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of the Socialist and
Labor Movement

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By N. Y. S.

I N refusing to endorse Al Smith's campaign in 1928, Matthew W. ... committee at the A. F. of L. Convention nevertheless gave him a great boost in the state campaign. I want to discuss this labor enthusiasm for Smith quite soberly, without calling names, on the basis not of my own Socialist conviction, but of the actual record which is before the workers. Does Governor Alfred E. Smith deserve labor's endorsement on the basis of the tests which labor itself professes to apply?

We shall all agree that labor officially cannot give a man endorsement on the basis of his personal popularity, his race or religion, or even his administrative achievements. These considerations have their place in the judgment of voters. But labor must seek farther.

Neither can labor endorse a man simply because he is a wet. Undoubtedly Al Smith's enthusiastic witness wins him friends in labor circles. But Al Smith has not yet come forward with a demand for the modification of the Eighteenth Amendment itself. However difficult this may be to obtain, it is the only honest way to be convinced wet to tackle the problem. No mere modification of the Volstead Act will satisfy Smith or any other genuine wet. Talk to the contrary is so much political hokum. Unless Smith wants deliberately to advocate nullification of the Eighteenth Amendment by wholesale disobedience to it, he must advocate the modification of the amendment. His failure to do so is a reproach to his political sincerity.

Now let's get down to real labor issues.

1. Injunctions and the use of police in strikes. Organized labor of every shade of opinion is opposed to the right of a judge by an injunction to make illegal such acts as peaceful picketing against which there is no law. Governor Smith has never even advocated more than a very partial cure for the injunction evil and he has never put his great political strength behind the moderate measure to which he is nominally committed. Worse than that, Governor Smith by his silence has given consent to the Guy injunction against the cloakmakers which is one of the most sweeping on record. If it stands it will be a precedent which will hurt all workers. No one who has quit believing in Santa Claus can doubt that Tammany judges would never have issued this injunction or continued it just before an election except with Smith's tacit approval and on the understanding that the union must be punished for rejecting the report of the Governor's commission which it had never promised to accept. What has Matthew Wolf's committee to say about this?

The police have taken it upon themselves to enforce the Guy injunction ruthlessly. Nor is this all. Within recent months in every important strike the police have interfered on the side of the employers more brutally than in any recent year. It will not soon be forgotten by some workers that detectives entered a meeting of the subway strikers and without any provocation or excuse whatsoever began brutally to beat up the unoffending strikers. This was done in the administration of Jimmy Walker, Smith's hand-picked Mayor, who as Mayor has "the best waistline in America." It was done, more directly, under the administration of Police Commissioner McLaughlin, whom Smith made Walker appoint. Is that a reason for endorsing Smith? Let Matthew Wolf's committee answer.

2. The A. F. of L. is still officially committed to the National Child Labor Amendment. So was Al Smith. But when certain Catholic dignitaries denounced the amendment, when it was rejected in the Massachusetts referendum, and proved unpopular in the solid Democratic South, Smith switched. He called for a popular referendum in New York City as a way to save his face. In principle a popular referendum on a Constitutional amendment is a good thing. But if the Republican and Democratic platforms in New York meant anything, the election itself was a referendum in favor of the amendment. After the election was no time to advocate a referendum. What has Matthew Wolf's committee to say about this?

3. Labor in New York is committed officially to taking the enormous profits of workmen's compensation insurance out of the hands of private companies. A long time ago Smith said some good words on this theme. But not lately. He needs campaign contributions and the insurance companies could stir up an awful row. What has Matthew Wolf's committee to say about this?

4. The workers of New York desperately demand a solution of the housing problem. Smith gave them an investigation by a commission which uncovered tragic facts. Then the Governor and the Republicans agreed on a law totally inadequate to meet the

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'Shun Tammany Hall,' Subway Union Heads Urge N. Y. Workers

By Laborite

"LONG live the subway strike! It is not dead!" is ringing in the ears of President Hedley and Lawyer Quackenbush of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company. They are obtaining a second injunction against the old leaders of the subway strike. The latter have been busily engaged in organizing the men on the "L"s and subways into the new local of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America. For defying the Interborough company has attempted to squish them by obtaining one of the broadest injunctions ever issued in a labor dispute. The printed complaint is twice as long as the one served during the strike. It seeks to restrain the leaders from organizing right now. The first injunction aimed to stop picketing during a strike situation.

The strike leaders, Edward P. Lavin and Harry Bark, in commenting on this latest development, said in an exclusive interview with the New Leader: "This is a lesson for that portion of organized labor which is supporting Tammany Hall. Every worker ought to shun 'Al' Smith, Walker and the rest of these Democrats. They pose as friends of labor. Are they? "During the subway strike Walker received us cordially and then 'kidded' us along. He arranged a meeting we were to have with him and the heads of various departments, at which we were to present evidence to prove that the law was being violated on the subways. Hedley and Quackenbush were to come, if they wished to. Two days later Walker's secretary told us over the 'phone that the conference was all off because Hedley and Quackenbush had refused to come. Who had expected them anyway? That was your friend, Walker."

"Later on a brutal police attack was made upon us. It was like a bolt from a clear sky. It was not the uniformed police. It was a special group of men—the Industrial Squad. They must have received orders from higher up. We feel that it was the Interborough thru Tammany Hall that was responsible."

"Then we sent a letter to 'Al' Smith, that great champion of labor. What did he do? He did not even answer us. "We appeal to every worker in New York, man and woman, who has a vote, to cast his or her ballot in the coming election in such a way that it will prove to Tammany Hall conclusively that it is not safe to play around with labor in between elections."

"We must show up these pretended allies of organized labor. Was Walker interested in the subway strike? Was 'Al' Smith?"

"We have a good proof of how they really act in the present garment strike. As soon as it became clear that the workers would not accept the recommendation of the Governor's Commission, what happened? They were hit with injunctions. The ordinary fine of two dollars for pickets that were arrested was increased to twenty-five. It was a political means of breaking the union financially."

"But 'Al' Smith and Jimmie Walker and all the other politicians in New York will not break the cloakmakers' strike."

"Ask 'Al' Smith who is supplying the Democratic funds. Is it not a fact that large cloak manufacturers are contributing substantially? Is not the favorite return police protection during strikes? We urge all working men and women to shun Tammany Hall that it cannot double-cross them any longer." Edward P. Lavin, by the way, is on the Executive Committee of the local organization of trade unions to fight injunctions.

4,000 CELEBRATE VERBAND Enthusiastic Meeting at Carnegie Hall Hears of Jewish Socialists' Progress

C ARNEGIE HALL was jammed from floor to roof with nearly 4,000 cheering men and women last Sunday, who came to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the Jewish Socialist Verband and of the establishment of the Jewish Socialist weekly, the "Wecker."

In addition to a musical program of the highest order there were speeches by four representative Socialists, who aroused the greatest enthusiasm. The great hall was decorated with the red flags of the Verband and of other Socialist organizations. A feature of the musical program was the chorus of 300 voices of men and women representing the Workmen's Circle Chorus of the vicinity of New York.

Nathan Chassin, secretary of the Verband from its opening, opened the meeting with a brief address of welcome, and outlined the causes that led to the organization of the Verband at the time of the Communist "capture" of the old Jewish Socialist Federation. Joseph Weinberg, chairman of the National Executive of the Verband, delivered a stirring address, giving the basis of the organization's fight against those who are its bitterest enemies. "Before one may call himself a Socialist," he said, "there must burn in his heart a love for freedom. So long as there are Socialists in prison in Russia, so will we refuse to treat those who are fighting us in the name of Socialism as Socialists."

Judge Jacob Panken, candidate for Governor, aroused great enthusiasm with his speech, in which he declared that it was the Jewish labor and Socialist movement that is responsible to a very considerable degree for the relatively good wages and working conditions that certain sections of the American labor movement have won for themselves.

The "Wecker" has achieved a large circulation and a very wide influence, and the influence of the Verband is far greater than its numbers would indicate. It is an integral part of the Socialist Party and of the International Socialist movement. To its influence is attributed the fact that the Jewish labor movement has to a large extent stood firm against Communist disruption and that it is still able to fight for the interests of the workers.

LABOR BACKING PORTERS Randolph Will Present Negro Workers' Case to Convention in De- troit

By a New Leader Correspondent
Detroit.—A Phillip Randolph, organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, is attending the Detroit convention of the American Federation of Labor, where he will present to the delegates of America's greatest labor organization, the struggle for a living wage and improved working conditions.

Overflow meetings in Chicago, Cleveland and Detroit during the past week have attested to the enthusiasm and the "Will to Win" of this group of American workers. Organizer Randolph spoke at each meeting, emphasizing the growing power of the union, and its whole-hearted support by labor groups. He also reported on the referendum by which Pullman porters, both within and outside of the union, are giving the Brotherhood a mandate to represent the whole group before the new Railway Labor Board.

An especially successful meeting was held in Chicago on October 3. Donald R. Richberg, local advisor for twenty railway brotherhoods, who assisted in the drawing of the Watson-Parker bill which created the new board, addressed the meeting, and Mary Macdowell, well known social service expert was also a speaker. Organizer Randolph received a tremendous ovation from the Chicago crowd, where he is known and loved, especially since his sensational debate with Perry Howard, negro G. O. P. leader, who is in the employ of the Department of Justice and the Pullman company. The Chicago crowd will not forget the complete "trimming" that Organizer Randolph gave this labor-betrayer on that occasion.

Later meetings which will be addressed by Organizer Randolph will be held in Kansas City, Mo., on October 17, Kansas City, Kansas, October 18, and Wichita, Kansas, October 19.

Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam; purging and unscaling her long abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance; while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means.—Milton.

JUDGE WAGNER FATHER OF ICE GRAB

Tammany Candidate
for Senate Sponsored
Steal in Legislature of
1918

TRUE to their custom of lining up with Tammany Hall upon and all occasions, certain elements in the Labor movement of New York are again proclaiming that "labor" is back of the Tammany state ticket. Their latest proclamation is a blast in favor of Judge Robert F. Wagner for United States Senator as "a friend of labor."

That proclamation contains at least one—if not more—names of labor officials who never authorized that support, who are opposed to Tammany Hall and all its works, and who are earnestly supporting the candidacy of Jessie Wallace Hughson, the Socialist nominee. The group that issued that proclamation is the same that treacherously threw over Senator La Follette and announced "labor's" support of Davis, the Wall Street attorney, three or four days before election two years ago. That group is a Tammany group, for Tammany first, and, incidentally, for labor, if there is time for labor after they have done their stint for their political masters. That group supports every Tammany candidate for any office regardless of his record—and gets its reward in the shape of an occasional job thrown to a former trade union official.

In supporting Judge Wagner these elements announce the fact that the would-be Senator has supported labor and progressive legislation all his life, especially in the State Senate. It is not telling the truth. It would be truer to say that Robert F. Wagner has supported Tammany Hall in whatever that notorious organization has demanded, no matter how crooked.

"His campaign committee," says the news release, "has prepared a digest of his record on labor legislation at the request of the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor."

It is safe to say that that record will not include two of the most shameful episodes in American political history, in both of which Robert F. Wagner was intimately concerned.

The appeal is made for votes of working people for this would-be Senator on the ground that he was born a poor boy, that he was a newsboy and that he has always favored labor. That is not true. He has always favored as much labor legislation as his Tammany bosses have thought expedient to support. Here is an incident that seems to be forgotten that shows that he is not a laborer's friend.

The winter of 1917-18 was the coldest in a hundred years. The rivers and lakes of the state were frozen solid for many more weeks than usual. The Hudson was frozen over even below Yonkers, and heavy automobiles and trucks crossed the ice only a few miles above New York City.

The poor people suffered acutely for lack of coal. Hundreds of thousands of people lived through that fearful winter without one single day of relief from the iron cold. There was a war going on in Europe in which American boys were engaged and the people were told to suffer as a means of showing their "patriotism."

But winter is usually followed by summer, and a few eccentric people began thinking that the abundance of ice in the winter would keep the price down in the summer. But these Socialists were laughed at by the "wise guys," who thought it was very funny to think about ice in the winter. The ten Socialists in the Assembly and the Board of Aldermen did everything in their power to have cheap ice for the masses in the summer.

The waters in the rivers and lakes are the property of the people of the state. The frozen waters—that is, the ice—are the property of the people. Each year the state allows private

(Continued on page 2)

MUNICIPAL SUCCESS FOR BRITISH LABOR

LONDON.—It is not only in parliamentary bye-elections that Labor has won significant victories since the General Strike, but also in municipal elections. On the 25th of August Labor won a municipal bye-election in one of the wards of Birmingham, represented in Parliament by Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Minister of Health.

The Conservative, now deceased, who previously held the seat won it last November with a majority of 1,234, while the Labor majority now is 1,002, which shows a big turn-over for Labor. Interest has attached to this municipal election as it is in part of the Minister of Health's constituency; another part of it went to labor by a municipal election in June. Neville Chamberlain gave notice a short time ago that at the next general election he would not stand for this constituency, but for another in Birmingham.

A. F. of L. Opposes Soviet Recognition; Fascism Condemned

N. Y. Labor to Protest Brutality of Police In March to City Hall

REPRESENTATIVES of 800,000 New York trade unionists and thousands of workers in the needle trades and others sympathetic to the 40,000 striking cloakmakers will march to City Hall at 1 p. m. Saturday to protest to Mayor Walker wholesale arrests of cloak pickets and "other police brutalities," the Emergency Labor Conference formed last Friday announced yesterday, through its secretary, J. M. Rudish.

The demonstration has been arranged, Mr. Rudish declared, because the Emergency Labor Conference formed last Friday announced yesterday, through its secretary, J. M. Rudish, declared the workers, in almost every particular, are guilty only of peaceful picketing. Last week hundreds of strikers were fined \$25 in the Magistrates Courts, the alternative being a five-day jail sentence. During this week, workers in other needle trades will help the cloakmakers picket.

The Emergency Labor Conference, which has established headquarters at 130 East 25th street, telegraphed President William Green, of the American Federation of Labor, its gratitude over the federation's decision at the Detroit convention to give prompt financial aid to the striking cloakmakers and help them combat the injunction issued

against them. For the 800,000 union men of Greater New York, the emergency conference promised to carry out immediately the A. F. of L. call for financial support.

John Sullivan, president of the New York State Federation of Labor, who wired his support against the injunction, was invited telegraphically last night to accept the post of honorary chairman of the Emergency Labor Conference to which he had been unanimously elected at a conference last Friday night at 3 West 16th street, at which 183 labor union officials were present.

Among the first labor organizations to respond to the emergency appeal for funds and to fight the injunction is the joint council of the Capmakers' Unions, representing seven locals. It has called a mass meeting for Thursday at 6 p. m. at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th street, of its entire membership. Speakers will include M. Feinstein, secretary of the United Hebrew Trades; Morris Sigman, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Unions; Louis Hyman, chairman of the General Strike Committee of the cloakmakers; S. Hershkovitz, manager of the Capmakers' Joint Council, and J. M. Rudish, secretary of the Emergency Labor Conference.

Hayes Defends Labor Party — Wise Speaks for Passaic Strikers— Strike Aid Urged

DETROIT.—During a thrilling session of the American Federation of Labor the subject of Soviet Russia held the floor. The odds ranged clearly with the foes of communism. By a rising vote, with no delegate venturing to stand up in opposition, the report of the Committee on Resolutions exhorting the Reds was unanimously concurred in, and the motion of the two capmakers' delegates for recognition of Russia was once more butchered.

"The present regime in Russia is the most unscrupulous, the most anti-social and the most menacing institution in the world today enforcing enslavement at home and plotting world revolution abroad," read Matthew Wolf, secretary of the Resolutions Committee, as he proposed substituting its report in place of the doomed resolution for recognition. "It is seeking to undermine our great labor movement in the United States, and though it has not yet succeeded, we are as much opposed to a would-be assassin of liberty as to a real one. We see no reason for changing the position of the American Federation of Labor on recognition. There has been no essential change in Russia. A labor mission to Russia is unnecessary, and no loyal and true trade unionist should join such a mission. We non-concur in the resolution."

Max Hayes of the Typographical Union, and Tim Healy of the Amalgamated, and Orlin were the paladins of the labor mission to Russia. But their arguments to the effect that we do not refuse relations with other alleged dictators, and above all, that it could do nothing but good to go over and see what was actually going on in Russia, good or bad, were to no purpose. Destruction of everything smacking of Soviets and Communists was written in the eyes and on the lips of the other delegates.

And it burst forth in a tremendous unleashing of hatred and also of concern for American methods of labor progress. Among the stalwarts wielding mighty weapons in aid of Wolf were President Green of the federation, President John L. Lewis of the miners, President James Wilson of the patternmakers, President John Walker of the Illinois State Federation, Thomas Sweeney of the tailors, Andrew Furuseth of the seamen, and John Frey of the molders.

The constant burden of their accusations was that the Communists in America, whatever Communists might or might not be doing in Russia, were attacking the trade union officialdom, were promoting opposition within the unions and were constantly plotting for the advancement of communist philosophy by whatever means.

Wilson and Lewis attempted to link Albert F. Coyle, editor Locomotive Engineers' Journal, with the alleged Communist plans to defeat Lewis for re-election to the presidency of the United Mine Workers, against whom John Brophy of the central Pennsylvania miners, is running.

"If Russia believes in communism, in dictatorship and autocracy, very well," Green summed up the devastating barrage, "but we object to having the Russian philosophy crowded down our American trade union throats. But we will not change our attitude on recognition until the communists change their tactics in America and stop seeking to destroy our great labor movement. I have great respect for those who differ from me on this matter of Russia, but I hope the committee's report will be decisively adopted."

And so, amid rousing applause, it was.

Passaic with its nine-month strike against starvation wages in the textile mills held the center of the American Federation of Labor convention stage as the second week of the deliberations in Detroit opened.

A terrific onslaught on the churches that side with capital against labor in Detroit and elsewhere was made by Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, of New York City, preliminary to his address urging immediate and generous relief funds for the Passaic workers and their families.

Vigorous pleas for a labor party that would put forth the same strength on the political field that the unions exert on the economic plane were thrust before the convention by Max Hayes, editor of the Cleveland Citizen and delegate of the International Typographical Union. Hayes, who has spent many years working for independent labor political action, took advantage of the resolution endorsing the direct primary system to denounce the

HIGH PASSAIC BAIL HIT Hughes Demands Sums Totaling \$375,000 for Six Men Be Lowered

P ASSAIC, N. J.—Claiming that it is illegal, improper and unconstitutional to hold the group of strikers now in jail in Paterson under bail so preposterously high that they can never possibly secure it, John Larkin Hughes, attorney for the strikers, presented arguments before Judge Joseph A. Delaney in the Passaic Court of Common Pleas for the lowering of this bail, now standing at \$375,000 for six men.

Whether this bail is to be lowered or not will depend upon the action Judge Delaney takes in the next day or two. He postponed the matter in court this morning in order to study the list of indictments as drawn up by the prosecuting attorney's office. He served notice on the defense, however, that he would depend largely upon the prosecuting attorney's advice in the matter of setting bail. James M. Dunn, assistant prosecuting attorney, who opposed the motion for lower bail, said that it was the recommendation of the prosecuting attorney's office that the bail be left at \$350,000 as it was set for five of the men by Recorder John C. Barbour in Clifton Police Court. For William Sikora, whom the defense has understood all along was being held without bail, Mr. Dunn asked \$75,000, alleging that he has been held on \$25,000 so far.

