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One Year...\$2.00  
Six Months... 1.25  
Three Months... .75

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

# THE NEW LEADER

VOL. III. No. 38

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1926

Entered as Second Class Matter, January 19, 1924, at the Post Office at New York, New York, under act of March 3, 1879.

Price Five Cents

## HUGE POWER GRAB THREATENS N. Y.

Research Dept.  
7 E 15th St  
TC S

By Norman Thomas

**T**HE open season for suckers is on. The Republicans and Democrats have gone through the annual performance of baiting their hooks with promises meant to catch all sorts of voters. The best that you can say about the Republican platform is that it is a little more honestly conservative than two years ago. At least they have come out in the open, in their devotion to letting private profit makers have the last of our public resources, our water power, to exploit to the advantage of their own pocketbooks.

Neither party is honest about prohibition. The Republicans declare for law enforcement without saying just what they mean by it. The Democrats endorsed the state referendum without pledging their Congressmen to take all possible steps to give legal efficacy to the result.

Both Republicans and Democrats talk about protecting the public against suffering due to another coal strike. Neither particularizes on the method to be adopted. On this subject Al Smith failed as completely to do what a Governor might have done in the anthracite strike as did his Republican opponent, Ogden Mills, in Congress or Coolidge in the White House.

Indeed, by the acid test of past performance a lot of Democratic promises are proved hypocritical. Once more the Democrats declare for a preliminary hearing before a temporary injunction can be granted in a labor case. This is quite insufficient to cure the injunction evil, but not even for this little boon, so often promised before, has Governor Smith exerted his great strength. Never forget that it was a Tammany judge who issued the famous injunction against the cloak strikers. And if Governor Smith doesn't like it, no one knows it.

This injunction issue has been handed to us by the Democrats on a platter. Tammany politicians' clubs this year ought to have softened even the hardest labor heads into a state of receptivity of Socialist arguments. But the injunction evil is by no means our only immediate issue. There is housing. The Democratic platform endorses the Housing Commission's plan. But Gov. Smith's new housing commission contains none of the men who made that plan. And the plan itself does scarcely better than the Republican version of it which, finally passed the Legislature. We have a law, but no housing. There is water power. The Governor and all the "me, too," boys at the convention declared for state development of it. Once more we repeat that state development of power without state distribution will be a Christmas present not to consumers, but to the big distributors of electricity.

But I'm not writing a campaign speech. I'm merely reminding you how much material we have not only for public speeches, but for private conversation with our friends.

Friends outside New York who have been looking to this Democratic platform for light on Al Smith's national program won't get it. He is still running for the Presidency on a secret program. His platform cautiously endorses the World Court with faint damns. It declares for further reduction of taxes—a very dubious policy in the light of the decline of prosperity and the necessity of paying off our own war debt. On the all important subject of a shift of the burden of taxes from the backs of the poor to the rich, the platform is silent. It talks generalities about the tariff. Al's presidential ideas remain his personality, the right of a Catholic to be president, and a wet to get a drink without breaking the law. Even on the last subject he has not come out boldly for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.

More important, in the long run, than the political conventions of the old parties is the convention of the American Federation of Labor soon to be held in Detroit. It is to those for whom the A. F. of L. speaks that we must look for a new deal which will bring sincerity and reality to the old game of politics. It is to those for whom the A. F. of L. speaks that we must look for the steady march of intelligent organization in the great non-unionized areas of America. What the workers have done is our ground

### A. F. L. Membership Takes 63,387 Drop, Executive Report Says

**D**ETROIT.—The campaign in opposition to trade unionism, expressed in the form of the open shop or American plan, has spent its force," the Executive Council will report to the forty-sixth annual convention, American Federation of Labor on Oct. 4, the opening day of the sessions in Graystone Hall, Detroit. The report of fifty-five closely printed pages will cover a list of subjects indicating the wide ramifications of the dominant organized labor movement of the Western Hemisphere.

Throughout the report opportunity is taken to drive home the doctrine of voluntary co-operation—between unionists, between unions, between master and man, between labor and other movements, between the American and other labor bodies, culminating in the statement:

"World-wide organization of markets and industries must be paralleled by world-wide co-operation between labor organizations."

The announcement of the decay of the open-shop drive is qualified by Secretary Frank Morrison's tabulation

showing a loss of 63,387 members from affiliated unions since 1925.

The total dues-paying membership is reported as 2,813,910. The loss is more than accounted for by the suspension of the railway clerks, with their membership of well over 80,000, but some unions, notably the coal miners, report the same membership as last year, despite large known losses. Of the 107 affiliated international and national unions 26 report a loss, 33 a gain and 48 no change. The larger unions reporting considerable losses are the boilermakers, railway carmen, cigarmakers, federal employees, maintenance of way men, seamen and railroad telegraphers. The larger unions reporting substantial gains are the barbers, ironworkers, lathers, letter carriers, painters, plasterers, plumbers, postoffice clerks, stage employees, teamsters and printers.

"The desire of complete domination either by employers, by workers or through the instrumentality of the state" is denounced in the opening paragraphs of the report proper as

(Continued on page 9)

### 'SAVE THE UNION,' IS BROPHY'S PLEA

Candidate for Presidency Charges Desertion of Somerset Strikers—Champions Howat

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

**C**LEARFIELD, Pa.,—"Save the Union," is the plea made by John Brophy, candidate for President of the United Mine Workers, in a letter despatched to every member of the union outlining the issues upon which he is making his fight against John L. Lewis, the present incumbent.

After reiterating his main points—nationalization, a Labor Party and the organizing of the unorganized coal fields, Brophy, who is the President of District 2 of the union, adds a fourth demand. This is the re-instatement of Alexander Howat, Kansas union leader, and "others who are being unjustly discriminated against" in the union.

Brophy also announces candidates who are to contest the other national offices on the platform he enunciates. These are William Stevenson, of Bay City, Michigan, who is Brophy's candidate for International Vice-President, and William J. Brennan, of Scranton, Pa., who will run for International Secretary-Treasurer. Brennan was formerly president of District 1, Pennsylvania.

Brophy's letter follows:

**JOHN BROPHY**  
PRESIDENT DISTRICT NO. 2  
U. M. W. of A.  
CLEARFIELD, PENNA.

To the Officers and Members of Local Unions, United Mine Workers of America.

Greetings:

In accepting the nomination given me by various local unions as a candidate for International President of the United Mine Workers of America, I am doing so for the following reasons:

It is no secret that today the existence of our Union is in peril. In the last few years about two hundred thousand members have been lost to the Union. Entire districts, such as West Virginia, Kentucky, Maryland, Tennessee, Alabama and Colorado have been destroyed by the attacks of the operators, and in certain bituminous fields, as western and central Pennsylvania and parts of Ohio, the Union is slowly crumbling.

The United Mine Workers Must Be Saved.

**Somerset Miners Ignored**

Old methods of organizing, which have failed, must give place to new. Local and District strikes, which were successful fifteen or twenty years ago, when we were fighting small coal operators, are frequently failures today, when we are opposed by gigantic corporations having scores of mines scattered in various Districts.

Our great losses have been in the last four years.

A hundred thousand new members were in the Union at the end of the national strike of 1922. These were the miners in Somerset county, Penna., and the big coke fields and other regions that saved the national fight by joining forces with the Union.

Most of these newly organized men were striking against big companies, having mines in older organized districts as well. At the Cleveland conferences some of us insisted that these men be protected, and that no contract be signed with any of these com-

(Continued on page 9)

## \$120,000,000 Outright Gift, Panken Warns; Socialist Stand Given

G. O. P. Gift Attacked, Democratic "Regulation" Found Wanting—Public Ownership

By Louis Waldman

**A** CLEAR issue has arisen between those who want public conservation, development and distribution of hydro-electric power in the State of New York and those who want private exploitation of our vast water resources. That issue merits the attention of every citizen.

The Socialist Party advocates public development, distribution and sale of hydro-electric power to the people at cost; the Democratic party, public development, but private distribution; the Republican party, private development and private distribution.

Which shall it be?

First of all, we have to get the facts straight. The general public are quite unaware of what is facing them and what is involved.

"Greatest Grab" of a Generation

We are approaching a most serious crisis. There is real danger of the establishment of a private monopoly of the most valuable power resources of the State. If not checked by decisive popular action at the polls, the Aluminum interests, controlled by Secretary Mellon, and a private power combine, in which former Republican Speaker Edmund Machold is a dominating influence, will obtain franchises to the St. Lawrence and Niagara rivers. These rivers have waterfalls capable of developing about 2,000,000 horse-power of electrical energy. It is the greatest grab of this generation, and is about to be perpetrated by a Republican commission.

The control of electrical power means, to a large degree, the control of the industrial life of the people. With the rapid advance of electric service it will not be very long before we will be absolutely dependent upon electricity for all our light, heat and power, whether in the city or on the farm, in our homes, business or in the public streets and institutions, in industry or transportation. A private monopoly of power would be a public menace. It would imperil democracy.

**St. Lawrence a Power Key**

What is more, Niagara Falls and the St. Lawrence River are pivotal points. Linked to them the inland waterfalls could be utilized in the establishment of a gigantic system of generating plants and transmission lines to provide electrical energy sufficient to light and heat every home in the State, drive every wheel of industry and transportation. Agriculture would be stimulated by the supply of power to farms to operate water pumps, cream separators, churns, milking machines, sawmills, threshing machines and other machinery usually worked by men. With Niagara Falls and the St. Lawrence

(Continued on page 2)

### PENN. LABOR PARTY WILL HAVE CANDIDATES

**HARRISBURG.**—Charles Kutz, chairman of the Labor Party of Pennsylvania, announced on Sept. 15 that Gov. Pinchot had declined the nomination of that party, which he won in the April primary, and that E. E. Beidleman had surrendered the nomination for governor. These withdrawals had been anticipated, Katz said, and the party would proceed to select new candidates to appear on the ballot in the November election.

The situation in Pennsylvania, Katz declares, "is highly favorable to the prospects of a successful campaign by the forces lined up against Mellon, Fisher, Grundy and Vane."

### THOMAS TO SUE JERSEY POLICE

**Grand Jury Refuses to Indict Socialist Who Defied Passaic Terror**

**N**ORMAN Thomas, on receipt of the news that the case against him under the so-called Riot Law in Bergen County, New Jersey, had been dismissed by the refusal of the Grand Jury to indict, issued a statement reviewing the case and announcing his expectation of bringing suit for false arrest.

Mr. Thomas' statement follows:

"For more than five months I have been held under the exorbitant sum of \$10,000 bail in Bergen County, New Jersey. My freedom of travel has consequently been curtailed and grave stigma has rested upon my name. All this in a case so weak that when finally, after vigorous protest on my part against delay, it was put before the Grand Jury of Bergen County, that body dismissed it in open court.

"My case assumes a public importance because it is evidence of a perversion of justice during times of industrial struggle all too common in the United States. It will be remembered that I was arrested while addressing a peaceful meeting of strikers on private property duly leased for the purpose. I was separated from my friends and counsel who were denied knowledge of my whereabouts, rushed to Hackensack, and brought before Justice of the Peace Hargrave, a local real estate and insurance man. There he, a judicial officer, with the help of the Sheriff, the Sheriff's counsel and an assistant in the Prosecutor's office, after some two hours' labor managed to draw a farcically amusing complaint alleging that I had violated a Riot Act which had never been read in my hearing. Proceedings were strung out so late that

(Continued on page 2)

**Regulation Called Failure**

"There is nobody in the whole state except the power companies and their bankers who can profit by the Republican leases of the St. Lawrence power. Whenever the St. Lawrence is leased to a private company the last hope for really cheap power and light in this state is over, for there is no public protection and regulation. The companies have learned how to regulate regulations.

"Everything that keeps the people from getting their own power as cheaply as is humanly possible is sheer waterway robbery. There are four ways in which the Republican plan to lease the St. Lawrence within the next thirty days robs the public:

"1 The state can finance the project at a saving of from \$60,000,000 to \$120,000,000, or between 50 and 100 per cent of the initial cost of the development. The light and power consumers, both workers and manufacturers, will have to pay the difference between the rate at which the state and the private companies can raise capital. During July and August 25 public utility companies marketed 23 issues of bonds and debentures to yield an average of 6 per cent. New York State floats its bonds at from 4 to 5 per cent. The difference of 1 per cent in floating \$120,000,000 is \$1,200,000 in annual interest; the difference of 2 per cent is \$2,400,000; in the first case equaling, in the second case doubling the total minimum license fee asked by the Power Commission and equaling the maximum license fee expected. At the end of the 50-year license period this will amount to a sum between \$60,000,000 and \$120,000,000. In other words, at the end of 50 years the people of New York State will have paid almost twice as much as is necessary.

"2 The bait held out to the people is the license fee of \$1,000,000 a year. This will not be paid by the company, but by the people of the state, just as certainly as if they were paying taxes. The only difference is that they will be collected from the light and power consumers by the company that gets the lease. The power company will be authorized to charge rates giving it 7 or 8 per cent. No matter what license fee or taxes it turns in to

### MINERS IDLE IN CENTRAL OHIO

**Jobless in Southern Part of State Swell Total to 20,000 in Two Districts**

By Harvey O'Connor

**C**OLUMBUS, Ohio.—In central and southern Ohio 25,000 workers claim coal mining as their occupation, but only 5,000 are actually working in the mines. Of these a mere fraction work five or six days a week. At least 4,000 regard themselves fortunate to get one to four days a week.

These fields embrace the Hocking Valley and Cambridge sub-districts of District 6. In probably no field was suffering more intense last winter, as cold and misery swept down on icy winds from the north, than in the valleys of the Hocking sub-district. Union relief failed to save miners' families from want. This winter, with relief funds so low that even the pitifully small \$3 a week payments may be discontinued, no part of America will present a more abject picture of destitution than the valley where the United Mine Workers of America was born and cradled.

**Picketing Defeats Scabs**

Big operators, union by compulsion, but non-union at the first opportunity, have picked Hocking Valley as the second sub-district where unionism will fall. Last winter they conspired with hunger to drive the union out of Pomeroy Bend, and this winter they plan to conquer this field. Already Pittsburgh Coal, successful at Pomeroy Bend, is opening one of its Hocking mines. Twenty-five scabs were sneaked into the pit, but the picketing of the union men and women down the county road, along which the scabs had to march, proved too much and operation ceased—for the time. A second effort was made a week later, but with no more success.

Unlike their brothers around Bellair on the Ohio River, where the steel mills take up thousands of jobless miners, the Hocking Valley men have only the brick and clay plants which dot this section on which to rely for outside employment. Many have thus been absorbed, while road work has taken others. Thousands have left for Akron, Cleveland, Toledo and Detroit.

But a general exodus is impossible. Most of the men own their homes, utterly valueless because there is no one to buy them in these isolated industry towns. If they leave for the industrial cities, they must support themselves and send money home to their families. Aside from the cruelty of family separation, they find that it is impossible to make enough to exist this way. Nor can they move their families to the big cities, for the men are penniless. And above all, employment possibilities in the North are slim. Those who get jobs in the tire and auto industries find the closely bossed, monotonous work so galling that they give it up in despair

(Continued on page 2)

### HILLQUIT FIGHTS INJUNCTION

**Order Against the N. Y. Cloak Strikers Denounced as Illegal in Brief**

**M**ORRIS HILLQUIT, attorney for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, has filed his brief with Supreme Court Justice Phoenix Ingraham in opposition to the motion by counsel for the New York Industrial Council of cloak manufacturers to have made permanent the preliminary injunction restraining union officials and 40,000 striking cloakmakers from peaceful picketing.

In his brief Hillquit maintains that the strike is lawful, since, when called, it was not in violation of any existing agreement, and since its objects are to effect the economic betterment of the workers.

On the question of the legality of the present picketing, Hillquit asserts:

"As an inseparable incident of every strike, workers have the right to picket and to induce would-be strike-breakers to join the cause, so long as such activities are conducted in peaceful orderly manner and without resort to threats, intimidation or violence."

**Taft Misinterpreted**

The attorney for the defendants takes occasion to criticize the use of a quotation from Supreme Court Justice Taft's opinion on the fight to picket. William Klein, attorney for the manufacturers, had used the quotation last week in argument before Justice Ingraham to convey the impression that all picketing had been forbidden. The opinion had been handed down in the case of American Steel Foundries vs. Tri-City Central Trades Council, Hillquit says. Justice Taft did not declare picketing unlawful per se, Hillquit points out, though he did condemn systematic intimidation. The Chief Justice objected to the term "picket" and urged use of the word "missionary" instead. The court, however,

(Continued on page 2)

### Socialist Party Names Miss Hughan For Senate

**High School Teacher Will Carry Fight Against Wadsworth and Wagner**

**D**R. JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN is the Socialist candidate to oppose James W. Wadsworth, Jr., and Robert F. Wagner for the United States Senate in the 1926 campaign. She is not only the only woman, but from every standpoint is by far the ablest candidate on any ticket for that high office.

Mrs. Hughan was nominated at the official state convention of the Socialist party on Saturday night at the People's House, 7 East 15th street, at which Jacob Panken and August Claessens were named for Governor

(Continued on page 3)

**Opening Rally of the Socialist Campaign**

Judge Jacob Panken For Governor

Norman Thomas For State Senate, 14th Dist.

Morris Sigman Pres. International Ladies Garment Workers' Union

William Karlin For Judge, Court of Appeals

Jessie W. Hughan For U. S. Senate

**at COOPER UNION**

8th Street and Fourth Avenue

**THIS SATURDAY, OCT. 2, at 8 p. m.**

**ADMISSION FREE**



# Power Steal May Rob New York of \$150,000,000

the State Treasury, the workers and consumers of New York will be the ones to pay it in the end.

3 Provision is made for the license fee recapture by the state whenever it finds that the private company is too costly a luxury. In addition to the total cost, the Republican Water Power Commission has inserted a gift to the private company of 15 per cent, which the state is to pay. Fifteen per cent of the original cost will be \$18,000,000. Within a few years the total cost will reach over \$200,000,000, and the 15 per cent gift will then amount to \$30,000,000. We not only give away our greatest state resource at a loss of from \$60,000,000 to \$120,000,000 that could be saved by state financing, but we add to this a drunken sailor's tip of \$30,000,000 to the company for any inconvenience it may have had in making money at our expense. Adding these two items together, the Republican Water Power Commission will be giving away between \$90,000,000 and \$150,000,000 over the period of 50 years. Nor is this the end of the scandal and the possibilities of scandal.

4 What they can do to the new power plant itself they can also do to the great transmission lines which will be built from Ogdensburg to New York City. What will be done there has already been done in every city in the state. An illustration of the ineffectiveness of regulation is afforded by the plant of the Niagara Falls Power Company, the biggest in the world today. That has been regulated; yet careful examination of its books would show, I am sure, between \$25,000,000 and \$50,000,000 of inflated values which have no place in a public utility. This means that every year the workers and consumers of New York pay between \$1,200,000 and \$2,400,000 more than they would need to if the state owned and operated the plant.

The Socialist Party insists that public ownership and operation of the St. Lawrence development and the transmission lines carrying that power throughout the state is absolutely necessary if the people of the state are ever to gain any advantage from the resources this state has always possessed.

## Socialist Stand On Water Power

(Continued from page 1)

rence Riven in the hands of private exploiters such a comprehensive system would be impossible.

The late Charles P. Steinmetz, the world's greatest electrical engineer and candidate for State Engineer on the Socialist Party ticket in 1922, estimated the potential hydro-electric energy from waterfalls in this State to be between three to four million horse-power annually. In accordance with the platform of the Socialist Party, he favored and advocated public development and distribution of hydro-electric energy from these natural water resources.

### Democratic Plan Denounced, Too

Four million horse-power of electricity is equivalent to 40,000,000 man-power, for it is estimated that one horse-power has the energy of ten average men. That power is now going to waste, thanks to the politicians of both old parties and to the gas and electric trust of the State of New York, which does not want to see the State develop its water power. For twenty years water-power has been a football of politics. Both old parties prefer to perpetuate it as an issue rather than to adopt a sound economic policy in the interest of all the people.

The Republican plan of handing over these resources to the private power combine is a reckless disregard of the public interest, and is scandalous. Worse still is the Democratic plan. State development and private distribution means handing over to private interests the people's valuable resources, improved with the people's money. This so-called plan, advocated by Governor Smith, is unsound economically and unwise politically.

Is there an alternative? There is: Public development and distribution of hydro-electric power and its sale to the people at cost. That is the Socialist plan.

What Ontario is Doing Our neighbor, the Province of Ontario, tried public development and distribution of hydro-electric energy, and has been highly successful. In fact, it has been so successful that the agents of the private utility corpora-

## Attempt to Steal Farmer's Crops Fails When 500 Ranchers Defy Court Order

### 500 Ranchers Defy Court Injunction

(By New Leader Correspondent)

HELENA, Montana.—The judge of the district court at Plentywood, Mont., at the request of Minneapolis bankers, put a temporary injunction on the farmers at Raymond to prevent them from moving the crops from the ranch of Melvin Grandrud, following the action of a deputy sheriff to swallow a pint of castor oil when the officer tried to evict Grandrud from his ranch following foreclosure of the mortgage on the farm.

The farmers claim that inasmuch as the crops were not mortgaged, Grandrud should have been allowed time to harvest the crop before being forced to vacate his homestead. When it became known that the judge had placed an injunction on the farmers, the ranchers and cowboys in the district became highly indignant and determined to show the judge and bankers what respect they had for government by injunctions.

With the slogan, "To hell with injunctions, bring on the castor oil," ranchers and cowboys numbering between 400 and 500, accompanied by about two hundred women, gathered at the ranch of Grandrud, bringing with them a threshing machine and

tions are still kept busy with ill-founded attacks.

About twenty years ago the people of Ontario began their experiment. They bought hydro-electric energy from private companies at wholesale prices and sold it to the consumers at cost. They began in 1908 with the sale of 1,000 horse-power to a few neighboring municipalities. Today Ontario, through its public agencies, distributes over 700,000 horse-power a year to more than 350 cities and towns. In co-operation with the cities, the province operates and controls plants and transmission lines valued at more than \$250,000,000. It is now constructing the largest hydro-electric power development in the world—the Queenstown-Chippawa plant on the Niagara River. It acquired two of the three great plants at Niagara Falls formerly owned by private companies, and is planning further big developments on the St. Lawrence River. It has saved the people of Ontario about \$100,000,000 in reduced lighting bills, and has succeeded in transmitting electricity to remote farms as well as to cities and towns. It has stimulated industry and trade.

### The Socialists' Plan

What Ontario can do New York can do.

The Socialist Party advocates the establishment of a system of public development and distribution of hydro-electric power, to be sold to municipalities and private consumers at cost.

There are four main elements in this enterprise: First, the waterfalls; second, the finances to build reservoirs, dams, plants, transmission lines and distributing facilities; third, the engineering skill; fourth, the fixing of rates to the various classes of consumers and general management.

The first and most important element is now the property of the people and should so remain.

The second element looms up large, but is really quite simple. Whether privately or publicly owned, the industry will have to pay the cost of financing, except that the State can raise money more cheaply, for its credit is better than that of any private company. Moreover, there will be no financial manipulation, no dividends and no private fortunes to pay.

The third element is for hire. The public can get as good engineers as private companies, and better.

### The Fixing of Rates

The fourth element is of tremendous importance and should be entirely in the hands of the public. Given the necessity of a certain total return, how shall rates be apportioned among the various classes of consumers? For instance, are low rates to be charged to manufacturers and high rates to farmers and householders, or the other way around? The policy of rate-fixing affects the life of the community in vital ways. Likewise as to the management. Shall lines be so arranged as to encourage decentralization of population or shall they follow the already overpopulated centers in our large cities,

other farm implements, set to work to thresh the wheat that had been grown on a hundred acre tract, cut the alfalfa and hay, dug potatoes and moved every particle of the season's crop off the ranch. By night the entire task was finished.

