselves empire out of tangled morasses,
And strut through your smooth ways

In tartly preened feathers,
Wizards and lords.

It is my own impish pleasure that you do all this.
It pleases me to see yourselves play at conquest
Over me.

Tomorrow I may tire, or be fretful, or grow wroth
Over your self-esteem, over your fast-growing self-sufficiency.

Then I will make a wry face, blow up my cheeks
And puff your toy-land down into shambles.

I am the wind.

Sometimes I try to teach you meekness. But you never learn,
No matter how soft I am in summer.

When I am a mere tempest, you fear a little, but you do not heed.
You are still mad with pride.

When I grow purple and turn into a holocaust,
You become dull with amazement. You have not learned even
To understand a little.

I am the wind.

Until you have learned love, and humility,
I shall keep playing with you, now as a kind playmate,
And now as a mad destroyer.

I am the wind.

We have so hurriedly penned these lines above that we fear our critical watchmen will raise a hurricane of additional devastation. But they are born, and cry for light, and we will be humane, even at the expense of pride. Maybe we are learning, too, a lesson from Florida's recent and terrible misfortune.

Something there must be in the efficacy of a curse. For the last year thousands upon thousands of flivvers and cars have hobbled and trundled out of the Golden State, each bearing a load of shattered dreams and broken fortunes. Poor people and formerly well-to-do people they all were. And none of them had a kind word to say about the place where their hopes had been strangled in the cruel noose of speculation. Each exhaust pipe puffed forth a constant volley of vituperation and hate. Each blanched cheek was stained with tears of unrestrained bitterness. Each tongue lashed with curse and epithet. A hurricane of financial disaster had flattened out their frail towers of material visions. They prayed that hell loosed upon the empire that had risen out of their damfoolishness. Unreasoned, unfair, from the viewpoint of a bourgeois god as this storm might appear, and utterly unearned as this fate is to the unfortunate men and women who lost their lives and were injured in this dreadful visitation, it is curious, however, to speculate on the coincidence. Hundreds of years ago, when superstition was more force among even the thinkers, it all would appear as divine punishment. Today, we can only make honest study with barometers and scientific data and rebuild with more honesty against inevitable elemental dangers.

Only the poor of Florida are the actual sufferers, as

always they be in any catastrophe. All the rich can possibly feel out of this will be a delay in profit sharing, and perhaps business will not be so good this winter. The rich people up north will suffer, too, worrying where they are going to spend the frozen days, until their playground is rebuilt.

Afterward, Peace

I shall lie still as the lake in the dawn
After the storm . . .
Lie cool, serene, dream-filled
'Neath veils of fine white mist;
Remembering the lightning
And the purple rain,
The wind of passion
And the song of pain—
I shall lie still as the lake in the dawn
After the storm . . .

—Leone.

Minorities Have Rights

Because I am a rebel, and because
I flung my pygmy might against His strength,
The Lord has grieved me with His iron laws,
And in a dungeon cast my puny length.

Pledged with contradiction, hedged with doubts,
I wear the cell-walls with despairing cries;
He, placid, waits—oblivious to my shouts—
For that to die in me which never dies.

Which never dies!—a flame forever fed
By Right that should be, stubbornly arrayed
Against what merely is; a spark He shed
Unknowningly on me, when I was made.

Placid, He waits . . . but as I shrink, lose sense,
I'll madden Him my mad eloquence!

—Carroll Marks.

Indian Summer

Mock me not with fantasies
Of a purple varnish;
I know now that dreams like these
So soon will tarnish.

Take the gold and flame away,
What would I with madness,
I, who need a cloak of grey,
To enfold a sadness.

—Kate Herman.

During the recent wholesale arrests of garment strikers in the city, it occurred to us to do a little shrewd political self-publicity. Since we are candidates for Assembly in the 7th A. D., Bronx, and since at least 2,000 of our constituents are clothing workers now on strike, would it not be propitious to horn in on one of these arresting orgies some convenient afternoon when there are no ball games or matinees worth while and get our illustrious monicker in the daily headlines? If we were arrested, surely our clothing worker citizens would immediately perceive what a doughty friend of labor we are, so willing to suffer and fight with them, that we would get their vote en bloc, beyond the shadow of a Democratic doubt. This we planned to do, and were about to proceed, when, lo and holy gee, we chanced upon Congressman LaGuardia's name in the day's news as having attempted the same project, but, to his unconcealed chagrin, was denied the glory of arrest by a most astute minion of the law. And when we considered how our chameleon friend was treated, it occurred to us that we might be similarly disposed of, so we are delaying our advent into the jug until this incident wears off in public memory. Our appreciative regrets. "Comrade" LaGuardia.