"Bail should be just enough to secure a defendant's appearance before the court for trial. It should be based upon a man's financial circumstances," said Mr. Hughes in his plea for lower bail. "To place it so high that it can never be raised is practically the same as holding the man without bail."

The indictments on which these men are held were secured on alleged confessions which they were forced to make when third degree methods were used on them. We claim that these men have been badly beaten."

"We cannot consult with these men and defend them properly in the peculiar atmosphere of the jail in which they are now held. All these defendants are married. All have children, and all have lived in this Passaic, Clifton, Garfield district from four to ten years. They are not likely to pull up and go away. It is preposterous to keep such men on this high bail. I learned just a few minutes ago from the prosecutor that William Sikora, whom we had understood to be held without bail, has been placed under \$25,000. This is the first we have heard of it. These six men when they work earn from five to seven dollars a day. To hold them on bail from \$100,000 to \$75,000 a man really amounts to holding them without bail."

SACCO FORCES ORGANIZE New York Sympathizers May Demand Con- gressional Investiga- tion

T HE executive committee of the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Conference of New York City met on Tuesday, October 5th, to consider agitation plans to crystallize the local interest and support in the struggle for the two imprisoned workers. It was decided to hold a monster demonstration, if possible in Madison Square Garden, immediately after the announcement of Judge Thayer's decision on the pending motions for a new trial, which is expected within the next few weeks.

In the event that the decision is a favorable one, which all the facts would warrant but which the known prejudice of Judge Thayer makes unlikely, the meeting will be a celebration of victory and a pledge to Sacco and Vanzetti that New York labor will not cease its work on their behalf until they are vindicated and liberated. The slogan of the committee is that Sacco and Vanzetti must not suffer the fate of Mooney and Billings. They must not be committed to life imprisonment and forgotten. A new trial will result in an acquittal and freedom. Nothing less will satisfy labor.

However, those who have participated in the long, bitter struggle of six years to save Sacco and Vanzetti have no false illusions about justice in Massachusetts. They are prepared for the worst and realize that Judge Thayer's decision in all probability will be unfavorable and a new trial will again be denied. As soon as such a decision is announced, New York labor will reply with a monster protest meeting to reaffirm their solidarity with Sacco and Vanzetti and their determination to save them from the electric chair. The final struggle will begin. It will be the life and death struggle for these two innocent workers. It is now known definitely that the Department of Justice of the United States Government aided in the frame-up against them. Their innocence has been completely established by affidavits of a convict who acknowledges the guilt of himself and his gang. The whole ghastly story of this "miscarriage of justice" as it was well designated at the El Paso convention of the American Federation of Labor must again be told to the workers with the new details that hold the Commonwealth of Massachusetts up to the shame it deserves.

The New York conference requests all its delegates and affiliated organizations to be prepared to respond to a call for action in the arrangement of this monster protest meeting.

fraud of the two-old political parties and to plead for a new Labor party.

He was opposed by John Walker, president Illinois State Federation of Labor, also an old advocate of Labor parties, but now a supporter of the Federation policy of rewarding your political friends and punishing your political enemies at election time. Other speakers deplored the political apathy of labor. The primary resolution was adopted by the convention.

Racco and Vanzetti, the labor radicals in Massachusetts who have been awaiting the death sentence in prison for six years for a murder to which another man has now confessed, were given the unanimous support of the Federation when it adopted a resolution on their trial. The resolution demands a new trial for the two men, thus affirming the action of previous conventions. But it further instructs the executive council to look into the questionable practices of the Federal Department of Justice in helping to frame up the innocent men and in now refusing to open its files to aid in clearing them of the payroll murder that Celastino Madeiros admits he committed in Massachusetts in 1920.

The executive council is further instructed to demand a congressional investigation of the department's activity in the case, if investigation proves this advisable.

Using language just as strong as appears in delegate Abraham Shlipacoff's resolution, the resolutions committee roundly condemned the fascist rule in Italy and the convention unanimously concurred.

"In facism," the report as adopted reads, "we find merely another form of dictatorship and autocracy, a principle of government which can never find anything but opposition in the minds of free people. We oppose this form of dictatorship, just as we oppose every other form of oppression, political, economic or spiritual."

The convention killed the resolutions of the ladies' garment workers and of the capmakers altering the immigration status. The garment workers wanted all bars let down, while the capmakers wanted the right of religious and political asylum guaranteed. Other resolutions favoring labor included in radio broadcasting, workman compensation for longshoremen, opposition to weakening of the seaman's act, for continuing inheritance tax legislation and against fingerprinting and registration of the foreign-born were passed as recommended by the committee on resolutions.

The slogan for a 4-hour day and a 4-day week was raised at the Saturday session. John Harding of Chicago Typographical Union 16 and a member of the convention committee on shorter hours of work launched a new objective for the 16-hour week.

The convention proceeded more cautiously and adopted a resolution to continue the campaign of education for shorter hours and a shorter work week. This action was the occasion for extended and emphatic reaffirmation of the federation policy for higher wages and shorter hours as productivity and efficiency of labor increased. After John Frey of the molders, George Hedrick of the painters, James Duncan of the granite cutters, James Lynch of the printers, Andrew Furuseth of the seamen and Edward Gainer of the letter carriers had voiced their approval in their distinctive ways, President Green summed up the unanimous opinion by his closing statement.

"This is one of the most vital questions before the A. F. of L.," he said, "involving every activity of the working people of our country. We are adjusting ourselves to the new conditions of increased production and speeding up. Wages must rise and hours must fall so that our workers may adjust themselves to the new factory conditions. How can the cultural and spiritual life of the worker be furthered if his body is given over to the ceaseless toil and whirl and strain of the modern factory? Give him leisure to renew his moral and physical strength and look after his soul's welfare and

FANNIA COHN DENIES GIVING ENDORSEMENT TO WAGNER FOR SENATE

Fannia Cohn, educational director of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and a former vice-president of the International, has asked The New Leader to deny the authenticity of a report carried in several New York papers to the effect that she had endorsed the candidacy of Judge Robert Wagner, Democrat, for the U. S. Senate.

Miss Cohn states she was never consulted on the matter. She adds that she has never endorsed any candidate for political office, having devoted her efforts in the labor movement to educational work only.

FRESH CAMOUFLAGE FOR COMMUNIST MOVE

In connection with the calling of a conference in Brussels in November for the discussion of colonial imperialism, to which delegates are to be sent by various organizations in Ibero America, the Zurich Bureau of the Socialist and Labor International has issued the following statement:

"Another one is to be added to the vast number of committees and organizations set up by the Communists. Such masking organizations can, naturally, only for a certain length of time fulfill their purpose of exploiting non-Communists in the service of Moscow. As soon as the maneuver is exposed, the organization loses its power of attraction. Such was the case of the International Workers' Relief. And so now the chief Communist organizer, Willi Munzenberg, is turning his attention to a new enterprise of the same character. This time it is to be an International League against Colonial Atrocities and Oppression."

"Certainly no one can forbid the Communists to harness all their energies to the service of their colonial policy. But the mask of this League is bound to excite the same resistance as the other masks, under which they carry on their work. Provisionally, such a League has been founded in Germany. It is true Germany has no colonies, but for Munzenberg it is the usual soil for starting operations. According to its Constitution, the League sets itself the task of enlightening the 'widest elements of the population as to the true character of colonial policy and its action on the enslaved colonized nations, and colonial peoples.' However, the main idea was that of leading up to the internationalization of the League, using Germany as a point of leverage. The German League has a provisional committee, which is busy itself specially with a conference in Brussels in November."

he will return it to the nation many times in better citizenship."

Resolutions passed earlier in the session endorsed the union label campaign, favored the 44-hour week for army and navy employees and government employees generally and made changes in the federation constitution that raise the per capita assessment of federal trade unions, the maximum initiation fee and the reinstatement fee for them. Another excludes federal unions from strike and defense benefits unless they levy a local per capita tax of at least \$1 a month, instead of the 75-cent minimum hitherto current. A federal union is one chartered directly by the federation, instead of by a national or international union, to which most local unions belong. Federal unions are usually organized where the number of locals does not warrant organization of a new international or where certain conditions would otherwise cause jurisdictional disputes. It is proposed by some that the automobile workers, if they should become unionized, would avoid many difficulties if they were put into federal unions.

ASSOCIATION INDUSTRIES SLUSH FUND CHARGED

COHOES, N. Y.—New York State employers organized in the Associated Industries, Inc., have collected a huge slush fund to defeat legislative measures favorable to labor, declared Joseph R. White, national organizer for United Textile Workers, to a mass meeting of Cohoes unionists. Union representatives must appear at the hearings of the state industrial commission appointed to investigate the many laws proposed for and against labor in the last legislatures. Unions must state their cases to the commission to get any sort of action on the compensation bill and other measures backed by labor. American Federation of Labor organizer James Roach, speaking at the same meeting, attacked the open shop operation of Cohoes textile mills.

LABOR TEMPLE

14th Street and Second Avenue
THIS SUNDAY
5 P. M.—Contemporary Literature.
DR. WILL DURANT
"EUGENE O'NEILL"
ADMISSION 25 CENTS
7:15 P. M.—
EDMUND B. CHAFFEE
"The Emotional Basis of Disbelief in Immortality"
ADMISSION FREE
8:30 P. M.—
JAMES WELDON JOHNSON
"The Negro and the American Labor Movement"
ADMISSION FREE

JUDGE WAGNER FATHER OF ICE GRAB

(Continued from page 1)

ice companies to cut the ice and sell it, but at any rate the state can step in and use it for itself.

The Socialists proposed that the state harvest the ice and sell it to the people at a trifle more than cost. That would have deprived the ice dealers of the state of vast profits, but it would have meant ice in abundance to the masses at a purely nominal cost. It would also have meant a small profit for the state. The only merit of that proposal was that it would serve the people. The fatal evil in the bill was (1) that the good, patriotic ice dealers would lose their profits and (2) it came from the despised Socialists.

Instead of that measure becoming law, another bill emerged from the Senate. It provided:

1. That all the ice in the state should be turned over to a State Ice Comptroller who would serve without pay.

2. That that State Ice Comptroller should be Mr. Benjamin B. Odell.

3. That that Comptroller was to fix prices for ice, and that it should be illegal to sell ice below that figure.

4. That the state would get not one penny from the sale of the ice.

If ever there was a graft bill that was it. First of all, never in the history of the state has a bill named a public official to be appointed under its provisions. Second, Mr. Odell, former Republican boss of the state and twice Governor, was one of the biggest wholesale ice dealers in the state. Serving without pay meant that it was understood that he was to continue in his private business, which was the sale of ice at a price to be fixed by himself. And finally, when summer came, in spite of the abundance of ice during the winter, which had been harvested under Mr. Odell's direction and stored and sold to retailers at a price he had fixed, ice was higher than ever before that summer—and several dealers were actually stopped by the courts from selling at prices under those fixed. It was a fearfully hot summer and suffering was acute. Cheap ice would have made the summer endurable.

The story of the fight against that bill is a stirring one. The ten Socialists in the Assembly fought like tigers against that colossal graft. For their pains they were subjected to a violent drunken outburst by the pet of Tammany Hall, Martin G. McCue, bartender and ex-pugilist, who shrieked that the Socialists for opposing that bill were "the ten most unpatriotic men in the state of New York."

That bill, as it came from the state Senate, was introduced and sponsored by Senator Robert F. Wagner. It was introduced as a "war bill," and in some mysterious way it was supposed to be patriotic.

The other incident referred to occurred five years earlier. William Sulzer was governor of New York. He had been nominated by the notorious Charles F. Murphy, and for a while he did Murphy's bidding. That was the time of open gambling houses (just after the Rosenthal murder), protected vice, open looting of the public till by Tammany officials. After a few months Sulzer balked at doing what Murphy ordered him to do. He was willing to do crooked things, but there were some things that even he couldn't endure. So Murphy ordered the governor fired, as if he were an office boy caught stealing postage stamps.

The Speaker of the Assembly at that time was Assemblyman Alfred E. Smith, of New York. The Majority Leader of the Assembly was Assemblyman Aaron J. Levy. The Majority Leader of the Senate was Senator Robert F. Wagner. Those three men did the job, one of the dirtiest in recent political history. Every one of them has been rewarded for his loyalty to a crooked and thieving political machine.

This is not to say that Robert F. Wagner is crooked. This is merely to point out that his loyalty to his political machine is the one guiding principle of his political life, and when his machine permits him to favor progressive legislation he favors progressive legislation. And when that machine wants something crooked done, his loyalty to the machine prevails.

Can we afford to have the author of the Ice Grab bill of 1918 in the Senate? Can we be sure that if something really big comes along and his organization wants to sit in on it, that he will serve the people—or will he serve his machine? His past record gives the answer.

Are we to sell our political self-respect for a few grudging favors? Or are we to build up our own party, regardless of the crumbs that Tammany throws out in exchange for support that puts them in power and in a position to loot and exploit the people? Self-respecting people will vote for Jessie Wallace Hughan and the whole Socialist ticket as the only way of working for a new deal and a new civilization.

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N. Y. Socialist Campaign Welcomed by Sympathizers With Crowded Meetings

A SPLENDID campaign is being conducted by the Socialist Party of New York City. During the past two weeks between 80 and 100 meetings in public schools and halls and upon the streets have been held with a considerable degree of success. Large audiences have greeted our speakers and a very fine response was also evidenced. A battery of some 50 Socialist spellbinders, headed by our indefatigable candidate for Governor, Judge Jacob Panken, with the assistance of Jessie Stephen of Great Britain, are covering a number of leaflets every day. Great quantities of leaflets are being printed and distributed. In fact, our special campaign leaflets are being used almost as fast as they come from the press. While financial resources are hardly commensurate with our desires and numerous activities, Socialists are making a campaign the like of which has not been seen in New York City since the hectic days of 1917, when Morris Hillquit was running for Mayor.

Jessie Stephen, who has arrived for a tour of the United States and Canada, is engaged by the New York Socialists for the balance of the campaign. Last Monday evening she addressed three large mass meetings on the East Side and was received with enthusiasm.

The city office of the Socialist Party declares that interest in Party organization is rapidly growing, and during the last three or four weeks applications for membership have been coming in at the rate of about 25 per week. In other words, there is evidence of a distinct revival of Socialism and Socialist organization.

AMSTERDAM DEFINES MEXICAN CONFERENCE

That the informal conference of labor leaders from all over the world, to be held in Mexico City the latter part of this month on the initiative of the Mexican Federation of Labor has aroused much interest in European trade union circles and also caused a little confusion is indicated by a discussion of the matter at a meeting of the executive committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions held in Amsterdam, Sept. 20 and 21.

It was brought out that the confusion was due to the fact that the Mexican Federation of Labor had invited a number of labor organizations not affiliated with the I. F. T. U. While approving the idea of European labor men getting first hand information on the Mexican situation, the executive committee thought it advisable to define its stand by passing the following resolution:

"The Executive, in view of the conditions under which the delegation is to go to Mexico, decides that, on its own behalf and on that of the I. F. T. U., it must decline to take any responsibility whatever for it."

The conference in Mexico City is expected to be attended by many representative labor chiefs, including President Green of the A. F. of L. and is generally regarded as preliminary to formal affiliation by the Mexican Federation of Labor with the I. F. T. U.

The Executive Committee announced that it had found it impossible to approve the establishment of an Independent Workers' Education International, but that it had decided to set up an International Educational Committee as a part of the I. F. T. U.

The provisional agenda for the fourth congress of the I. F. T. U., to be held in Paris, August 1-6, 1927, as given out at the Amsterdam meeting, includes international aid in case of wage conflicts, the disarmament question and the fight against war and militarism, the world economic situation, the international fight for the eight-hour day and the position of non-manual workers, civil service employees and professional workers in the trade union movement.

A proposal by R. Stenius of Holland to place on the agenda the question of a boycott of Italian goods was not accepted in this form, but the General Council is to be informed of it at the beginning of its next meeting, so that it may decide whether or not it will discuss it as a special item.

SOCIALIST UNITY NEARER IN IRELAND

According to a report sent out by the Zurich Bureau of the Socialist and Labor International, the recent arrangement between the Labor Party of the Irish Free State and that of Northern Ireland is more than a formality, and has a considerable measure of political importance. Across the frontier dividing the two States, the small Northern Party will affiliate with the Irish Labor Party, while retaining local autonomy in all affairs pertaining to the Northern territory. There will be held an annual conference of the two bodies, and each will be represented on the Executive of the other. The stronger and more thriving Party of the South is to contribute a subsidy towards helping the sister organization which, in its comparative isolation amid the difficult environment in Ulster, has, of the two, the harder problems to tackle.

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LEWIS CHALLENGE "PROSPERITY" AS FRAUD

Massachusetts Workers in Poor Circumstances, Says Letter to Butler, Republican Boss

By a New Leader Correspondent

BOSTON.—Coolidge's "prosperity" is challenged as a fraud under which Massachusetts working men and women are living in miserable circumstances, in a letter sent to Senator William M. Butler, Republican candidate for re-election, by Alfred Baker Lewis, his Socialist opponent.

Mr. Lewis wrote:

"I gather from your speeches to date that you are seeking re-election to the Senate as the candidate of the Republican Party, on your record and that of your party while in office."

"With President Coolidge a Massachusetts man, and as you are a very close friend of the President's, it cannot be denied that Massachusetts has tremendous influence in the National Government."

"Why, then, do you do so little for the workers of Massachusetts?"

"Forty per cent of the shoe workers of our State are out of work. Nearly twenty per cent of the workers in the woolen mills are unemployed. Over twenty-five per cent of the operatives in our cotton mills are unemployed. Average wages among the workers in our cotton mills are less than \$18 per week. Even for men—heads of families—the average wage in the cotton mills is only \$20 a week. Yet you are a great cotton manufacturer, one of the largest in the State. How would you like to bring up a family on \$20 a week?"

"Average wages in Massachusetts were less this year than in 1925. And in 1925 Massachusetts wages averaged ten per cent less than in 1924. This is despite the fact that wages for the rest of the country gained slightly during this time. But in Massachusetts, where you and Governor Fuller are both employers of labor, wages declined."

"On the other hand, the gains of the plutocrats, and capitalists, the bankers and great employers of labor, such as you are, have been enormous. Throughout the whole country dividends and profits have gone up. Some railroads today are earning at the rate of 20 per cent and even 25 per cent. Almost daily the Stock Exchange records new high levels for the price of securities. Dividend and interest payments have been more than six per cent larger so far this year than in 1925, and were 6 per cent larger in 1925 again than in 1924. And it is common knowledge that the profits earned have increased more than the dividends declared. This, Mr. Butler, took place while the wages of the workers in Massachusetts, where you are one of the largest employers of labor in the State, were going down."