The women had brought food with them. A chicken dinner was served at noon and a fine banquet in the evening. The crowd making a holiday and picnic of the occasion.

Here was a poor farmer with a mortgaged home, struggling to make a living, unable to fight the big bankers who were trying to rob him of the fruits of his labor by stealing his crops under the protection of the courts.

He had justice done him by determined men and women who came to his assistance, gave their labor freely and disposed of his crops in defiance of bankers and their hirelings.

These people were quite willing to recognize the law by allowing the bankers to take the land under foreclosure proceedings, but were determined that the practice of bankers foreclosing mortgages as crops were ready to harvest and dispossessing the farmers before they had time to harvest the crops must cease. The bankers would have their pound of flesh, but not one drop of blood with it.

The next day the judge, hearing of the action of the farmers, decided not to make the injunction permanent and dismissed the temporary injunction.

where profits would naturally be large? In such things the initiative rests with management. Public development and distribution would fix rates and plan its lines and manage the enterprise in the interest of the public at large.

Regulation will not accomplish those things. Even if honestly enforced it is a clumsy afterthought; but, as has been well established, regulation has virtually broken down where it has been tried. Instead of the public utilities being regulated, the public is regulated in the interest of the public utility.

The waterfalls of the State are the last great public resources not yet handed over to the private corporations. The Socialist Party demands that those resources remain the property of the public, to be scientifically utilized in the interest of the public.

A vote for the Republican and Democratic parties is a vote for the water-power grab, for waste and incompetence. It is a vote in favor of the public utility corporations. A vote for the Socialist Party is a vote in favor of the conservation of the water powers of the State as well as the other natural resources, the establishment of a scientific and comprehensive system for the development of our waterfalls, the distribution and sale of electrical energy at cost to the people of the State of New York.

(The foregoing article by Mr. Waldman will be published shortly in pamphlet form by the Socialist Party of New York State.)

## MINERS IDLE IN CENTRAL OHIO

(Continued from page 1)

or revolt and return to the mining fields to eke out a livelihood in some manner.

### Relief Will Be Needed

Nevertheless, these union miners don't intend to take a cut. "Not a bit of good," asserts Harry Bishop Jones, who led the Hocking Valley miners in Knights of Labor strikes long before the U. M. W. A. had been thought of. "Why, back in '94 they induced us to take a cut. We 'co-operated.' Then they forced us to 'co-operate' some more until we were working for 25 cents a day. Here in Shawnee, where the miners' union was first started, we have too many oldtimers who remember that one cut only means another. Never trust an operator."

Cambridge, with 9,000 union miners, reports but 2,500 working, while Hocking Valley with 11,000 members, reports the same number. Pomeroy has 200 working out of several thousand. Ohio Collieries, the biggest operator, rotates work by running one mine a month out of six. Cambridge Collieries, with half a dozen mines normally employing 1,500, are completely shut down. Manhattan, with seven more, is running two small pits. Sunday Creek is the only bright spot. With several big mines going, work is picking up now, due to the British situation and the opening of fall domestic demand, but the end of the overseas coal lockout will radically change the valley's situation for the worst.

Five hundred thousand dollars has been sent into the Cambridge district in two years for union relief. The miner gets \$2 a week, with 50 cents for his wife and 25 cents for each child. To economize, the union opens commissaries in the winter to provide cheap, good food.

But this winter labor in Cleveland, Toledo, Cincinnati and other Ohio cities will have to pour money and clothing into these districts if they are to be saved for unionism, for the union is near the end of its resources.

## IRON UNION ASKS A. F. L. AID

Affiliation Is Sought by Local in New York City

By Laborite

AT THE last membership meeting of the Inside Iron and Bronze Workers of New York City, held on Tuesday evening, Sept. 28, 1926, the officers reported on their latest efforts to affiliate with the A. F. of L. international union of their craft. No progress had been made, since the international officials had not even replied to their last communication of Sept. 8. This report was approved, and the officials were urged to continue in their efforts.

The Inside Iron and Bronze Workers, sometimes also known as the Architectural Iron and Bronze Workers' Union, prepares the material in the shops preparatory to its being finished up or put in place by the outside men. Of the latter there are about thirteen local unions in Greater New York, chief of which are Local 52, the armistis, and Local 40, the structural men who handle the big beams. These locals are all part of the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. There are no local inside men organized in the International, and it is claimed, that this is true of the United States as a whole. The result is that the outside men are all handling non-union material. On the other hand, they are protected in their jobs by their affiliation with the Building Trades Council.

### Break Over Assessment

Formerly three locals of inside iron and bronze men existed in New York, Numbers 273, 274 and 275, but three years ago they were suspended. A five-dollar assessment for organizing purposes had been levied and since the New York unions were engaged in a strike of their own they could not make the required payments. They were dropped as delinquents. The locals made no efforts at that time to seek readmission. Instead, they consolidated their forces into the present single union.

### The Union's Accomplishments

Early last April, however, the Inside Iron and Bronze Workers' Union, feeling the need for labor solidarity in its struggles, approached the International, asking to be reinstated and transmitted a twenty-dollar check for the necessary charter. The reply came that it would first be necessary to pay off the outstanding debts and if the request for sole jurisdiction in this territory be granted that the debts of the three old inside iron workers' locals would have to be paid first. The Inside Iron and Bronze Workers calculated that this would probably amount to \$35,000. Imagine their surprise when they received an itemized statement setting the sum at \$162,000. The old debts of the three former inside iron workers' locals plus those of two wire and bronze workers' locals, now defunct, would have to be paid not only as of 1923 but also as if these bodies had been in arrears continuously during the last three years!

Now, the Inside Iron and Bronze Workers' Union, even if it could, would not pay such a huge sum. For one thing, it did not think it just. Moreover, it would be followed by the required initiation fees and per capita taxes. Besides, the recent strike of three weeks in April and May had showed the union was deserving of better treatment. It had extended the forty-four-hour week to additional shops; gained wage increases of three dollars for helpers and two for finishers, making totals of thirty-six and forty-four, respectively; and, finally, almost doubled its membership to two thousand. The International officials are adamant. The New York organizing office of the A. F. of L. can do very little. Locals 52 and 40 have displayed little interest. Still the Inside Iron and Bronze Workers' Union has not lost courage. It still expects that some day it will be in the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers, affiliated with the A. F. of L.

## HISTORY OF UPHOLSTERERS TO BEGIN NEXT WEEK

Important additional information throwing light on the early history of the Upholsterers' Union has just come to hand. The first installment of the story of that organization will, therefore, begin next week.

## PAPER BOX MAKERS FACING GENERAL STRIKE

The Paper Box Makers of New York are considering a general strike in the industry, and a decision will be reached early in October.

The union has been carrying on an organization campaign, but this week an injunction has been issued by Judge James A. Dunne, which orders the union to refrain from "persuading employees of the plaintiff" from joining the "defendant's union." Another hearing will be given on this injunction, and the union will be represented in court by William Karlin.

The union is going ahead with its organization campaign in spite of the injunction. It is making a drive for the 44-hour week and a minimum scale of wages. Hours in non-union shops

## Registration Days Fixed For New York State Voters

**IF you don't REGISTER you can't vote**



Socialists and all others cannot vote in the regular election in November unless they go to their respective polling places and register. Registration days are October 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8, from 5 p. m. to 10:30 p. m., and on Saturday, October 9, from 7 a. m. to 10:30 p. m.

## HILLQUIT FIGHTS THOMAS TO SUE INJUNCTION JERSEY POLICE

(Continued from page 1)

permitted picketing in limited numbers. Hillquit contends the case Taft dealt with concerned a single employer and a single work place; the present cloak strike involves 2,000 employers and 2,000 work places.

Hillquit also asserts in his brief that there is an absence of proof that the union or officers in the present strike have authorized or ratified the alleged unlawful acts complained of. They cannot be held responsible, he declares, for all acts of each of the 40,000 members on strike, whether the acts are authorized or not.

Counsel especially objects to clauses in the preliminary injunction restraining pickets from in any manner "hampering, impeding, obstructing" non-union workers from rendering service to employers. Hillquit insists the language is so vague and indefinite that it does not apprise the defendants of exact acts prohibited. Additionally objectionable are the provisions enjoining defendants from entering the places of business or homes of fellow workers even for peaceful argument and persuasion, and even with consent or invitation of employers or fellow workers.

### No Damage Proven

"A most unusual and objectionable provision," Hillquit cites, "is that which prohibits picketing any member of the plaintiff organization without any qualification whatsoever. This provision practically prohibits the most customary and most effective manifestation of the defendants' strike activities and goes a long way in the direction of enjoining the strike as such and determining the economic issue between 40,000 workers and 2,000 employers by a writ of the court without trial and in the nature of a preliminary remedy."

Mr. Hillquit finally contends that the Industrial Council cannot sue in a court of equity to enjoin the union since no contract exists between the manufacturers and the workers. "There is no warrant in law," he contends, "for such an unprecedented extension of injunction in labor disputes."

The office of an injunction, he continues, is to protect property rights; there is not a scintilla of proof that the plaintiff corporation as such has sustained or is in danger of sustaining any damages to property or property rights. The plaintiff is not an employer, but an association whose business or good-will cannot be injured by defendants. In this sense a corporation is distinct from its members. Nor is the defect in injunction cured, Hillquit says, by the fact that the action is brought on behalf of unnamed members.

For the first time in twelve weeks of strike leaders of 40,000 cloakmakers issued an appeal to international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and other sympathetic bodies to aid financially in "a finish fight in which employers pin their whole hope on their ability to starve the workers into submission."

The cloakmakers' Union reminds the various labor organizations that it has always been among the first to heed

(Continued from page 1)

it was impossible to get bail. I was confined as a criminal in the county jail. The next day the Justice held me in the sum of \$10,000 bail on the charge which he had helped to frame. It is a gross and absurd injustice that in this manner I should have been held for more than five months in a case which attracted attention in Europe as well as America, without ever having had a hearing before any legal authority, except a local Babbitt as obviously ignorant of the law as he was hostile to the strike.

"Though in all these months I have been held without proper hearing, indirectly I was long ago vindicated by judicial authority. On the basis of the affidavits in my case Vice-Chancellor Bentley enjoined Sheriff Nimmo from acting under the tyrannically distorted conception of the Riot Law under which I was arrested. Thereby he gave meaning to American notions of civil liberty."

"I expect, as a matter of civic duty, to bring suit for false arrest, and am consulting with my lawyer to that end. I ask the newspapers, which have been very fair in their treatment of my case, as a matter of justice to me and of public education in the operation of law, to give as wide publicity to my vindication by the Grand Jury as they did to my confinement in jail. This I do because I believe what happened to me sheds light on many other cases and on the general administration of justice. For example, while I have no desire whatever in any way to shield men guilty of bomb outrages, I ask the public to remember that the authorities in Passaic and Bergen Counties who are now working up this bomb case against certain strikers are the same authorities who have been guilty of repeated acts of brutality and oppression of which the Grand Jury by its action has proved that my arrest was one illustration. In any event, whatever may be proved in these bomb cases, every careful student of the Passaic strike is agreed that a continuance of so-called Riot Law, against which I made the protest which resulted in my arrest, would have made it infinitely harder to hold back hot heads 'from acts of violence.'"

the call for help from other unions. William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, has also been appealed to to use his influence in getting a speedy response to the call.

The appeal reviews the present strike situation, declaring that the industry is again threatened with the return of the sweatshop system. After citing the wholesale arrests of pickets and the use of notorious gangsters by employers against strikers, the appeal refers to the injunction obtained against the union, "so sweeping in scope, drastic in effect and reckless in its provisions as to make it unique in the history of labor jurisprudence."

The appeal is signed by Morris Sigman, president; Abraham Baroff, secretary-treasurer of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Louis Hyman, chairman of the General Strike Committee, and Joseph Fish, treasurer.

Already the Amalgamated Clothing Workers has responded with a donation of \$25,000. A check for \$500 has been received from the United Association of Plumbers, with headquarters in Chicago.

## PORTO RICANS REVOLT IN ARIZONA

Workers Were Lured by False Promises from Cotton Growers' Association

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON.—Telegrams advising of the difficulties found by the immigrants from Porto Rico when they reached Arizona have been received by Mr. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, and Santiago Iglesias, Spanish-speaking Secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. The telegrams came from Phoenix, Ariz., stating that a condition exists there by which many Porto Ricans have been thrown upon the mercy of the public.

The Phoenix Central Trades Council of the American Federation of Labor is caring for over 100 men, women and children, and the information is that many others will have to be taken care of. The Cotton Growers' Association is trying to force these people to work under contract, but they refuse to work for what is being offered to them. Many of the immigrants are not cotton pickers, but consist of carpenters, painters, artists, blacksmiths, etc. A great number of these people are being guarded by officers to prevent them from running away, the telegrams assert.

The telegrams requested of Mr. Green that some pressure should be brought before the authorities at Washington in regard to this situation, and action taken to prevent further immigration from Porto Rico, "because if we do not take care of this at once," the telegram stated, "we will have a deplorable condition. Many false statements were presented to the Porto Ricans by the Cotton Growers' Association."

Another telegram says: "The Central Labor Council of Phoenix at a special meeting passed a resolution earnestly urging Mr. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, to use his influence to protest against further importation of any Porto Ricans into Arizona. There is a wide disagreement among some of those already here over conditions under which they have to work. Those already here will minimize the scale of wages and lower the living conditions."

A telegram addressed to Secretary Santiago Iglesias of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, signed by several Porto Ricans, says:

"Conditions were misrepresented by the Arizona Cotton Growers' Association. Under prevailing working conditions here we cannot make over fifty cents a day. Climate does not agree with Porto Ricans here. Do not let any more Porto Ricans come to Arizona."

President Green, on receiving this information, communicated with the Department of Labor. He has been informed that the matter was taken up immediately by Secretary Davis, who telegraphed to the department's representative in Phoenix and also to Mr. Francis I. Jones, Director General of the Free Employment Bureau, who is in Fort Worth, to proceed to Phoenix and take the matter up with the interested parties.

Of course, the Department of Labor can do nothing to stop people from coming from Porto Rico, but the matter is to be taken up by the department officials in Phoenix with the Cotton Growers' Association, and an effort made to prevent them from obtaining Porto Ricans under false pretenses.

According to the information that has been received, it is believed that the Cotton Growers' Association wants to import over 1,500 Porto Ricans. In recent years the cotton growers of Arizona have enjoyed the cheapest kind of Mexican labor, but the Mexicans have become more independent and demanded fair treatment and fair prices. Employers' promises are always fair, but after the labor arrives they have not always kept their promises. It might be of interest to know that due to the opening of most of the cotton at the same time, an acute shortage of hands has resulted.

During normal years the United States Employment Service directs approximately 300,000 cotton pickers, but so far this season it has been only a few more than 100,000, with unfilled orders for 78,000.

President Green has communicated also with representatives in Phoenix, Arizona, as well as with the authorities of Washington.

## The Bronx Free Fellowship

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# MacMahon Denounces Frame-Up and Third Degree

## BOMBINGS SEEN AS POLICE PLOT

### Released Textile Strikers Told of Forged Confessions and Brutal Beatings

PASSAIC.—Implying that the bombings charged against 21 Passaic strikers were frame-ups and that confessions were wrung from them by third-degree methods, Thomas MacMahon, president of the United Textile Workers of America, attacked the city officials and police of the textile strike area at a meeting at Belmont Park, Garfield. Several thousand strikers stood in a pouring rain and cheered him.

"I regret to note that certain misconstructions were placed upon my statement of a week or so ago relative to the Passaic strike," said Mr. MacMahon in his speech. "We do not believe that the workers are guilty or have been guilty of any intent to defy constituted authority. We warned the workers to avoid any act that would be so interpreted, and said that we do not approve of such acts, if committed."

"But bombing charges can be framed. This is no new thing in the labor history of the United States. I believe there are forces at work in Passaic today which are working to blacken the name of the strikers. Workers picketing the mills have been clubbed viciously by those sworn to uphold the law. Scalding water has been thrown on them from the windows of the mills and the authorities have taken no action to arrest the guilty persons."

#### Guilt Is Denied

"If a confession is secured under duress, that confession is not valid. The arrest of twenty men and one boy on charges of being implicated in certain bombings and their detention in jail without being permitted to see their attorney, is to my mind a grave infraction of the laws of New Jersey. It has been said that the United Textile Workers of America should expel those guilty for this crime. Are they guilty? Has the time come when men or women arrested are proved guilty before conviction? If the employers or police authorities or anyone else can convince the officers and members of Local 1603 that any members of their organization are guilty of such a crime, they will be expelled immediately."

"Until proved guilty the workers can feel assured that every assistance will be given to them, in order that justice may be done. We have asked the American Civil Liberties Union to come back to the city and help us, and they have agreed to do so."

**Torture Victim Tells Story**  
Positive evidence that the textile strikers arrested on an alleged charge of bomb throwing are being subjected to a third degree torture was brought to light with the release of Teddy Tomachko, a 17-year-old striker, who has been held incommunicado by the police for four days.

Confronted with a statement of a forged confession, Tomachko related at strike headquarters how a crowd of plainclothes detectives in an upstairs room of the Passaic police station attempted to force him to sign his name to a paper which he was not allowed to read. When he refused, young Tomachko said the men began kicking him around the room.

Statements of confession which the detectives told him were written and signed by Joseph Bellene and Thomas Regan were also shown to him. Tomachko said: "The statements named Tomachko as being implicated in the bomb throwings. He was informed that the men had told on him, and so that he might just as well confess himself."

#### Beating Is Repeated

When he denied any knowledge of the charges made against him the boy said the men began to kick and push him around again. After an hour or more of such treatment by the "bouncing squad," he was thrown into a cell and left to think it over for awhile. Then the ordeal was repeated. Once he was awakened at 2 o'clock in the morning and an attempt made to force a confession from him. Friday afternoon he was taken to the Clinton police headquarters, where still another third degree took place. He was then released and told never to stick his nose around there again or he would be lynched.

Two of the prisoners, Tony Pockno, now being held on \$100,000 bail, and Michael Elaski, were being taken downstairs as he left, said Tomachko. He also saw Joseph Bellene, on whom the police have been focusing much of their attention. Bellene's face was swollen and battered, according to Tomachko, who saw him as he was being removed with a group of other strikers held prisoners, from Clinton to another jail.

The strikers are moved around continually from one jail to another to make it difficult for their lawyers and friends to find out where they are and take measures for their release on writs of habeas corpus.

## MATTEY IS RE-ELECTED PRESIDENT OF MINERS IN DISTRICT 7, PENNA.

LANSFORD, Pa.—Delegates to District 7, United Mine Workers, convention discussed the failure of the operators and board of conciliation to institute the check-off system expected when the anthracite agreement was signed. Delegates urged that President John L. Lewis and Hugh Grant of Columbus, Ohio, who received credit for bringing the settlement, be invited to meet with the conciliation board and go over the whole matter of check-off.

Madrew Matthey was re-elected president of the district; Hugh Cannon, vice-president; John Yourishin, secretary-treasurer, and Neal Ferry, international board member. Ferry was also endorsed as Democratic candidate for Congress. The check-off is a system whereby union dues are deducted by the company from wages and given to the local. It exists in the organized bituminous district.

## CALVERTON TO OPEN RAND COURSE

### Scholarships Are Still Available for Students at Socialist College

ON Friday evening of this week V. F. Calverton of Baltimore, editor of the Modern Quarterly and a regular contributor to the New Leader, begins a series of six lectures on "Contemporary Writers and Social Thought." In the opening lecture he deals with the work of Floyd Dell, Waldo Frank, John Dos Passos and Ben Hecht, and next Friday, October 8, he will take up Eugene O'Neill.

Two Saturday afternoon courses start this week. One of these is a course on "The Evolution of Life," by Prof. Henry E. Crampton of Columbia University. Prof. Crampton is one of America's foremost biologists. While teaching in the university and carrying on original research, he has retained his interest in general adult education and has a remarkable faculty of making the results of scientific thought clear to those who have not made deep study of the subject. In these four lectures he will tell the story of how the evolution theory itself has evolved, will show just what the theory of evolution really is and on what evidence it is based, and will discuss its significance, not only in the biological field, but also in its application to problems of individual and social life. These lectures start at 2 p. m.

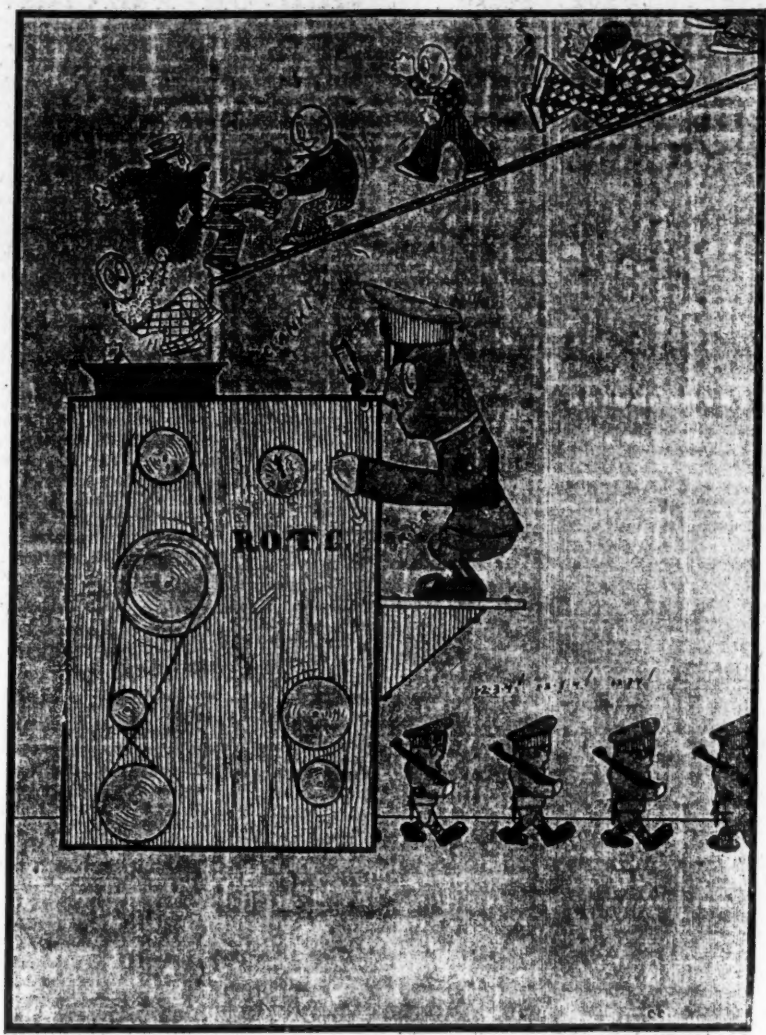
At 4 p. m. on Saturday Vernon Loggins will give the first in a series of twelve lectures on "Modern Poetry," his special topic this week being Walt Whitman. After the lecture John Varney, author of "First Wounds," will read from his poems on the Russian Revolution. Next Saturday Mr. Loggins will lecture on "Irish Folk Poetry," and Edna Lou Walton will read from her adaptations of American Indian ritualistic hymns and from her own poems. Mr. Loggins's subject on October 16 will be "The Aesthetics of the Nineties," and Genevieve Taggard will read.

Next Monday evening, October 4, David P. Berenberg will begin his course in composition and literary criticism, in which the students combine study of classics of literature with development of their own style in writing.

There is still room for new registrants in some of the classes which began their work within the last few days, especially in the second hour (8:30) classes in all three grades of English grammar and composition; the second hour class in correction of accent, Joseph M. Osman's Tuesday evening classes in psychology of personality, and Marius Hansome's class in data of sociology, which meets at 8:30 on Tuesdays.