S. A. de Witt.

Critical Cruisings

By V. F. Calverton

Virgin Heroics

IF Waldo Frank would realize or remember that he is essentially a poet and not a critic, fundamentally a mystic and not a historian, much of the maddening indefiniteness of his prose would be forgiven—and forgotten. Mr. Frank, however, is a charming poseur. He is the Douglas Fairbanks of our literature. He is the grand tumbler in the literary bull fight. He is the new Messiah in literature.

Such are the not uncommon delusions of the mystic. If we take Mr. Mencken, we have a striking illustration of the antipodes. Mr. Mencken is an influence in our literature. He is a vaudevillean sciolist, to be sure, free of profundity and innocent of logic. Despite these attributes, or because of them, he has created a spreading disease known as Menckenitis, which has roots deep in our literature. Yet Mr. Mencken has no mystical conception of himself. He does not view himself as another Messiah. He is a clever clown who takes himself seriously, but at the same time not too seriously, and certainly not so solemnly as to lose his sense of skepticism and cynicism. Although neither represents an attitude that is profound in its contacts with the social movements of their day, there is about Frank's mysticism something singularly childish and naive, while there is about Mencken's cynicism something fatiguingly sophisticated and blasé.

In his latest book, "Virgin Spain" (N. Y., Boni & Liveright, \$3), Mr. Frank's virtues and vices are in abundant array. "Virgin Spain" is a kaleidoscopic vision as remote from reality as a hazy dream. Beautiful phrases do not captivate a fastidious Clio. If the metaphysical soul of Spain is captured, certainly its material soul is not.

In fairness to Mr. Frank it is only just to quote from his "Acknowledgments":

"What I have attempted might be called a Symphonic History. Spain is a complex integer; some of the elements which compose it are known commonly under such terms as climate, geography, historical events, literature, manners, custom, laws and art. Since I felt the Personality of Spain to hold all of these immediately, as a body holds all its organs, I have essayed, not to discuss them severally, not to relate their passage and chronological order, not primarily to picture or to dissect them. But I have let them come, each in its measure and its turn, upon the scene; and like actors in a play, like themes in a symphony, they have spoken their parts. If I could have my way the pages of my book would come unto my reader as a drama he sees acted in an evening, or as a work of music he hears performed in an hour."

If a symphonic history is to obscure reality and magnify the mysterious and mystical, then Mr. Frank has achieved his end. But if we expect from the account of a people an understanding of their mental reactions, an appreciation of the material conditions that have made their life, an interpretation of the social factors that have formed their class-conflicts and group prejudices, shaped their arts and fashioned their philosophies—then Mr. Frank's book is without significance. In a small section of his "History of Civilization in England" Buckle pictured a Spain that stands out in contrast to Mr. Frank's by its very force and vividness. From Buckle's analysis a people lift themselves into vision that is real and tangible. Mr. Frank's picture, on the other hand, is like that of a people pasted on a painted canvas. We see them, but we know that they are unalive and immobile.

Mr. Frank is mastered by his words. Gifted with a rich and ready vocabulary, the author's style flows in an endless stream of metaphors and similes that bewilder and obscure by their very extravagance and excess. Mr. Frank's mind is alert for comparisons, quick to capture verbal resemblances, but his impressions are so encumbered with ornament and fligree that whatever idealistic meaning they should possess is often lost in a swarm of euphuistic baggage. Not that there are not beautiful passages in "Virgin Spain"—there are—but it is a beauty that is dwarfed of depth, a truncated beauty, emasculated of meaning and power.

The Square Deal

A new magazine, "The Square Deal," has appeared with the initial number for September. Its policy is announced as a "Champion of Justice and the People's Rights," and the first number presents a variety of fiction, special articles, poetry and cartoons.

Among the leading articles is one contributed by Margaret Larkin on the Passaic strike, by Leonard D. Abbott on the Sacco-Vanetti case, and by John Nevins Sayre on Militarism in American Schools and Colleges. Interesting articles are also contributed by J. S. Potofsky on Labor Banking in the United States, by Ada Patterson on Arthur Brisbane and by Charles Ferguson on how Sane Finance Will Save Civilization.

Associated in the publication of "The Square Deal" are Arthur H. Howland as editor; Leonard D. Abbott, associate editor; Kaye Wheeler, art editor; Charles H. Desgrey, advertising manager, and B. L. McFadden, circulation manager.

Ludwig Diehl's novel, "The Sardonian Smile," to be published shortly by Houghton Mifflin Company, is based on the life of the poet Heinrich Heine. The English translation is by Louise C. Wilcox.