"The concentration of wealth and power in the hands of the American plutocrats is increasing. Testimony before the Industrial Relations Commission in 1913 showed that 2 per cent of the people then owned 60 per cent of the wealth. The most recent report of the Federal Trade Commission shows that only 1 per cent of the people now own 59 per cent of the wealth. What are you and your party doing to stop this alarming tendency?"

"You and the Republican Party no doubt are good and faithful representatives of the capitalist class, the plutocrats and bankers, who pay the campaign funds of the Republicans."

"But I challenge you to show that you or your party have done a thing for the working class of Massachusetts since the election of Mr. Harding as President, and I challenge you to show that any of the figures I have quoted are wrong. The workers of Massachusetts have not forgotten the epidemic of wage cuts in the textile industry which followed the election of Mr. Coolidge in 1924."

"ALFRED BAKER LEWIS,
Socialist Candidate for United States Senator."

WORKERS' SPORTS

Tourist Club Hike
Sunday, October 17, we hike to our camp at Midvale, N. J., with the Followers of the Trail. We have arranged an artistic program for Saturday evening consisting of instrumental solos, recitations and folk dancing. Sunday morning there will be a hike to Wolf's Den. Meeting place, Erie R. R. Ferry, Chambers St. and Hudson River; time, 4 p. m., Saturday; fare, \$1.70; walking time, 3 hours; leader, Hugo Koch. Non-members are welcome.

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DUES INCREASED BY POTTERY WORKERS

At the fifth congress of the Pottery Workers' International, held in Karlsruhe, Aug. 15-19, affiliation dues were raised to three pfennigs (about 3 cent) per member per year. Georg Wollman of Germany was re-elected international secretary and headquarters was retained in Charlottenburg. The next congress will be held in Copenhagen. Among the resolutions passed by the congress was one urging the delegates to use their influence with their respective governments to obtain the ratification of the Washington Eight-Hour Day Convention of the International Labor Organization of the League of Nations.

2ND RAND CLASS PLANNED

Popular Response of Unionists Closes Registration for First Session

THE Three-Night-a-Week Workers' Training Course given by the Rand School of Social Science this year has awakened great interest among trade union members, as evidenced by the fact that out of the fifty-three students enrolled forty-two are trade unionists, and more applications are pouring in. It has been decided to close registrations for the present class and to organize a second class, which will begin its work about November 1. Trade union members who wish to be considered for scholarship in this course should apply without delay.

The first hour classes in English A, B and C are now filled almost to capacity, but there is room for a few more students in other classes that meet at 8:30 p. m., as also in Mr. Berenberg's class in composition and literary criticism, which meets on Mondays at 7 o'clock.

A new course in English for beginners will be launched about November 1. This is intended especially for persons who have lived in this country only a short time and are very deficient in English. Readers of the New Leader who are in touch with such elements will render a service by letting them know of this opportunity to begin mastering the language.

In addition to the regular Workers' Training Course, popular courses for workers, in literature and science, are also given.

The course that V. F. Calverton is giving on "Contemporary Writers and Social Thought" has awakened unusual interest, as evidenced by the fact that the number of students and listeners is increasing by leaps and bounds at each meeting. This Friday night, October 15, at 8:30 p. m., he will discuss Wassermann, the German novelist. He will deal with Wassermann's mysticism and interpretation of the post-bellum world in which we have been ensnared. This lecture will deal in more detail with the nature of the European economic situation since 1918 and with Wassermann's work as an expression of it. Wassermann's novels, "The World's Illusion," "Gold" and "Faber," will be emphasized.

The following Friday, October 22, Mr. Calverton will lecture on Barbusse and Upton Sinclair. This time Upton Sinclair's novels, "The Jungle" and "100," as well as his sociological works, such as "The Brass Check" and "The Goose Step," will be featured, and Barbusse's war novels will be dealt with in detail. These works will be considered in relationship to the type of capitalist chaos prevailing today.

Prof. Henry E. Crampton of Columbia University will lecture on the "Evolution of Life" this Saturday, October 16, at 2 o'clock. He will discuss the evidence upon which the evolution theory is founded and, above all, the importance of the evolutionary method. Every student of history, politics, economics and sociology ought to have as his basis an understanding of the genetic or evolutionary method. In a word, Prof. Crampton will give his listeners the fundamentals of a scientific approach to our social problem.

Vernon Loggins has been conducting his course in modern poetry in a most interesting and human way. Each week he has a significant poet read before the class. This Saturday at 4 p. m. the class will be favored by the presence of Genevieve Taggard, whose work has appeared in every important poetry magazine in the country.

GOLD PERMITTING WORK ON SCAB DRESSES

Editor of Advance Takes Communist Fur Union Head to Task

THE editor of Advance, in the current issue of the official organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, takes the occasion of an imaginary talk with an "unknown member" to chide the Communist leader of the N. Y. Joint Board of Furriers' Union, who a few weeks ago declared it to be the duty of the Amalgamated to call out its members in a sympathy strike with the ladies' clothing workers, who are now out.

Manager Ben Gold, of the Furriers, a Communist, made his reference concerning the Amalgamated and a sympathetic strike notwithstanding the fact that since the declaration of the strike, and even now, members of his union have been finishing scab-made ladies' garments with fur trimmings. The Advance's remarks on the affairs is but the first outward reference to a matter which has been the subject of much discussion below the surface.

In the conversation between the "unknown member" and the editor of the Advance, the former inquires about the feasibility of a general strike in the needle trades to aid the garment workers. The editor doubts the value of a general strike. The "unknown member" then asks:

"But then why did the representative of another union, the other day, tell the cloakmakers that it was the duty of the Amalgamated to call its people out on a strike to help cloakmakers?"

The Editor: "He probably had his reasons for saying so. Perhaps he tried to save his own face, who can tell? For, if stories that we hear are really true, organized workers of a related industry are working on trimming of cloaks manufactured in scab shops. That union happens to enjoy a very radical leadership, too. But you know this is just the thing to do when you wish to get away with murder. Just be quick-witted enough to shout: 'Murder!'"

Unknown Member: "You charge that man with having actually attempted to cover up this dastardly thing? Why, he spoke for amalgamation."

The Editor: "Don't get excited. He spoke for amalgamation, but seemed to fail to do the very thing without which amalgamation is an empty sound. He did not have to wait for amalgamation to stop his own people from doing the non-union thing."

INTERNATIONAL AWAITS THE SWISS SOCIALISTS

The passing of a resolution by the Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland, on Sept. 12, advising the delegates to the national convention to be held in Neuchâtel, Nov. 8 and 9, to vote for affiliation with the Socialist and Labor International, has been welcomed with great satisfaction by the Zurich Bureau of the International and it is expected that before long the powerful Swiss party will be formally lined up with its brother parties.

The motion for affiliation was passed by a vote of 35 to 10 and a resolution by Robert Grimm giving the Executive Committee's reasons for its action was adopted by 31 to 16 votes. This resolution points out that, while the Socialist and Labor International is not yet up to the Swiss ideal of an all-embracing International, it is on the way and that the Swiss Socialists can do better work on the inside by holding aloof.

At the same meeting of the Executive Committee a resolution was adopted and sent to the National Government protesting against the high-handed action of the Swiss Federal Law Department in ruling that members of the Executive Committee of Socialist and Labor International attending meetings of that body in Switzerland are not allowed to deliver speeches except at such meetings. This ruling was made in the case of Otto Bauer of Austria, who was thus barred from addressing a meeting of the Zurich local of the Socialist Party during the August meeting of the Executive Committee.

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OLD PARTIES HIT FOR USE OF INJUNCTION

Socialist Candidate for Governor Gives Stand on Schools and Coal

By Judge Jacob Panken
Socialist Candidate for Governor of New York

THE Constitution of the State provides that the Legislature shall provide for the maintenance and support of a system of free common schools wherein all the children of the State may be educated. That is a mandate. That is a command. Yet in this State, under a Democratic administration—a so-called administration of the people's friends—seventy-odd thousand children have entered school this year and are permitted only part education. Last year the number of part-time scholars was 54,900. But the efficient Democratic party, the professed friends of the people, has so well managed the city that the number has been increased from 54,000 to 70,000 thousand.

When the Constitution says that all the children in the State should have educational opportunity, does that mean that the children should also have an opportunity to go to school? One hundred and ten thousand children were issued permits to go to work during the last year. The Board of Education of the City of New York reports that it issued to children in school, numbering 110,000, permits to leave school and go to work, with their education uncompleted. What an indictment against our present system of society! In this, the richest city in the world, of the richest country in the world—we boast 2,300 millionaires in New York—110,000 children must be taken out of the schools and sent into the factories, while hundreds of thousands of adults are unable to obtain employment! A system which takes the child out of school and puts it into the factory, while it drives the father out of the factory, is unworthy to continue, is unworthy to exist. But profit is the ruling factor, and children work cheaper than adults. What matters that the child is weakly? What matters that the child is deprived of its education? What matters if the parent becomes the recipient of his child's earnings? What matters all that as long as the sacredness of profit is continued inviolate? We propose, and I pledge myself that no stone will remain unturned, if I am elected Governor of this State, until every child does not only have a place in the public schools of our communities, but is provided with the opportunity to remain in school during its school life. The protection of the life, the protection of the health of the child, the fitting of the child culturally for life, is more important to man today and to man of the future than all of the profits that may be obtained by the exploitation of the child life.

There is no longer any argument that there are certain necessities which are public in character and must be publicly supplied; water, for instance; police protection is another instance; fire protection is another instance. But there are public necessities which are still privately controlled. Coal is a public need in this climate. Our very lives depend upon the continuous flow of fuel. Coal is a prime necessity. Yet we have the spectacle of the nation being at the mercy of the coal barons. The coal barons grind the faces of the coal miners into the dust. They compel them to live the lives of serfs. They are as much feudal lords as those of the middle ages; and when the coal miner dares to resent the oppression of the baron by strike, he is met by the policeman's club, and what is worse, the judge's injunction.

Coal is a natural resource, and when some arrogate the coal for private ex-

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Panken Brings Old Fire To N. Y. Socialist Campaign; Other Triumphs Recalled

Candidate for Governor Acknowledged Orator—Once Took Hughes' Crowd Away

By Wm. M. Feigenbaum

ONE night in October, 1908, things were stirring on the East Side of New York. The streets around the intersection of Grand and Orchard were black with people—all excited. Politics was brewing, and the East Side was nothing if not political. The Socialists had been making inroads into the old party strength and something had to be done to bolster it up. The big moguls of the G. O. P., eager to make an impressive showing that year, had sent two of its biggest guns into that turbulent territory, and literally tens of thousands of people were following a procession of automobiles that were escorting Charles E. Hughes, Governor of the State and candidate for reelection, and James S. Sherman, candidate for Vice-President of the United States.

The entourage had reached the corner of Orchard and Grand. From a third-story window there depended Socialist banners with the names and pictures of such men as Eugene V. Debs, Ben Hanford, Joshua Wanhope, Morris Hillquit, William Mailly, Jacob Panken and other candidates for office under the emblem of the Arm and Torch.

Behind the banners was Socialist campaign headquarters, and sitting at tables were scores of enthusiasts addressing envelopes, licking stamps, folding circulars and doing all the countless things that are done for election day. There was a roar from the street, and those in the room went to look out of the window. They saw the shouting mob—some of them cheering, a lot hissing and booing the capitalist party candidates, and most of them just yelling.

The Crowd Captured

"What a meeting that would make!" said one of the Socialists in the room enviously. And what a meeting it did make! Before you could turn around Socialist campaigners had leaped upon the fire escapes three stories above that turbulent crowd and commenced to address it.

That was a long time ago, but the memory of that night is still fresh in my memory. I remember as if it were yesterday the eloquence of that splendid Irishman, the late beloved Will Mailly, the bellowing, booming voice of Billy Karlin, and the inspiring oratory of Jack Panken. It was Panken who was the hero of the occasion. He held that crowd, he caught it in the hollow of his hand, he held its attention, and he turned it into a wildly cheering Socialist rally that was the talk of Socialist circles for many, many years.

The royal procession of Hughes and Sherman went on, but in solitary splendor. Word of the high doings at

plottation, they are like the robber barons of the middle ages. Coal should be owned by us collectively. Coal should become the property of the nation. The Republicans promise protection to the public in the event of future strikes in the coal industry. What does that mean? More injunctions against the coal miners, more force against the coal miners, more protection to the coal barons. The Democrats promise also; say they will prevent the recurrence of strikes in the coal industry. What does that mean? To outlaw the strike, to make even more abject serfs of the coal miners. We stand for the proposition that the mines be forthwith nationalized, that the coal miners become the employees of the nation. With the coal miners employed by the nation, the possibility of a strike in that industry is reduced to a minimum.

While I am discussing strikes, may I not advert for a moment to the strike that is going on in the city of New York—a strike in which 50,000 of our citizens are involved, which means probably a quarter of a million or more souls, as most of the strikers are married men and they have children, for the poor are always blessed with many children. Not only do they create the wealth of the world, but they supply the man-power which is to continue the creation of wealth. This strike has lasted now for a period of thirteen weeks. The Governor attempted to coerce the strikers to accept a settlement distasteful and unacceptable to them. A Democratic Governor tried to impose his will undemocratically upon the people and a Democratic judge has since issued an injunction which is most sweeping in its nature. Addressed to the officers of the union, it intends to and does in law deprive 40,000 men of their right to strike and to picket. The most vicious phase of this injunction lies in the fact that the Police Department of the City of New York—and, by the way, a Democratic Police Department; I do not mean in any sense that it is democratic. I mean that it is a Tammanyized Police Department—has taken upon itself to become the judge as to whether injunctions are violated or not violated by the striking cloakmakers. Police judges take it upon themselves to enforce the injunction issued by a Supreme Court Judge. By the way, they are Demo-

Grand and Orchard spread all over the East Side. From every street crowds began pouring toward that corner. And when a little while later the G. O. P. triumphal procession passed that corner again it was followed by very few people, and the high dignitaries looked lonely enough. I recall that at one moment during Panken's address the entire crowd turned its back upon the speaker, faced Hughes and Sherman, gave them the benefit of a good, lusty hissing and booing, and turned back to the speaker comfortably settled to hear the rest of the speech.

A Madison Square Meeting

I recall another occasion at Madison Square Garden. The building was jammed with people who had come to celebrate Meyer London's election to Congress in 1914. There had been too many speakers and the vast audience began to droop. Then Panken was introduced, and in three minutes he had galvanized it into life, into a cheering, shouting, jubilating mass of 15,000 men and women who knew they were happy at Meyer London's election and who were at last given an opportunity to vent their joy.

That gives a hint of the kind of man that Jacob Panken is. He is enthusiastic, he is eloquent, he is utterly devoted and he works like a dog for his ideals—and he is a man of first-rate ability, inflaming his ability with the fire of his enthusiasm and so becoming one of the greatest Socialist campaigners this country has ever seen.

Jacob Panken is a Socialist judge, elected in 1917 from the East Side that knows him so well. He is a good judge, a first-class judge, a judge before whom lawyers are glad to appear. There is justice in his court, and everyone, especially working people, tenants, the underdogs of this world, know that they can get justice before Judge Panken. He is honored and respected by his associates. He could easily have slipped into a judicial attitude and have assumed that once on the bench he is in a vacuum with no contact with life; that is the theory upon which so many old-party men become judges and serve the exploiters so faithfully. But Judge Panken never forgets for one moment that he is a Socialist. If he weren't, don't you suppose he might very easily have risen much higher in the judicial scale? But he is a Socialist, and his idea of Socialism is, not the elevation of Socialists, but the growth of Socialism—which is something entirely different.

Jacob Panken is running for Governor of New York this year, and he is rolling up his sleeves for his usual vigorous campaign. His opponents are the multi-millionaire Ogden Mills and Al Smith, the window dressing for Tammany Hall. Panken's campaign issue is just Socialism, and he is making it his business to let every man and woman and child in the state of New York know that it really doesn't matter so very much whether one or another supporter of the present system is Governor, so long as a large and growing number of voters support the ideals he is giving his life to. He is prepared to do the pioneer work; if it falls to his lot to fill public office, he will do it loyally and well. If it falls to his lot merely to prepare the way for others, he will be just as willing. For his one ideal, the one subject of his life, is service to the cause of Socialism.

eratic, these Tammany judges. If the principle is established that a violation of an injunction is a matter for the Police Department to handle, it means that the very foundation upon which we claim our liberties has been destroyed. The right to strike means nothing unless there is the right to picket. As injunction denying the right to picket, if violated, is a matter for the judge whose injunction has been violated to pass upon. It has nothing to do with the Police Department. Yet the police, and particularly at this time, when the city is overrun with gunmen; when holdups are a matter of daily occurrence; when the property of the people of our city is unprotected; when the lives of our citizens are in constant jeopardy; when the gun is wielded by the thugs in the most crowded thoroughfares, the Police Department of the City of New York arrogates to itself the power of judges, falls in the performance of the duties for which it is organized and paid.

May I not say to Commissioner McLaughlin: "Clear the city of thugs. Apprehend the gunmen. Make life in New York safe. Protect the property of our citizens. That is your business. That is your duty. Enforce the law. Never mind the enforcement of injunctions, which are punishable as contempt of court. Contempt of court is not a matter for you to pass upon."

The Republicans have nothing to say upon the question of the injunction in labor disputes. Al Smith as Governor of the State has done nothing to initiate a bar to the injunctions in labor disputes. We stand for the proposition that no injunction be issued in labor disputes; in any event, that no injunction be issued without notice, and only after a hearing in a trial by a jury rather than by a judge.

Our issue, upon which we go to the citizens of the State is, Shall labor, that produces the wealth of the nation, receive a small share of what it produces or shall labor be entitled to all that it creates?

Our issue is, Shall the capitalist, who contributes little if anything to the production of wealth, arrogate to himself all that labor produces, or shall he receive only what he contributes? The issue is Socialism or Capitalism—social production for social use or social production for private gain. On this issue we ask for your support.

SOCIALISTS URGE BARRING PROFIT ON BOOZE

Government Control and Ownership Cited as Solution for Prohibition Muddle

Prohibition still occupies the attention of many voters in New York State to the exclusion of many economic issues important to workingmen and women. The State Committee of the Socialist Party has ready for distribution a leaflet on the question of prohibition, which is printed below. Copies can be obtained from the various party headquarters.

SHALL we vote wet or vote dry? This "issue" has absorbed the attention of millions of voters. Decent housing for human beings, the ever present menace of a coal famine in winter, an ice famine in summer, the private grabbing of great power sites, the problems of international peace, more equity in distributing wealth—all the more grave problems of American life are set aside for this "issue."

Meantime prohibition has been horribly bungled by the professional politicians. They have no convictions. If sentiment is "wet" in a State, they are "wet"; if "dry," they are "dry." Nothing is settled. The only thing certain is uncertainty. Reason gives way to prejudice and the politicians get what they want—office.

The Evils

We ask the voters to think through the maze of disappointment, contradictions, absurdities and the hypocrites of the politicians. Let us begin with a few facts that every candid man and woman must admit.

Private production and sale of alcoholic beverages proved unsatisfactory to most of us. It debauched politics, ruined families and made the private saloon a boozing den of the lowest type. The stuff sold was often adulterated and was ruinous to health.