A few scholarships are still available for union members who wish to take up the workers' training course. This is a balanced course of instruction in English, public speaking, history, economics, trade unionism, labor problems and related subjects, occupying three evenings a week (Monday, Wednesday and Thursday), from now till the latter part of May. So far, scholarships have been awarded to members of fourteen different organizations—Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Bag and Suitcase Makers, Bookkeepers and Stenographers, Cap Makers and Millinery Workers, Carpenters and Joiners, Cleaners and Dyers, Electrical Workers, Fur Workers, Ladies' Garment Workers, Painters and Decorators, Pocketbook Makers, Sleeping Car Porters and the International Typographical Union. The class is decidedly international in its make-up, containing natives of Denmark, England, Germany, Italy, Poland, Russia, Scotland and Spain, as well as of the United States. The exceptionally liberal terms of the scholarship plan leave but little excuse for any union member not taking the course if he or she is really desirous of education. About a dozen Yipsels are also taking up the workers' training course.

## The College Season Is On Again



And with it the Reserve Officers Training Corps, as an adjunct to scores of colleges and high schools, resumes its drilling to help start the students on the road to docile Babbitts

## SOCIALISTS NAME MISS HUGHAN

### New York Educational Leader Will Oppose Wadsworth

(Continued from page 1)  
and Lieutenant-Governor, respectively. Panken and Claessens were nominated at the party's unofficial convention in July, as suggestions to the official convention, and Miss Hughan was named in place of Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, who declined the nomination offered her by the party's convention last summer. Miss Blatch found it impossible to stand for the office for reasons of health.

Jessie Wallace Hughan is a teacher, economist, author and lecturer and one of the leaders of the anti-war movement in this country. She is an honor graduate of Barnard College and a Ph.D. of Columbia in economics, her thesis having been published as a textbook on Socialism under the title, "American Socialism of the Present Day." Her other books include "The Facts of Socialism," "A Study of International Government" and "The Socialism of Today" (co-authored). She is a teacher of English in the public high schools of New York, and stands very high in her profession.

Miss Hughan has been candidate for Secretary of State (1918) and Lieutenant-Governor of New York (1920) and in every case she polled an excellent vote.

In addition to her party work, Miss Hughan is active in the League for Industrial Democracy, the Teachers' Union and in many anti-war organizations. She is proud of the fact that during the war, when Socialists and pacifists were being discharged from the public schools right and left, and when there was the most passionate hysteria against all radicals, she never compromised on her principles and never made a secret of her opinions. Her courage and her high character were so impressive that the war-crazed officials were unable to muster up courage to start proceedings against her, even though every day they were proceeding against other teachers.

The Socialist party has met the challenge of two purely political nominations for Senator by making the only nomination based upon merit and high principle.

I am convinced that the day will come when even the humblest man will find his individual life merged into the fuller life of the community, and his isolated, circumscribed horizon broadened by means of festivals of poetry, music, art, thought, and humanity until it coincides with the horizon of the entire human race, thus leading him on to nobler standards of development and setting before him the grand ideal of a perfected humanity.—Max Nordau.

## Woman for Senate



Jessie Wallace Hughan

## PIONEER YOUTH TO HOLD MEMBERSHIP MEETING THURSDAY, OCTOBER 7

A COMPLETE report of the past camp season as well as a statement of plans for the immediate future will be made at a membership meeting of the Pioneer Youth of America on Thursday, October 7. The meeting will be held in the auditorium of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 3 West 16th Street, at 8 o'clock.

A special order of business will be the appointment of a nominating committee, whose work it will be to recommend nominees for the officers and executive committee for the coming year.

Mr. Henry M. Busch, educational advisor, who has just returned from abroad, will give a short talk on the possibilities ahead and tell of impressions of the youth movement abroad. After a very successful camp season Pioneer Youth opened its winter activities on Saturday, September 25, with the annual reunion, at which the children who were at the New York State Camp of Pioneer Youth and the children who belonged to Pioneer Youth clubs in New York City, had a chance to make each other's acquaintance.

Three hundred children were present at the reunion, at which cheers for "Josh," the founder of the organization; Ida, the camp cook, and other members of the Pioneer Youth Staff mingled with the singing of Gilbert and Sullivan operettas, the organization song, "Pioneer, Oh Pioneer," and the stirring Russian revolutionary hymn, "Bandera Rossa." The program, which had been arranged by the club members, included games, folk dancing, refreshments, violin solos, Creole and Hungarian songs, a burlesque of a Russian play and a performance of one of the most popular and best-acted plays given at camp this summer, "A Night at an Inn."

## SHEET METAL WORKERS PRESENT NEW DEMANDS; PREPARE FOR STRIKE

The sheet metal workers employed in two branches of their industry presented a number of new demands to their employers. The old agreement expired on September 30. The two branches, involved are the tinware manufacturing shops and the tinsmith supply shops.

In the tinware shops the union asks for the following minimum scale of wages: First class tinsmiths, hand riveters, ashen makers, head cutters, spray-ers, strippers and draw presshands, shall receive the minimum scale of \$3.50 per day. Second class tinsmiths and power double seamers shall receive a minimum wage of \$7 per day. Power presshands shall receive the minimum scale of \$6 per day. All men taking charge of a department shall receive a minimum scale of \$11.50 per day.

For the tinsmith supply shops the union demands the following minimum scale of wages: Leader makers and first class bench hands the minimum wage scale of twelve dollars (\$12) per day. Second class bench hands and solderers to receive the minimum wage scale of ten dollars (\$10) per day.

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## SOCIALIST SUNDAY SCHOOL OF BROWNSVILLE OPENS BOOKS FOR REGISTRATION

The Socialist Sunday School of Brownsville will begin its scholastic year on Sunday, October 10, at 10:15 a. m. Further details of interesting experiments which are being made at the school will appear in next week's New Leader.

Registration of students from the age of seven to seventeen may be made Saturday, October 2, 2:30 to 5:30 p. m., and Sunday morning at 10 o'clock at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 239 Sackman street, Brooklyn.

## SHIRTMAKERS WIN STRIKE

### 6,000 Workers Return Victorious After Short Walkout

SIX THOUSAND shirtmakers, members of The Shirt Makers' Union of Greater New York, affiliated with The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, won a significant victory over their employers when, after a short strike of only a week, they returned to work, having gained a number of important concessions.

The strike was originally called by the union when the employers declared a lockout because of the union's refusal to accept a 15 per cent. reduction in wages. The strike call of the union, however, was so thoroughly effective that the employers within several days realized that they would have to come to terms.

A number of conferences were held at which the following terms were agreed upon:

1. No reduction in wages.
2. All work that the manufacturers send out to contractors in New York or out of town must be sent only to union contracting shops. (Under previous arrangements manufacturers were permitted to send a certain percentage of their total production to non-union shops. This evil is now eliminated.)
3. The restriction of the number of layers a cutter shall be permitted to cut.
4. That the association of the employers be fully responsible for any of its members for the faithful carrying out of the agreement.

## PA. MINERS HOLD CHAUTAUQUA

### Barnsboro Coaliggers Hear Discussion of Their Vital Problems

By Clara Johnson

BARNSBORO, Pa.—The Labor Chautauqua given in Barnsboro, Cambria county, Pennsylvania, took the town by storm. A parade led by the Sykesville Boys' band marched through the principal streets of the town. Grown-ups, youths and children followed the band to the Slavish Hall, where the sessions were held.

Barnsboro, a thriving little business center and mining town, has a population of about 4,500, including 1,000 union miners. It had never before been fortunate enough to have the problems of the coal industry interpreted in such a fascinating way. To the miners themselves the affairs of the industry usually mean hard work, strikes, lockouts, an occasional mass meeting, or an address by some officer of the United Mine Workers at the local union meeting. But a labor Chautauqua where the miners' wives and families might hear the problems of the coal industry explained in an appealing way was entirely novel. In District 2, this is part of the regular educational program.

Paul W. Fuller, director educational department of District 2, opened the first session. He is the originator of the Labor Chautauqua. He sketched the predicament of the bituminous industry and discussed nationalization as a solution to the problem. Other speakers were John W. Brown, international union organizer; James Mark, district vice-president; and John Brophy, president District 2 and candidate for international president. Brophy outlined his proposals to eliminate the industry; a living wage to all miners. He also spoke of the hazards miners face while at work.

The entertainers are all from miners' families in different parts of the district and volunteer their services freely. In addition to the 100 percent union band—Dizzinno's Boys' band from Sykesville—there were the Radcliffe Engineers, a whole family with musical specialties; Philip & Sons, miner and his boys, also musical; Wolevine Elkin—four-year-old Charleston dancer; Kavalchek Twins—six-year-old boxers; Vivian Ballet, dancer and reader; Betty Welch, another small Charlestoner; A. L. Benarr and Cusino DeChurch, pianists; and Billy Broad—singer.

## BEWARE OF CLOGGED BOWELS

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

# EX-LAX

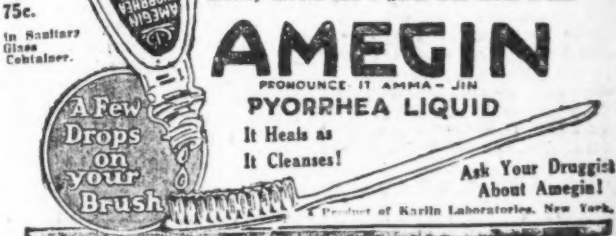
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# The United States Traveling the Road to the League

By Morris Hillquit

## Morris Hillquit Traces the Economic Forces Which Are Leading America to Revise its Position on Foreign Affairs

TO outward appearances and superficial observation the foreign policy of the United States presents a picture of puzzling inconsistency.

Like a colossal statue of Janus this powerful republic towers above the Western Hemisphere, turning a resolute face of meddlesome imperialism towards the South, while its other face looks at the rest of the world with an expression of benign pacifism and hesitant isolationism.

For a full century the United States has pursued a consistent policy of aggression in the two American continents. It has moved its boundary lines west and south by peaceful acquisition of neighboring territory and by wars of conquest. It has not hesitated to send armed expeditions to subjugate friendly but weak sister republics in Central and South America, and it still maintains an effective suzerainty over some of them. By a process of steady financial penetration it has secured a dominant economic and political position in most of the Latin-American republics, and its influence is fast spreading to Canada, its sole neighbor on the north.

Before the War and Since  
The ruling classes of the United States early recognized that the vast territory of the Western Hemisphere furnished the most logical and promising field for their expansionist ambitions. Hence the traditional foreign policy of the young republic was to concentrate on America and keep the European rivals off it. This is the

true sense of George Washington's famous warning to his countrymen to avoid foreign "entanglements," and the obvious intent of the Monroe Doctrine. "The United States claims all of America. It wants nothing but America," may be said to have been the key to the foreign policy of the country during the earlier phases of its history. But the rapid and powerful development of the United States eventually broke down the self-imposed restraints. Toward the end of the last century the country had attained a leading economic position among the foremost nations. The Western Hemisphere became too narrow for its rapidly expanding industries, commerce and banking. It entered into the competitive race for the markets of the world.

The Spanish-American War of 1898 signified the first step in the direction of its new policy of unrestricted imperialism. That war gave to the United States its first overseas possessions and its first territory in the Eastern Hemisphere. Whatever still remained of its traditional foreign policy seemed to be definitely shattered when the country entered the World War in 1917, for the first time sending American troops across the ocean and taking an active and leading part in the quarrels and settlements of Europe. The great republic

of the West threw itself into the game of world politics with all the might of its tremendous wealth, with all the enthusiasm of its vigorous youth.

But immediately after the conclusion of peace its attitude changed suddenly and completely. America had enough of Europe. The great war in which it had mixed the blood of thousands of its young men with the red stream of the combatants of all nations became a thing of the past, a closed adventure unrelated to the general fate and progress of the nation. With one determined movement the United States shook off the bonds which had imperiously tied it to Europe and once more withdrew into its shell of "traditional isolation." It never became part of the League of Nations, of which it had been the principal sponsor during the war and the period of formulating the peace treaty. As to the huge loans which it had dispensed during the war with lavish hands, its attitude changed from one of a generous ally to that of a calculating creditor.

Public Opinion Shifts  
But, if the change in the official foreign policy of the United States during the post-war period is striking, the intra-political shift of American opinion on this policy is almost paradoxical.

During and immediately after the war it was the Wilsonian "liberals" who furnished the chief American support of the League of Nations and advocated a most lenient treatment of war debts. The opposition of the League and the "business attitude" toward the war debts came mainly from the reactionary capitalist interests, largely represented in politics by the Republican party. The Presidential election of 1920 was generally considered in the nature of a popular referendum on America's adherence to the League of Nations. The overwhelming victory of President Harding over his Democratic opponent was accordingly interpreted as a rejection of the League.

When President Wilson first submitted the covenant of the League for ratification by the Senate the Republican majority of that body was ready to accept it with slight reservations; but Mr. Wilson insisted on unconditional ratification. After the election of 1920 the new Republican administration shelved the whole subject.

The same administration, however, is now showing unmistakable signs of another reorientation in foreign policy. Cautiously but persistently the government of the United States is feeling its way back to "entangling" European alliances. The recent Senate resolution of adherence to the World Court was such a "feeler," the general impression prevailing that the action was intended to pave the way into the League itself. A similar policy of approach is indicated by the administration's reticent attitude on the settlement of the war debts. The government of President Coolidge, frankly voicing the business interests of the country, seeks renewed co-operation with Europe. The opposition comes largely from the liberal and "radical" sections of the country, particularly from the "radical bloc" in the Senate.

It was this group of "radical" Republican Senators aided by their "liberal" Democratic colleagues that managed to hedge in the resolution of adherence to the World Court with so many and drastic reservations as to make it practically meaningless. It is the same group that opposes most rigorously all schemes of total or partial cancellation of war debts.

What Capitalism Needs  
This peculiar situation may seem puzzling, particularly to the radical, and yet the explanation is not very difficult.

American capital at this time needs a stable, pacified and moderately prosperous Europe. The war has advanced the United States to the position of the world's leading manufacturer, merchant and banker, and the six or seven years that have followed the conclusion of peace have vastly increased its economic preponderance. The United States produces manufactured commodities far beyond its own needs. Its surplus investable capital increases from year to year. The countries of Europe offer a new and fertile field for the absorption of the American surplus. Europe's economic recovery from the war ravages has proved slower than was anticipated. In the painful process of industrial reconstruction it needs and will for a long time continue needing American goods and capital. But Europe in its present distraught position fails to offer sufficient assurances of payment and repayment. It is in the interest of American capital to improve the credit of Europe, to help it attain financial stability. Another great war would irretrievably bankrupt Europe and ruin a most promising market for America. The maintenance of costly and unproductive armed forces diminishes Europe's means of payment. There is no money for the American capitalists in European wars and armaments. Hence American capital at this time sincerely desires the peace of Europe and the reduction of European armaments, and views with favor every potential agency operating in that direction, including the League of Nations and the World Court. Hence also the relative generosity of the American Government in the settlement of the war debts.

The multi-millionaire Secretary of the United States Treasury, Mr. Andrew Mellon, has explained the administration policy with equal brevity and frankness when he declared that "the entire foreign debt of \$10,000,000,000 is

not worth so much in dollars and cents to the American people as a prosperous Europe as a customer." "A solvent customer" was the happy phrase employed by him on another occasion.

Cancellation Is Sought  
The outright or practical cancellation of the war debts is particularly desired by the banking interests, who are fast attaining the position of unquestioned hegemony in the economic life of the United States.

With the constant and rapid growth of surplus wealth the problem of foreign investments is of serious and immediate importance to American capitalism. In 1914 the foreign investments of the United States were estimated at \$2,000,000,000, i.e., about five per cent of the world's total. As against this, American securities, principally railroad bonds, were held in foreign countries to the amount of \$6,500,000,000, so that the United States was distinctly a debtor country.

How radically the situation has been changed by the war is indicated by the fact that America has not only bought back the bulk of its securities held abroad, but has become a creditor to foreign countries in the stupendous sum of \$35,000,000,000. Of this amount somewhat less than half is represented by government war loans, with accumulated interest, while the balance consists of private loans and investments. By far the greater part of the latter is still in the American continent. Europe's private debts to America do not exceed \$2,500,000,000, or about ten per cent of its total foreign claims and holdings. Of this amount about three-quarters is invested in government securities, while only 25 per cent constitutes loans to private enterprises. A very interesting distinguishing feature between the United States investments in South America and those in Europe is that while the former are represented chiefly by direct ownership or by part ownership in the form of share capital, the latter are largely confined to corporate bonds, which do not directly affect the control of the enterprises.

American investments in Europe are thus only in their infancy. At the same time the importance of Europe as an investment market for the United States grows steadily as its commercial opportunities expand, while those of South America are being exhausted.

It is, of course, quite obvious that the borrowing and paying capacity of Europe, and particularly the European governments, would vastly enhance if the latter's obligations to the United States were cancelled or reduced to the lowest possible point.

America's "Radicals" Differ  
If the motives of the "liberal" policy and "co-operating spirit" of our capitalist classes toward Europe are thus quite transparent, the opposite attitude of our "radical" statesmen and the elements they represent springs from conditions much more involved.

There is, to begin with, a marked distinction between the European radical and his American namesake. In the industrially advanced countries of Europe the political struggles are largely rooted in the economic conflicts between capital and labor, and generally it is the attitude of the political parties toward the labor problem that determines their position as conservative, liberal or radical. A "radical" in the commonly accepted European sense of this term is almost infallibly a Socialist of one kind or another.

In the United States the workers have so far failed to claim a distinct place in the political life of the country and the "labor question" has never acquired a determining political importance. Such class struggles as have hitherto been reflected in American practical politics have generally been those arising from the conflicts between the agricultural and industrial sections of the country. Ever since the Civil War the national government has been dominated by industrial capitalism. The opposition has come from the "wheat belts" and "corn belts" of the Western and Middle Western States. The present "radical" group in Congress is in the main of the same type and origin, and presents all the characteristics of agrarian radicalism as distinguished from industrial or working-class radicalism. It is anti-capitalistic, anti-militaristic and anti-imperialistic, but individualistic and at bottom thoroughly nationalistic.

When the Covenant of the League was first submitted to the Senate for ratification the "radical group" opposed it mainly on the ground that the guarantee of territorial integrity as against external aggression contained

in Article X was apt to involve all League members in the incessant boundary quarrels of Europe. With the passing of the years the opposition has steadily grown broader and more determined. Today the American radicals reject the League integrally and organically. They see in it an instrument of war rather than peace, because the Covenant sanctions or at least permits war in certain circumstances, and because it relies on the ultimate force of arms.

The "Radicals' Arguments  
The experiences of the World War have shaken the faith of most American "radicals" in the efficacy of violence for the settlement of international disputes. In increasing numbers they turn to the doctrine of "outlawry of war," which would formally and by universal international treaty abolish war in all forms and under all circumstances and rely for performance of international treaties, decisions or decrees on "general acquiescence and decent respect for the opinions of mankind."

The League of Nations as constituted, moreover, meets with special disfavor on the part of American radicals because it is part of the Versailles Treaty. The League was organized and is maintained to perpetuate the rule of European imperialism, they claim, and in support of this view they point to the composition and powers of the Council and to the inglorious record of commission and omission which the League has made during the few years of its activities. The Geneva Protocol and the Locarno Pact for a time materially enhanced the prestige of the League in the public opinion of America, but the disgraceful aftermath of Locarno more than neutralized the favorable impression.

The negative attitude of American radicals toward the cancellation of the war debts springs from reasons not unrelated to those which underlie their opposition to the League.

The United States government, they argue, has borrowed from the people of the country about \$10,000,000,000 to lend out to its allies. Somebody will have to repay this enormous sum. If the European debtors are relieved of the obligation the burden will fall wholly on the American taxpayers, including American workers and farmers. (The idea of placing the burden on those who have been enriched by the war through a special levy on large properties and incomes has not occurred or does not appeal to our "radicals.") And the cause does not seem to them worthy of the sacrifice. Our former allies in continental Europe are criticized for a lack of determined and sustained effort to rebuild their economic foundations, for a fatal reluctance to raise heavy taxes and for unproductive expenditures of vast sums of money on armaments.

Labor's Position  
The adjustment of the British debt, which was made on a substantial business basis, called forth but little dissent, but the French and Italian settlements, which were much more liberal, met with strenuous opposition.

In the case of France the special grievance of the radicals was the lavish expenditures of the country, not only for its own military purposes, but also for building up effective war machines in foreign protégé countries, while its own economic structure was allowed to go to ruin. The Italian war settlement was particularly odious to the whole radical and liberal opinion of America because its extraordinarily lenient terms seemed to favor and strengthen the Fascist dictatorship. The fact that simultaneously with the debt settlement, which canceled almost 80 per cent of the principal, on the ground of Italy's "incapacity" to pay more, a huge private loan was made to the Italian government by American bankers at 7 per cent interest, besides heavy commissions and discounts, made it appear that the American people had been fleeced in the interests of the American bankers.

The organized workers of the United States as represented by the American Federation of Labor have in the course of the last six years undergone a noticeable change of heart in their attitude towards the League of Nations. A staunch supporter of President Wilson's domestic and foreign policy, the Federation at its national convention of 1919 wholeheartedly endorsed the League as an institution "which marks the nearest approach to perfection that has ever been reached in the international affairs of mankind."

In the following year, when the Covenant of the League had been fully formulated and adopted the Federation still hailed it "as an earnest effort to maintain the peace of the world," and in 1923, when America's entry into the League was formally and definitely rejected, it advocated the country's participation in the Permanent Court of International Justice.

However, two years later we find the Federation more cautious and doubtful on the subject. The resolution adopted at its 1925 convention reads in part: "Conditions affecting the relations between the nations of the world are in a great state of flux. In this changing order of things of worldwide nature it is imperative that extreme caution and care be exercised in whatever decisions are reached and which are world-wide in their consequences."

The Socialist's Position  
The evolution of the Socialist Party proceeded to a certain extent in the opposite direction. Consistently opposed to the war in all of its phases and to the dictated peace of 1919,

the Socialists of the United States unreservedly condemned the Covenant of the League as an organic part of the iniquitous Versailles treaty. How the League appeared to the American Socialists in 1919 is clearly indicated by the following passage of a "Manifesto" which they formally adopted at a national convention in that year and of which this writer happened to be the author:

"To strengthen their precarious rule of violence and reaction the triumphant representatives of allied capitalism have created an executive committee of their governments, which they have had the insolence to parade under the counterfeit label of a League of Nations."

"The true aim of this alliance of capitalist powers is to safeguard their plunder, to bully and dominate the weak nations, to crush proletarian governments and to thwart everywhere the movement of the working class."

"The so-called League of Nations is the capitalist Black International against the rise of the working class. It is the conscious alliance of the capitalists of all nations against the workers of all nations."

These lines, largely inspired by bitter resentment against the allied treachery and reaction around the "peace table," probably were a substantially correct statement of the original aims of the League of Nations and of the motives of its principal founders.

But social institutions often change in character and functions, with the change of conditions and the shifting of economic forces. Under the pressure of the advancing movements of European Socialism and labor, and with the growing economic necessity for international peace, the League

has developed certain tendencies of a constructive nature. The Socialist parties in Europe and the Socialist Labor International have recognized it as a potential instrument for the preservation of world peace, and decided to throw in their whole strength in a concerted effort to make it all-inclusive, democratic and progressive. They consider it of vital importance that the United States enter the League.

American Participation Coming  
Under these circumstances some of the American Socialists have modified their attitude toward the League in the direction of the European program. Some, but by far not all. In the recent national convention of the Socialist Party of the United States, held in May of this year, the subject of America's adherence to the League provoked a lively discussion, with the sentiment about equally divided. The decision was deferred until the next convention, which will take place in 1928.

On the question of American war debts the Socialist Party has consistently favored the cancellation of all debts, on condition of a remission of all inter-allied debts and a corresponding abatement of reparation claims.