Too often workingmen acquired the habit of swilling the poison to excess. The habitual drunk became a useless citizen. He was unable to think. He sank lower and lower and often became a tool of mercenary politicians. He became a "repeater." He stuffed the ballot box or served as bully to intimidate sober voters.

The Reaction

It is not surprising, therefore, that many people declared that the liquor traffic must be destroyed by law. A generation ago millions also voted to destroy the great combinations of capital. They saw the evils and their reaction was to destroy the thing out of which the evils issued. They failed. It is easy to say that we will destroy something rooted deep in our social life; it is not so easy to accomplish it.

We have not destroyed the liquor traffic. It has merely been driven underground. It is just as necessary to recognize this as it is to recognize the evils mentioned above. We still have drunkenness. The bartender has been replaced by the bootlegger. Liquor is secretly made and sold or else imported. The nation is filled with spies. Raids are frequent. It is notorious that many dry officials are bribed. The more prosecutions there are the more there are to be prosecuted. A greater staff of officials is employed to destroy the traffic than has been employed for any other purpose, but the traffic continues.

A Third Alternative

Clearly, the old "wet" era of private production and sale is undesirable. Clearly, the "dry" experiment of destroying the evil is a failure. Must we forever be tossed between these two alternatives or is there a third one that is sensible, sane and effective?

We think so. We appeal to intelligent men and women of all views. The debauchery, drunkenness, poisoning and political corruption of the "wet" era should be checked as much as possible. The raids, the spies, the bootleggers, the bribery and the poisoning in this "dry" era should be wiped out.

A Suggestion

But how? We are asked. Our answer is, public ownership and control. This eliminates the private incentive to debauch politics. It will take the private saloon as a political force cannot return. Pure beverages instead of adulterations will be manufactured, thus conserving health. Hold the government distributors responsible for excess drinking. Placed on a salary, they will have no incentive to increase sales. Raids, spies, prosecutions, bootleggers, bribery and poisoning will be reduced to a minimum. The government will obtain the revenue and thus lighten increasingly heavy tax burdens.

Impossible, you say? But this was accomplished in Sweden under a Socialist Premier. It is not a theory. It is a fact, just as important a fact as the failure of both "wet" and "dry" eras is a fact. Sweden learned by experience. Why can't we?

The Intelligent Way

To recognize facts, evidence and history is to apply intelligence to our problems, and this is what we try to do in this appeal. The present tendency to regulate appetites is perilous. Organizations are even now seeking legislation to outlaw the use of tobacco. Some states in the South are outlawing science by legislation. This is a drift toward regulating ideas by the state. What is to prevent similar legislation regarding our clothing and food? Shall a monstrous state oil-

Citizens Union Endorses Thomas Over Downing, Tammany Senate Leader

De Witt Endorsed for Assembly in Bronx—2 Women Given Approval

THOUGH his opponent, the incumbent Senator Bernard Downing, is the Democratic leader in the upper House of the New York State Legislature, Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for the State Senate in the 14th District, is given the endorsement of the Citizens Union. Downing is found qualified for office, but Thomas is "endorsed and preferred."

Other Socialist candidates praised by the Citizens Union are Evelyn West Huggan, Nathan Fine, Nina E. Hillquit, David Mikol, Samuel A. De Witt. The recommendations of the Citizens Union, a non-partisan reform organization, follow:

State Senate

14th District—Norman Thomas

New York County

3d District—Evelyn West Huggan (So.). Indorsed.

An unusually well qualified candidate who would be valuable as a legislator.

6th District—Nathan Fine (So.). qualified. A candidate of ability and training.

9th District—Nina E. Hillquit (So.). qualified. A candidate qualified by education and training.

23d District—David Mikol (So.). qualified. He is qualified by education and training.

Bronx County

7th District—Samuel A. De Witt (So.). Indorsed. An alert, intelligent candidate who merits indorsement for this office.

Assembly

2d District—Evelyn West Huggan (So.). Indorsed.

A candidate of distinguished intellectual attainments and high character who is indorsed and preferred over his opponents.

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Friday, Oct. 15—Corner 102nd street and Second avenue; speakers: I. George Dobson, B. Schub and J. Silverman.
Saturday, Oct. 16—Corner 102nd street and Madison avenue and corner 106th street and Madison avenue; speakers: Esther Friedman, I. George Dobson, B. Schub and H. Marcal.
Monday, Oct. 18—Corner 118th street and Lexington avenue, corner 109th street and Lexington avenue and corner 103rd street and Third avenue; speakers: Dr. Leon R. Land, I. George Dobson, Otto West and Hyman Marcal.
Tuesday, Oct. 19—Corner 116th street and Lenox avenue, corner 105th street and Third avenue, corner 108th street and Madison avenue and corner 112th street and Madison avenue; speakers: Jessie Stephen of Great Britain, I. George Dobson, H. Marcal and Eli Cohen.
Wednesday, Oct. 20—Corner 109th street and Lexington avenue, corner 114th street and Lexington avenue, corner 107th street and Madison avenue and corner 110th street and Madison avenue; speakers: I. George Dobson, H. Marcal and Eli Cohen.
Thursday, Oct. 21—Corner 108th street and Madison avenue, corner 102nd street and Madison avenue and corner 115th street and Madison avenue; speakers: B. Schub, I. Silverman, Dr. Leon Land and Jessie Wallace Huggan.
Friday, Oct. 22—Corner 110th street and Fifth avenue; speakers: I. George Dobson, I. Silverman, B. Schub and Norman Thomas.
Saturday, Oct. 23—102nd street and Madison avenue, 104th street and Madison avenue and 114th street and Madison avenue; speakers: Esther Friedman, William Karlin, E. Brown, I. George Dobson, B. Schub and H. Marcal.

BRONX
Friday, Oct. 15—Corner McKinley Square, Bathgate and Tremont avenues; speakers: William Karlin, I. Phillips, I. Polstein and David Kason.
Saturday, Oct. 16—Corner Longwood and Prospect avenues; speakers: Jessie Stephen of Great Britain, August Claessens, Isidore Polstein, Samuel Orr, Dr. Leon R. Land and Samuel De Witt.
Tuesday, Oct. 19—Corner 143rd street and Prospect avenue and corner 143rd and Simpson streets; speakers: August Claessens, Esther Friedman, Dr. Land, Samuel Orr, I. Polstein and Isidore Polstein.
Wednesday, Oct. 20—Corner 16th street and Tinton avenue; speakers: Samuel Orr, I. Phillips, Samuel DeWitt and P. J. Murphy.
Thursday, Oct. 21—Corner Alder and Southern Boulevard; speakers: Esther Friedman, William Karlin and Samuel Orr.
Friday, Oct. 22—Corner Tremont and Mapes avenues, corner 151st street and Prospect avenue and 138th street and Brook avenue; speakers: Samuel Orr, Dr. Leon Land, Isidore Polstein, Isidore Phillips and David Kason.
Saturday, Oct. 23—Corner Longwood and Prospect avenues; speakers: S. Brown, Dr. Land, Norman Thomas, Samuel DeWitt, Jacob Bernstein, I. Phillips and Samuel Orr.

BROOKLYN
2nd Assembly District
Saturday, Oct. 16—Corner Hinesdale and 4th Street, corner Dumont and Throld, corner New Lots, and Williams and corner Howell and Newport; speakers: William M. Feigenbaum, E. Brown, Jacob Axelrod and Frank Rosenfarb.
14th and 4th Assembly District
Monday, Oct. 18—Corner Union and South Second streets; speakers: William Karlin, Hyman Nemer, Harry Schachner and E. Bromberg.
Tuesday, Oct. 19—Corner 10th and South Third street; speakers: Hyman Nemer, Harry Schachner and E. Bromberg.
Wednesday, Oct. 20—Corner Hooper (Continued on page 7)

At Rutgers streets; speakers: I. Corn, Goldowsky, Bassin and Edelstein.
Saturday, Oct. 23, 3 p. m.—Rutgers Square; speakers: Jessie Stephen of Great Britain, I. Corn, M. Goldowsky, Channin, H. Bassin and Edelstein.
Saturday, Oct. 23, evening—Corner Rivington and Pitt streets, corner Rivington and Ludlow streets, corner Rutgers and East Broadway and Grand and Norfolk streets; speakers: H. Rogoff, I. Corn, Goldowsky and H. Bassin.
Congressional District, Manhattan
Friday, Oct. 15—Corner Seventh street and Avenue C, corner Columbia and Houston streets, corner Tenth street and Second avenue, corner Fifth street and Second avenue; speakers: Samuel E. Beardsley, Nathan Fine, A. N. Weinberg, and Molly Weingarten.
Saturday, Oct. 16—Corner 7th street and Avenue B and 2nd street and Avenue A; speakers: Samuel E. Beardsley, Jacob Bernstein, Molly Weingarten.
Monday, Oct. 18—Various corners in the 14th Congressional District; speakers: Norman Thomas, Nathan Fine and others.
Tuesday, Oct. 19—Same as above.
Wednesday, Oct. 20—Same as above.
Thursday, Oct. 21—Various corners in the 14th Congressional District; speakers: Norman Thomas, Nathan Fine and Jacob Bernstein.
Friday, Oct. 22—Various corners in the 14th Congressional District; speakers: Norman Thomas, Nathan Fine and Esther Friedman.
Saturday, Oct. 23—Various corners in the 14th Congressional District; speakers: Norman Thomas, Nathan Fine and August Claessens.
20th Congressional District, Manhattan
Friday, Oct. 22—Public School No. 59, South Third street and Driggs; speakers: Judge Jacob Panken, B. C. Vlader, Darwin J. Meserole, Hyman Nemer, H. Blumenreich and H. Schachner.
22d Assembly District, Brooklyn
Friday, Oct. 22—Public School No. 149, Wyona street and Sutter streets; speakers: Jessie Stephen of Great Britain, August Claessens, Jessie Wallace Huggan, William Karlin and Samuel Kantor as chairman.
MANHATTAN
Thursday, Oct. 21—15th street and Broadway; speakers: August Claessens and Jessie Stephen of Great Britain.
Friday, Oct. 22—15th street and Broadway; speakers: William Karlin and Jessie W. Huggan.
12th Congressional District, Manhattan
Monday, Oct. 18—East Broadway and Rutgers street; speakers: Ethelred Brown, H. Bassin, Edelstein.
Monday, Oct. 18—Rivington and Pitt streets and Rivington and Ludlow streets; speakers: J. Green, Clanoft.
Tuesday, Oct. 19—Norfolk and Grand streets; speakers: Jacob Bernstein, H. Bassin, Edelstein, Goldowsky and Mrs. Parower.
Tuesday, Oct. 19—Pitt and Grand streets; speakers: Jacob Bernstein, H. Bassin, Edelstein, Goldowsky and Mrs. Parower.
Wednesday, Oct. 20—Rivington and Ludlow streets; speakers: Jacob Bernstein, H. Bassin, Edelstein, Goldowsky, and Mrs. Parower.
Wednesday, October 20, noon-day meeting—Corner Pitt and Rivington streets; speakers: William M. Feigenbaum, J. Heller, Mrs. Weingarten and Mrs. Parower.
Thursday, Oct. 21—Corner Columbia and Rivington streets, corner Pitt and Grand streets and corner East Broadway and Clinton street; speakers: Markished, Bassin, Edelstein, Ethelred Brown.
Friday, Oct. 22—Corner Norfolk and Rivington streets, corner Grand and

Penna. Miners in Fight Against Contract Smashers

Fate of Keystone State's Workers Linked Up With Fortunes of Oppressed Coal Diggers in West Virginia

THE magnificent battle the bituminous miners of Pennsylvania are carrying on for the preservation of their union should be followed by the entire American working class. Schwab, Rockefeller, the Mellons and the big railroad combines have repudiated their sworn agreements with the United Mine Workers, and still the union carries on, though with reduced forces.

Next April when the Jacksonville agreement expires the expected national strike may swing back the non-union fields on which the industry pivots. Till then all labor must help the miners to carry on, that the greatest American labor union may survive.

By Art Shields

More than half its former members have been swept out of the miners' union in the great soft coal fields of Pennsylvania by the open shop tide of the last years.

Six desperate months must pass before the three-year Jacksonville agreement expires and the union is free to negotiate another national pact or use the weapon of a national strike to recover its losses. Till then it must depend on local strikes. Local strikes are a frail protection in an over-developed industry that can easily supply the market with only half the mines in operation.

The Allegheny mountains that hide the coal of central Pennsylvania—District 2, U. M. W. A.—and the broad river valleys that overlie the seams of the Western Pennsylvania, or Pittsburgh, district (B) are spotted with these local strikes. The local unions that are left carry bravely on. But they know that their salvation lies in a national movement that will swing the great West Virginia fields back into the fold.

Linked With West Virginia

The fate of the Pennsylvania miners is inseparably wrapped with that of their West Virginia brothers. The breaking of the union's hold in the border state has let loose a flood of cheap scab coal into the northern markets on which the Pennsylvania men depended. The two states together produce about half the total bituminous production of the nation. Formerly Pennsylvania had the major portion, but last year West Virginia, with its more than 30 percent wage differential, nosed it out.

Standing by the Pennsylvania men in this terrible crisis are their union traditions. The Pennsylvania fields are old fields and unionism has a millennial record there of over half a century. Two national unions flourished and faded before the United Mine Workers gained a foothold in the nineties. But with the U. M. W. A. came more permanent organization, rising from the meager membership of the poverty-stricken nineties to the 90,000 men of the war and early post-war years. At last the bituminous fields were almost 100 percent union, except the broad belt of the open shop lands in Somerset, Westmoreland, Fayette and Greene counties in the southern part of the state. The 1923 strike, sweeping these fields also in its wake, made the state for a few glorious months almost solidly union.

The men of the four counties were left out of the settlement in 1923. Soon after the union membership fell to its former proportions. But with the rest of the state still unionized the United Mine Workers were still a highly formidable institution.

Then came the Jacksonville agreement, going into effect April 1, 1924, and promising to give these older fields security for the next three years. Yet—such is the irony of events—the great losses have taken place since this peace treaty was signed.

Scrap of Paper to Operators

The Jacksonville agreement was, in the language of war-time diplomacy, a scrap of paper as far as some large

operators were concerned. They signed it to avoid a national strike in 1924, knowing that the operator who broke the contract would be faced only with local strikes. As long as any operator kept the agreement a complete tieup of the industry would not be attempted.

In 1924 great shutdowns began. Men were being starved by the prospective contract breakers; the Pittsburgh Coal Company, Bethlehem Mines Corp., Buffalo, Rochester & Pittsburgh railroad group and others. After months on the meager relief that district organizations could furnish, men were offered scab work at the 1917 scale, a 30 percent cut. To their honor few accepted. Strikes were fought fiercely against gunmen, imported strikebreakers and all the paraphernalia of the open shop plan.

This summer it seemed that things were cracking. Now comes the British coal demand. Some mines have reopened on the union scale. The union has a slight breathing spell.

But a desperate winter of fighting and waiting is near. The miners need all the rest of the labor movement can give them to maintain what is left of their union till next April, when the chance may come of recovering the rest.

The miners' union in the 14 hill counties of central Pennsylvania that form District 2, United Mine Workers, is standing up under a terrific hammering from open shop operators. Half its members are gone of the 43,000 of early 1922, and exhausting local strikes

are being carried on along many scattered fronts. But still the union is a going concern, able in the recent Clymer explosion to pay out \$13,880 in benefits and donations without a day's delay.

No established section of the union is more exposed than District 2. It lies outside the central competitive field group of western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois that usually receives first consideration in the national policy of the organization. And it lies directly north of West Virginia, in the path of the non-union shipments from the lost field.

N. Y. Central an Exception

Still the union stands as by a miracle after 2½ years of ruthless attack that began with the lockouts that followed the Jacksonville agreement. One by one the big operators have been violating the pact until now only the New York Central interests and a string of independents are paying the union scale and checking off dues and assessments according to written pledge. Most of the remaining union mines are situated along or near the main line of the Pennsylvania in the stretch that connects Altoona and Johnstown. North are the large mountain fields running toward the New York state line and here most of the contract-breaking took place.

There are brisk local strikes against the Peabody Coal Co. that operates for the Erie, against the Buffalo & Susquehanna Coal Co., closely related to Rockefeller's Davis Coal & Coke of Maryland and West Virginia and

Somerset county; against the Imperial and Ivona companies and against many smaller concerns.

John Brophy, president of the district union, saw that the only hope of inflicting costly punishment on the contract-breakers and making an example that would deter others was to use new tactics.

Chautauques Save Union

The Labor chautauques did the trick. They went into the unusually isolated mountain valleys. They gave them an understanding of union problems and a jovial three days to a week of fun that created a spirit on which the operators had not reckoned. Paul V. Fuller, director of workers' education for the district, took charge.

Into dreary mining villages, half dead from unemployment, where the operators were about to start the mines in violation of the contract, Fuller went with his speakers and entertainers. Gay layers of dancing and song, of recitation and band music from the volunteer entertainers that Fuller has mobilized from all over the district sandwich the speeches that tell the disaster of non-unionism; of the faithlessness of operators' promises and of the union hope of nationalization and high wages.

In the Buffalo & Susquehanna strikes at Sagamore, Fuller became supply preacher at the Presbyterian church and got the church choir all winter long out on the picket line, singing songs to the scabs, after a judge enjoined conventional picketing. The problem is to hold till the ex-

piration of the Jacksonville agreement April 1 promises a more effective fight than possible by local strikes. The little flurry of extra work brought by the British lockout cannot last. But the union will survive if possible.

Fight Schwab-Mellon.

Some of the richest men in the world are supporting the war on the coal miners' union in the western Pennsylvania or Pittsburgh district. No. 5, United Mine Workers of America. The Mellon brothers of Pittsburgh Coal and Schwab and Grace of Bethlehem Mines are backing the policy of contract violations by their operating managers.

It is a hardboiled drive to smash the union in this key outpost district of the central competitive field. Gunmen, Burns detectives, renegade union leaders drumming up scabs for operators, fake dual unions, steel wire fencing; searchlights, company-owned sheriffs and courts are among the weapons. And there is another, most serious of all—the cheap scab coal from West Virginia and non-union fields of southwestern Pennsylvania.

Signing of the supposed peace treaty at Jacksonville really marked the start of a more intense war. The ink on the contracts had hardly dried, April, 1924, when the above named operators and others began making preparations to pull out. Knowing that while fellow operators in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois were observing the agreement the union was barred from using the national strike weapon,

the double-crossers went ahead with their treachery. As a first step they shut down their mines through 1924 to starve the workers if possible into a submissive mood. Then in late 1924 and early 1925 they began reopening on the scab 1917 scale with its 30 percent cut—and no checkweighman on the tipple.

Use Renegade.

In the strikes that followed Pittsburgh Coal used E. C. McCullough, renegade former international union vice-president, as a labor scout to preach company goodwill to prospective strikebreakers. Also a pseudo independent union, the federated miners' union, was created by the company with the assistance of Bill Harris, former president of the West Virginia Federation of Labor. But this paper organization blew up in a few months.

Local strikes called by the United Mine Workers did not of course prevent non-union coal from seeping in from the outside, but they greatly slowed up local production and subjected the companies to great expense. In 1925 Pittsburgh Coal passed dividends on common stock and its securities generally fell many points. At the end of two years warfare it had not put one-third of its 51 district mines into operation.

But Pittsburgh Coal has financial affiliations that help it get by. The Mellons are heavy stockholders in more than a score of big corporations and other investors have large outside holdings. The union cannot stand

alone. Without abundant outside aid it will not have the resources to long continue striking against imported coal and imported strikebreakers and starvation. Already half its more than forty thousand members have been swept away. A terrible fall and winter must pass before the Jacksonville agreement terminates and a more hopeful fight can be made. The district union has appealed to the Pittsburgh central labor union and to the state federation for succor and every good union man in whatever trade must come to the rescue if this basic union is not to go the open shop way of the Pittsburgh Steel mills.

Threat From New Mine.

Not all the Pittsburgh companies are contract breakers. The union still has agreements with Vesta Coal Co., a subsidiary of the Jones & Loughlin steel mills, and with Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Corp. and a string of smaller concerns. Vesta No. 4, one of the four Vesta operating mines, has 1,400 miners working steadily. But the Vesta company is now opening a still larger mine, in non-union Greene county to the south. A thousand company houses are being laid out. A giant steel tipple next spring will be dumping coal onto Monongahela river barges.

Will it be union coal? The answer probably depends on the general strength the organization is showing next year.

Steel Coal Challenge

Four old non-union counties of southwestern Pennsylvania can largely make or break the national strike in the bituminous coal fields that may follow the ending of the three-year Jacksonville wage agreement next April.

Four key coal counties—Fayette and Greene, in the grip of the steel interests, that feed their blast furnaces in Pittsburgh and nearby metal towns with coke; Somerset County, controlled by the Berwind-White Coal Company, that bunkers ships and supplies public utilities from its Windsor pits, and by the Consolidation Coal Company, a Rockefeller enterprise, one of the three or four largest coal companies in the nation. Westmoreland County, with its 17,000,000 tons a year, is of major importance.

These four counties, producing altogether some 50,000,000 tons a year, surprised the world by joining the great national coal strike of 1922 and saving the United Mine Workers. Open shop since the Knights of Labor passed in the early nineties, they were counted in the tonnage estimates of the enemy. But the calculations of Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover and other experts that the non-union fields would take care of the market were knocked away. The four-county walk-out shut off nearby sources of supply, and the railroad shipments strike curtailed shipments from more remote fields.

A Pivot Field

What the Somerset-Westmoreland-Fayette-Greene County miners did in 1922 must be repeated if the United Mine Workers are to win the next national strike. Unfortunately, bad feeling was left in the four-county region by the results of the Cleveland conference of 1922, which ignored the men who had saved the rest of the union. The new members were left to continue the struggle by themselves except for the financial assistance which District 2 continued in Somerset to the end and the national union gave the coke field workers of Fayette County for a more limited period. And these local strikes were inevitably broken by the coal which the struck companies were getting from their own mines in other districts. Open shop ruled again.

The bad feeling which was left behind has eased somewhat with the passing of four years and the hope of another joint walkout next April 1, if the union issues the call, is brighter again.

It is a fifty-fifty need. The national union cannot win without the non-union fields, and the men from there cannot recover their wage cuts and regain civil rights in their company towns without the industrial solidarity of the rest of the miners of the nation. No local strikes against their powerful employers can succeed. The Westmoreland County men found that out in the two-year strike of 1911. The Somerset men discovered it in their fruitless continuation of the 1922 strike into 1923. Rockefeller's scores of Consolidation mines in West Virginia, old Virginia, Maryland and Kentucky can easily take care of his market needs while the Somerset men are striking alone; and U. S. Steel can feed its furnaces with West Virginia coke if its mines and ovens of Fayette County alone are tied up.

But when all the miners stand together not all the gunmen at the disposal of these big corporations—there were 2,000 in these four counties alone—can break the strike. That also was shown in 1922, when new and old union men stood together without a break in the five months' common fight.

A Casualty of Europe's Post-War Poverty

(FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Kammerer Kills Self with Gun Near Vienna

Noted Biologist, Who Twice Lectured Here, Brooded Over Lack of Honors at Home

By McAlister Coleman

Is it possible for children to inherit characteristics that have been acquired by their parents? Must every child start all over again? Has the science of biology anything to do with the question of progress?

To the man in the subway these questions must seem a bit academic. While they may engage his interest as a purely speculative subject, at all events one cannot imagine that they should split scientists into bitterly opposing camps and cause in academic circles a furor equal in its intensity to the pre-flight discussions of the comparative merits of Jack Dempsey and Gene Tunney. Nevertheless, such a battle has been raging behind the seemingly serene walls of laboratories and college classrooms. And now word comes from the outskirts of Vienna that one of the principal figures in the impassioned dispute over the possibility of inheriting acquired characteristics has, in a fit of depression, shot himself through the heart with a revolver.

The cable dispatches say that Dr. Paul Kammerer, who killed himself recently, was suffering from mental depression, due to the fact that he was not honored in his own city of Vienna. Scientists who have followed with keen interest the heated attacks on Kammerer's contention that acquired characteristics can be inherited, and Kammerer's equally heated defense of his position, see in the biologist's suicide the self-destruction of a man so immersed in one idea as to become abnormally sensitive over criticism.

An Enthusiastic Socialist

Kammerer believed with all his heart and soul that he had proved his case for the heredity of acquired characteristics. It colored his entire viewpoint towards life, made of him an enthusiastic Socialist, and, incidentally, exposed him to the full batteries of the orthodox biologists. These latter maintained that Kammerer was unscientific

VIENNA, Sept. 24.—The body of Dr. Paul Kammerer, a noted biologist, who in recent years twice made lecture tours of America, was found today on the Schneeberg, near Vienna, where he killed himself with a revolver. It is believed he suffered mental depression due to the fact that he was not honored in his beloved home city of Vienna and was forced to gain a livelihood elsewhere.

Dr. Kammerer belonged to the unorthodox school of science, of

which his friend, Professor Eugene Steinach, was one of the leading representatives. The orthodox scientific circles did not accept his theories, frowned on his socialistic, opposed his aim of popularizing scientific knowledge, and for these reasons prevented fulfillment of his dream of becoming a professor in Vienna.

Dr. Kammerer last year accepted a position as professor of biology in Moscow University. He returned to purchase equipment in Vienna and killed himself when the time came to return to Mos-

cow. He left his rich library to the University of Moscow and his body to the Vienna Anatomical School.

The best known work of Dr. Kammerer is "The Law of Series," in which he sought to explain why one disaster, such as a wreck, is usually followed by a series. He was generally interested in the study of the workings of chance and the mechanism of evolution.

The press of Vienna now pays warm tribute to Dr. Kammerer, lamenting that Vienna's scholars are no longer able to gain a livelihood here.

fallacious. He announced that he had, with his experiments on the sea-squirt, reversed the Weismann theory that the germ plasma may generate the body but that the body could never generate the germ plasma. He stated that he had used the body of the sea-squirt in the part of the organic mediator passing on changes of the body to the germ plasma.

He experimented on birds and frogs, flowers and white rats, water fleas and moths. He found a valuable ally in I. P. Pavlov, who had made experiments on white mice which Kammerer regarded as revolutionary. Pavlov had given what Kammerer believed to be irrefutable proof of the inheritance of acquired characteristics by experimenting with six generations of white mice who were trained to leave their cages at the sound of an electric bell to receive a little piece of cheese, which was beyond their smelling range. This experiment was repeated at short intervals until after 300 times, one generation became excited at the sound of the bell, sniffed about and watered at their mouths. In the offspring of the mice who were thus trained, the association between cheese and bell became so marked that in the second generation a hundred, and in the third only fifty lessons were necessary. In the last generation which Pavlov reported only five signals were needed to start the mice on their quest for cheese which was at once out of range of smell or sight.

Having thus laid the groundwork for what he wholeheartedly believed to be the basis of a scientific philosophy of progress, Kammerer went on to reflect on the possibilities which the inheritance of acquired characteristics opened up. He constantly preached the doctrine that the heredity of acquired characteristics is a means, the application of which is left to every man to use for regenerative or degenerative ends. He was no optimist about the future of Europe, holding with Oswald Spengler, author of "The Decline of Western Civilization," that there was immediate possibility of all Europe buckling under an Oriental invasion.

"But," was his final word, "there still appears to be one chance; if we would only avail ourselves of the possibilities that offer themselves, which are laid bare to our consciousness, to our dignity as human beings, to our scientific insight. I speak only of possibilities, not of Utopian certainty, if I voice the opinion that our children and our children's children will much more speedily attain what once we differently acquire. It will be easier for them to execute what we mastered after hard training; they will survive easily to what we almost succumbed. What we looked for, they will find; where we could make only a beginning, for them it will be happy consummation, and where we battle with victory still uncertain, they let us hope, will conquer."

Kammerer found only a few of the more progressive spirits of his time in sympathy with his views. Vienna, where he most wished to teach his theories, would have none of him. He was offered a position as professor of biology in Moscow University by the Soviets, who naturally sympathized with his philosophy. But his heart was always back in Vienna. He was on his way to Moscow when he went up a mountain pass outside of the Austrian capital and wrote fits to all further experiment and strife with a revolver bullet.

American Students' Impressions of Russia

THAT the Russian life is unbelievably primitive was the major impression the eight American college students brought home from their trip to the Soviet Republic last summer, according to an interview in the October magazine of "The New Student." The tour was managed by Elizabeth K. Van Alstyne, a junior at Barnard College.

"Under the paper—their appearance of Communism," the interview says, "with its dogmatic tenets, its furiously rigorous logic and its fierce hopes, half-slumbers a country thoroughly Asiatic, half-barbarian and unable to imagine American or the true complexities of industrialism in anything but the terms of a fabulous fairy tale. On the plains beyond Samara in the wheat region the Americans stood open-mouthed surveying a country where the peasants drove camels out from the mud-hut villages and plowed with oxen and never saw a piece of furniture in all their lives. The smell was not of gasoline but of the cowdung fuel; horses and wagons scattered in crazy flight before the motor buses."

"Freight cars line the tracks often as skeletons, the wooden part removed for fuel purposes. There hardly is such a thing as Big Industry in Russia. The huge pride of the Bolsheviks in their best factories seemed justified, but not by Western standards. The enormity of the accomplishment occurred to you when you thought of those mud huts on the Asiatic steppes and the primitive small-wheel peasant wagons dragging through the mud."

Mr. Duranti, the correspondent of the "New York Times," told the students that the Russian censorship was the least bothersome he ever worked under.

Some of the many surfaces of college life are treated in other articles of this issue of "The New Student," which is a magazine for college men and women. The spiritual adventures encountered during four years in a small college are depicted in "The College Education of Ross Kimball," by Gorham B. Munson. Fraternity life,

imagines how a researching scientist feels, who, after having gone to all these troubles, having deprived himself not only of the luxuries but of the very necessities of life in order to keep on experimenting, runs up against the cheap but nevertheless glibly swallowed criticisms of an audience only partly informed—criticisms which are the more easy to expound the less the critic knows about the subject in question.

An Ally Is Found

Convinced himself of the value of the salamander experiments, Kammerer next went to work on the sea-squirt to prove that Weismann's theory of the continuity of germ plasma was

Washington.—Three months is the additional period of temporary residence in the United States that has been granted by the U. S. Bureau of Immigration to Vincenzo Vacirca, former Socialist member of the Italian parliament, whose Italian citizenship and property have been taken away by Mussolini. Vacirca was recently notified that his appeal to Washington for the right of political refuge in this country had been granted for a short time, in view of the fact that he could not return to Italy. He entered this country as a visitor in 1925.

CLEMENT WOOD TO SPEAK ON "IS THERE A GOD?"

The first meeting of the newly organized Ingersoll Forum will be held Sunday evening, October 17, at eight o'clock. Clement Wood, the well known author, poet, and critic is to be lecturer and director of the forum, his subject for the first meeting being "Is There a God?" Speeches from the floor will be a feature of the programs. Among those soon to speak at the Ingersoll Forum, is Bishop William Montgomery Brown, the "Heretic Bishop." Admission is free to all, and the meetings are held in the Chamber of Music Hall, Carnegie Hall, 134 West 57th street, Manhattan.

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THIS SATURDAY AFTERNOON, OCT. 16, at 4 p.m.

VERNON LOGGINS will lecture on "The English Aesthetics of the '90s," and after the lecture GENEVIEVE TAGGARD will read from her own poems

The Evolution of Life

Prof. HARRY E. CRAMPTON

Saturday, 2 p.m. October 16 and 23

Man's Growth Into Humanity

Prof. SAM'L C. SCHNECKER

Saturday, 4 p.m. Oct. 30-Nov. 27

The History of Civilization

ALGERNON LEE

Tuesday, 7 p.m. Till January 11

Psychology of Personality

JOSEPH M. OSMAN

Tuesday, 8:30 p.m. Till January 11

COURSE in ENGLISH

Registration is still open for the second-hour classes (8:30 to 10 p.m.) on Monday and Wednesday in English A, English B and English C; also for Correction of Accent, at 8:30 p.m. on Thursday. A new class in English for Beginners, to meet on Tuesday, Thursday and Friday evenings, is now being formed.

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

Pity the Poor Prophets

BEING a prophet myself, I am naturally interested in the troubles of my colleague, Aimee McPherson. It seems to me the poor girl isn't treated just exactly right. It's well enough to stone prophets, make 'em stroll through roaring furnaces, feed 'em to lions, and that sort of thing because that's the regular thing for prophets to go through. But to smear a prophet all over the front pages like she was a common bathing beauty or moving picture actress in the act of divorcing her ninth husband, is going a little too far.

Prophets have a hard life at the best. They have no more privacy than wax dummies in show windows. Everybody, outside of their immediate disciples, is laying for them. Let a prophet make the least little misstep by doing any one of the numerous things which make sinners so interesting, and the whole human pack pounces on him and tears him to tatters.

The only prophet I know of who got a square deal from Providence was Elisha. When the kids poked fun at Elisha by saying, "Go 'way back and set down, you old bald head," the Lord sent bears which devoured the sniffling scoffers, and so the joke was on them. But where, oh, where, are the bears to avenge poor Aimee on the newspaper boys, snaphot shooters, and district attorneys who are making life so miserable for her?

Suppose Aimee did go on a little toot to relieve the terrible moral overstrain from which all prophets suffer occasionally. She ain't the first prophet that disappeared mysteriously and came back with a cock-and-bull story for an alibi. Take this man Jonah, for instance. Jonah left home one day, telling the old lady he was going to Jerusalem or some other "see-port" on important business. He never got to Jerusalem or wherever he said he was going, and when he returned and the old woman accused him of having been out with the boys, or maybe with the girls, which was even more like him, he tells that celebrated fish story of how, for three days and three nights he had been joy-riding in the belly of a whale, and how finally the whale, running out of gas or something, had deposited him on the beach, with care, and right side up.

It was a whopper of a yarn, but it went over big because people in those times were not as inquisitive as they are nowadays. Besides, Jonah showed them the sea and the beach as incontestable proof that it was all so, and that settled it.

Aimee McPherson might have followed the precedent of her illustrious predecessor by explaining her absence through the judicious rewording of the Jonah-and-the-whale story. The raw material was right below her nose. There was the sea, the beach, and Aimee in a one-piece bathing suit. She could have told how, paddling over the briny deep, she was kidnapped by a playful whale who kept her in his stomach for ten days and ten nights as a kind of interior decoration, and discharged her in the same miraculous fashion when the style changed.

Of course, Aimee wouldn't have gotten away with that sort of yarn as far as the general public is concerned. Some professor would have up and proved that there are no whales in California's corner of the ocean. Another would have demonstrated by anatomical charts that the throats of these whales were so narrow that nothing bigger than a sardine could pass through them. Then some smart Alek of a chemist would have shown that the gastric juices on the inside of the whale would have dissolved Aimee before she could have said "Jack Ormiston."

Jonah had nothing like that to contend with. There were no biologists, anatomists and zoologists to pester him with impertinent questions. No gimlet-eyed Youvegottoshowme, could not back him in a corner and cork-screw damaging admissions out of his soul. The third degree was still sleeping in the womb of civilization and district attorneys had not yet sunk so low that they had to put others in a hole to tuck above them.

I guess Aimee realized how times had changed, so she concocted that awful tale of being kidnapped by bandits and held for ransom in a lonely shack so far from civilization that even Pathe's news-reelers, "who see all," couldn't register her plight. It was a poor tale, and totally unworthy of a prophessee. Any cub reporter could have manufactured a better yarn out of undiluted moonshine.

But, however that may be, the lack of literary inventiveness is no criminal offense, so why treat poor Aimee like she was a beer runner? Suppose she did sneak away with that radio man and hide in a cottage by the sea, as the newspapers say? We are all radio fans. We all enjoy bedtime stories, and where would the bedtime stories be if it wasn't for broadcasters?

Besides, the good book says there is more rejoicing in Heaven over one returning sinner than over ninety-and-nine saints who stay hitched. So let us rejoice with Heaven that Aimee is back. Let us not swallow Hollywood and gag on Aimee!

Let the millions of yet uncaught generously refrain from heaving rocks at one that was only nearly caught. Above all, let us not deprive the tired and retired farmers of the corn belt who moved to Los Angeles to die, of their prophessee. Aimee showed these poor things a short cut to Heaven, or rather the only right road to Heaven. They are all dressed up and rarin' to go, but where will they go if Aimee fails them on the very eve of ascension day?

For my part, I am ready to forgive and forget. My only regret is that Aimee didn't get up a better yarn explaining her absence. It leaves the impression that us prophets ain't what we used to be.

Raw! Raw! Hold That Plow!

Now that all of the nice Senate gentlemen who kept cool with Coolidge when the farmers wanted help have felt the cold prongs of the farmers' pitchforks in the vicinity usually reserved for a swivel chair's carefree, the politicians down at Washington are getting wrought up over the plight of the horny-handed agriculturists. If the so-called sons and heirs of Tom Jefferson kick Cal in some more sore spots in November, our statesmen will be in the position of the cloak and suit manufacturer at the banquet. It was a banquet given to celebrate an unusually prosperous year in the industry. All the speakers had dilated on how much money they had piled up and how pretty they were sitting, until finally one man rose in protest.

"Brother manufacturers," he said, "it is true, as you have remarked, that we have all done mighty well. But not every one in this country is as prosperous as we are. Lots of folks are not at all well off. Some of them are even poor. We should think of them. We should do something for them. Give them something to show that we appreciate their predicament. Brothers, I propose that we rise and give three cheers for the poor."

Possibly some tender-hearted Democrat will propose three cheers for the unfortunate tillers of the soil.

Adam Coldigger.

Philosophy of Syndicalism THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

(Continued From Last Week.)