The United States cannot long maintain the attitude of aloofness in the vital problems of Europe. Sooner or later it will be forced into active participation in trans-Atlantic politics for the protection of its economic interests if for no other reason. American capitalism is ready for it even now. The task that confronts the liberal European friends of the League is to conciliate the liberal opinion in the United States. That task will be accomplished in a measure as the League frees itself from the curse of imperialist intrigue and gives proof of a sincere and general determination to become in fact what it has heretofore been largely in theory—an instrument of international peace and justice.

## Will the Poet Save The World?

By Joseph T. Shipley

IN two most entertaining and stimulating papers on the contribution poetry can make to the world today (Poetic Values, Macmillan, \$1.75) John G. Neihardt, with logic and accuracy surprising in a poet, assails the basis of modern society. His poetic theories we cannot properly consider in less space than his own volume, and then we should merely have registered objections to details of a general order we accept. Collingwood's "Speculum Mentis" is perhaps more correct in pointing out the error implicit in art, the infallibility of which Mr. Neihardt seems to hold; great art may conceivably be the result of a "greater awareness" of life along what later generations discover is a blind alley. Also, it is pure assumption to declare (consider the idiosyncrasies of working at the highest rate in history, artists as varied as Dante, the champion of God, and Baudelaire, the champion of the Devil) that the artistic vision has a validity beyond that of the scientist. Mr. Neihardt makes it clear, of course, that they hold in different fields, but every apologist for religion rules science out in the same fashion. The value of poetry is, perhaps, as is implied but not stated in the essays, that through it is achieved the essential synthesis that makes a unity of all the analyses of science, that gives man his final understanding of attitude toward the world.

But on the world as it is, in this morass of materialism, Mr. Neihardt makes pungent comment: "Who that is observing has not sensed the attitude of holiness surrounding great wealth; noted the exaggerated deference with which the most commonplace representative of great wealth is received, even in circles otherwise distinguished by intelligence? Once as an editorial writer I ventured upon an oblique remark calculated to throw some slight shadow of doubt upon the inevitable righteousness of Big Business, and being called upon the carpet, I was informed in bellowing tones that 'Business is sacred!' The statement was no mere expression of individual opinion; it was an authentic echo from our loud world. . . . The central fact in the complexity of circumstances that served to shift the social center of gravitation was economic. The shift was from the promised rewards and punishments of a world to be reached only by dying, to a world in which one must live—a world whose punishments by freezing and starvation and human agony might well make the climate of a remote and increasingly problematical hell seem quite Californian, and whose possible rewards outdazzled with a compelling immediacy the faint, far glimmer of the gates of pearl. . . . I am sure that we can say, without exaggeration, that virtually money has been deified in our time."

There is "more truth than poetry" in these remarks; and Mr. Neihardt proceeds by showing that "truth" today means really the justification of a materialistic universe by physical science, with its refusal to consider anything that cannot be measured. Yet "it is altogether possible to live the ethical life of swine while enjoying all of the vaunted blessings of materialistic science. We know this to be true, because it is being done on a vast scale with conspicuous success." The most progressive scientists are searching beyond this blindness of the mechanist point of view, but edu-

cation is still completely under its sway. "Our institutions, to which we once looked for leadership on the higher levels, now seem all but powerless to help, for the great hypnotic grips them too; and when, as from the silent places of the future, one listens for the humanizing music of the wider life from a thousand seats of learning, one hears, for the most part, a sound most distressingly like a snore—or is it only the roaring of the stadium? It is a common thing nowadays to hear of the cash value of 'an education.' Note the use of the article, 'an education,' as though education were something detached from the proprietor—a piece of property! Statisticians, by way of inducing the young person to get one of these desirable pieces of property for himself, have shown the exact cash value of a college education, which is more expensive than the grade school or high school brand. One page of an arithmetic text studied by my children is devoted to that sort of thing. I do not remember the figure, and I think it does not make much difference. Let us assume that a college education of the best and most widely advertised brand is worth exactly \$62,500 on the world market. Of course there are cheaper brands, but this is a quality article. Now let us see what one Jack Dempsey knocked down one Carpenter eight times, receiving for his toil a half million of these standard units of universal value called dollars. For every manly wallop he landed on the Frenchman he received \$62,500. During his most impressive years I was told that things equal to the same thing are equal to each other, and I cannot forget the statement. Therefore a college education of the best and most widely advertised brand is exactly equivalent to a good stiff wallop on the jaw, and Carpenter received the equivalent of eight distinct college educations from Doctor Dempsey in exactly three minutes and forty-nine seconds."

Under the greedy ruttling of a materialistic system, war is inevitable, despite the fact that, like the king commanding the tide, "many of us have hit upon the brilliant idea of arriving at a gentleman's agreement to the end that hereafter the painful effect shall not follow the cause." Here Mr. Neihardt warns the more thoughtful as well: "even our anti-individualistic social reformers, having conceived the social view, would usher in the millennium by shifting relations solely within the economic realm, ignoring the larger man." This is a consideration the worker must not lose sight of; yet the obvious answer is that even such opportunities as the worker now has for developing "all the human values" have been wrung by economic conflict with those who control the money and therefore the power of the world. What is Mr. Neihardt's remedy? Can the betterment come, he asks, otherwise than through a new social persuasion determining a system of education designed to introduce all men, insofar as the capacity exists in each, into the realm of those values we have been considering? Such a scheme of education would certainly result in the development of a wider field of consciousness, by which alone it is possible to be human, to identify oneself with the race, and to be moved to throw oneself away in the furthering of as much of the great process as one can perceive." But from whom is this "new social persuasion" to come? Certainly not from the materialists against whose control Mr. Neihardt protests, who, getting what they want from life as it is, see no reason for a fundamental revision of values. And those who are not in power can effect changes in education only through the type of "persuasion" that will give them the power to act. When equity of economic distribution is achieved, there will be less need to worry about the spirit of man, which now draws forth so spirited a protest as Mr. Neihardt's.

## Negro Folk Songs And Superstitions

By Norman Studer

THERE is a great deal of entertainment in this fat collection of Negro conjurations, taboos, omens and witches' brews. ("Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro," by Newbell Niles Puckett; University of North Carolina Press, \$5). Fifteen hundred folk beliefs are listed by this indefatigable collector. Here are the many potent formulas for curing a nosedive and controlling the rainfall; for getting a job and spotting a future wife. The cluster of folk superstitions about every human event are listed here, from birth through to burial.

From this anthology of superstition one gathers that Negro magic is extremely eclectic. The reader will meet many folk beliefs of European origin. Contrary to the prevailing Nordic belief the Afro-Americans are wholly an inheritance from tom-tom beating grandfathers on the Congo. Through their masters the slaves came by a huge stock of Anglo-Saxon lore that rivals their own in bulk. So, when the colored man awakens, sweating, after having been ruthlessly ridden for miles in the moonlight by a toothless old witch he merely repeats the experiences of a good many pilgrim fathers at Salem. And the enlightened medical doctors fighting malaria and hookworm in Negro areas must battle superstitions held by doctors as well as laymen in Europe and America a few centuries ago. As for the warlocks, pixies and brownies that still cavort south of the Mason Dixie line, they are of good Anglo-Saxon parentage. The Negro folk lore is merely that of a backward, isolated social group. Already it is disappearing before the advance of industrialism and medical science.

For an analogy to the type of mind which clings to its budget of homely superstitions one must turn to the Middle Ages, when religion was a tool for the work-a-day as well as Sunday world. Like the medieval man the illiterate Negro does not look upon events as the outcome of predictable natural laws. His world is a capricious, unreasonable place where it is good to carry charms and amulets to control happenings. This magic is often a hash of Negro voodooism and European superstition, seasoned with a liberal mixture of Christianity. It will cure blisters, aid in a crap game and remove warts. It is amusing to see how Christianity in the Negro mind becomes a sort of higher voodooism: "Me Jesus help me fur fool de man," prayed a South Carolina darkey. "En' put me finguh 'een de man' eye, en' 'e abuh ketch me." And if, "de man ketch me 'ten' 'e house 'en' hab 'e razor 'een 'e han.' Gawd tangle de man' feet 'n' help me fuh get way." As the Negro rubs with civilization he learns not to call "Gawd" into to straighten out his mundane affairs. Negro religion eventually becomes a colorless and respectable Protestantism, for Sunday use only.

But while these vestiges of superstitious folk thought are gradually fading the Negro still looks at life with the fresh, child-like eye of an unspoiled primitive. Of the making of Negro folk songs there is no end. The lyric quality of Negro life is not a whit lessened by time, as is shown by the following anthology of songs current in certain parts of North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Georgia during 1924 and 1925. ("Negro Workday Songs," by Howard W. Odum and Guy B. Johnson, University of North Carolina Press, \$5.) The Negro workman breaks into a

yodel when his white white fellow-workers sweat in silence. Except for the romantic cowboy ballads the white worker has seldom lifted his barbaric yawk over the houseposts. He has nothing to compare with the lyrical wealth of Negro labor ballads. The Negro workday singers have celebrated every sort of a job and every vicissitude of life. The volume includes songs from the construction camp, from the railroads, the farms, from Negro convicts in county jails, chain gangs, in state and federal prisons.

Songs of the wanderer far from mother and home are most common:

I done walk till  
Laved, I done walk till  
Feet just gone to rollin'  
Jes lak a wheel,  
Laved, Jes lak a wheel.

Out of the jails come a rich collection of lyrics. The songs range from the lugubrious "Prisoner's Song" to the ironic humor of "Better'n I Has at Home":

Casen pone, fat meat,  
All I gits to eat—  
Better'n I has at home. . . .

and then:  
Rings on my arms,  
Bracelets on my feet—  
Stronger 'n I has at home. . . .  
Songs of the Negro bad man are listed here; ballads reciting the prowess of John Henry, the black Paul Bunyan. There are chapters of blues and of work-a-day religious songs. In fact, these songs mirror the whole emotional scale of Negro work-a-day life, from the tragic to the comic and from the ironic to the plaintive.

Tourist Club Hike

Sunday, Oct. 3, we hike to the Upper Palisades. This is a joint hike with our Junior Section, and all proletarians are urged to send their children between the ages of 13 and 18 years. Meeting place, Dyckman street ferry. Time, 10 a. m. Fare, 10c. Walking time, 2 hours. Leader, Fred Meier. There is plenty of room on the Palisades for everybody. Spend a pleasant day with us.

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# A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

## The End of A Perfect Folly

SO Germany is now a member of the League of Nations and there were cheers and tears when Briand and Stresemann kissed and made up while telling the world that all is now hunky-dory between them and between their respective countries.

Meanwhile there is talk in Germany of loaning money to France to bolster up the franc. Prussia is borrowing twenty million dollars in the Chicago money market after the Reich has already borrowed some eight hundred million from former four-minute speakers and dollar-a-year men—out of which it paid almost two hundred millions to the allies in reparations. Said money was to go to Uncle Sam in a round-about way through the Dawes plan, but somehow it got lost in the shuffle on the other side.

The Allies are also unanimous by this time that Germany's debt to them had best be wiped out, provided Uncle Shylock, as they are calling dear old Uncle Sam now, will forget some eleven billion dollars which he loaned them to save us from the Hun—I mean the nice Germans they embraced like long lost brothers at Geneva the other day.

Of course I am a man of peace, and so I am a hundred percent for all around forgetting and forgiving. At the same time I wouldn't do my duty as self-appointed court fool to his serene majesty, the sovereign people, if I let this joyous occasion escape without rubbing a little salt on it.

For a starter, let me say that I regard war in general as the supreme imbecility of mankind, and the late war, the best and biggest war of all, as the concentrated, double-distilled asininity of all times.

The wise and great of the earth blew in ten million young men on the field of slaughter. Some twenty-five million innocent bystanders died as the result of pest, hunger and heartbreak. Tens of millions of maimed, crippled, blind or insane are still crawling, limping, groping and whimpering over the face of the earth. Millions of babies died on empty breasts. Hundreds of millions are stunted in body and mind for lack of food.

The total property loss of something like two hundred and fifty thousand millions of dollars can only be made thinkable by saying that if the whole North American continent were sunk into the ocean, the monetary loss would just about equal that of the great madness. And for what?

Why, to take Germany into the League of Nations, of course. To make the German people, whom we denounced as Huns, vandals and beasts an equal member and a welcome member in the sisterhood of civilized nations.

Pray don't think that I am opposed to Germany's admission to the League or think that I believed for a moment one-millionth part of the hog wash that was spilled over these people during the great brain storm. The German people are neither better nor worse than other people. They are human beings like you and me, and if this is the worst that can be said about any of God's creatures, it applies to all of us alike. The fact is that the human being, this thing claiming to be the crown of creation, is really the clown of creation and above that the most predatory, bloodthirsty and foolish critter of the animal kingdom. It is the law of nature that all meat eating animals devour each other. But few animals devour their own kind. None of them kill for the mere lust of killing, as any "good sport" will do. And least of all have other animals made a virtue of mass murder or sanctified rape, arson, and butchery with the mantle of loyalty and patriotism.

Well, the song of hatred has ended. The professors, parsons, poets, statesmen, scribes, and soldiers have laid away their ink pots, stink pots and poison pots with which they murdered truth and youth. Germany is all right now. "Away forever with shrapnel and machine guns," cries elegant Briand. "We seek nothing but peace and friendship with all nations of the world," replies Stresemann, and then cheers, tears and embraces all patriots.

Will anybody please tell me what has happened since that fatal fool day in August, 1914, that should bring about his touching reconciliation of historic and hysterical enemies?

Just this, Brother: After turning God's footstool into a stinking slaughterhouse, after squandering the accumulated riches of a thousand years on one grand fit of delirious tremors, after making a peace that was worse than war, they tumbled at last to the idea that the world of their notions was no longer the world of reality.

The world pictured in their befuddled brains was a world neatly divided into national, racial and economic units; a world in which every unit was battling for existence against all; a body in which every organ was seeking life by sowing death. So thinking thusly, they cut, hacked, and operated on each other until they became at last united in a bloody mess of misery and woe.

The world of reality, however, can no longer be divided into pretty tinted blocks as is done by the map makers. The Watts, Edisons, and Marconis have long ago wiped out the boundary lines drawn by language, culture and ideology. Today there is but one world and one humanity. Preach, teach and screech against internationalism all you will, there is no escaping the fact that nations of this earth are but the cogs and wheels of one huge machine and that an injury to any part of this machine brings disaster to the whole. And it is the belated realization of this fact which finally resulted in the love feast at Geneva the other day.

But oh, what a ghastly price humanity had to pay for the education of its leaders, when all humanity had to do was to listen to old Adam when he told them long before the war and all through the war just exactly how the silly mess would come out. But that's the trouble with humanity. It never listens to its prophets. Humanity didn't even pay attention to Christ when he said "Love thy enemies." "Resist not evil," etc., and declared that those who live by the sword shall perish by the sword. So fool humanity travelled from Geneva to Geneva by way of Hell and Gethsemane, meaning thereby that the fool thing went to war to have peace when all it had to do was to keep the peace it had.

Adam Coalidigger.

## Masks

We wear strange masks—upon our shameful faces  
Fantastic coverings for wan disgraces,  
Concealing what we are, in furtive dread  
We hide the horrible, we shroud the dead.  
Gratefully making believe, with lying glance,  
Donning an acrobatic countenance,  
Whose curving lips can quickly shape a prayer,  
A Judas kiss, a curse, a tuneful air,  
A vow of love, a look of hate, a smile,  
Each one some truth conspiring to defile.

—Henry Reich, Jr.

## "Oh, Won't You Come Back to the Mine, Dearie?"



Everything is done to persuade the men to go back to work. (Right) Snapshot of Warwickshire miner going to work



They have all kinds of ways to tempt the men



The police are doing some really useful propaganda work



They go round singing songs in praise of work

The British Coal Operators Are Leaving No Stones Unturned to Entice the Striking Miners Back Again. Here "Flambo," in The British Miner, Pictures His Impressions of the Back-to-the-Mines Movement.

## SYNDICALISM---The General Strike

### THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

(Continued From Last Week)

First Discussion of General Strike

ABOUT the time of the formation of the league of bourses, the French labor movement became agitated with the concept of the general strike. The general strike idea was not a new one. It had been discussed in England during the thirties, and later at the congresses of the International. Its first French propagandist appears to be an anarchist workingman, Tortelier, a member of the carpenters' union.

The general strike idea was hailed with enthusiasm by the syndicates. During the sixties and seventies many of the workers regarded the strike as a necessary evil which never really compensated labor for the sacrifices involved. The general strike seemed to repair the defects of a strike in one trade, to insure a successful outcome and to be an admirable means of social revolution. "The conquest of political power," says Levine, "the method advocated by Guesdists and others, seemed vague and indefinitely remote; a general revolt, such as advocated by the anarchists, seemed impossible in view of the new armaments and of the new construction of cities which made barricades and street fighting a thing of the past. These two methods eliminated, the general strike seemed to present the only and proper weapon in the hands of the workingmen for the realization of their final emancipation."

In this sense, the idea of the general strike was favored in the con-

gress of the National Federation of Syndicates in 1888. The Allomaniists adopted it in 1891, and 1892 Fernand Pelloutier defended it with success before a socialist congress in 1892, while Aristide Briand appeared the same year as its eloquent sponsor at the National Federation of Syndicates at Marseilles. The Blanquists naturally adopted it as one of the means to their desired end. The Guesdists alone frowned on it, and in their congress at Lille (1890) declared that it was impossible.

At that time the general strike was regarded as a peaceful weapon. The strike itself, in one industry, was legal. Even if it should spread to other industries not originally involved, it would not lose its legal character. This peaceful strike of folded arms would therefore permit the workingmen to carry out the revolution through legal means and make revolution an easy matter. It must mean revolution, because it would paralyze life and reduce the ruling classes to famine. During the few days in which it was waged, its advocates contended, it would be able to compel the government to capitulate and would carry the workers into political power.

The French workers of that day seemed to feel that it might begin at any moment and that it therefore assured the speedy coming of the cooperative commonwealth. At first its advocates felt that it might be decreed for a particular day. Afterwards, they took the position that it

must be spontaneous and could be brought about only through education and propaganda.

Of course, the acceptance of the concept of the general strike implied that one regarded the economic as superior to the political weapon. The Guesdists bitterly attacked this position. No real social revolution, they asserted, could be brought about in the way indicated. The idea was puerile. By the time that the capitalists felt the pangs of hunger, the workers would be starved. Besides, no peaceful general strike was possible. One side or the other would be sure to make it the occasion for violence. It could not succeed without a high degree of organization which, if attained, and discipline, would make the strike unnecessary. Finally, the workers could not hope to win on the economic field, for there the capitalists were far stronger than their opponents. Labor, through its numbers, had superior strength only on the political field.

The general strike concept thus raised a definite issue between the Socialists in control of the Federation and trade unionists, who placed chief reliance on the economic weapon. The passage of the general strike resolution in the 1892 congress of the Federation at Marseilles was a disastrous blow to Socialist leadership in the trade union field. In 1894 a combined congress of this federation and the bourses was held at Nantes. Here the question of the general strike was the main issue on the agenda. The

strike was favored by a large majority. The Guesdists, thereupon, left and held a separate congress of their own. The organization they fostered, however, was soon absorbed in the "Parti Ouvrier." A year later, in 1895, the elements gathered at Nantes and laid foundations for a new organization, the General Confederation of Labor (the C. G. T.) at the congress at Limoges. The C. G. T., in its regulations, pledged itself to remain independent of all political schools and incorporated the general strike as part of its program. "The creation of the General Confederation of Labor," writes Levine, "may be considered the first important revolutionary tendency in the syndical movement in France."

The formation of the C. G. T. was a distinct victory for those who asserted the superiority of economic action over political and who wanted to keep the syndicate independent of political parties. These ideas formulated by this group contained the germs of revolutionary syndicalism. The syndicalist idea grew at first chiefly through the bourses of the various cities. The organization of local bourses, as has been said, finally led to the formation of the Federation des Bourses du Travail in 1892. Though organized first as a political measure against the Guesdists, the federation of course soon began to devote its main energies to economic functions, due largely to the efforts of Ferdinand Pelloutier, who was secretary of the organization from 1894 to his death in 1901.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

## GOVERNOR MINTURN A Labor Novel of the Northwest

By M. H. HEDGES

(Continued From Last Week)

WITHOUT rapping, Goodnite strolled into Dan's room. Dan was startled, so deep had he been buried in thoughts of Girard, and so harassed was he by dark surmises. "It's getting so I can't get a drink in anybody's room but yours, Minturn," the big man explained jovially, as he poured out a glass of gin from the decanter.

Dan wanted to reply sharply. He resented the intrusion. But he refrained. He was tired, and the shallow, exuberant spirit of the caller, like his huge bulk, was somehow irresistible. He noted the swelling purple veins on Goodnite's rolling neck, as he threw back his head and drained the glass clean—and he relapsed into a sulky silence. Goodnite had another drink, smacked his lips and sat down in the Morris chair. Taking out his pipe, he made comfortable sounds with his mouth and comfortable movements with his legs and arms. Dan refused a gesture of hospitality.

"I just ran into your uncle a while ago," Goodnite said dryly, indifferently. "You mean Senator Gaylard," Minturn replied.

"I never saw the old boy so flustered," Goodnite went on, undisturbed, between puffs. "Some session, eh, Minturn?"

Dan nodded. Goodnite ignored his listener's indifference. He shuffled his bulk, comfortably in the chair, and reached for the decanter. "You know what's got his goat? It's Hurst."

"Hurst?" Dan was enlivened.

Goodnite snickered. "Politics do make queer bed-fellows," the big man commented slyly. "Hurst's absolutely right on everything else, absolutely, but it looks like he's going to vote for this damn power bill. . . . And nothing that your uncle can do can bug him."

"That's his right," Dan asserted. "Oh, I suppose it is, I suppose it is, but he ought to have told his constituency down in the 120th when he was campaigning last fall that Miss Knibbs had converted him to socialism."

Goodnite paused. Dan saw in the twist of his narrow eyes a revelation of his stalwart cunning of the man. "You mean his wife is for the bill?" "Sure. She's for the bill, been so all along. Gaylard knew it, but he never thought Hurst would be fool enough to fall for her togeue."

"Well, who's going to lead the fight on it, if Hurst is on the other side?" "I am," Goodnite affirmed earnestly. "But I thought that you were for it?"

Goodnite smiled slowly—slyly. "Now that depends," he said. "If there were a safe margin against it, I ought to be for it. The bill has its good points." He suddenly brought his great fist down on the table. "But, by God! It shan't pass, Minturn. It would be fatal to this state. It would send it into bankruptcy in two years. It's the duty of every decent man to smash it. . . . Look here."

He took a Senate roster from his pocket. His pudgy finger ran down the line of names.

"That's how close it is," he said,

with flushed face. "Hurst leaves us with a bare margin of one."

"You mean that you're counting me in against the bill?"

"Why, sure, Minturn! My God! You can't be going to ditch us at this hour?"

"Sure, your friends, your family, your business associates, the folks that have been playing square with you all along."

Dan smiled. "I'm independent, you know. I can look anyone in the eye and tell him to go to hell," he quoted bitterly.

Goodnite scowled; then chuckled. There was a pained look in his face. "God damn it, you needn't throw that up to me. I never tried to fool you, did I?" he exclaimed self-righteously.

Minturn did not reply. To him the air was leaden. His collar hung about his throat heavily. The face of his companion was offensive in its mask of avarice and power, and he himself seemed inept and weak, painfully unable to meet the situation. His placid and pleasure-loving nature, suddenly confronted with stark facts, only hitherto dimly guessed, never consciously faced, shrank away from action like a child's.

He trembled. When he spoke, it was without conviction.

"You know, Goodnite, I never make pledges on bills," he faltered. His remark sounded hollow and inept. For a moment, he was aware of the unreality of the situation. He fancied that he had suffered a metamorphosis from Minturn into Goodnite. He was

like his companion—a gross, fat braggart, mouthing platitudes innocent of meaning.

He wondered why he didn't rise up, and turn this intruder out of doors. Instead he felt drawn toward his antagonist. He pitied him.

So they faced each other across the room glowering.