Syndicalism and the Class Struggle

THE various revolutionary forces centering in the General Confederation of Labor soon began to formulate a distinct philosophy known as syndicalism. The main tenets of this philosophy have already been indicated. The fundamental idea of revolutionary syndicalism, as of Marxian socialism, is the idea of the class struggle. Society is divided into two classes—the workers, who own nothing but their labor power, and who live by selling it, and the employers, who own the instruments of production. Between these two classes constant struggle is being waged. This struggle is not a fact to be deplored, but a creative force leading to the emancipation of the working class. It is the class struggle that is unifying the workers in their fight to end exploitation, that is making them rely on their own ability, that is developing their self-consciousness, their intellectual and moral nature and that is creating forms of organization proper to them.

The Syndicate the Germ of Social Organization

"The task of the syndicalists is to organize the more or less class-feeling of the workingman and to raise it to a clear consciousness of class interests and of class ideals. This aim can be attained only by organizing the workingmen into syndicates. The syndicate is an association of workmen of the same or of similar trades, and is held together by bonds of common interests.

In this is its strength. Of all human groupings it is the most fundamental and the most permanent, because men in society are interested above everything else in the satisfaction of their economic needs. . . .

"Political parties, groups of idealists, or communities possessing a common creed (the syndicalists continue), are associations which cannot but be weak and transient, in view of their heterogeneous composition and of the accidental character of their bond of union. Political bodies, for instance, are made up of men of various interests grouped only by community of ideas. Only in groupings of real and fundamental interests, such as the syndicates, are men of the same conditions brought together for purposes inextricably bound up with life. . . .

"A workman enrolling in a syndicate is not entering a party, not subscribing to a platform, nor accepting a creed. He is simply entering into a relation which is forced upon him by his very position in society, and is grouping himself with his fellowmen in such a way as to derive more strength for himself in his struggle for existence, contributing at the same time to the strength of his fellowmen. These conditions make the syndicate peculiarly fit to serve the interests of the workingmen. The syndicate is a sphere of influence which by the volume of its suggestion and the constancy and intensity of its action shapes the feelings and ideas of the workingmen after a certain pattern. . . .

"The syndicates should prefer indus-

trial unionism to craft or trade unionism. The separation of workmen into trades is apt to develop in them a corporate spirit which is not in harmony with the class-idea. The industrial union, on the other hand, widens the mental horizon of the workman and his range of solidarity with his fellow workers and thus serves better to strengthen his class consciousness."

Direct Action

Furthermore, through the syndicate, the workers can enter into a "direct" struggle with their employers. "Direct action" is the only means, claims the syndicalist, of educating the worker and of preparing them for their final struggle for freedom. "Direct action" is action by the workmen themselves without the help of intermediaries; it is not necessarily violent action, although it may assume violent forms; it is the manifestation of the consciousness and of the will of the external agent; it consists of pressure exerted directly for the sake of obtaining the ends of view."

The Educative Power of Strikes

Direct action may be of various kinds. The principal forms of such action, however, are the strike, the boycott, the label and sabotage. Of these types of action, the most important is the strike. "The strike brings the workman face to face with the employers in a clash of interests. A strike clears up, as if by a flash of lightning, the deep antagonism which exists between those who employ and those who work for employers. It further deepens the chasm between them,

consolidating the employers on the one hand, and the workmen on the other, over against one another. It is a revolutionary fact of great value."

All strikes, the syndicalists hold, have some revolutionary influence. The extent of that influence, however, depends on the way in which the strike is conducted. "If the workmen rely only on their treasury, the strike degenerates into a mere contest between two money bags—that of the employer and that of the syndicate—and loses much of its value." Conciliation and arbitration should also be avoided. Strikers should endeavor to win their battles through "sturm und drang," through quick and energetic pressure on the employers. The financial strength of the workers while on strike should be regarded as unimportant. Money, of course, is necessary. But money should be secured for the conduct of the strike, whenever possible, from other trades and industries. Thus given it helps to develop class solidarity. Sympathetic strikes are often a means of winning a victory for the workers.

The label, on the other hand, helps to show labor its power as consumer. In wielding the boycott, workmen mobilize their power both as consumers and producers.

Sabotage

Sabotage, a weapon given much prominence in the syndicalist philosophy, consists "in obstructing in all possible ways the regular process of production to the dismay and disadvantage of the employer."

(To Be Continued Next Week)

Poisoning The Day's News

TO THE serious student of the American scene, if indeed one can keep his sanity while gazing upon contemporaneous capitalism at work, there is nothing more amazing than a glimpse into the offices of a modern press agent, or, as he would prefer to be called, "Counselor on Public Relations."

Amid luxurious surroundings that even the largest newspapers would not dare to rival, recent college graduates under the tutelage of one or two newspaper veterans are rushing about in a state of pop-eyed excitement, telephoning, grinding out copy on electrically-driven typewriters, calling for messenger boys, generally behaving as though a breathless public were hanging upon their every action. A city room just before press time is a place of comparative calm alongside a modern propaganda mill stripped for action.

The bewildered visitor who asks what all this feverish bustle is about is informed that a client of the agent's is about to deliver a speech on "America's Red Menace and How to Stamp It Out" before the American Association of Patriotic Brokers' Clerks and that every word of this immortal effort must be in the hands of the newspaper men by the time the client rears to his feet and commences with the joke about the two Irishmen.

Year after year these mills increase both in personnel and output. A generation ago the press agent, employed almost exclusively by theatre folk, was generally regarded by the newspapers as a slinking pariah to be scorned and shunned by all God-fearing reporters. Today, despite the fact that he is at the same old game of getting something for nothing he is accepted everywhere and looked upon as a professional man. Press agents such as the notorious Ivy Lee (formerly known as Poison Ivy Lee) are respected and feared by working newspaper men. Canned interviews, canned reports of the doings of the Super-Babbits, canned statements of their views on every conceivable topic from immortality to immorality are not only accepted but dished up to readers as legitimate news. A few weeks ago a press agent advertised his service in the columns of the New York Times, something that would have been absolutely impossible a few years back. It is estimated that there are over one thousand working press agents who spend all their time on the job in this country today, and there are many thousands more who take on press-agenting as a side line. Wealthy seekers for fame and the ear of the public, whether they go in for bathtub parties or national politics, find a press agent as necessary as a bank account.

More and more reporters are finding it easier to call up the press agent and take his mimeographed version of a news event than to cover the story in person. With the advent of the press agent began the decline of newspaper reporting to the low level it has sunk today.

Now, whereas before the war the bulk of the propaganda sent to the press by agents was harmless enough, the new techniques for hooking slinging developed by bureaux of information and the like during our war to end war were brought to bear upon vital matters directly touching the welfare of all of us. We cannot soon forget the very mastery and subtle manner in which the Government control of railways was sabotaged by the press agents of special privilege until the people were actually sold the myth that Government control was a failure. From railways the propaganda spread to coal mines, water-power and electrical utilities; in short, it was used so effectively to bolster up the arguments for private exploitation of public resources that it will require a vast amount of argument to persuade the people that they can run their own businesses.

No better example of the manner in which propaganda is being used directly against the interests of the people themselves is offered than the activities of the National Electric Light Association. Day by day from its New York offices issues a veritable stream of propaganda in favor of the private monopoly of public utilities. Mr. Raushenbush, who, by the way, has caused this group considerable worry by his exposure of their distortion of facts and figures, has already told this conference some of the ways in which they make the worse appear the better cause. With the prestige that comes from such advertising expenditures as that made by the General Electric, the Association's propaganda is assured of a hearty welcome in the news columns of nearly every large circulation newspaper in the country. The bulk of this appears on the financial pages alongside the advertisements of investment houses offering utility stocks for sale, but, when any particularly brazen steal of public property is contemplated, the press material issued by the Association is well featured. The Association undertakes to censor every speech of any importance made by utility spokesmen the country over, thus establishing a unified policy and concentrating fire on a few salients. To this end they have gotten up a hand-book for speakers, which not only gives the principal arguments for private exploitation, but also contains a general treatise on the art of public speaking, with directions for holding the attention of a crowd, the correct posture for a speaker, etc. Through widespread use of the radio under the guises of "educational talks," through the papers, through conventions and conferences, through direct mail material, and, of course, through paid advertising as well, the Association has done yeoman's work in deluding 100,000,000 Americans into the belief that the utility companies are in business for service with profit as an insignificant side line.

The American Telephone and Telegraph Company, alma mater of the Bell system, is another concern whose publicity methods are worth studying. One wing of the information department, in other words, the propaganda branch, devotes its activities to nothing but an attempt to discredit public ownership of the world over.

Bertrand Russell has a grand article in this month's Harper's, called "The Evil That Good Men Do." Here is a theme upon which some more mature persons can easily wax eloquent, and Russell does it full credit. "Good men" have long since become the chief menace to civilization in America. Every year we hear the cry that "good men will not go into politics." The reverse is the case. Good men are everywhere going into politics and passing countless laws for the curbing of the pleasures of their less virtuous brethren. The whole mess of sumptuary legislation comes directly from the highly obnoxious viewpoint of the good man. Of course, the good men keep far away from anything that really matters in the line of fundamental economics, sociology, or industrial affairs. Provided that the day laborer shows up at the plant, clean and sober, washed behind the ears, and perfectly happy to spend all day putting square pegs into round holes, the good man is content. And by giving said laborer enough to allow him to buy a radio on the installment plan, he impregnates the son of toil with the pernicious philosophy of contentment. In and out of our labor movement we need some real tough bad men who are not bothered so much with personal habits as making the country a fit place for other than moral morons.

McAlister Coleman.

GOVERNOR MINTURN A Labor Novel of the Northwest

By M. H. HEDGES

(Continued From Last Week.)

Chapter XVI. Like the Base Indian

ALL through the long illness which followed Dan was harassed by the notion that he would not get well. He lay abed in the guest room of the Gaylord house, where his eye could travel the wide, unfrequented street, while Agatha and the nurse fluttered in and out, bringing him books he did not want to read, food he did not care to eat, and flowers whose odor sickened him. They would come and stand before him and say, "Is there anything you want?" And he would answer, "No, no, nothing. Not a thing." They repeated their admonitions. "When one has had pneumonia one must eat to get back his strength." "I suppose so. But I'm not hungry. Later, I'll have something. After a while."

Occasionally an automobile passed by. He seemed to look upon it from an immense distance with a great and cold indifference. The street itself with its rows of pretentious houses interested him not at all. At first, he thought his distaste for living was due to weakness. But as his strength came back and he began to sit up in a chair at the window and to make pretense at reading books and newspapers, he found that he had no desire to go out. The thought of the crowded downtown streets filled him with fear.

"I'm resting," he told Agatha when she came to cheer him. "Let me alone, dear. I'm tired. It's a great sport just to lie back and do nothing."

Weeks passed. One summer night he was awakened by a passing machine that trailed snatches of song, laughter and young voices after it, as it flashed by. He could not go back to sleep after that, and he lay musing. . . . Suddenly he wanted to get up, and go out into the night. The echo of the song he had just heard was still in his ears, and he remembered his youth. He arose, found his clothes, dressed and went quietly downstairs, let himself out into the

garden, thence into the street. . . . He looked about him with a sense of joy. . . . The night was soft, starry, and still. The air was fragrant with lilac, and the young foliage of the trees was frothy against the brilliant sky. He began to walk slowly toward his mother's house. His strength came back. He breathed in deep draughts of the cool air, and felt regenerated.

The little house was dark and still, with a look of unwonted emptiness. He paused and looked at it pityingly. He wondered if old Tom was living there alone. He must see his father tomorrow.

He went on down the street walking more rapidly now—with a purpose of which he was scarcely aware. He traversed block after block without weariness. At length he came to the broad sweep of the cemetery, where the trees made a canopy of black intertangled branches. With difficulty, he found his mother's grave. He had not been there since the funeral. Was that possible? He sat down on the warm, moist earth. A cricket began to chirp above his head. He felt happy. . . .

The next day he went to his office for the first time.

Walter Hampden came to Minneapolis, and Dan and Agatha went to see "Othello." Beginning with indifference, Dan suddenly felt the tragic story grip and hold him. He watched with dreadful fascination the sly enmeshments of Othello's soul, the poor Moor's struggles, and the dreadful consequences of human frailty. . . . The next morning he was haunted by Shakespearean decadences; fragments of the action came back to haunt him; the deep-toned tragic music of Hampden's voice lingered in his ears. He was haunted with a sense of recognition of a reality he could not grasp. He felt meanings in the play he could not fathom.

The next evening he asked Agatha to go again to the theatre with him.

"Can't, Dan," she said, thinking of Desdemona, "it is too awful."

He went alone. Again the unfolding curtains upon the magic of another

world—the inner world of titanic souls. He watched again, fascinated, seeking for the sign. At last, the words he sought came back to him upon the wings of Hampden's voice. They seemed to Dan the most tragic ever uttered.

Soft you: a word or two before you go.

I have done the state some service, and they know't.

No more of that. I pray you in your letters.

When you shall these unlucky deeds relate.

Speak of me as I am; nothing extenuate.

Nor set down aught in me as I am. . . .

. . . Of one whose hand.

Like the base Indian threw a pearl away.

Richer than all his tribe. . . .

Those last lines rang like a tolling bell!

He kept his word and went to see his father. Tom was grayer, but no older. He got his meals at Hugh's and Alice's, but slept in his own cottage. Dan liked to go in and out of the old home, and planned usually to find Tom there after work in the evening. While Tom talked, he often sat in his mother's chair. Father and son got along well together, but Dan soon found that Tom did not need him. Dan noted that his father was paying strict attention to his appearance, and Robley later told him that his father was calling on a widow. At first Dan was inclined to resent what seemed to him such early disloyalty to his mother, but when he saw old Tom's revived interest in life, he relented, and forgave him.

In his office one day, Dan's mind reverted to the afternoon long ago when Agatha had told him about her break with her father. He concluded that that episode intruded itself now, partially because of his own renewed interest in his father and partially because the Minturns were just completing their new home on the Manhattan Road. So excited and busy was Agatha with the details of moving that she could not "bother with a husband." He was lonely. He was curious. On another day the thought of old Morreson again intruded, and again he considered the possibility of calling. Finally one afternoon he gave up to the impulse, and walked over to the old house on Hawthorne Place.

Through the cob-webbed windows he saw stacks of books on dusty cases. He opened the door and went in, not without regretation. A little bald-headed man with glasses pushed up high upon a wrinkled forehead came diffidently toward him.

"Something?" he said to the supposed customer.

"Mr. Morreson, I'm Dan Minturn," Dan announced, proffering his hand. The little man looked confused. "Your son-in-law," Dan explained. "You came to see me. You came? I'm so glad."

He dusted off an old chair, and asked Dan to be seated. They looked at each other amicably. Their conversation lagged. They found that they hit it off best when they talked about books. Dan ventured to talk about his interest in "Othello." Mr. Morreson said that he liked "Othello" too, but that of all Shakespeare's plays, he liked "Lear" best. It was stupendous, mighty and true, so true.

Dan left, promising to come again. They were more at home with each other on the occasion of the next visit.

It came about that Dan came once a week to sit in old Morreson's shop. Coming there, talking with Agatha's father answered something within him—a hunger that had to be answered. It was all very strange to be sitting in the gray bookish atmosphere of the

Morreson bookshop listening to Hector Morreson expostulate on books. The experience was never real. It was like everything else these days—a dream.

They never talked of Agatha. If Dan made reference to her the little man avoided comment. But as Dan grew used to his ways—subtle, almost feminine—he came to understand that amidst all the comment about books, some of it rich and some of it so much chaff, there was a thread of bitter allusion to Agatha.

"I'm old-fashioned. You'll find that out, Mr. Minturn," Hector said on occasion. "I have been left behind in the procession." He laughed weakly, wagging his bald head over his plight. "But the joke's not on me. No sir, it's not on me. It's on them that trail after false gods, Mr. Minturn. They will come to a bad end."

"When one is in the book business as I am, Mr. Minturn, one can feel the pulse of the generation. Looky, he pointed to the dusty volumes piled to the ceiling—all the ancient and modern classics going to waste. Not a person's been in today to buy. I often say, 'What do folks do with themselves nowadays. There's the movies—frivolous waste of time. If they'd only read good books.' " He went on with asperity. "And the women, they worship only material success. They want a man that's got money, that can load them with furs and silks and diamonds. Why, I read in the paper the other day where a young fellow in a bank took \$50,000 and confessed. All because he wished to please his wife. Why, I've known daughters to forsake their own fathers for luxury."

There was no manifestation of pain or bitterness in the last words, only intellectual pride tinged with romantic sadness.

"I'll be vindicated, Mr. Minturn, as sure as you're alive. The day will come when I shall be proved right. . . . They will crumble like chaff. . . . Man can't live by bread alone."

Dan conceived the idea of bringing his father to see Hector Morreson. He purchased a box of cigars, got the two old men together, and watched them get acquainted. In the back end of the book shop. They were soon like old cronies, smoking and bawling the departed past. It amused Dan.

4

Minturn decided to erect a marble shaft to the memory of his mother. He made elaborate plans, sending to Italy for the stone, and employing a well-known sculptor to cut it. He ordered it carved with a full-rigged ship setting sail on an unknown sea. He found deep satisfaction in watching each minute development in this project. He paid daily visits to the stone-cutter's shop. After the work was finished he had the lot at the cemetery landscaped. He liked to stand by the grave and think about his mother. It satisfied his sense of justice to have the narrow, straitened life of Emily Selkirk Minturn marked by a choice marble from the Italian hills.

After the monument was in place, however, and the last shrub upon the grave planted, he faced the prospect of finding a new interest. What? . . . One night he dreamed again the old dream of crowds in strange, bizarre cities—crowds of which he was intimately apart. When he awoke he went downtown and purchased a bust of Mazzini. . . .

He became aware in time that he was running away from something—emptiness—the gray demon that had pursued him ever since he had been ill.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

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Workers in Big Response To Organization Drive of N. Y. Jewelry Union

The Field of Labor

THE whole jewelry trade has been set on edge by the big general mass meeting of the International Jewelry Workers' Union, Local No. 1, held at Bryant Hall, Thursday evening, October 7, 1926. The place was packed. The response to the speeches by William Karlin, August Claessens and Organizer, Samuel Boardley was a rush of new members. The workers have stiffened in their resistance to the "bosses."

The Jewelry Union has been, up to recently, practically in a state of collapse since the great general strike in 1919-1920. For six months, from September to April, the men fought stubbornly against the newly organized Jewelry Crafts Association, representing the employers. It was their period of boom. At that time they enjoyed many advantages—the forty-four hour week; double time for overtime, Sundays and holidays; a four weeks' probationary period for new men; equal distribution of work during the slack season; a ratio of one apprentice to every ten journeymen; wages for workers on platinum of from \$1.50 to \$3.60 an hour and for those on gold of from \$1 to \$1.75. The membership at that time was about thirty-five hundred. The men were confident and demanded a thirty-nine hour week without a change in wages. The strike proved disastrous. Scabbing is particularly easy in this line, since a man can take home in his pockets tools and material upon which to work without being suspected. After six months of struggle the men—or what was left of them—voted to return to work. The "bosses" had promised them, orally—there had never been written agreements, even in the best of days—that they would receive the forty-four hour week and time and a half for overtime, but that the open shop would prevail. The other former conditions, would, of course, go to the board. The workers had no alternative but to accept what was offered. The union membership at this point dropped to almost nothing. The sole evidence that remained that there was a union at all was the union treasury, which had survived because it had not been the practice to pay strike benefits. As a result of the defeat of 1921 demoralization set in. It is only since last summer that the apathy has shown signs of wearing off. Hence, the response to the present organization drive.

A new situation arose at the end of the strike. The trade fell into chaos. The absence of union conditions destroyed the uniformity that had prevailed previously. The verbal promises made to the returning men fell into the discard. Hours were indefinite during the busy seasons preceding Christmas and Easter and straight time was paid. To make matters worse, machinery for dyeing and pressing was introduced, particularly in the gold shops. The old skill of the jeweler became useless. His rate of pay fell to a dollar and less an hour. Boys at twelve to twenty dollars a week were brought in to perform the work made possible by division of labor. Over a group of them was placed a finisher or inspector, who received a dollar an hour. The home-work evil became more chronic than before, since the assembling could very well be done outside after hours. Cut-throat competition among the manufacturers became the order of the day. The old rule of "prices are subject to change without notice," which meant upward, of course, had to be taken off billheads. "Boards," that is, jewelers who hired bench space in another person's shop and did a petty business of their own, flourished. The "cockroach" shop, consisting of a number of partners who work themselves to death to get all the business they can from the next fellow, became a chronic evil.

Last August the International Jewelry Workers decided that the time was ripe for a big drive. Union conditions, everybody realized, was needed by the trade. Jewelry was a luxury and could absorb any wage increases, provided that the cut-throat competition ceased. The initiation fee of \$25 was, therefore, eliminated for the time being, but it is about to be restored again. Within the last three months the membership has about doubled, although still below the 1920 level.

A victory of the union would mean the forty-four hour week again enforced by double time for overtime; abolition of piece work and homework; the passing away of the "boarder" and "cockroach" shops, since the men could make more at the bench than in doing a piecework business of their

own and since an employer would be forced to make his "boarders" vacate; equalization of work, the four-week probationary period; closing books to apprentices until the present number of youngsters are absorbed, and finally an advance of wages all along the line. The next mass meeting will take place at the end of October, the time and place to be announced later. L. S.

THE ITALIAN CHAMBER OF LABOR AT WORK

The Italian Chamber of Labor is performing a unique service in New York City. It organizes the unorganized in trades where Italians are predominant and then gets them into the American Federation of Labor. Its methods and accomplishments ought to be studied. The general organizer is Leonardo Frisina. During the last two weeks, for example, several thousand workers were organized. The artificial flower and feather workers are a case in point. They suffered such miserable conditions that the organizers had to exert the strongest efforts to induce the exploited girls not to strike until their union was established more firmly. It is expected that the scattered locals in this trade will eventually be federated into an international union affiliated with the A. F. of L. The macaroni and spaghetti workers have also responded to the appeal of organization. In the instance of the hat block and die makers, the newly organized union has already presented demands to the employers for increases in wages of from five to twenty-five per cent and for the forty-four hour week. The seven unions brought into existence by the Italian Chamber of Labor within the last few months are a splendid example of what intelligent and determined effort can be done to bring the unorganized into the ranks of organized labor. The chamber is to hold its convention the first week in November. L. S.

READING, PA., REFUSES TO BE A PASSAIC

The attempt of some cloak "bosses" in Reading, Pa., bids well to turn out to be a boomerang not only for the particular individuals involved but also for the employers of that city in general. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union organized a strike against the Lorraine Company. On the first day of hostilities J. Henry Stump, president of the Federated Trades Council, and seven pickets were arrested. The firm also obtained a temporary injunction against the strikers, but this was dismissed by Judge John D. Stevens in the Berks County Court. The American Civil Liberties Union assisted in the case. All this has created such a sensation in Reading that labor, organized and unorganized, has been aroused. The time seems opportune for waging a drive among the women workers, who are numerous and to whose competition is due the low level of wages that prevails. The Women's Trade Union League will be called in to give aid. Reading will not become a second Passaic is the determination of labor men and their liberal sympathizers. The Lorraine Company certainly stirred up a hornet's nest. L. S.

Trade Union Propaganda Week Being Planned

Judging by information received from almost all the national centers affiliated with the I. F. T. U., there has been an excellent response in some countries, even a brilliant one, to the appeal to signalize the 25th anniversary of the International Trade Union Movement by extensive propaganda under the slogan, "Back to the Unions; Fight for the International Eight-Hour Day." Press articles, meetings and public demonstrations, recruiting in factories and workshops, house-to-house canvassing, the distribution of leaflets, etc., are all means which are being used to approach the unorganized to the last man and woman, and to win them over to join the ranks of the "free" trade unions. Great preparations have been made almost everywhere to celebrate the anniversary.

There is every reason to hope and expect that these organized efforts will bring many new recruits into the trade unions of all countries and thus accelerate the forward march of the trade union movement which has already begun.

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THE ELECTRICAL WORKERS STORY

By LOUIS STANLEY SILVERSTEIN

1.—National Beginnings (1876-1893)

ELECTRICITY occupies a strategic position in our industrial order. It is light and heat and power. It will be even more important in the future. Therefore, the status of the worker in this industry is of the greatest concern—to capital, which wants to be assured of an uninterrupted supply; to the government, which professes an interest in preserving stability; to organized labor, which needs the assistance of every man and woman in the basic industries in case of a great economic and political struggle.

The unionization of electrical workers is almost coincident with the emergence of electricity as a commodity commercially significant. True, the telegraph was invented in 1844 and by the time of the Civil War a network of wires made communication possible from one corner of the country to another. Then, with the close of hostilities the first transatlantic cable was laid. However, it was not until 1876 that the electrical industry took on its present stride. In that year there was held at Philadelphia the Centennial Exposition, a great success in contrast to its ancestor fifty years later. There were exhibited at that occasion two epoch-making electrical devices—the telephone and the arc-light. The Age of Electricity may really be said to have begun then. Within a few years central generating stations began to appear on every hand. Soon electricity invaded or created new fields of endeavor. Today it entails an investment of more than twenty-five billion dollars.

We know that at the time of the Philadelphia Exposition telegraph linemen were already affiliated with the Knights of Labor, the predecessor of the American Federation of Labor. Not being numerous enough to form exclusive local assemblies of their own, they became "sojourners" in those that already existed. Around 1880 they had increased sufficiently in number to warrant the formation of assemblies composed only of telegraph linemen and in the winter of 1881-1882, according to the practice of the Knights of Labor, even organized a District Council, No. 45, to which only they could belong. So far so good, but the young organization through lack of caution and excess of zeal risked a general strike of telegraph workers in 1883. The result was characteristic of the decentralized control of the Knights. The workers were thoroughly vanquished. District Council No. 45 was smashed.

Still the efforts at organization did not cease. In 1884 the United Order of Linemen was founded at Denver, Colorado. It won the attachment of several local unions in the West, but

it was bound to fail. Its secrecy repulsed the bulk of the electrical workers. Its confinement to linemen only was short-sighted in the face of the increasing number of workers in other branches of the electrical industry. After an early spurt it began to decline and by 1890 only some remnants of it still remained on the Pacific Coast.

Another exposition supplied the next formative influence in the history of the electrical workers. This time the scene was St. Louis, the year 1893. The up-to-date directors of the fair determined to attract visitors by an abundance of electrical displays. Electricians from all over the country sped to St. Louis to get the opportunity of setting up the magic lights. Conversation often turned to organization. Many of the men had had trade union experience before in various parts of the country. The consensus of opinion was that electrical workers could only be united effectively, if other branches besides linemen were included in one body. It was argued that a beginning could be made with the wiremen and linemen on the exposition grounds. At this juncture Charles Cassel, an organizer of the A. F. of L., came upon the scene. Under his direction Wiremen's and Linemen's Union No. 5221 was chartered by the American Federation of Labor and the seed of the present International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers was planted.

It was fortunate that the first president of the new union, elected in January, 1891, had the vision and the pertinency of Henry Miller. He understood that no progress could be made with a local organization. In the first place, when the exposition ended the members returned to their respective homes. In the second place, he recognized that in the telegraph and telephone businesses were in the hands of enormous corporations operating on a national basis. Only a union as widely organized as the employers could contend with them and win.

With the help of a special committee Miller circulated all the electrical workers in the country whose names and addresses he could secure. Five cities were induced to organize unions but the results in general did not please this restless spirit. At his own expense he ventured forth alone. Evansville, Louisville, Indianapolis, Chicago and Milwaukee were graced by his presence and in each he left behind him a local union as a token of his activity. Unions were also established at Toledo, New Orleans, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and Duluth. The time seemed ripe for a national organization.

When, therefore, Wiremen's and Linemen's Union No. 5221 issued a call

for a national convention, the response was immediate. On November 21, 1891, the delegates of eight local unions, representing around three hundred workers, met at St. Louis and organized the National Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America on November 28. As might be expected, the tireless Henry Miller was made first grand president. St. Louis, Evansville, Indianapolis, Toledo, Chicago, Philadelphia, Milwaukee and Duluth constituted the first family circle.

The St. Louis Local now showed its liberality by offering to lend money to the Brotherhood to defray the expenses of the convention, to set up a national office in its city and to finance President Miller's hurried trip to the A. F. of L. convention at Birmingham, Alabama. There a charter was obtained in November, 1891, granting the National Brotherhood of Electrical Workers jurisdiction over all electrical workers in the United States.

The constitution adopted at St. Louis had one grave defect, which continued to hamper the growth of the union until it was corrected in 1895. A low per capita tax of ten cents per month for each member was required by every local, while at the same time a death benefit for both husband and wife was established. The aim was commendable, but the means were suicidal. Old members died and in death made demands upon the union treasury, while recruits could not be won easily because the funds required for organization work were consumed by the deceased. The union actually fell into debt.

Still President Miller did not throw up his hands in despair. Showing his mettle once more, he set out on the road again, working his way from one city to another, bringing the message of unionism. He was able to report at the second annual convention in Chicago, 1892, that the membership had increased to sixteen hundred and the number of local unions to forty-five. At this meeting the chief weakness of the organization was further aggravated by doubling the death benefits without changing the per capita tax. No doubt that had some attractions for new members. At the third convention the number of locals increased to sixty-five although the membership remained about stationary. In view of the industrial depression that hit the country in 1893 this was not discouraging at all. To offset the drain on the treasury made by the death benefit system the per capita tax was inadequately increased to fifteen cents. At the same time the first inkling of the internal dissension that was to rend the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in two within a few years was noticed, but that is a story for our next installment.

New York Socialist Meetings

(Continued from page 3)

Monday, Oct. 18—Corner Stockton and South Third street; speakers: Hyman Nemer, Harry Schachner and E. Bromberg.

Thursday, Oct. 21—Corner Roehling and South Third street; speakers: Joseph Tuvin, Hyman Nemer, Harry Schachner and E. Bromberg.

Sunday, Oct. 23—Corner Haver-meyer and South Fourth street; speakers: Jessie Stephen of Great Britain, Hyman Nemer, E. Bromberg and H. Schachner.

6th Assembly District, Brooklyn Monday, Oct. 18—Corner Green and Stuyvesant; speakers: Samuel H. Friedman, Joseph Tuvin and Samuel Pavlov.

Wednesday, Oct. 20—Corner Tompkins and Stockton; speakers: August Claessens, Samuel H. Friedman, Joseph Tuvin and Samuel Pavlov.

Friday, Oct. 22—Corner Varet and Graham; speakers: Ethelred Brown and J. V. N. V.

Saturday, Oct. 23—Corner Graham and Depevoise; speakers: J. V. N. V., Jessie Stephen of Great Britain, and Joseph Tuvin.

22nd Assembly District, Brooklyn Friday, Oct. 15—Corner Sheffield and Sutter avenues; speakers: Esther Friedman, Ethelred Brown and Samuel Kantor.

23rd Assembly District, Brooklyn Saturday, Oct. 16—Corner Hopkinson and Pitkin avenues; speakers: William Karlin, Morris Paris and others.

Monday, Oct. 18—Corner Thattford and Pitkin avenues; speakers: August Claessens, Morris Paris and Pitkin.

Tuesday, Oct. 19—Corner Stone and Pitkin avenues and Herkimer and Ralph; speakers: William Karlin, Joseph Tuvin, Morris Paris and J. Brodsky.

Wednesday, Oct. 20—Corner Herzl and Pitkin avenues; speakers: Esther Friedman, Henry Fruchter and Morris Paris.

Thursday, Oct. 21—Osborn and Pitkin avenue; speakers: Norman Thomas, W. Weinberg and Morris Paris.

Friday, Oct. 22—Corner Hopkinson and Pitkin avenues; speakers: Sam A. DeWitt, Jessie Stephen, A. I. Ship-lacoff and Morris Paris.

Saturday, Oct. 23—Corner Bristol and Pitkin avenues; speakers: Jacob Axelrod, Sam Friedman and Morris Paris.

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Swedish Unions Gain Members and Strength; Anniversary Celebrated

Labor Doings Abroad

THE report presented by President Thorberg to the national convention of the Swedish Federation of Labor, held in Stockholm, Aug. 28 to Sept. 4, furnished more proof of the strength of the organized labor movement in that sparsely-populated Northern land. Instead of slipping back from the high mark reached in the immediate post-war period, as has been the case in nearly every other country, the Swedish unions have continued to rally the workers to their standard and in June last their membership totalled 397,354, an increase of 34,617 on Dec. 31, 1925, and 25,917 on Dec. 31, 1922.

Furthermore, the unions have been able to check the move toward big wage cuts during the recent years of trade slumps and unemployment, and in 1925 the actual purchasing power of the organized workers' pay was 22 per cent. higher than in 1913.

Among the important resolutions adopted by the congress, the first held in four years, was one condemning the tendency of some unions, notably in the building trades, to try to effect monopoly of their work by refusing to admit new members. This policy was held to be narrow and against the true interests of the masses of the working people.

The most hotly discussed problem was the carrying out of the resolution for reorganization of the unions along industrial lines by 1926 adopted by the 1922 congress. It was admitted that the time had been too short, in view of the differences of opinion among union leaders, but it was reported that progress was being made and the congress approved the Executive Committee's plan as the basis for the organization of industrial unions and urged the various affiliated bodies to hasten the transfer of local branches and members into the new unions. It was decided that unions refusing to comply with this plan would not be expelled, but that the matter be put up to the next congress.

A proposal prohibiting the collective affiliation of local unions with the Social Democratic Party was rejected. A scheme for the re-organization of the Federation so as to give more power to the national executive was debated at length and finally laid aside for "unbiased examination."

LABOR ANNIVERSARY FITTINGLY OBSERVED

Reports received by the Amsterdam Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions from many European countries show that the celebration during the week beginning September 19 of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the international trade union movement was widespread and productive of much benefit to organized labor.

Drives for more members were features of the celebration in several countries, notably Germany, where the trade union press introduced the Propaganda Week by arranging for a thorough discussion of important questions. Special numbers and enlarged editions drew attention to the aims and tasks of the trade unions in general, and defined the parts played respectively by the woman workers, the young worker, the civil servant, the non-manual worker, co-operative societies, etc. This propaganda work was followed by meetings and demonstrations all over the country. It would take pages to attempt to reproduce the program of Berlin alone, and Hamburg and other towns had equally extensive ones.

In Austria it had been found necessary to postpone the propaganda drive until October 3. It will continue for the whole month. On the 22nd a great demonstration will be made in Vienna. Smaller demonstrations will take place in all the industrial towns.

Belgium held meetings and arranged demonstrations with wireless speeches, festive gatherings, etc. The labor press did its best, and the official trade union journal issued a well edited enlarged special number.

In Great Britain, where the anxieties of the times prevented any special demonstrations, attention was drawn to the significance of the day at all trade union meetings and labor gatherings.

In France the festivities were markedly international, Paris being the center at the time of two international

trade union conferences, those of the Postal International and the International Transport Workers' Federation. Besides Paris, festivities were held in Strasbourg, Nancy, Marseilles, Lille, Toulouse, Bordeaux, etc.

In Denmark the trade unions, except in a few crafts, already have so many members that a further increase is scarcely to be expected. At Copenhagen festivities were organized which were attended by the executives of the Copenhagen trade unions, the National Center and the Social Democratic party. In the provincial towns the celebrations took the form of meetings and festivities.

Latvia organized a trade union press exhibition, which was opened by J. Oudegeest. A good deal of house-to-house canvassing was done during the week, literature was distributed, trade union works sold, etc. There were also meetings and street demonstrations.

In Hungary, too, propaganda meetings were held, and in Bulgaria the free trade unions organized a special demonstration at Sofia.

The actual date of the launching of the international trade union movement was August 21, 1901, but the celebration was fixed for Sept. 19, because of practical reasons.

DUTCH LABOR WAGES WAR AGAINST WAR

The most imposing anti-war demonstration ever seen in Holland took place on Sunday, September 19, in the Hague at a special anti-militarist congress called by the Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions and the Social Democratic Labor Party of Holland. More than 55,000 workers came from all parts of the country to march in the great parade. Huge mass meetings were addressed by the most prominent leaders of the Dutch Socialist and labor movement. Notice was served upon the Government that the masses of Dutch workers would not stand for any increase in naval or army expenditures.

AUSTRALIA POSTPONES PAN PACIFIC MEETING

The Australian Labor Party has postponed from November, 1926, to July, 1927, the Pan Pacific Conference, which it is to hold at Honolulu. The postponement was decided on for the purpose of giving the industrial organizations which have been invited sufficient time to consider fully the questions to be discussed.

UNITY MOVE ADVANCES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Another step toward the eventual consolidation of the Czechoslovak and German Socialist trade unions in Czechoslovakia was made on Sept. 15 in Karlsruhe when a joint meeting of representatives of both groups was held, with Jan Oudegeest, a secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions, presiding.

Principles were laid down for the joint work of the unions and the duties to be discharged by the Joint Trade Union Committees were agreed upon and defined. Thus the negotiations have, so far, been successful, although the principles laid down have still to be approved by resolutions of the executive conferences of both centers. As there have been earlier agreements dealing with principles, it is almost certain that both parties will ratify the present agreement. If formal ratification follows it will mean that more than half a million organized workers will have been brought into co-operation. When the agreement is ratified, it will probably not be long before a joint meeting of the two centers is held.

A sample of practical co-operation between the German and Czechoslovak unions was recently shown when a joint deputation visited Premier Cerny and submitted a number of practical suggestions for the cutting down of unemployment and the revival of industry.

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Negroes Barred From State Camps Negroes will not be permitted to use the state camping sites along the National Pike between Baltimore and the Pennsylvania state line, according to Director of Public Works John N. Mackall. This action followed the complaint of Mrs. C. S. Alexander, a Negro of Stephenson, Va., who was refused admittance to the state free camp site at Frederick, Md., and appealed to Director Mackall. The director replied that the camps "have the same status of hotels and you know colored people cannot use the hotels in this state."

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

situation, and the Governor appointed a new commission on housing which contains no member who has ever publicly shown a realization of the enormity of the problem or the way out. So far this commission has done nothing. We challenge any labor committee to examine the facts, the present law, or the law which the Governor proposed, and say that the Governor's action has been adequate in this terrible emergency.