At length, Goodnite, mistaking Minturn's words and silence for opposition, began to whimper.

"I've always liked you, Minturn," he whined. "You've a great future before you. You can have anything that you want, if you'll play with your friends. You're not an ingrate, Minturn. You're not the kind of fellow who likes to grind folks down under his heel. . . . I have a daughter, Minturn, just entering college. You wouldn't want to break me, would you, and send her clerking to Woolworth's. You wouldn't want to ruin your uncle, would you, Dan? It means so much to us."

A big tear dislodged itself from the rolling eye of the fat man and travelled ludicrously down his cheek.

That tear Dan now saw as the visible symbol of his ignominy. He had to stand and see Goodnite weep. It was disgusting.

He said coldly: "Senator, if you don't mind, I'll go to bed."

Goodnite went heavily, dejectedly, not without one more entreaty.

"Well, what do you say, old man?" "I never make pledges, you know, and I make no exception to the rule." Dan's reply sounded lame, and futile.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

## The New Censorship

WHY is it that almost everybody who writes about labor and social forces generally, seems to feel it necessary to become pontifical? To be sure, economics is not the most sprightly subject in the world. Carlyle said once that it was the dreariest of the sciences, and certainly the economists have done their best to make his characterization come true. Until very recently, the average article on labor affairs made as snappy reading as an expert from the well-known Messrs. Dun and Bradstreet.

Now we have, fortunately, a newer school of economists who can write as well as research. We mean men of the type of Stuart Chase, H. S. Raushenbush, Professor Tugwell of Columbia and a few others. They take the matter-of-fact viewpoint that life, liberty and the pursuit of bread and butter are matters of concern to a larger audience than a select group of Ph. D.'s. And they are right. As a matter of fact, it is a sheer waste of time to write a semi-mystical economics which the average man flees as from a plague. For those who are troubled with sleeplessness and who want an example of the sort of thing we mean, we recommend a perusal of "The Modern Quarterly," very ably edited, to be sure, by that very able young man, Mr. Calverton. Here is something that is consciously esoteric. It contains a good deal of material that should be widespread throughout the labor movement. But, my God! It reads as though it were written by Thorstein Veblen in his more Scandinavian moments, with the collaboration of Waldo Frank and Gertrude Stein.

There is, so far as we know, no Federal statute against expressing oneself clearly in the English language. If Mr. Calverton and the new school of critics of the labor movement really want to make any impression whatever, they will have to abandon the octopus manner of surrounding themselves with ink clouds and return to this drab earth of ours.

It is notorious that the American Legion has, from time to time, taken on itself the conduct of our manners, morals and public patriotism. But rarely has the Legion come so unabashedly into the open as in its recent attempts to censor the custodians of the Commonwealth College at Mena, Arkansas. With the help of their boy friends, the local Fundamentalists of that enlightened state, the Legion has presented to Kate O'Hare and the other directors of Commonwealth, a questionnaire dealing with the aims and purposes of that institution. Accompanying the questionnaire is a letter from the Legion representative telling the college that "it must come through clean." The Legion announces that it has unearthed a report on Commonwealth from the Department of Justice, in which there is set forth a hair-raising indictment of the college—stating that it has been subsidized by Moscow gold. This must interest Kate, who has broken her back raising money for the institution which, of course, is nothing more or less than a labor college.

The Legionnaires hint darkly at free love, speak with an apparent note of envy of the nationalization of women, and rattle once more those skeletons of Communism that, outside of Arkansas, were long since decently interred. Knowing something about Arkansas, we are not surprised to hear of this attack on Commonwealth. That in that state where men are men and hogs are razor backs, any attempt at intellectual freedom should be undertaken always struck us as nothing short of the miraculous. The combined militancies of the Legion and the howling Fundamentalists will undoubtedly make some trouble for Commonwealth. In the long run, however, with all liberal minded people, Commonwealth will be congratulated on the enemies that it has made.

For some weeks past, we have said nothing about Isabel, our black cat. A decent sense of shame has kept us from spreading the horrid truth among our readers, namely, that at the advanced age of nine years, Isabel has again embarked on what has become a perennial quest for a mate. Every night now, she raises such a row, that it is impossible to keep her within four walls. She roams the back yard, shrieking loudly for some "lover wild," a most distressing sight to one such as ourselves who was bred in a puritanical household and who was taught to believe that a certain amount of reticence accompanied the love-making of the female species. It may be her proximity to Greenwich Village, it may be that unconsciously Isabel has absorbed something of that famed spirit of independence, loosely called the "new morality." At all events, reticence is not in her make-up. She is frankly out for the companionship of a large tiger cat who puts in long hours asleep on an adjoining fire escape and she doesn't care who knows it. What matter if the object of her quest appears to be indifferent to her most beguiling love notes? Isabel displays an admirable persistency and if we are to judge from past events, there is little question but that we will soon be seeking homes for a new group of tiger kittens. In the meantime, Funnyface Isabel's black and white daughter by a previous marriage, watches her mother with unconcealed admiration. And there is something of the admirable in the manner in which Isabel clings to the ways of her youth, despite her graying whiskers. She seems to have accepted the modern philosophy that youth is no longer a matter of years but rather a state of mind. And that come what may, youth must be served.

McAlister Coleman.



## Brewers Union Hits Snag In Dry Amendment; Union Funds Analyzed

### The Field of Labor

THE twenty-fourth convention of the International Union of United Brewers, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, just concluded at Cincinnati, O., was one long diatribe against the Eighteenth Amendment. In spite of its all inclusive title this organization thrives only on beer. It has failed to reach the large number of unorganized workers in the mills and soft drink establishments because it does not know how to handle the American, or at least non-German persons involved, who have no labor background at all. Speaker after speaker reached the hearts of the delegates by voicing the hope and even the prediction that the Volstead law would go. John P. Frey, President of the Ohio State Federation of Labor, for example, diplomatically related the story of the "underground railway" when the clergyman of Ohio assisted in the escape of runaway slaves, despite the Fugitive Slave Law. The officers all urged the continuance of their political activities against prohibition. A former international secretary of the union for nineteen years, but now a special representative of the United States Brewers' Association in the "wet" campaign addressed the convention and promised to give his advice to the general executive board.

There was something pathetic about this once powerful labor body, formerly officially committed to Socialism, calling "special attention to our membership . . . to the need of greater non-partisan political activities of our members; and their families are urged to become active in the political field in support of outspoken liberal candidates, irrespective of their political faith." American citizenship is compulsory upon members of the Brewery Workers' Union. A remnant of the old days is the motto at the head of the official journal: "Workmen of All Countries, Unite!"

Death has laid a heavy hand upon the union. The secretary-treasurer, the editor and three members of the General Executive Board died recently. The Twenty-fourth Convention passed resolutions of condolences and then amended the constitution to combine the three secretarieships into two. Practically all the old officers were re-elected without opposition: General secretary-treasurer, Joseph Obergell; general corresponding-financial secretary, John Rader; general organizer, Albert Kugler, and nine members of the General Executive Board and their substitutes for the corresponding number of districts. In the old democratic style there is no office of president. Of local interest is the fact that John Sullivan of New York City was elected to represent the Second District.

## WHERE ARE THE UNIONS' FUNDS?

The "enormous funds" controlled by organized labor take on definiteness when a recent tabulation of them by the American Federation of Labor is studied. Two-thirds of the national and international unions are included in the summary but none of their thirty thousand affiliated local unions, which would add considerably to the total. We find that close to thirty-six million dollars are in the hands of these unions, one quarter in the form of real estate, somewhat more than a third in general funds and the remainder tied up almost entirely in benefit systems. The question arises as to what is done with these assets. To what extent do unions have a stake in the established order? The following table supplies the answer:

United States Bonds..... \$6,052,391.04  
City, County and State Bonds..... 4,201,506.38  
Canadian Bonds..... 2,144,002.87  
Industrial & other Bonds 3,137,672.75  
Bank Deposits..... 11,136,150.69  
Real Estate..... 9,226,003.63  
\$35,897,727.36

It is gratifyingly surprising to learn

that only a small portion of union money goes to support big business directly, but then, most institutions try to keep their funds in the safe, easily marketable government bonds. We cannot ascertain to what extent "other bonds" includes those of labor banks. It cannot be much since the whole total, including "industrial" amounts to only three millions. Furthermore, there is no indication that deposits are confined to labor banks. The writer's observation is that they are not. And yet it has become a platitude to say that the trade unions through their own banks can affect the financial structure of American capitalism! Not only are the sums insignificant but they are employed in the wrong direction.—L. S.

## COMPENSATION FOR MISSOURI WORKERS

Missouri, having been "shown," is to follow the lead of the other industrial states of the Union and will adopt a workmen's compensation law, that is, if propaganda does not induce the voters to turn down Proposition No. 1 in the referendum vote at the November elections. Besides Missouri, only six other states, all in the South, and only one of which is important industrially, have as yet no such protective legislation for workmen. The Missouri law has the support of labor and capital in the state and would have been placed on the statute books by the legislature in the first place, had not the lobbyists of the "damage suit" lawyers and the short-sighted, reactionary employers interposed their objections. The farmers are being made to believe that increased taxation will result. This is false since the scheme is being financed by a charge of two per cent on the insurance premiums paid by the employers. The benefits to be paid will be the third highest in the United States. The law will be administered by a commission of three appointed by the governor, to consist of a lawyer, a representative of labor and another of capital. An effective part of the campaign now being waged is the distribution far and wide of a map of the United States indicating in black the states that still do not have workmen's compensation laws. The voters are asked to remove Missouri as a black spot on the face of this fair country—and they will, if the kind of fallacious propaganda that defeated the child labor amendment does not seep thru very deep.

## LOW DUES AND HIGH ASSESSMENTS

The membership of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers will, before October 15, 1926, have completed their referendum vote on the question: "Shall a \$10 Reserve Fund Assessment be Levied?" The balloting is being carried out under authority granted the General Executive Board at the Seventh Biennial Convention held at Montreal in May of this year. The last Reserve Fund Assessment was voted in 1922 as a sequel to the famous lockout of 1920-21, which ate into the treasury to the extent of two million dollars. The value of financial preparedness was then made clear. The 1922 Fund amounted to more than two-thirds of a million dollars. The International Tailoring Company strike of last year practically annihilated this sum. The need for replenishing the Reserve Fund is, therefore, urgent.

The present referendum calls attention to a condition that is characteristic of the needle trades' unions. Being so-called "radical," "progressive," "democratic" organizations, they are addicted to low dues. You must not supply the officers with big cigars at the expense of the rank and file is the theory. But emergencies do arise. Special assessments follow. Thus a reduction of dues in the ladies' garment industry in New York City was only a prelude to a twenty-dollar assessment. The vote in the Amalgamated is no exception to the rule.

L. S.

## CIRCULARIZING FOR UNION LABELS

We have heard of fair lists and unfair lists set up by organized labor. We have even seen editorial notices asking union members to patronize the goods of such and such a firm that has

ENGEL FRED'K W. F.  
315 East 83rd Street  
TELEPHONE LENOX 4051

Funeral Home  
Undertaker for  
Cremation Society, Branch 1, 3 and 27  
Member of the Workmen's Sick Bene-  
fit Society.  
Undertaker for all Progressive Organizations  
FUNERAL, INCLUDING CREMATION,  
\$45.00 UP

## Trusses

When your doctor sends you to a truss maker for a truss bandage or stocking, go there and see what you can buy for your money.

Thengo to P. WOLF & Co., Inc.  
COMPARE GOODS AND PRICES  
1499 Third Ave.  
Bet. 84th & 85th Sts.  
New York City  
Open Even. 8 to 10  
SUNDAYS CLOSED  
Special Ladies' Attendant

## The Third of the Series on America's Great Trade Unions

# "THE UPHOLSTERERS' STORY"

By LOUIS SILVERSTEIN

Will Begin in The New Leader Next Week

"WATCH THE BILLBOARD"

## 'Save the Union,' Is Brophy's Plea To Mine Workers

(Continued from Page 1)

panies for any of their mines unless all their mines were included. But this policy was rejected. These companies were permitted to sign up in other fields while continuing to evict families, use gunmen and import scabs in the coke fields and Somerset.

I will make this point clear by the case of the Consolidation Coal Co., which is typical of others. The Consolidation in 1922 had approximately 40 mines in northern West Virginia; others in Maryland and seven or eight in Somerset county, besides additional mines in Kentucky. The company agreed to sign up for West Virginia only, and the National Union accepted this proposal over the protests of the Pennsylvania union miners. The West Virginia men went back to work under the policy of the National Union.

### 10,000,000 Scab-Tons Yearly

In Maryland and Pennsylvania strikes for Union recognition continued, but were of no use. With coal coming from 40 mines in West Virginia, the Consolidation did not care how long the other states struck. The company filled orders with West Virginia coal and used its West Virginia profits to ship strike-breakers and gunmen into Maryland and Pennsylvania.

Finally the Maryland and Somerset strikes were lost. And then Consolidation broke with the union in West Virginia and used Maryland and Somerset county coal to crush the strike that resulted. The company is now a hundred percent scab. Ten million tons a year without a union contract.

Bethlehem Mines Corporation, Hillman Coal & Coke and other big concerns were allowed to split the workers and destroy the union in the same way. The Peabody Coal Co. is doing it now.

The policy that lost these many members to the union was a "back-step" of the most disastrous nature. The men abandoned to the open shop were forced to accept wage reductions, and this meant wholesale unemployment in the northern fields.

I give these facts not in a spirit of destructive criticism, but because we must recognize past mistakes if we wish to have a constructive policy in the future.

### Organization Drive Demanded

The policy we must adopt, I need hardly say, do not include wage reductions. There have been enough wage reductions for the men I spoke of—under the old policy. Wage reductions offer no solution, but lead only to further misery and degradation.

What must we do to save the union? First, organize the unorganized. This can be done.

It can be done by active field workers who will give their entire energies to the job.

It cannot be done by political gumshoos who sit around wasting time while the work of organizing remains to be done.

And it cannot be done by a futile policy of local strikes only. The problem calls for national planning and national action. No company must be allowed to operate on a union basis

in one field while breaking its contract in another, as the Peabody Coal Co. and others are doing.

Secondly, we must work for nationalization of the mines and we must organize a labor party.

### Nationalization and Labor Party

Nationalization, that is public ownership with union share in management, is the official goal of the United Mine Workers, and conventions have instructed that efforts be made to reach it. Much valuable time has been lost because these instructions have not been followed.

This larger program is of great importance to the union. It will give hope to the rank and file, who see no hope any longer in private ownership and management of the industry.

A labor party is necessary to get justice for the union in the courts and legislatures. Our conventions have expressed sympathy with this aim. But our cause has been injured by the support that certain leaders have given to reactionary anti-labor politicians, such as Calvin Coolidge. We are paying the price for that now.

Next, Alex. Hovav and others who are being unjustly discriminated against must be restored to full privileges in the union.

### Other Candidates Named

We must get the closest co-operation between the anthracite and bituminous miners, as in 1922, when they fought together. Nothing can take the place of working-class solidarity. And it must be recognized that the anthracite districts cannot maintain wage standards if the union is crushed in the bituminous fields.

I believe that by persistently and courageously fighting for the above program the union can be saved. The present administration has shown no way of averting the disastrous losses the organization is sustaining. It is for this reason that I have accepted the many requests I have received from local unions and individual members of our organization to be a candidate for international president.

In doing so I am glad to say that William Stevenson, of Bay City, Michigan, and William J. Brennan, of Scranton, Pa., candidates respectively, for international vice-president and secretary-treasurer, are in full accord with the above program for saving the union, and when elected will co-operate to the fullest extent with me. We are conducting the campaign on the basis of the larger program rather than on personal issues and take this opportunity to place our policy before the rank and file of our organization. With every good wish, I am, fraternal-ly yours,

JOHN BROPHY.

Clearfield, Pa., September 24, 1926.

### Machines Throw More Telegraphers Out of Work

CHICAGO.—The new Permalloy cable between New York and London is another triumph in eliminating human operators from the telegraph and cable service, it appears from the announcement of the Chicago division of the Western Union Telegraph Company. "The unheard of speed of 2,500 letters per minute, about five times faster than any long distance submarine cable of the old type, is attainable over this circuit," City Superintendent Brown declares.

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## Miners' International Meets To Plan World Assistance To British Coal Strikers

### Labor Doings Abroad

At a meeting held at London on September 10 the Miners' International passed the following resolution:

"That having regard to the reports received from the various countries upon the subject of the importation of coal to Britain, the committee resolves to submit to the whole of the international miners' organizations the consideration of taking international strike action in support of the British miners, and that a further meeting of the committee be held on September 30, when, in the event of the proposed negotiations for the settlement of the British dispute proving abortive, the committee shall immediately adopt such action as will be warranted upon reports from the affiliated countries."

The meeting on September 30 is to be held at Ostend. Besides the British miners' strike, the London meeting also discussed the question of the admission of the Russians to the decision to remind the Russians to answer the questions addressed to them when they sent in their former application for admission.

The Russians must state if they have decided to end their campaign of defamation against the trade union organizations of the different countries which now make up the Miners' International. They are also to be asked "if they are ready to quit the Red International of Labor Unions," and reminded that "dissident organizations cannot be admitted into the Miners' International, nor can it permit affiliation to two internationals."

## WAGE AGREEMENTS IN GERMANY DECLINE

In comparison with 1922, the number of wage agreements in Germany has declined considerably. At the end of 1922 there were 10,768 agreements covering 890,237 concerns, and on January 1, 1925, only 7,099 agreements, covering 785,945 concerns. At the end of 1922 14,300,000 workers were covered by wage agreements, while at the end of 1924 the corresponding number was only 13,100,000. The decline in the number of agreements is principally due to (1) concentration in the centres of production, and (2) the trade slump. The decline in the number of workers covered by wage agreements is due to (1) large discharges of manual and non-manual workers in consequence of the use of labor-saving machinery; (2) the technical reconstruction of factories; (3) the dismissal of many non-manual workers who were needed only during the inflation period, etc.

The parties concluding the agreements are, in the case of workers, only associations, while in the case of employers there are single firms as well as organizations. But in general there has been an increase in the number of agreements covering whole unions, so that on January 1, 1925, 8.67 per cent of the workers coming under wage agreements were under union agreements. There has been a corresponding decline in the number of local agreements. Most numerous of all are the district agreements. Of the 11,900,000 workers officially registered on January 1, 1925, 10,660,000 (89.5 per cent) were working under district or national wage agreements. The apprentice system was regulated in 16.5 per cent of the wage agreements concluded in 1924.

## MANY LABOR SUCCESSES SCORED IN LUXEMBURG

Luxemburg, which is closely connected with Belgium commercially and in respect to currency, is now sharing its misfortunes. The workers of the little country are suffering from the fluctuations in the rate of exchange, with its usual effects in raising the cost of living far beyond the rises in wages which it is possible to secure by hard trade union conflict. The only good result of the present misfortunes seems to be a closer co-operation for the purposes of combined action between the national centre organizing the manual workers and the unions organizing non-manual workers and civil servants.

In certain other respects Luxembourg is making decided progress. A comprehensive system of social insurance, covering all branches, has just come into operation, and there has been con-

siderable success in the election of labor men on many of the insurance fund centres set up under the new Social Insurance Act. The Labor Party in Luxembourg has also succeeded in reducing income tax on small incomes, and there is a prospect of yet another victory, as a bill to insure paid holidays for workers has now passed its first reading.

Politically, however, the skies are dark, as a coalition government representing the reactionary parties has now succeeded the democratic government which came into power in 1925.

## Portuguese Trade Unions Making Slow Headway

The Portuguese trade union movement, which has not long been in existence, was at first of a syndicalist character, being entirely guided by the principles of Bakunin. For that reason there are not even yet any really useful and comprehensive organizations. The Syndicalist unions are not greatly interested in practical results, but prefer to devote themselves to propaganda for revolution. Wages are accordingly low and working conditions very bad. Although the land workers, for instance, have a comparatively strong Syndicalist organization, they do not earn more than from 10 to 15 escudos for a working day of 10 or 12 hours. In other industries also wages are very low, for there are only about 20,000 workers in the Syndicalist trade union centre and about 10,000 in the Socialist, while the total number of unorganized workers is about 700,000, not including peasants, handicraftsmen and small tradesmen. Even the best paid workers, the railway men and seamen, only get from 20 to 25 escudos a day. Efforts have been made in the past to raise wages by means of strikes, but this has only been successful in the case of quite small craft unions, such as the tramway men's union, for 60 to 70 per cent of the rest of the workers are illiterate and quite indifferent to both politics and trade unionism. (One escudo is about 2d.)

Then there is also the religious question. The church has so great an influence over the masses of the people that it is very difficult to spread trade union ideas among the workers, who are both bigoted and indifferent. The Socialist Party and the "free" trade union centre, which has two secretaries, one in Lisbon for the south and another in Oporto for the north, find it advisable, therefore, to concentrate chiefly on educational and organizational work. In all the larger towns labor schools have been established, which have both day and evening classes, the expenses being borne jointly by the party and the trade unions. But much hard work will have to be done before the Portuguese worker is educated to labor politics and trade unionism. Moreover, the trade unions and the Socialist Party formerly had two members of parliament and a certain amount of influence in the municipalities, but since the establishment of the military government and the dissolution of parliament their position has been very difficult.

## BOSTON FUR WORKERS VOTE GENERAL STRIKE

BOSTON, Mass.—One hundred and fifty workers, union and non-union, attending a mass meeting called by Fur Workers Local 30, voted that a general strike be called in the immediate future. The non-union men agreed to come into the union. The strike demands are to include a 40-hour week, equal distribution of work, and elimination of apprenticeship in the shops.

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## GARLAND FUND HAS EXPENDED \$1,074,000

### Endowment Made by Socialist Has Been Exhausted, Report Declares

THE conclusion of the active work of the American Fund for Public Service, commonly known as the Garland Fund, is indicated in its report for its fourth year ending last June 30, just made public. The report shows that all of the principal and income of the fund has either been given away, loaned or pledged for future payment. The total amount disposed of in the four years, together with pledges and loans since the close of the fourth year is \$1,074,000. Of this sum \$329,000 has been given away outright, \$388,000 is pledged for future payment and the remainder of \$457,000 is outstanding in loans either made directly by the fund or as endorsements on bank loans or in purchases of applicants' stock.

The original fund contributed by Charles Garland, the Socialist who refused his inheritance, totaling \$901,555, was increased by \$50,700 due to the rise in the value of the shares of the First National Bank stock, which constituted half of the Garland gift. In addition \$136,700 was received as income.

**Quick Expenditure Urged**  
It has been the policy of the fund from the beginning to appropriate or loan both the principal and income of the fund. This policy was based on three considerations: First, the desire of the board to make the fund of maximum usefulness at this time; second, the disinclination to pile up a big fund with its consequent work in the hands of trustees; and third, to Mr. Garland's expressed wish to have the entire amount disposed of in the shortest possible time.

The commitments for future payment over a three-year period mark the end of the active period of the fund's work in handling new applications for aiding enterprises and have compelled the board to decline to consider further applications for gifts to any new undertaking. The pledges for future payment are intended to assist the enterprises which have been aided to get on their feet with money from other sources. These pledges are subject to continued effective work by the organizations to whom they have been made, the fund reserving the right to withhold them if their work does not justify it.

Among the enterprises aided largely by the fund during these four years, and which will be aided during the next three years until support is secured from other quarters are Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, N. Y.; Labor Age, a monthly magazine; Pioneer Youth, an organization for workers' children; the Rand School Research Department, New York City; the Federated Press, a labor press service, Chicago; workers' education schools conducted under the auspices of the United Mine Workers in Pennsylvania and Illinois; the Workers' Health Bureau, New York City; Commonwealth College, a workers' school at Mena, Arkansas; the educational work of the Colorado and Wyoming Federations of Labor; Philadelphia Labor College; the Workers' Party School, New York City; Portland (Oregon) Labor College, and the Seattle Labor College. The pledge to Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, N. Y., which is the largest, totaling \$150,000, covers a ten-year period, the annual pledge being reduced from \$25,000 to \$5,000 at the end of ten years.

**Education Biggest Investment**  
Most of these commitments, as the figures show, are for the support of workers' education enterprises. It is in this field that the fund has invested the largest amount, believing

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J. BELSKY, Secretary

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Local 1087, B. P. D. & P. A.  
Office and Headquarters at Astoria Hall, 63 East 4th St. Phone 10173. Regular meetings every Tuesday at 8 P. M.  
ADE LEMONICK, Pres.  
GARRET BRISCOE, Sec'y.  
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JACOB RAPPAPORT, Bus. Agent  
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AARON RAPPAPORT, Treasurer

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it to be of substantial and enduring value. Other projects to which the fund has contributed for special work and has made pledges for specific pieces of work in the future are: the League for Industrial Democracy, N. Y. C.; the Committee on Militarism in Education; civil liberties, Negro and working class defense; and for the various research projects financed and directed by the fund including a study of American imperialism, a study of employers' tactics against organized labor, and a legal historical study of injunctions in industrial conflicts.

The Vanguard Press, recently started by the fund to publish inexpensive standard books on radical and labor subjects for workers, has a capital of \$100,000 given by the fund. The fund has also bought stock to the amount of \$10,000 in the Russian Reconstruction Farms, an enterprise to industrialize agriculture in the Caucasus, financed by capital from the United States, and \$20,000 in the Oklahoma Leader, a weekly farmer-labor paper.

**Many Loans Outstanding**  
Among the larger loans outstanding or endorsements made on bank loans are: the Joint Board of the Furriers Union, N. Y. C.; the Daily Worker, Chicago, Ill.; the Equity Printing Co., and the Industrial Workers of the World, Chicago; the Lenox Building, Washington, D. C.; the Associated Textiles, Inc., Chicago; the Co-operative Central Exchange, Superior, Wis.; the Minneapolis Daily Star; the International Labor Defense, Chicago; the Labor Bureau, N. Y. C.; the Russian Reconstruction Farms, N. Y. C.; the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee, Boston, and Camp Tamiment, N. Y. C.

During the fourth year of the fund ending June 30, 1926, a total of \$477,000 was appropriated and \$215,000 pledged for future payment. This represented a great increase in the gifts over previous years, due to the fact that the fund had adopted a definite policy of aiding selected enterprises in fields that seemed most productive of results. The amounts appropriated in previous years were \$75,345 the first year, \$117,782 the second, and \$122,439 the third. The loans made during the fourth year were \$166,000 (exclusive of endorsements on bank loans) as against \$115,000 the first year, \$26,000 the second year and \$137,000 the third year.

The American Fund was organized in July, 1921 and incorporated under the laws of Delaware. The only gift received was that from Charles Garland shortly after the fund's organization. The project had been for some time in the minds of some of those who became its trustees. It has been devoted almost entirely to aiding enterprises in the labor and radical movements, chiefly workers' education, labor journalism, legal defense for working-class and Negro cases and aid to minorities. The trustees of the fund are Roger N. Baldwin, H. H. Broach of Minneapolis, Robert W. Dunn, Morris L. Ernst, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Wm. Z. Foster of Chicago, Lewis S. Gannett, Benjamin Gitlow, Clinton S. Golden, James Weldon Johnson, Freda Kirchwey, Scott Nearing and Norman Thomas. The present officers of the fund, elected at a recent meeting, are: James Weldon Johnson, president; Clinton S. Golden, vice-president; Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, secretary; and Morris L. Ernst, treasurer.

### MILLINERY WORKERS WIN AFTER 10 MONTHS' STRIKE

After a ten-month strike against the firm of S. Meyer & Son of Masspeth, Long Island, the Millinery Workers' Union Local 24 won a splendid victory. This fight, which has cost the union a great deal of money and effort, has shown the whole labor movement that the millinery workers will not permit any of their employers to again establish open-shop conditions in their industry.

The union gained the most important point in the settlement, which was the full recognition of the union and that only union workers are to be employed.

The rest of the points are to be settled by arbitration. The arbitrators will be former President Zaritsky for the union; Dr. Paul Abelson, impartial arbitrator agreed upon by both, and a member of the firm.

**German Painters' Union**  
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LOCAL 34  
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THOMAS CAMILL, President  
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**UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS and JOINERS of America**  
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Headquarters in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Avenue  
Office: Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, Telephone Stage 5414. Office hours every day except Thursday. Regular meetings every Monday evening.  
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GEORGE MEANY, DAVID HOLBORN, JOHN BASSETT, FAY DREW.

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Fur Dressers' Union No. 2

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**OPERATORS, LOCAL 1**  
Regular Meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday.  
Executive Board meets every Monday.  
**CUTTERS, LOCAL 2**  
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Executive Board meets every Monday.  
All Meetings are held in the Headgear Workers' Lyceum (Beethoven Hall) 210 East 5th Street.

**United Hebrew Trades**  
175 EAST BROADWAY  
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M. FEINSTEIN, Secretary-Treasurer

**HEBREW BUTCHERS UNION**  
Local 324, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A. 175 E. 5th St. Orchard 3239  
Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday  
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UNION, LOCAL 66, I. L. G. W. U.  
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Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.  
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Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of Every Month at 182 East 23rd Street  
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**Joint Executive Committee OF THE VEST MAKERS' UNION,**  
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Office: 175 East Broadway.  
Phone: ORchard 6639  
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Local 584, I. L. of T.  
Office: 585 Hudson St., City.  
Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at 62 East 4th St.  
Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays.  
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UNION, Local 351, Brooklyn  
Office: 571 Pacific Street Telephone: CUMberland 9149  
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Meetings Every Wednesday, at 8 P. M. at Columbus Hall, State and Court Sts.  
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130 East 15th St. Madison Square 1031  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M.  
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**FUR DRESSERS' UNION,**  
Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union.  
Office and Headquarters, 915 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn. Phone ORchard 5799  
Regular Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays.  
S. REIER, President  
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# Amusements

## DRAMA

ALBERT CARROLL



Will play an important part in "Lion Tamer," opening at the Neighborhood Playhouse next Thursday night.

### "What Is Life?" Points a Question

John Bowie's Play Raises the Problem of the Wasters of Society

THE more questionable operations of Mr. Chase, in John Bowie's play "What Is Life?" in which Marjorie Rambeau is starring at the Henry Miller Theatre, suggest a speculation that has frequently come to my mind: What would happen to such wasters, to such gamblers, spendthrifts and supporters of loose women, if the spirit of Socialism were to guide the land? There is, of course, the claim of the psychoanalysts that emotions and tendencies dammed in one direction, suppressed or repressed, or whatever they wish to call them, will find a new channel as inevitably as dammed water will rise to flood. The calmer psychologists of the old and still somewhat scientific school seem to think that emotions and tendencies are less physical in their maneuvers, and that the disease of a desire, the failure to exercise a wish, somehow results in the ultimate death of that desire or tendency. There are some who will say there's no use pondering, for Socialism will not come until the spirits of men have changed, and this problem will not arise; there are, therefore, others who retort that, given the form, we may gradually grow toward the spirit it requires, just as this country has been groping its way toward democracy (though it at times seems as if we can't even tell the right direction) these last hundred and fifty years.

At any rate, there is Mr. Chase, blacker than life, with his Marjorie Rambeau wife more innocent of life than one would fancy anybody today—much less an operative star—could be; and along with the wife is a sister who loves a lawyer, and the lawyer who loves that wife; and along with the scoundrelly husband is a daughter who fails to understand but loves him and, under his influence, almost goes astray; and there is the fine young fellow to marry the girl; and emphatically present, behind the scarlet woman who fills wife's shoes while that unsuspecting dear is abroad, and who comes out just after wife believes her husband's lie (how heavily he swears!) and spoils his hopes by blurted out that she is to bear issue of his infamy. And there is the material that has supplied many a play, and once more does duty for Mr. Bowie. He seems to have used, indeed, a bowie knife, or some other old-fashioned instrument for whittling out most of his lines, for all the sweet, homelike truths are carved boldly forth, down to wife's advice to her child that a woman can not have two careers, that of a profession (the opera, in this case) and that of a wife. And so the final curtain, after an evening that carried thought away pleasantly enough, as you may feel, on vagrant speculation.

W. L.

### Neighborhood Season Opens Thursday with "Lion Tamer"

The Neighborhood Playhouse, that charming little theatre on Grand street, will begin its thirteenth season next Thursday night with "The Lion Tamer," a new satiric play from the French of Alfred Savoir.

The repertoire company includes Albert Carroll, Otto Hueliclus, Marc Loebell, Lily Lubell, Ian MacLaren, John Roche, Dorothy Sands, Blanche Talmud and Paula Trueman.

### Jeanne Eagels in "Rain" At the Bronx Opera House

Jeanne Eagels will be seen again in the role of Sadie Thompson, which opens at the Bronx Opera House for one week, starting Monday. Sam H. Harris is presenting this return engagement. This marks the fourth consecutive year that Miss Eagels has played in "Rain." The authors, John Colton and Clemence Randolph, adapted the play from a story by W. Somerset Maugham.

"The Winged Messenger" will be the following attraction, opening at the Bronx prior to the Broadway showing.

## The Drama of America

By Joseph T. Shipley

### VIII. The Plays of Tomorrow

Maturity of mind and will are rare in life; naturally they are not prominent upon the stage. There are various attitudes toward the world possible to the adult; none of them includes the making of the imposing of moral judgments. The adult may accept the theory of free will in determining his own responsibility; he will accept the doctrine of pre-determinism for that of others. The most obviously mature plays, therefore, are tragedies; and the intellectual temper of an age may be measured in terms of what it deems tragic. To Shakespeare, for instance, tragedy always involves the violation of a social law, of loyalty to family, to king, to country, to god. The dramatists of the industrial era in every land draw their tragedy from the pressure of the forces of life, the mechanizing influences of a capitalist order, upon the impulses of the individual. Whether it be in Galsworthy's "Justice," a well-made play of the old type, or in Kaiser's "From Morn to Midnight," a most ingenious drama of the new, the implacable forces of society that surge about money, the need of it, the fever with which we spend it, the power it gives, the fierceness with which we clutch it, the hatred with which we attack those who would seize it, are vividly shown. The sterility of the business world makes its effects felt in Rice's "Adding Machine." Eugene O'Neill has made several studies of modern temperaments in conflict. Sweeping industrial impulses are pictured in such dramas as Hauptmann's "The Weavers," Toller's "Hinkemann," and Kaiser's "The Machine Stormers." Joyce emphasizes a more spiritual problem in "Exiles"; recent efforts to combine all the forces of civilization in one portrayal are Lawson's excellent "Processional" and Dos Passos' more dogmatic "The Moon Is a Grog." What is important to observe in considering the maturity of such plays is not the skill or the novelty of their technique, but the absence of stated or implied moral standards. Insofar as they are likely to outlast their day, they do not take sides. Every character is in the right. Social condemnation or approval, moral judgments, of course, appear in the play; but they are those of the period played, not of the playwright. The dramatist records, he does not embrace them. The hero dies not because the playwright wants virtue (or vice) to triumph, or because he thinks the audience may—indeed, we usually sympathize with the victim; but because some dominant force in the life, around the main figure inevitably moves him to that end.

Incidentally, such plays, void of apparent bias, made to seem inevitable in the disaster that springs from the nature of society, are the truest in-born.

### "Juarez and Maximilian" to Inaugurate Guild Season Oct. 11

The Theatre Guild's permanent company will open their new season with "Juarez and Maximilian" a week from next Monday at the Guild Theatre. "Garriek Gaieties" will close at the Garrick Oct. 9 and go on tour under the management of Jack Yorke. "At Mrs. Beam's" will be transferred from the Guild to the Garrick Oct. 11. Shaw's "Pygmalion" will be produced at the Garrick Theatre later in the season with several members of the permanent company and a few guest players. In due time "Pygmalion" will alternate at the Garrick with Sidney Howard's new play, "The Silver Cord," while "Juarez and Maximilian" will break its run at the Guild Theatre with Copeau's production of "The Brothers Karamazoff."

Ethel Barrymore will return to Broadway the coming season under the Frohman management, the star of Somerset Maugham's latest play, a sophisticated comedy, entitled "The Constant Wife."

PAUL ROBESON



Plays the title role in "Black Boy," a new play by Jim Tully and Frank Dacey, opening next Wednesday night at the Comedy Theatre.

dictments that could be drawn, much more final, when so shown by an artist, than the deliberate or unconscious distortions of an adolescent propagandist. Over immature minds, the false picture may have greater sway; the influence of Dickens' stories, of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," is merely further indication of the mental and moral under-development of the majority, whose emotions respond before their intellects inquire. But persons so swayed are moved—as Brutus and Anthony show in Shakespeare's "Julius Caesar"—alternatively in either direction, and by the ablest pleader. Maturity searches behind the epithet and the judgment, to analyze the forces that conflict.

Another attitude also possible to the mature is the complete avoidance of moral issues of social problems. The adult that, because of temperament or economic stress, is a direct participant in life, will strive to analyze the forces that urge in society and in the individual, and will, if he be a dramatist, throw them in opposition upon the stage, in problem play or tragedy. But some more favored adults are financially free from concern, or temperamentally less players than spectators of the human comedy; Anatole France, though he was not a dramatist, for his stay in the ivory; Oscar Wilde, as in "The Importance of Being Earnest," when he was not muddled with morality. Manifestly, these persons move in the domain of high comedy. Recent importations from Hungary reveal both types of mature mind; Molnar in "The Goat Song," symbolizing the fundamental struggle of the individual and the conventional, in "The Glass Slipper" portraying a single phase of that conflict in more realistic play; and Lohar in "The Werewolf," scintillating on the surface of life, with no concern for the terrors of its depths. High comedy and such comic opera as that of Gilbert and Sullivan, which pays attention to the forces of nature and society only to mock them, to turn them into tipsy burlesque, are the lighter aspect of the mature mind that in more serious mood turns to the problem play and the inclusive; it is really a groping toward maturity, and ink-bottle villains with white-wash heroes may stalk in it; moral judgments and the final adjustment of happy endings may lurk in its best manifestations; the problem play moves impartially to the close inevitably expressed in its opening conditions. Then it is closely akin to, if it be not one with, the tragedy, the highest expression of the thoughtful mature mind, the serious play of tomorrow, wherein the conflicts inherent in life, in the existence of the one and the many—society and the individual—are boldly traced, wherever their urgings send us, and the noblest child of the drama is born.

### Habima Players of Moscow Coming Here in November

S. Hurok, who heretofore has confined his activities to the management of musicians, announces that he will enter the theatrical field this season, presenting the noted Moscow Theatre Group Habima, a dramatic group which now is touring Europe.

The group of fifty players will come to New York during November. Most of their presentations will be modern, but the Habima will render them in classical Hebrew. Their activities call for the aid of much music. Expressionistic scenery and ritualistic music will be utilized, Mr. Hurok says. The presentation is being made after the permission of the Soviet government was obtained to bring the players here. They have been playing recently in Riga, Warsaw, Vienna and Paris.

### Edyth Totten Theatre Will Open October 6

The Edyth Totten Theatre is the latest addition to New York's long list of playhouses. It will open its doors Wednesday, October 6. It is located on 48th street between Broadway and Eighth avenue. The seating capacity is 299, divided between an orchestra floor and a balcony. It is in no sense a small theatre, having a stage amply large enough to stage any drama. In the matter of stage equipment it is the last word in lighting and scenic appliances.

The opening attraction will be "Secret Sands," a three-act play by a professional writer who for personal reasons prefers to remain unnamed. Edyth Totten is the producer. Miss Totten, it will be remembered, is the founder and president of Drama Comedy, a theatre club which numbers a membership of over 5,000 men and women.

Winthrop Ames announces that Philip Barry's play "White Wings," which opens at the Booth Theatre Tuesday evening, October 12th, will have the following cast: Winifred Lenihan, William Morris, J. M. Kerrigan, Wilfred Lytle, Donald Macdonald, Albert Tavernier and Jessie Graham.

IRIS HOEY



One of the chief players in the English importation "Red Blinds," a new play by Edward Wilbraham, which opened Thursday night at the Maxine Elliott Theatre.

### Class War Depicted in New Film

BEFORE is definitely disappears in the maw of the American film octopus the German film industry is making its last bow to its old ideals with the fantastic, brilliantly executed tale of "Metropolis"—the city of machines.

This new picture, which was recently screened in Berlin, is divided into two parts, the brains and the hands of society. In the Upper Town lives the ruling class, amidst all the joys and comforts of its age. The Lower Town, bathed in eternal artificial light, houses the wage slaves, garisoned, regulated, forced down to an unbelievable low level, their identity established by numbers.

Finally the lower orders, led by a renegade from the upper region, revolt against the master class. But they are swiftly beaten into submission by the chief engineer, who, in order to prevent a recurrence of the revolt, invents the artificial man to do his bidding and eliminate the slaves.

However, the first artificial being that leaves the electric robot makes common cause with the workers. Under his direction and guidance they storm the Upper Town, smashing the central machine that regulated their whole life.

At this juncture the plot becomes conventional. The love tale interwoven with the struggle draws towards the inevitable happy ending. The last scene sees the classes reconciled—"for the benefit of all, even for the people in the depths," as the programme has it. But for all that, "Metropolis" belongs amongst the masterpieces that have been produced in Germany, and will leave a deep impression everywhere.

The acting, the directing and the elaborate setting—they are all perfect, judged by the highest standards. And there are scenes in it which, despite the evident capitalist intentions of its director, Herr Lang, are a powerful plea for the class struggle.

### "The Good Fellow" Due At the Playhouse Tuesday

At the Playhouse on Tuesday night Crosby Gaige will present "The Good Fellow," a new satiric comedy by George S. Kaufman and Herman J. Mankiewicz.

"The Good Fellow" marks the first appearance as a playwright of Herman J. Mankiewicz, formerly assistant dramatic editor of "The Times."

The cast includes John E. Hazzard, Clara Blandick, Jeannett Adair, Ethel Taylor, Walter Baldwin, Jr., Lester Vail, Stewart Masten and Earle Craddock.

"Uncle Tom's Cabin" to Be Filmed for Posterity

Film producers have begun making pictures to be viewed by posterity, and posterity is to have "Uncle Tom's Cabin." A company is now engaged in Universal City, Cal., in filming Harriet Beecher Stowe's classic. One negative of the picture is to be sealed away in an airtight vault at the Smithsonian Institution at Washington. The vault is not to be opened until 100 years from the date of its sealing.

Broadway Briefs

"Deep River," Arthur Hopkins' initial effort in the musical field, will open at the Imperial Theatre Monday evening. It is called "a native opera with jazz." The music is by Frank Harling and the play is by Laurence Stallings, co-author of "What Price Glory?"

"Across the Pacific," starring Monte Blue, adapted from Chas. E. Blaney's spectacular melodrama, will have its first showing at B. S. Moss's Broadway Theatre beginning Monday.

"Youth Betrayed," a new drama by Robert Morris Lovett, will be presented on Broadway in a fortnight by Escamilla Fernandez, who has turned producer. The cast is headed by Ann Forrest.

## THEATRES

WINTER GARDEN  
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Tues., Thurs. & Sat.

The GREAT TEMPTATIONS  
Staged by J. C. HUFFMAN  
By HAROLD ATTERIDGE  
Holiday Matinee  
Columbus Day, Oct. 12

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

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A NIGHT IN PARIS  
"Better than the first."  
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New Numbers, New Scenery  
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As Great a Play as "The Big Parade" is a Picture  
A. H. WOODS Presents  
LOWELL SHERMAN  
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"The WOMAN DISPUTED"  
By DENISON CLIFT  
with  
ANN HARDING  
LOUIS CALHOUN—CRANE WILBUR  
and A COMPANY OF 50

Plymouth Theatre  
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Evens 8:30  
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Popular Mat. Thursday  
WINTHROP AMES  
Gilbert & Sullivan Opera Company

Iolanthe  
6th CAPACITY MONTH!

Mr. Lovett, who is a professor in English at the University of Chicago, was formerly editor of the "Dial" and is now editor of "The New Republic." He has written much verse and two novels, "Richard Gresham" and "The Winged Victory." The play opens in Baltimore next Monday.

"Howdy King," a romantic comedy by Mark Swan, is being produced by Anne Nichols, with Minor Watson in the leading role. The out-of-town premiere will be held at the Poli Theatre, Washington, Sunday evening, Oct. 10.

Milt Gross announces that he has nearly completed the dramatization of "Nize Baby" Jed Harris, who will produce the play, is already engaged in gathering a cast to interpret this epic of the Rockaways.

"An American Tragedy" will begin a tryout tour at the Shubert Theatre, New Haven, next week. The play will open here at the Longacre Theatre October 11th.

The Civic Repertory Theatre will introduce "The Anniversary" by Tchekov, a two-act farce which will be played in conjunction with a one-act comedy "The Cradle Song," by Sierra.

"Katia, the Dancer," the new musical play which the Messrs. Shubert are about to offer, will have a young Swedish soprano, Naïve Lindholm, who is a great grandchild of Jenny Lind, the Swedish nightingale.

"Boat Song," a musical fantasy by Leonard Leonard, conductor of "Countess Maritza" symphony orchestra, is the latest musical acquisition of the Messrs. Shubert.

Kathryn Ray, one of the principal adornments in the second edition of "A Night in Paris," will be seen in "Tomorrow Will Come" at the conclusion of her engagement in the French revue. The piece is by Jael McCarroll, the California poet, and will have incidental music by Maurice Reubens.

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Theat. Col. Cir. Eves.  
Direction MESSRS. SHUBERT  
The Most Magnetic Personality  
in Musical Comedy

MITZI  
Is Eclipsing All Her Former Triumphs, in  
NAUGHTY RIQUETTE  
with STANLEY LUPINO  
HOLIDAY MATINEE COLUMBUS DAY,  
TUESDAY, OCTOBER 12

THE INTERNATIONAL DRAMATIC SENSATION!  
Has aroused more discussion than any play in a generation!  
THE ORIGINAL LONDON CAST in  
RED BLINDS  
By LORD LATHOM  
with IRIS HOEY  
A DARING TREATISE OF SOCIAL LIFE EVERYWHERE  
MAXINE ELLIOTT'S Theatre, 59th St., East of Broadway. Evens 8:30.  
Matinees Wednesday and Saturday.  
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Theat., 44th St., W. of B'way  
Eves. 8:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat.  
GREATEST OF ALL OPERETTAS

COUNTRESS MARITZA  
Staged by J. C. HUFFMAN  
SURPASSING THE MARVELOUS RECORDS ESTABLISHED BY "THE STUDENT PRINCE"  
Grand Opera Ensemble of 80 Voices  
HOLIDAY MATINEE COLUMBUS DAY  
TUESDAY, OCTOBER 12

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Richard Herndon  
Will Give You  
The Thrill of the Year  
in  
"TREAT 'EM ROUGH"  
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Frederic and Fanny Hatton  
with Allan Dinehart  
Genevieve Tobin  
and a Splendid Cast  
Staged by Allan Dinehart  
First Matinee Thursday.

49th ST. Theatre, West of Broadway  
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America's Inimitable Star in  
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The Judge's Husband  
"The Judge's Husband" ranks easily as the best of all the Hodge plays. Mr. Hodge is doubly welcome this season.  
—Stephen Rathbun, Sun.  
HOLIDAY MAT. COL'S DAY, Tues., Oct. 12

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3 CAPACITY HITS 3  
FLORENCE REED IN THE SHANGHAI GESTURE  
GREATEST MELODRAMA IN THE WORLD BY JOHN COLTON  
CHANNIN'S 46ST  
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In association with Orch. Schuyler by arrangement with Julian Frank  
A MILE A MINUTE HIT  
THE GHOST TRAIN  
BY ARNOLD RIDLEY  
ELTING THEATRE  
MATINEES WED. & SAT.  
LUDWIG SAITZ & POTASH AND PERLMUTTER DETECTIVES  
BY MONTAGUE GLASS 2nd JULY ECKART GOODMAN  
RITZ THEATRE, 48th ST.  
MATS. WED. & SAT.

JOHN E. HAZZARD



In the latest Crosby Gage production, "The Good Fellow," coming to the Playhouse Tuesday night.

### Laboratory Theatre, Move to Larger Quarters

The American Laboratory Theatre has moved to larger quarters at 145 East 58th street, formerly Terrace Garden, which has been made over into a theatre, with 115 seats and a workshop. The new stage is about twice the size of the one on which the Laboratory's plays were presented last season. The second subscription season, under the direction of Richard Boleslavsky, will open early in October with the presentation of "The Straw Hat," the French farce, with music by LaBiche, which was scheduled for last season. Other plays to be staged this season include "The Trumpet Shall Sound," by Wilder; Buchner's "Death of Danton" and "Much Ado About Nothing," "The Scarlet Letter," "Twelfth Night" and "The Sea Woman's Clock," by Princess Troubetzkoy, will also be included in the repertoire.

### Bronx Amusements

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FAREWELL ENGAGEMENT  
Closing the Fourth Season  
SAM H. HARRIS presents  
Jeanne Eagels  
in "RAIN"  
The World's Greatest Drama  
By John Colton and Clemence Randolph  
Founded on W. Somerset Maugham's story, "Miss Thompson"  
Week of Oct. 11  
Prior to the Broadway showing  
"THE WINGED MESSENGER"  
The Romantic Drama of the 19th Century,  
with a cast of 100.

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Soloists—NAN POLIKOFF, Violinist  
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### "Treat 'Em Rough" Will Open Monday at the Klaw

Richard Herndon will present "Treat 'Em Rough," a new play by Frederic and Fanny Hatton, at the Klaw Theatre Monday night. This is the company which has been playing in Chicago for some time. Allan Dinehart has directed the production and will be featured here with Genevieve Tobin. Others in the cast include William Ricciardi, Walter Connolly, Helene Sinnott, George Torrence, M. Charles Palazzi, May Hopkins and Nedda Harrigan.



## MUSIC

## Sylva as 'Carmen' Feature of Last Week at Century

THE fourth and final week of the San Carlo Opera season will begin Monday night at the Century Theatre. Nine operas will be presented, including a special mid-week matinee on Thursday.

A feature of the week will be the re-appearance with the San Carlo for the first time in two years, of Vincenzo Ballester, baritone, who since has been a member of the Metropolitan and Chicago opera companies. He makes his farewell appearance here, as he sails for an extended engagement in Spain the following week. He will sing in "Rigoletto" and in "Otello."

From New York the company goes to Boston, thence to Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Detroit; and from there on to its annual season at New Orleans. From there the company goes on its annual Coast-to-Coast tour, returning here next May.

The new artists who will be heard here for the first time include: Marguerita Sylva, who will sing the "Carmen"; Gladys Axman, Rose des Rosters, Antonio Paoli, Ethel Fox, Ada Kopf and Margaret Solley.

The week's repertoire follows:

Monday: "Tosca," with Mmes. Axman and Falco, Messrs. Taffuro, Conati and Mongelli.

Tuesday: "Rigoletto," with Mmes. Escobar and Schalker; Messrs. Onofrei, Vincenzo Ballester and Mongelli.

Wednesday: "Traviata," with Mmes. Paggi and Falco; Messrs. Taffuro, Lull and Cervi.

Thursday matinee: "Hansel and Gretel," with Mmes. Schalker, Fox and Solley; Mr. Intervante. Special ballet program.

Thursday evening: "Faust," with Mmes. des Rosters and Schalker; Messrs. Onofrei, Intervante and Mongelli.

Friday evening: "Cavalleria Rusticana," with Mmes. Axman and Kopf; Messrs. Taffuro, Intervante. Followed by "I Pagliacci," with Mmes. Saroya and Messrs. DeGaviria and Conati.

Saturday matinee: "Carmen," with Mmes. Sylva and Paggi, and Messrs. Taffuro, Intervante and Mongelli.

Saturday evening: "Otello," with Mmes. Saroya and Schalker, and Messrs. Paoli, Ballester and Mongelli. Carlo Peroni will direct.

## GENEVIEVE TOBIN



Is co-featured with Allan Dinchert in the new Hatton play, "Treat 'Em Rough," which opens Monday night at the Klaw.

## AMERICAN APPEAL

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

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**EUGENE V. DEBS**

Managing Editor  
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Published at 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

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## Washington to Hold Music Festival Next Week

The Division of Music, the Library of Congress, is to hold a musical festival October 8-9 with two seasons daily.

The purpose of the festival is to acquaint the professional musician, and the public in general, with the wide collection of music acquired by gift, purchase and by the copyright laws since the founding of the Republic in 1776.

The present collection of pieces, pamphlets and volumes catalogued total 1,007,007 separate compositions. Only one or two of the oldest libraries of Europe have collections in excess of this number.

The two-day festival will be an invitation affair.

## JEANNE EAGELS



Returns to town next week in her successful role of Sadie Thompson in "Rain," opening Monday night at the Bronx Opera House.

## Music Notes

Basile Kibalechich, conductor of the Russian Symphony Choir, will introduce an excerpt from Beethoven's Fifth Symphony at the Aeolian Hall recital October 17th to commemorate the centennial of Beethoven's death.

Bomar Cramer, pianist, will play the Waldstein Sonata of Beethoven at the Aeolian Hall recital on October 18th.

Seven new musicians have joined the Philharmonic Orchestra for the season which opens at Carnegie Hall Thursday evening, October 14. They are: Saul Goodman, tympanist; Alexander Kozegli, principal second violin; Michael de Stefano, violin; Martin Breinstein, bass; Albert Marsh, oboe; William Conrad, contra-bassoon, and David Glickstein, trumpet.

The Mischa Elman String Quartet, at its first subscription concert on Tuesday evening, October 18th at Aeolian Hall, will offer a program of Haydn, Brahms and Tchaikovsky.

Benno Moiseiwitsch, the Russian pianist, will give a recital at Aeolian Hall Saturday afternoon, October 16th. The Glasgow Orpheus Choir of fifty mixed voices will make their first appearance in America Monday night at Carnegie Hall. Hugh S. Robertson is the conductor of the choir. The soloists include Boyd Steven, Albert Froggat, Agnes MacGregor and William Smith.

## NEW ANTI-FASCIST LEAGUE IS PROGRESSING

THE newly founded Anti-Fascist League for the Freedom of Italy is extending its activities all over the country. Thousands of letters have been mailed to workers and progressive institutions. The league has established contact with national, state and local Central Labor Councils, and it announces that it will soon reach the country through an English bulletin.

Among the organizations that have endorsed the Anti-Fascist League for the Freedom of Italy are the United Hebrew Trades, the Workmen's Circle and many Socialist and Italian Mutual Benefit Societies. The league has received heartening replies from William Green, president American Federation of Labor; James H. Maurer, president Pennsylvania Federation of Labor; S. Pollo, organizer Vermillion County (Indiana) Central Labor Union, and other prominent labor leaders. The league has issued a statement on the last attempt against the life of Dictator Mussolini, in which it declares that Fascist reaction is trying to exploit this third unsuccessful attempt of the kind to first distract the attention of the world's public opinion from the appalling economic and political conditions in which it has plunged Italy, and secondly to morally coerce foreign democratic governments to refuse to refuge all Italians who have been forced to flee Italy and escape the wrath of the black shirt tyranny.

The statement avers that were it not for these perennial, providentially unsuccessful attempts, the Fascists would be forced to resort to foreign diplomatic entanglements and war threats in order to keep the public busy with some kind of bunk consumption that would make them pay no attention to the unfortunate state of affairs existing in Italy.

## THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

## California

## Los Angeles

Local Los Angeles is becoming famed for its banquets, which are regular features of the movement in that city. The latest one was in honor of Jose W. Kelly, member of the Mexican Confederation of Labor and Labor Attache in diplomatic circles in this country. Comrade Kelly has been a resident of Mexico for fourteen years and is well versed in labor and political conditions in that country. His talk on Mexico and labor's rule in that country was intensely interesting. Local Los Angeles is arranging another meeting for him.

Local Los Angeles is planning to cover the city with Congressman Berger's speeches and circulate in one colored section his speech on his Anti-Lynching bill. The Jewish Socialists in Harry Sher's district, candidate for the State Assembly, are planning a house-to-house canvass, and from 200 to 250 voters not receiving the American Appeal will be placed on the subscription list for four weeks.

## Pasadena

Local Pasadena had an enthusiastic meeting on the occasion of Lena Morrow Lewis' visit. Upton Sinclair stole away from his typewriter to attend the meeting and confer with the candidate for Lieutenant-Governor as to campaign activities. Sinclair is planning to "smoke out" the other gubernatorial candidates as to their position on the repeal of the Criminal Syndicalism law.

## Bakersfield

Local Bakersfield orders a thousand copies of Congressman Berger's speech on "The Social Question—Old and New," for Kern County, and will conduct a lively literature campaign. Mrs. Lewis' recent visit to this place resulted in reviving the membership, several delinquent members paid their back dues and a number contributed to the state campaign fund.

Readers of the American Appeal and New Leader are again reminded that the State office is in great need of funds to carry on the campaign. It costs money to keep Lena Morrow Lewis and other speakers in the field and meet printing bills and office expenses.

According to newspaper reports, C. C. Young, successful candidate for the Republican candidacy for Governor, spent over \$24,000 to win the nomination, while it just cost \$67 for Upton Sinclair to get on the Socialist ballot.

## Ohio

## Ticket Filed

The Socialist ticket will be on the ballot; the workers will be given an opportunity to express their desire whether they wish to be represented by capitalist politicians or working-class representatives. In Ohio the capitalist class has the Republican and Democratic parties; the working class the Socialist Party. Where do your interests show, Mr. Workingman and Woman?

The State organization is anxious to carry on a rousing campaign. Literature must be distributed, speakers must tour the state, meetings must be arranged, the people must be informed as to how they can better their conditions. WE MUST HAVE MONEY! If you are a true Socialist you will answer this call.

Organization is once more becoming a fact. From several sections applications for membership are coming in, and they pay dues. We must have members and they must pay dues. Your actions will enroll you in the great Socialist movement that eventually will emancipate the wage-slave.

## Tony Sender Meetings

Cleveland will have Tony Sender for two dates. She is the youngest member of the German Reichstag. She will speak in English Friday, October 8, at Moose Hall, 1000 Walnut avenue, and in German Saturday, October 9, at Socialist Turn Verein Hall, 3919 Lorain avenue, and she will also speak at Dayton October 17. She has a message to deliver and all comrades should try to make these meetings a success. The capitalist class does not want to hear her, but the working class must.

This state office is ready to furnish speakers, literature, leaflets, national platforms, for a small amount of cash. Send in your orders and assure us that you are a part of the movement for Socialism.

## Michigan

The Socialists of Detroit have arranged for a meeting with Miss Tony Sender on October 5 in the G. A. R. Memorial Hall, Cass avenue and Grand River. Readers of the American Appeal and The New Leader should make it a point to hear this wonderful exponent of working class philosophy. Miss Sender is a member of the German Reichstag and the youngest member in that body.

## Texas

Secretary G. W. M. Taylor, of Dallas, sends a complete list of state nominees for the Socialist Party of the Lone Star State. He also sends a brief of their state platform. Socialists and American Appeal readers of Texas should boost their ticket everywhere; get subscribers to the American Appeal and The New Leader and order bundles of same for general distribution. We urge the comrades to or-

ganize Socialist locals wherever possible, and where it is not possible to join as members at large. The state secretary of Texas is M. A. Smith, 3016 Pennsylvania avenue, Dallas.

## Pennsylvania

Comrade James H. Maurer informs us that only once in his life could he remember having seen more flowers at a funeral than there were at Comrade Cora Bixler's. The Socialists of Pennsylvania are much grieved over the loss of this excellent comrade and party worker.

Philadelphia Socialists will open their campaign with two open air meetings Saturday, Oct. 2, 8 p. m. Harry E. Close will speak at 5th and Cambridge streets, and C. Thomas will speak at 40th and Cambridge streets.

## Indiana

The Socialists of Indiana are winding up the gathering of signatures on petitions for placing the ticket on the ballot at the November election. American Appeal and New Leader readers should all be members of the Socialist Party. They should pay dues and co-operate in every way with their State Secretary. They should also gather subscriptions to the American Appeal and purchase bundles for general distribution in the furtherance of their campaign.

## Illinois

State Secretary William R. Snow is prepared to file the Socialist State ticket. He reports that the meeting for Miss Tony Sender, member of the German Reichstag, will be held in the big hall of the Douglas Park Auditorium, 230 p. m. Sunday, Oct. 10. Admission to this meeting will be free and we expect the hall to be packed. Voters must register either on Oct. 2 or 12 in Illinois. Readers, please take notice; otherwise you will not be able to vote.

## Northwest District

Mrs. Doris Morris, National Organizer, is continuing her excellent work in Oregon and Washington. Her efforts seem to be successful everywhere. She is having excellent meetings; taking in new members; good collections; literature sales and getting subscribers for the American Appeal. We hope readers wherever she is dated will assist in every way possible in her work.

## Connecticut

## State Executive Committee Meeting

The regular monthly meeting of the state executive committee was held at machinists' headquarters, New Haven, Sunday, Sept. 26.

Local Hartford reported that a hall meeting had been arranged for the Socialist candidate for governor, Karl Jursek, on Oct. 7.

The state committee voted to tour Jim Murphy, of New York. It is expected that he will hold meetings in Bridgeport, New Haven, New Britain and Hartford.

At a congressional convention held at Bridgeport on Sept. 20 George Moffat, of the Painters' Union of Stamford, was nominated to run on the Socialist ticket in the fourth district.

The Socialists of the twelfth State Senatorial district held a meeting in Hamden, Friday, Sept. 24, and nominated Cornelius Mahoney of Hamden to run for the State Senate in that district. The Socialists of Bridgeport held a city convention Sept. 20 and nominated a full city ticket and also nominated candidates for the State Senate and House of Representatives, Jasper McLevy and William S. Hoffman were nominated as Senators, and Fred Cederholm, one-time Socialist alderman of Bridgeport, and Peter Brewster were nominated for Representatives.

Local Hamden held a caucus Sept. 24 and nominated Walter E. Davis and John Lindquist for Representatives. The state committee voted to send copies of the state platform to the former members of the LaFollette-Wheeler Progressive Party of the state.

## New York State

The official State convention held at People's House, New York City, Sept. 25, occurred in the action of the unofficial convention of July 3 and 4 and officially nominated the candidates recommended by the unofficial convention, with one exception. Owing to the decline of Harriet Stanton Blatch it became necessary to select a candidate for United States Senator, and Miss Jessie Wallace Hughan of New York was the choice of the convention for this most important office. The convention concurred in the twelve legislative proposals of the New York State Federation of Labor, instructing the State Executive Committee to act for the convention in transmitting the position of the Socialist Party to the Federation.

The Sixth Judicial District is to have a Socialist candidate for Supreme Court Justice for the first time in recent years. The Judicial Convention, which met at Albany last week Friday,

unanimously nominated Joseph Koopman of Woodridge, Sullivan County, for Supreme Court Justice.

Organizer Emil Herman is now in Elmira, where he will do a little work before starting westward along southern tier towns. Herman is expected to go into such places as Olean, Hornell, Corning and Salamanca, where no organizations of the party have existed since the war.

State Secretary Merrill has communicated with the director of broadcasting of station WGY of the Radio Corporation of America in regard to putting Judge Fanken on the air when he speaks in the Capitol district. Station WGY is one of the most powerful in the world and is situated at the General Electric plant, Schenectady.

The meeting of the State Executive Committee in New York last Sunday, while not largely attended, transacted much business connected with the political campaign. The State platform and pamphlets entitled "Wet, Dry or What?" and "Let the People Own the Water Power" were ordered printed. The committee recommended that a splendid pamphlet prepared on the subject of "Housing" be printed and circulated by the New York City Committee. The State Office and City Committee will accept advance orders for pamphlets for distribution.

## Yipseldom

## Circle Two Juniors

Circle Two has elected the following officers: Organizer, Israel Rotkin; Educational Director, Harry Lopatin; Financial Secretary, Florence Rosen; Recording Secretary, Henry Boyarsky; Athletic and Social Director, Gusie Norman; Delegates to Central Committee, Harry Lopatin, Israel Rotkin, Ruth Mandell.

The director is S. Benj. Daublin, a very pleasant and interesting person.

After the business part of the meeting the educational program was begun. Comrade Rotkin gave a very interesting talk on wanderings of the human race, from the third glacial period up to the Romans. Comrade Ostrowsky recited two very interesting poems, and Elizabeth Goldstein read another very good poem. Comrade Lopatin analyzed some current events, which led to an interesting discussion. The circle resumed its study of the Communist manifesto under the able guidance of Comrade Daublin, the Director.

After the meeting members were urged to join the Socialist Sunday School, and Comrade Shulman registered practically the whole circle.

## Junior Yipsels

Circle 4, Juniors, meeting at 1377 42d street, Brooklyn, now holds its meetings on Sunday at 3 p. m. All visitors are welcome.

Circle 6, Juniors, meeting at 62 East 106th street, is holding a debate this Friday evening. The topic is: "Resolved, That the United States is justified in entering the World Court." Irving Adler, affirmative; Louis Relin, negative.

At its last meeting Circle 9, Juniors, held elections. The new officers are: Organizer, "Fanny" Whitehorn; Educational Director, William Gomberg; Recording and Financial Secretary, Ida Randall; Athletic and Social Director, Irving Cohen.

Circle 9 meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock at 1336 Lincoln place, Brooklyn.

## Central Committee

The Central Committee will meet Saturday, October 9, at 8 p. m. Copies of the Constitution will be ready for distribution at that meeting. Also, very important business is to be taken up. Circles are urged to see that they are fully represented at all Central Committee meetings.

The Educational Committee will meet Saturday, October 9, at 6:15 p. m., at the Rand School. Definite plans for the coming season will be made. Educational Directors who are not present will be requested to resign. Send a substitute if you cannot attend.

All circles are requested to be sure that the secretary sends a complete list of the names and addresses of the members of the circle, indicating the officers and Central Committee delegates, to Lillian Kaplan, 355 West 37th street, New York, N. Y., at once.

Financial secretaries are reminded that taxes were due Sept. 21. All who have not as yet paid their taxes are requested to do so at once. Payments are to be made to Dora Wolinsky, 67 East 100th street, New York, N. Y.

Circles are requested to see that officers do what is requested of them, and do it at once. Lack of co-operation and response on their part means retarding of activities.

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## Workmen's Circle Branch To Hold Dance Saturday

The Meyer London Branch, 401, Workmen's Circle, will celebrate with a dance Saturday evening, October 2, at Clinton Hall, 151 Clinton street, New York City. The branch is one of the recently organized English-speaking branches, and hopes at this affair to increase its membership. All those wishing to join should come to the dance this Saturday and they will be accepted on presentation of their first dues payment.

## TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

of hope for the future. One may at times be discouraged by the slow progress of labor's cause and the failure of its professed champions to see the vision of the world they might build. But one can only reflect for a moment on how much more terrible would be the lot of the workers, materially and spiritually, if it were not for the labor union movement, to take fresh courage and to give oneself with new hope to the strengthening of that movement. Our best wishes go to the Detroit convention of the A. F. of L., and our hearty congratulations for what it has accomplished.

T. E. Mitten, author of the famous Mitten Plan in Philadelphia, has come forward with a widely quoted scheme of salvation by which capitalism is to be saved from radicalism, and all of us are to be saved from strikes. It is this: Let the workers be given increased wages for increased efficiency. Let them invest this increase in wages on stock in the corporations for which they work. Soon they will become the controlling owners of the industry and they will never strike against their own control and their own dividends. Thus, in ten years the railroads could be controlled by the employees, and so could anthracite mines. Lovely, isn't it? But it's just about as practicable as a pipe dream. Most of the stock offered to workers carries with it no voting rights. The minute organized workers went after the controlling stock of the railroads or the anthracite mines, that stock would jump out of sight. Its present owners would not let it go in great quantity. But, suppose by some miracle the workers did generally acquire control. Under the capitalist system, with the profit motive still dominant, how much would life be bettered? Hardly at all. There would still be the same lack of planned co-ordination, the same wild scramble for profit, and all the wastes which Stuart Chase has pointed out. The workers as consumers outside of a given industry would be about as badly off as they are now.

Of course, the workers ought to have a voice in running coal mines, but they ought to have a voice as workers, not as stockholders. And the ownership of the mines should rest with the people in general. This plan has the evils of syndicalism without its virtues. Besides all this, imagine the practical difficulties of Mitten's sort of worker-ownership. Think of the temptation to the trustees, who, according to Mr. Mitten, would invest the stock to exalt themselves at the cost of the investing rank and file. We Socialists are used to being called Utopians, but beside most of these capitalist saviors of society we look like plodding realists.

Let me come back to politics for a minute. One of the delightful theoreticians of the Workers' Party has discovered a great plot in the Socialist Party, of which I, all unknown to myself, am the victim. It appears that for my sins I have not been allowed this year any place of leadership on the Socialist ticket, but have been plunged into the obscurity of nomination for the State Senate. Imagine how badly I feel. It's a pity to destroy the plot of this scenario on the Decline and Fall of the Old S. P. But the plain facts are these: For private reasons I could not possibly for the third consecutive year spend the time and energy rightly required of a State candidate. This I said earnestly and often. Moreover, it is, in my judgment, bad business for one man always to appear at or near the head of a Socialist ticket. I should have liked to run for nothing this year, but consented to run for the State Senate (with the understanding that the time I could give would be limited) in order to do what I could in the tremendous educational task before us. If anybody but myself plotted this, I don't know it. Anyway, if they exist, the plotters are hereby offered my thanks for what they have done for me and the party in this campaign.

I am beginning to feel a little better about judicial procedure. That Bergen County grand jury showed some regard for justice and common sense in refusing to indict me and others arrested under the so-called Riot Law. And now comes a Federal Circuit Court to declare Sinclair's Teapot Dome lease fraudulent. But there are plenty more cases which keep me from singing many hymns of gladness in praise of "law, mother of peace and love."

I wrote that last paragraph before I knew that Justice Ingraham had continued the injunction against the cloak makers. According to press accounts, Judge Ingraham condemned the union for rejecting the recommendations of Governor Smith's Commission. Since when is a union obliged to accept the report of an Advisory Commission at peril of being enjoined from peaceful picketing if it strikes? What has Al Smith to say about this?

## A.F.L. LOSES MORE MEMBERS

(Continued from page 1)

"undesirable and harmful to the general community, as well as industry." The trade unions of America are declared a helpful and constructive force in maintaining and perpetuating Americanism and its free and democratic institutions.

At the same time a plea for removal of the legislative hindrances to combinations between employer associations and the unions in what is now judicially construed as restraint of trade is demanded. What is intended seems to be legal permission to enter on price-fixing and output-regulating agreements to safeguard jointly the profit of the employer and the wage of the employee.

Under legislative suggestions comes a significant proposal to withhold corporate powers and privileges from aggregations of capital that do not permit voluntary union organization among their employees.

Company unions are criticized both because they are boss-controlled and because they obliterate all craft distinctions, the workers being "organized regardless of trade or occupational consideration and skilled and unskilled workers are massed into one general group."

Employee-stock ownership schemes are revealed as attempts to tie the worker to his job and persuade him that he is a capitalist. In most of them "the voting power of the workers is so small as to be practically nil," the executive council declares.

Workers are warned that while some so-called labor banks are good enough, others are quite bad, and that in general they should be on their guard "against the increasing tendency to divert the attention of the trade union from the more primary need of trade union organization and trade union functioning." Labor insurance is, however, a normal labor activity, it is added.

There is practically nothing to report on the 40-week organization campaign, because, it is claimed, "both organizing activities and the solidarity of the trade union movement have been handicapped by groups which advocate Communist principles and theories."

Plans for a Gompers memorial in Washington are proposed, the radio problem is touched on, education and legislation are discussed and a plea for greater political co-operation between labor and the farmer is made.

The report, signed by President Wm. Green and the executive council, calls for greater effort during the coming year.

## MOVIE MUSICIANS WIN CHICAGO STRIKE

CHICAGO.—Winning one of their two principal demands and sending the other to arbitration, the 2,700 members of the Chicago Federation of Musicians playing in motion picture houses went back to their orchestra pits Sept. 10 with smiles of victory.

The union, which is Local 10, American Federation of Musicians, had said that it would not sign a contract for more than one year unless wage increases were included in addition to those agreed upon before the strike began in 400 movie houses Sept. 6. The union won its point. While the contract is for three years, there will be \$3 a week added to the present \$2.50 raise when two of the three years are over. The new scale is complicated but it brings minimum wages well into the class of \$30 or more a week. The second point, the question of retaining minimum four-piece orchestras in some of the smaller houses, goes to arbitration.

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A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement  
Published Every Saturday by the New Leader Association  
PEOPLE'S HOUSE, 7 EAST 15TH STREET  
New York City  
Telephone Stuyvesant 6885

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SATURDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1926

## WHAT'S THE DIFFERENCE?

HERE they are, candidates, keynote speeches, platforms and all the accessories that go with a gathering of the party brokers preparing to gather in the gulible. We shall not attempt to analyze the platforms. If you are familiar with those adopted last year or any year before that you know what they are. The same wording adapted to the year 1926, and there you are.

Nearly twenty years ago Ostrogorski, the recognized authority on the American party system, described the party conventions. "A considerable proportion of each convention," he wrote, "consists of office seekers or office holders, and, in general, of mercenary politicians. The convention is for them a sort of stock exchange, where they sell and buy political influence, payable in places or money, or, at all events, get to know each other, and form connections which they will turn to account later on. In the same category of delegates are often found persons who are simply agents for big private concerns, for railroad companies, and other corporations which want to introduce their garrisons into the political fortresses."

This is all that happened in Syracuse and New York City. Super-power and public utilities were represented at both conventions. Banks had their proxies. Real estate had its representation. No property interest was denied its share in the deliberations and now what? If Smith goes out and Mills goes in what difference will it make? Has it ever made any difference? Not the slightest in the world. Two political corporations whose majority stock is owned by our ruling classes have met in convention. They have met before and will meet again. Each has been in and each has been out. What difference does it make whether Albany hangs out the Tammany flag or the Republican flag next year? Like Hashimura Togo, we like to know.

## REGISTER

ONCE each year we have the opportunity to vote. Not so many years ago there was a "radical" argument made against voting. We were told that it is utter folly to think of accomplishing anything by "dropping pieces of paper in a box." With some people this appeared to be profound.

But the argument ignored other "little pieces of paper" on which is written the injunction intended to serve the employing class in a strike. It is a "piece of paper" that sets in motion the machinery that evicts the worker from a tenement. It is a "piece of paper" that consigns prominent men in the labor movement to prison as the result of a frameup.

We might multiply the illustrations, but no more is necessary. That piece of paper we place in the ballot box determines the kind of other pieces of paper that will be issued till the next election. But before we can vote it is also necessary to register, which is also another case of dropping a piece of paper in a box. Unless you register you cannot vote in November. Registration begins on Monday, October 4, and continues the rest of the week. Hours of registration are from 5 p. m. to 10:30 p. m. On Saturday, Oct. 9, the last day, the hours are from 7 a. m. to 10:30 p. m.

Keep these days in mind. Register as a voter or you will be disfranchised next November. Having qualified to vote, go to the polls on Election Day and "drop a piece of paper in the box." But in doing so be sure that your ballot is intended to obtain power for you, your fellows, and your class, rather than for those who live upon workless incomes which represent your unpaid labor.

## TO OUR "LEFTS"

OUR unfettered "lefts" have recently devoted much space in their Chicago organ to that section of New York voters in many of the needle trade unions that have in past elections voted for Socialist candidates, but "scratched" in favor of Smith for Governor. We have also paid some attention to this and last week we pointed out that these mistaken voters are being repaid by the raids on and arrests of strike pickets by Tammany officials.

As our "left" wisecracks think it of considerable importance and ascribe it to Socialist voters alone, it is just as well to give the complete record verified by figures of the Communist vote in this city. These figures and reports of Socialist watchers in elections in recent years show Communist voters also voting for Smith. Not only this, but there have been voters who have supported the few Com-

munists nominated for office and then voted for Tammany candidates for the Assembly and other offices. We may be sure that this will be repeated next November.

While we are at it we may observe in passing that a number of those who constitute the "left" squad in the ladies' garment unions are those who set up in business, who failed, and then returned to the union. Baffled in their hunt for profits, sometimes because of union conditions and sometimes because of inability to compete with more experienced exploiters, they returned to the unions to war on the union itself in the name of "militancy."

We pass these items on for the information of our "lefts," although we do not expect them to pass them on to the faithful.

## THE USE OF POWER

IN A recent address before the American Chemical Society Dr. James F. Norris predicted "an unparalleled utilization of chemical knowledge for the physical, esthetic and economic welfare of man." He went on to say that when, "through the efforts of the chemists, the world has more of good health, and everyone more leisure to enjoy the best in life, the day will come when the world will be a better place in which to live and international good feeling will prevail."

It is a pleasing prospect and we can imagine a new type of energy evolving out of chemical experiments sufficient to supply the motive power for all industries. But this will not necessarily be a general good for all. If we permit the new power to be the property of a possessing class as we now do coal and power sites all that we can see is that chemists are working to further enrich our corporate kings. Dr. Norris should remember that something more than the discovery of a new power is essential to make mankind happy. It is necessary to control and manage it for the welfare of all or a few will hog it for themselves.

Shortly after this address by Dr. Norris came a cable from Berlin announcing the invention of a new silent rifle which carries 25 shots without reloading and by compressed air sends a bullet 2,000 meters through steel. Add this death weapon to the poison gases and other means of mass murder now being prepared for the "next war" and it is just possible that we will succeed in committing suicide before we can take advantage of the blessings Dr. Norris visions.

## "JERSEY JUSTICE"

WE HOPE that the announcement by Norman Thomas of intention to bring suit of false arrest against certain official popinjays in New Jersey will culminate in the assessment of heavy damages against the guilty persons. The public officials within the areas of New Jersey mill towns have for generations acted like servile squire did before British nobles a hundred years ago. Strike after strike in that state have shown these petty officials making law the private property of the owners of these mills. They have acted on the assumption that striking men and women have no civil rights and that a strike itself is beyond the pale of law.

Time after time the most elementary rights of public assemblage have been stricken down, men and women have been dispersed by the use of clubs, and even private premises have been raided to prevent the strikers from discussing problems affecting their welfare. These official Babbitts by their actions have declared that to oppose the will of textile owners is illegal and have thus carried us back to the days when to oppose the personal will of the lord of the manor was a serious offense.

Much is said of "Jersey justice," the implication being that laws are executed swiftly and impartially. As a matter of fact, in many sections of New Jersey the laws are not executed. They are suspended while those who are sworn to observe them run amuck and smash the best traditions in our history. If these little Babbitts are made to pay for their brutal sport perhaps they will be a little cautious in the future.

## REED IS WRONG

SENATOR REED of Pennsylvania, spokesman of Secretary Mellon in the Senate, has also been legal advisor of the United States Steel Corporation and the Pennsylvania Railroad. These services entitled him to promotion to the Senate, where he is able to continue his work.

Senator Reed also contributes to "Nation's Business," an influential organ of the class vested with the economic power to rule the republic. He is much concerned with the tendency of modern legislation and considers what he would do if he were dictator. He would wipe out all regulatory commissions, investigations, red tape and other governmental routine surrounding our great empires of capital. He strongly subscribes to the slogan of the party in power: "More business in government and less government in business."

This program is easily understood. It means business in government but no interference by government in business unless the police are needed. His ideal is a free hand for the great oligarchies of capital and finance and when the masses get a little restless and object to the skinning business the government should order the police out to "maintain order."

It is a poor policy even for the ruling classes. Professor Loria pointed out many years ago that one of the functions of the intellectual retainers of a class system is to restrain the ruling classes from going too far. Loria contended that no ruling class could hope to maintain its supremacy unless its greed was restrained by its intellectual police and that the politician in office who did not recognize this served his employers to no good purpose.

Senator Reed should learn from Loria. A few government commissions will not hurt because they can be controlled by the ruling classes. Somebody should take Reed in charge and instruct him in the fine art of how to rule without the ruled knowing what is going on.

# The News of the Week

## Miners' Strike In Parliament

With the opening of Parliament on Monday the British coal strike stalks into that body. Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, president of the Board of Trade, estimates the cost of the coal strike at one billion dollars. Frank Hodges, secretary of the Miners' International, has attacked A. J. Cook, secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, on the score of the latter's leadership, but the criticism does not appear to us to be justified by anything done by Cook. Parliament is called in special session to extend the emergency regulations due to the strike and Premier Baldwin presented a defense of his policy in relation to the strike. He declared that the Government's proposal to create a national arbitration tribunal remains open, while Lloyd George urged forcible opening of the mines and compelling the mine owners to accept compulsory arbitration. Former Labor Premier Ramsay MacDonald vigorously criticized Baldwin's policy, declaring that the Government "had lined up on the side of the mine owners against the strikers." Meantime, if reports are reliable, the miners are being starved into submission and quite a large number are returning to the mines. If this is true no sadder men live in England than these miners. They have made one of the most gallant fights in the long story of the class struggle and it is a bitter thing for them to be compelled by adverse circumstances to return to work under the old conditions. Coal has also been imported into England from countries whose workers have contributed to the strike fund, which simply emphasizes the need of better international solidarity if the workers of each country are not to unwittingly serve as strike-breakers.

## Teapot Dome Is Hit by Court

Another round has been fought between the Government and Harry F. Sinclair, the purse being Teapot Dome. Sinclair won one round and the Government has won the other. A third round may be fought before the Supreme Court. The Federal Circuit Court of Appeals has reversed the decision of a lower court, which had upheld the Teapot Dome oil lease obtained by Sinclair from former Secretary of the Interior Albert B. Fall. The lower court is also instructed to demand of the Mammoth Company an accounting of the oil taken from the Teapot Naval reserve and to oust the

## Inge Fears for British Future

Dean Inge of St. Paul's, London, gets on the first page this week with a gloomy forecast of the future of England, said forecast being an excerpt from a forthcoming book. He sees in France a menace, while the United States is represented as a Shylock who may reach for world power and invite a world coalition against us. He fears that the British flag may be hauled down in this part of the world, hinting at the possible absorption of Canada by the United States. The following day William Phillips, manager of the Industrial Department of the Canadian National Railways, reported large American investments in Canadian enterprises as though to confirm the gloomy Dean's fears. In short, Inge is apprehensive that England will cease to be a world power and that the United States will likely take her place. That this is possible is of course true, but international relations are so complex that one cannot make any predictions with assurance. American finance and capital came out of the war stronger than they went in, while the other

nations came out of it prostrated. This gave our imperial masters the advantage in the race for world dominion. England may take a back seat while our masters rule the world, but they in turn will have to take the count. Meantime, let us hope that the issues raised by Inge will be settled by the rise of Republics of Labor and thus avoid the drift to another world war. Modern wars grow out of the struggle for mastery of trade, markets, investments and general economic exploitation. The social order that gives rise to this struggle must be abolished if we are not again sacrificed to the greed of our imperial Caesars.

## Mexican Issue Is Subsiding

The struggle for separation of Church and State in Mexico continues, but without the dramatic interest it had a few weeks ago. The Government has not budged and the Church officials reassert their position. The boycott no longer appears in the news, and it has apparently ceased to be a factor in the controversy. The Church has succeeded in getting many thousands of signatures to petitions to Congress for a modification of the laws affecting the Church, but that body refuses to consider them. The petitions are to be supplemented by parades and demonstrations, and prominent Catholics are reported as saying that they may resort to other measures. In New York City Judge Talley has been muzzled for the past week. Our guess is that prominent politicians have assured him that every time he has called for a march into Mexico Governor Smith has lost votes. The loss of votes and offices by our clerical-capitalist politicians is a serious matter for them. The press has given liberal space to an article written by President Calles for the current number of "Foreign Affairs," in which he points out that less than one-third of the total wealth of Mexico is owned by Mexicans and that 60 per cent. of this third is in the hands of Church officials or religious organizations. Meantime, three leading representatives of the Mexican Labor movement are on their way to attend the Detroit convention of the American Federation of Labor. The Federation bars religious questions, and yet the Mexican question may come up at Detroit in one form or another, and it is important that Mexican labor men should be present to represent the organized workers of Mexico. However, it is not likely that the Pan-American Federation of Labor will be disrupted by an issue that is foreign to the working class of this country.

# THE CHATTER BOX

BE GRATEFUL, fellow Americans, for having lived to see a world war, a series of great national revolutions, in other countries, and the Dempsey-Tunney fight. Next to the Russian revolution, we know of nothing so soul-stirring and stupendous in its inspirational import as the scrap that brought in two million dollars from 130,000 100 per cent. Americans and almost saved the Sesqui-Centennial Celebration of American Freedom from utter neglect and oblivion. As a simple patriotic move on the part of Tex Rickard, Estelle Taylor's husband and "Gene," the ex-Marine, we challenge any Rotary Klux, or Chamber of Commerce between here and Hawaii to equal. As captains of commerce, this illustrious trio makes Judge Gary and Charlie Schwab look like the stub of a \$5.50 seat three days after the fight. Even the busted bond in Florida of yesterday had not succeeded in killing out all the simon-pure suckers in the States. There must have been at least 130,000 more of them left—and they all went, and saw, and got soaked. Tex Rickard had apparently kept strict count on how many were left, for he built just that number of extra seats to total with his statistics. Among his other genuine talents, we may count on him as an expert mathematician.

And, ladies and gentlemen, inside is the greatest show of the century; come in and see the Terrible Manassa Mauler, Champion Rib Crusher and Teeth Smasher knock the living lights out of the Man-Eating Marine who dares to dispute the title. Judges and Governors are coming from the length and breadth, billionaires and petty millionaires, the Fancy Four Hundred, the blue-blooded nobility, yea, all the Who's Who and How's Hows and the Watch-ye-May-Call-'em, are all coming. Over there you'll find Square-Jaw Moriarty and Vermicelli Bacigalupo, the head boozie peddlars of the U. S. A. On your right is Judge Gary and his fifteen vice-presidents of the Steel Trust, flanked by every railroad president of note between here and the Rio Grande,—America's finest, I'll say, ladies and gentlemen,—while to your left is Squeaky McGuinness, who sold more dope than any man of his weight the world over, and Goopier Gadsink, who runs more fences for bandit loot than Philadelphia has excuses for her exposition. Scattered through on every side you'll find every race track tout, every speakeasy owner, every madame and mister of sporting houses worthy the note, every light-fingered gent, every safe-cracker, every cork-screwed lawyer and ward healer, and pug, and bouncer, every sealer and strike-breaking detective. In fact, every one and every person whose name or occupation is part and parcel of the fabric that has woven this nation in its present grand and glorious position throughout the civilized world. Besides these, in the lower-priced and far removed stanchions, you will have the opportunity of viewing some six score thousand of the world's rarest, the plain sucker Americans, who are paying from \$25 to \$50, plus war tax, for the opportunity of squinting at a squared circle somewhere on the horizon. —Line forms on this side, ladies and gentlemen, and don't crush—call out your price, from five to fifty—this way for the big show . . .

Well, we are weeping no tears and spitting no venom. It has taken all our Sunday School manners from even using one red-blooded cane word over the whole affair. A nation that can smile with Cal for its President should certainly feel highly honored at being gumfuzzled by so wise a showman as Rickard. America's new and proud motto is now "Millions for a prizefight, but not a cent for decency . . ."

What a cheap bunch our millionaires are after all! Some one, we think our good friend Bill Durant, is saying somewhere in some paper that wealth develops art and love for beauty, and our equally as good friend Bud Shipley takes the Doctor to task in last week's issue of The New Leader. Well, Judge Gary, tell yourself and your fine gang that all money has ever done for you is just to take the props from under your last frayed canopy of civilized pretense. We can forgive bootleggers, panders, prostitutes, gunmen and the shady ilk of the lower strata for hustling in on this show, since most of them gambled on it as they gamble on doped horses, fixed dice and tapped wires. That's their game. We can almost pity the dumbbells who spent a good part of their weekly income on a silly bubble of excitement. We can heartily con-

gratulate the showmen and the actors on their consummate success in legally filching such a stupendous sum from such a stupendous mob. But we have nothing higher than healthy contempt for the blue-bloods and the famed industrial generalissimos who lent their prestige of presence to a scene of cheap decadence. Not that our contempt will in any way affect in the least the even tenor of their ways. But at least we have the eased sense of having spat at them, heartily, and without the least mannerly reserve.

## The Wind

I never shall be lonely since the wind  
Still comes to play for me a lilting tune.

The deathly silences that fill the brain  
With dark, alert old themes, are blown away  
By the melody of flute-notes in my hair,  
And velvet drum-beats that thrum on my ears.

With its soft hands the wind caresses me  
And glides its chamois fingers over my eyes  
Like a loving woman whose least touch thrills.

The wind has the passion of a lover,  
And I have felt its fury on my lips  
As its excited kisses, swift and cold,  
Flew at me, pelting my burning face.

—Joseph Resnick.

## Dormitory Regret

The mood is of the hour. Yesterday  
When Helen's lips touched mine I said:  
"These lips begin to sate; I've read  
Too easily their secret, I would play  
Some other game that does not quickly cloy,  
I long again for my study's quiet joy."

That heresy is past. And now I sit  
Listless at my books; my eyes  
Rove to the walls or seek the skies  
Outside the window. Shaw's or Moliere's wit  
Falls flat and dull—I long for Helen's lips,  
The memory of their sweetness stings like whips.

—E. P. V.

Last Monday night we attended the first meeting of the Grub Street Club season, right after we had finished the first part of our weekly stint. With visions of Tex Rickard's perpetration still disturbing our usual balance, we chanced into the middle of Clem Wood's lecture on Amy Lowell via the Freudian Route. Clem, it appears, is having a book published on the lady and why she was, and what she did, with all her wish unfulfillments, and repressions, and inhibitions thrown in; and, strange as the subject matter may appear, if his book is anything like the lecture then Dr. Durant's Story of Philosophy will surely not be the best non-fiction seller this winter and next spring. Of course, we got our usual mad up in order to start a discussion, in which we took what Gloria Goddard called the "spongy romantic viewpoint." We objected to any poet's life being dissected like a cadaver, especially at a meeting of poets who are supposed to be above scientific gossip and court-yard scandal. Well, whatever may be the pro and con of such an argument, we can visualize all Boston sneaking behind drawn blinds of brownstone houses to peek through the accusing chapters of Wood's analysis, smirking to themselves, and whispering to each other at intimate gatherings, and incidentally stirring up tiny tornadoes of delicious secrecies. If you can make a world whisper, you're on your way to affluence, at least, say we to Clem Wood.

Which also reminds us that next Monday night we have been collar-yanked by the thousand-sided Chairman of the Grub Street Club, Henry Harrison, to speak on "Francis Villon as a Poet Among Village Poets." Regret, however, that we cannot find time to write a book on the subject between now and 8:30 P. M. Monday night, at Chez Lucien, East 10th Street, New York City. No seat higher than 75 cents, including much needed refreshments.

S. A. de Witt.

# Critical Cruisings

By V. F. Calverton  
Social Revolution

OUR age is rife with revolutionary doctrine and proclamation. The chaos of central Europe, the rise of Mussolini, the advance of the British labor movement and the social revolution in Russia, have prepared us for sudden and catastrophic changes in the complex geometry of our economic world. Beneath all of these phenomena run certain definite social laws.

"The Law of Social Revolution," a Co-operative Study by the Labor Research Group, of which Scott Nearing was the leader (N. Y. Social Science Publishers, 50c.), comes as a singularly arresting and valuable contribution in that it endeavors to discover and disentangle these social laws. In brief, it aims to reduce "revolutionary phenomena to a body of social law," to reduce social revolution to its lowest denominator. In these perilous days of economic change and political upheaval, no study could be more exciting or signal.

Beginning with the slave and peasant revolts of early ages, analyzing the revolutionary movements of the bourgeoisie, the study includes treatment of the revolutionary developments in Mexico, China and India, the course of the English Revolution of 1642, the American Revolution of 1776, the French Revolutions of 1789 and 1848, the Japanese Revolution of 1867, and is carried through the Russian revolution of 1917, which inaugurated the establishment of the first proletarian government in the world.

A special section of the book is devoted to exposition and analysis of revolutionary theory—the Marxist theory of Social Revolution, the Social Democratic Theory and the Communist Theory. There is about these dissections of theory, as there is about the earlier chapters, a cleanliness and clearness of approach which are at once critical and cogent. In comparison with the compromised fastidiousness and evasive hesitancy of a Sorokin, this volume stands out in strong and sturdy contrast. We have had enough of the mathematical mysticism of the Korzybskis, enough of the parlor-piracies of knowledge that satisfy the muttonous professor, enough of the cries of the Lebons and McDougalls, and need definite, constructive analysis that is spirited with social meaning as well as pregnant with scientific substance.

After examination of the social revolutions that have overtaken the world, the conclusions of the authors are significant:

Fundamental to all successful social revolution is a basic change in the economic structure of society. The productive forces of every economic system have contained within themselves elements making for development, for expansion and for change. This economic change cannot be prevented by the volition of ruling classes.

Privileged classes never relinquish their prerogatives voluntarily. There has been no social revolution in which the exploited classes have not forcibly expropriated the ruling class. Social revolutions are neither made nor prevented by individuals or by groups. They recur whenever and wherever the proper objective conditions exist.

Successful social revolutions usher in power a new social class, hitherto exploited. The new class was the bourgeoisie in the French Revolution of 1789; the proletariat in the Russian Revolution of 1917. This new class gains control of the machinery of the state which it sets to work in its own interests. Its own productive system is legalized, favored by legislation and protected. Its enemies are silenced or punished. Counter-revolutionary tendencies are ruthlessly crushed out by the force of the law. All of the prerogatives formerly used against it are now utilized in its own interests.

This power is used and directed toward fostering the new economy which made the revolution necessary and possible. Capitalist development and exploitation become the order of the day, succeeding a bourgeois revolution. The abolition of exploitation is the revolutionary objective of the proletariat.

As a result of the changed mode of economic production, there springs up inevitably a new culture and a new psychology.

New social standards are set up and new forms of conduct are developed and almost unconsciously accepted. Traditional outlooks are in large part scrapped. An entirely new culture eventually results.

It is not that these conclusions are new or startling to those who have thought in radical channels; their significance lies in their having been drawn not from speculative theories, but from social circumstances. Their background is derived from an examination of realities and not myths. It is this fact which makes "The Law of Social Revolution" a striking contribution to the topic that is of such profound importance to the radical movements of the world.

## LABOR SPORTS

### Progressives to Give Dance

The Progressive Sport Club will celebrate its existence with an all-star entertainment and dance on Oct. 2, 1926, at Clinton Hall, 151 Clinton street, New York City. The famous Colony Club Orchestra will furnish the music.

At this dance the club will start its drive for 1,000 members, and also for its own home. A ladies' auxiliary will be organized within a short time.

The soccer division is open for games. All those interested should communicate with Manager Harry Grossman, 189 East Third street, New York City.

At the last meeting Meyer Jackson, the East Side basketball champion, was elected captain of the basketball team. With his election the club is assured of a strong basketball team.