5. The workers are opposed to the private exploitation of water power. The Governor proposes state development of New York water power but would leave the distribution of electricity made thereby in the hands of private companies. The great engineer, Steinmetz, would have had electricity produced and distributed by the state or its own agencies as in Ontario. We challenge any committee of labor to investigate the facts and say that Smith's remedy rather than Steinmetz's should be applied.

Even laying aside these specific issues, we challenge Matthew Wolf's committee to tell us what great and significant measure for labor Governor Smith is advocating in this campaign. Not old age or unemployment insurance, not reform of taxation in the interests of the farmers and workers; only a few social welfare laws good in themselves, but a pittance price to pay for labor's endorsement.

Of course I believe in building up a labor party as a sound measure of practical politics. The rise of such a party would scare any old party Governor, even before labor came to power, into making more concessions for labor than either old party will make to workers who come to it cap in hand. But I shall admit for the sake of my present argument, that the issue of a labor party may be debatable. What is not debatable is that labor should get its price for its endorsement. And that price ought to be more than a few kind words, a few jobs for labor leaders and a little, very little, welfare legislation. What price, workers, for your endorsement?

"Italian to Be Deported for Losing Arm in U. S." So a headline in the Herald-Tribune accurately sums up Giovanni Miceli of Philadelphia. Miceli is an Italian immigrant who lost his arm as the result of an accident when he was working in the Baldwin Locomotive Works. Because of his loss of an arm he cannot work at his trade and the immigration authorities are seeking to deport him as likely to become a public charge. He has three children born in America. The immigration authorities would deport the parents, but not the children. The law or the bureaucracy enforcing the law, or both, show in a case like this an almost unimaginable degree of cruel stupidity.

It is very encouraging to observe

HEBREW BUTCHERS UNION
Local 234, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A. 175 E. 10th St. Phone Orchard 3230.
Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday.
AL. GRABAL, President.
J. BELSKY, Sec'y.

GLAZIERS' UNION
Local 1087, B. P. D. & P. A.
Office and Headquarters at 40th St. 62 East 4th St. Phone Dry Dock 10172. Regular meetings every Tuesday at 8 P. M.
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John H. Lawson on "Realism in the Theatre" At Bronx Free Fellowship

John Howard Lawson, author of "Processional" and "Nirvanah," will give the third lecture at the Bronx Free Fellowship, 1301 Boston road, in the interesting course on Literature and Drama, Wednesday evening, October 20, at 8:30 o'clock. Lawson's subject on this occasion will be "Realism in the Theatre." Admission, 25 cents. This course of lectures is making a great appeal to college and high school students as well as others from all parts of the Bronx, Manhattan and Brooklyn.

the attention given by the A. F. of L. convention to problems of open shop and company unions. It is fast becoming almost a matter of life and death for the A. F. of L. to show that it can meet and beat the company union idea. The job will take not only the fund of money which the Federation seeks to obtain, but a greater fund of intelligence, courage and organizing ability. Take the organization of automobile industry, for example. In modern standardized factories the old trade lines are virtually meaningless. The industry will have to be organized as an industry or not at all. Imagine having separate craft organizations for blacksmiths, machinists, molders, upholsterers, and God knows how many other trades in the Ford plant! The A. F. of L. recognizes the difficulty and officially adopted a resolution recommending "that the question of jurisdiction be suspended for the time being." Any permanent plans that the trade unions involved in the industry may work out will have to go farther than this if they are ever to organize the automobile industry successfully.

When the metal trades department of the American Federation of Labor decided to affiliate with the metal trades international it showed some realization of the international aspect of modern industrial problems. The international European steel trust is an accomplished fact. There is already talk of a Franco-Belgian-German electrical alliance. Leaders of German and British industry in general have had a conference and are setting up some kind of machinery for an exchange of ideas if nothing more. The immediate political consequences of this will be good, rather than evil. Industrial rivalries were a factor in bringing out the World War. French metal interests had a great deal to do with the occupation of the Ruhr, and when that failed, with the changed attitude which succeeded it. International economic agreement may be the forerunner of the United States of Europe of which philosophers dream.

Possibly this new economic understanding in Europe may be directed against American industrial interests. But here a curious situation exists. It is American money which is today financing European in general and German industry in particular. It is American money which is financing the Dawes plan and must buy the bonds which figure so largely in the Briand-Stresemann plan for solving the questions still at issue between France and Germany. In this new international steel trust American capital invested in Europe is already an immense factor. It is doubtful therefore whether there will be a clear line-up of European versus American interests. What is far more likely is that there will be a clear line-up of the interests of owners and investors against the workers. Effective international organization of the workers is the only answer to effective international organization by the owners.

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Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Ave. Phone 4621 Stage
Office open except Mondays from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.
Regular meetings every Tuesday Evening
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VALENTINE BUME, Vice-President
HENRY ARMENDINGER, Rec. Sec'y

United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 405 East 106th Street
OFFICE: 501 EAST 161ST STREET. Telephone Melrose 5674
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Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening. The Executive Board Meets Every Friday Evening at 8 P. M.
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Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators of America, District Council No. 9, New York City.

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and National Building Trades Council
MEETS EVERY THURSDAY EVENING
Office, 166 East 56th Street.
Telephone Plaza—4100-5118. PHILIP ZAUSNER, Secretary.

PAINTERS' UNION No. 261

Office: 62 East 106th Street Telephone: Lehigh 3141
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office.
Regular Meetings Every Friday at 310 East 104th Street.
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N.Y. TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6

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Office and Headquarters, 250 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City
Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M.
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Office 380 Fifth Avenue. Phone: East 4325.
Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M., at 548 84th Street
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Carpenters' Union 493 German Technicians & Draftsmen
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Fur Dressers' Union No. 2

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Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.
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The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.
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OPERATORS, LOCAL 1

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

United Hebrew Trades

175 EAST BROADWAY
Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M. Executive Board same day, 8:30 P. M.
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HEBREW BUTCHERS UNION

Local 234, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A. 175 E. 10th St. Phone Orchard 3230
Meet every 1st & 3rd Tuesday
AL. GRABAL, President
J. BELSKY, Sec'y.

BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS'

UNION, LOCAL 66, I. L. G. W. U. 7 East 15th Street Tel. Stuyvesant 3657
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union
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GEO. TRIESTMAN, NATHAN RIESEL, Manager Secretary-Treasurer

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Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L. 7 East 15th Street Stuyvesant 7678
Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of Every Month at 162 East 23rd Street
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Gus Levine, Business Agent.

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

Joint Executive Committee OF THE VEST MAKERS' UNION, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Office: 175 East Broadway. Phone: Orchard 6639
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening.
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Local 584, I. M. of T. 585 Hudson St., City.
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Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at the 245 East 14th Street, New York City.
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UNION, Local 361, Brooklyn Office: 671 Pacific Street Cumberland 6189
Open Daily from 7:30 A. M. to 5:30 P. M.
Meetings Every Wednesday, at 8 P. M. at Columbus Hall, State and 15th East
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N. Y. Wood Carvers and Modelers Association

Regular Meetings 1st and 3rd Friday. Board of Officers Meet 2nd & 4th Friday
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Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U. Office 231 East 14th Street Telephone Ashland 3400
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Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers

Office, 231 E. 14th Street. Union Local 48, I. L. G. W. U. Lexington 4549
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Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.
B'klyn—101 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—78 Montgomery St.
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UNION, Local 6, I. L. G. W. U. Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 201 E. 14th St. Melrose 3459
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Union, Local 85, I. L. G. W. U. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening at the office 35 W. 28th St. Phone: Lackawanna 4814.
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United Neckwear Makers' Union

LOCAL 11016, A. F. of L. 7 East 16th St. Phone: Stuyvesant 7088
Joint Executive Board meets every Thursday night at 7:30 o'clock, in the office.
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New York Clothing Cutters' Union

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Regular meetings every Friday night at 310 East Fifth Street.
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M. in the office.
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Lapel Makers & Pairs'

Local 181, A. C. W. A. Office: 3 Delancey St. Drydock 3400
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Local 2, A. C. W. A. Executive Board Meets Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple 1127 Arden St. New York.
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NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

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Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor
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OF GREATER NEW YORK Phone Orchard 1268
Office and headquarters, 701 Broadway
Executive Board Meets Every Wednesday at 8 P. M.
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Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union
Downtown Office: 434 Broadway. Phone Spring 4544
Uptown Office: 30 West 27th Street. Phone Wisconsin 1275
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Board of Directors meet every First and Third Monday.
Local 245—Executive Board meets every Tuesday.
Local 246—Executive Board meets every Thursday.
Local 248—Executive Board meets every Wednesday.
These Meetings Are Held in the Office of the Union

Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20, I. L. G. W. U.

130 East 25th St. Madison Square 1924
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Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union.
Office and Headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn. Pulaski 9798
Regular Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays.
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OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor
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O. NACHTAM, General President.
I. WOHL, General Secretary-Treasurer.

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Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at 8 P. M.
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Amusements



DRAMA

LILIAN DAVIES



One of the English players in "Katja," the London musical success which the Shuberts will present Monday night at the 44th Street Theatre.

On the Cross

"The Immortal Thief" Gives a Sidelight on the Crucifixion at Hampden's

IN "The Immortal Thief," Tom Barry has striven for a theme of great scope, one at which a less sturdy man would quail; and that he has gone down to less his fault than the inevitable outcome of his choice and his line of attack. Leaping back from the Bible story of the thief who, crucified next to Christ, was promised immortality by the dying Jesus, Barry starts to build up a drama of the life and the death of that thief ("Marius Rufinus" in the play). The construction of the play is stalwart enough, on true Shakespearean principles. There is the sound of ringing blank verse in the moments of high emotion, such words as no man would speak, yet lifted and rounded to the mood—therefore true; there are in other moments the more colloquial strains of common speech, even the current coin of slang passing among the lesser figures. Shakespearean also is the swift movement of scene, without indication of time, wherever the play demands; and (with the aid of Claude Bragdon) a setting that a moment before was the inside of a catacomb becomes the inside of a wealthy widow's garden. The theme, and the grandiose sweep of emotion it calls upon, are also Shakespearean.

Alas, in challenge only. Two failings, beyond the inability to make the language rise to its summons, draw Barry down in his gallant effort. The first of these is rooted in the nature of his story; it is that, all the while that we are watching and listening to this thief and his companions and their foes, we are awaiting, we are thinking about, the central figure that shall take its place upon the ultimate triple cross. The main figure of this drama is Christ, and any attempt to interest us in the minor characters can be of but passing power. Barry, perhaps, recognized this, and in his effort to counteract the force of the idea of Christ, was snared into his second weakness, the preparing for Christianity. Throughout the play the thief is surrounded by a stream of unchecked sentimentality. At first this takes the form of lamenting his origin in a cruel and evil father, so that in the son the demons and gods are waging stupendous warfare. Then it shifts, and becomes a paean of wonder at the change in him; all sorts of unlikely figures stop in their nefarious ways to cry out at his triumph over the evil in him. The events of the story are equally ready for the exhibition of his pre-Jesus Christian spirit; there are two persons ready to die, so that he can substitute himself, twice, in their stead—with lesser figures to receive other token of his goodness. Because of these neat arrangements, the play never achieves that high flow of passion which such a theme must win to, to prevail.

Moments of the play, which is throughout given most intelligent directing and sympathetic performance, rise to valid heights. The history of

LYNN FONTANNE



Has again taken up the role of Laura Pasquale in the delightful Munro comedy, "At Mrs. Beams," now in its seventh month at the Garrick Theatre.

Tied Together; Two Plays in One

Excellent Double-Barreled Theatre at The Neighborhood Playhouse

"THE LION TAMER," by Alfred Savoir, excellently presented and acted as the first bill of the repertory company of the Neighborhood Playhouse, deserves two reviews. Because it is two plays in one. Strangely enough, this inevitable duality of all life is the theme of the second of those two enjoyable plays that are tangled together so cleverly that you can see either to the exclusion of the other, yet know that both are there.

The pure comedy, to start: This is a delightfully risqué running meriment over a woman who has been browbeaten into marriage with the lion-tamer who came into her father's circus, and the way in which she ultimately pays him back—and the few other men who seek her. For Arabella is a circus lady herself, and has some experience and skill in taming fretful steeds. The combat of the lion tamer and the English lord for the fair creature, and her own exploits; her beating of the lions that refused to eat her husband, her thirty-six-hour bedrock with the aphrodisiac king; these are episodes themselves fertile with laughter.

Then the allegory: So-called opposites in life are often no more than two phases of the same thing, distinct yet inseparable. There is no good unless there is bad. Take a broomstick—call one end top, the other bottom; cut them apart. Instead of separating the opposites, there has been merely a multiplication; you now have two tops and two bottoms. This though Savoir develops as applied to man, by showing in conflict the two sides of man's nature, brawn and brain, mind and matter, flesh and spirit. Out of the never-ending conflict of these two aspects of life he weaves his drama.

The tragedy of human life rises largely from the efforts of these two selves for dominance. In the true Puritans (not the inhibited shadows of men, who hate all who are enjoying what they have rejected, but such persons as the medieval ascetics, the kindly hermits) and in the race that Bernard Shaw pictures at the end of "Back to Methuselah," the mind has triumphed; the result is hardly pleasant.

the past two thousand years makes the point of the Roman's remark that there will never be many who will act as their official leader and savior, and God has bidden them and showed them. The outcry of the woman who loved the thief is a strong argument; the son of God was ever sinless, she repeats after one of the disciples; but the son of man must rise from the fifth of evil and the quicksand of lust. A valiant fight, but eternally lost—ever to be fought again, and thus not wholly lost, but ever failing, and ever urging up. Such is the effort, in which—in the depicting of which—Tom Barry has also made valiant but unavailing effort. W. L.

Katharine Cornell in "The Green Hat" at the B. O. H.

"The Green Hat," the Michael Arlen love story, with Katharine Cornell in the leading role, will play an engagement of one week at the Bronx Opera House, beginning Monday.

"The Green Hat," in novel form, made an instantaneous hit with the reading public. Many editions of the book were published in this country and England. Its wide vogue literally forced Arlen to dramatize the story, and the play was bought and staged by A. H. Woods, playing on Broadway for a year.

"The Patsy," with Claiborne Foster, which played at the Booth Theatre last season, will be the following attraction.

Brock Pemberton Will Present "The Ladder" Next Thursday

Now that "Loose Ankles" is settled for a long run at the Biltmore, Brock Pemberton is turning to another production. This new play, "The Ladder," was recently tried out in the suburbs. J. Frank Davis is the author of this latest opus, which will open next Thursday night at the Mansfield Theatre. In the cast are Antoinette Perry, Vernon Steele, Hugh Buckler, Irene Purcell and Carl Anthony.

Broadway Briefs

Walter Hampden will give a special matinee of his new play, "The Immortal Thief," at Hampden's Theatre next Monday afternoon, for ministers of the gospel. Some 2,000 invitations have been sent out.

During the run of the Werfel play, "Jaurez and Maximilian," at the Guild Theatre, the Theatre Guild will install a museum in the lounge of the theatre an interesting collection of Maximilian. Many of the items have been imported from Vienna.

"A Night in Paris," which has been running since July at the Forty-fourth

ant to consider. Not only, as Shaw's play shows, do humans come to be born sexually from an egg, but art and the byplays of the imagination which lend color and flavor and perfume to life, are gone. The body conquers more frequently, and in more obvious fashion; with results equally unpleasant to contemplate. The truth is that neither ever wholly conquers, but that each must play an equally important, if not always an equal prominent part, in a rounded existence. That Savoir indicates this is shown by the return, after the death of Lord Lonsdale, representing intelligence, of a son who is exactly the same person as the father; and by the lion-tamer's remark that if he dies (as the lord hopes) he will be succeeded by other lion tamers.

In this battle of body and soul (there are a dozen dual phrases to suggest the opposition) the author points out many interesting encounters. In Gregoire he pictures the slave mind, that ultimately kisses the hand that strikes it; the lion tamer recognizes only this spirit, saying that the progress is "We fear, we obey, we serve," and implying "we love." Arabella is a type of the free mind; caught physically by the power of the lion tamer, she never ceases to hate him, and to seek freedom. She wins it with the help of Lonsdale, but, as he represents ideas, the knows not how to hold the love he draws; in the embrace of des Adrets (who represents the froth of love, the idle trifling in the groves and valleys of pleasure), love is transmuted into a shallow, heedless creature, that only through valdemy of tears can win back toward wisdom. Absence of body in love leads elsewhere to excess.

Thus the meaning of the play is carried through its acts; but never is there the slightest pause in the merry movement of the story, for the sake of laboring the symbolism. The allegory comes freely through the pores of the play like the honest sweat all healthy things exude; it has a salty savor; and it in no way bothers those who prefer merely to watch the rippling muscles of the comedy. It brings further joy of pleasant speculation to those who like to think.

J. T. S.

MARIETTA O'BRIEN



In the French revue, "A Night in Paris," which moves Monday night from the 44th Street to Jolson's Theatre.

Street Theatre, will be transferred Monday in Jolson's Theatre. Dania the French lyric tragedienne, recently brought to this country by the Shuberts, will be an imported addition to the production.

"God Loves Us," by J. P. McEvoy, will open Monday night at Maxine Elliott's. Woodman Thompson has provided the settings.

A. H. Woods has put into rehearsal a new play by William Hurlbut, "Hymn to Venus," with Robert Warwick, Isabel Elsom, Frederick Perry and Diantha Pattison in the leading roles. The play will open here Nov. 1st.

Eva Le Gallienne has obtained the rights to "Invitation au Voyage," by J. J. Bernard, translated by Winifred Katzin, for production by the Civic Repertory Theatre at the 14th Street Theatre.

Gilbert and Sullivan's "Iolanthe" at the Plymouth Theatre celebrated its 200th performance Monday night.

At the Stamford Theatre Mary H. Kirkpatrick presents "Spring Magic," the musical comedy written and directed by Rachel Crothers with a musical score by Hugo Felix. Following a brief run in Philadelphia, "Spring Magic" will come to New York.

In the cast of "Naked," by Pisan-dello, which Augustin Duncan is producing, will be Mr. Duncan, Marguerite Rissler, Mattie Keene, Carroll Ashburn, Carlin Crandall, Porter Hall, Georgiana Von Tornow and Walter Downing.

HUGH BUCKLER



Will play an important role in "The Ladder," a new play by J. Frank Davis, due to open at the Mansfield Theatre next Thursday evening.

Miners Go In for Shakespeare

A TYPICAL industrial center in Europe, the mining town of Bochum, in Westphalia, a place one might have supposed to be devoid of literary and spiritual culture, has arranged to give, next spring, a Shakespeare festival on a scale that will appeal not only to scholars all over Germany, but also to visitors from England and America.

Bochum has a population of about 250,000. There is no university near it, and it contains only two classes of inhabitants, the workmen in the mines and factories and the proprietors of the mines and works.

The festival is to be given in just this part of the country, in the midst of a population which is not as a whole literary in the academic sense of the word, and not in one of the university or metropolitan cities. Bochum has, however, in Dr. S. Schmitt, a theatre manager, or "intendant," as he is called, who is considered one of the very best and most gifted producers in Germany. A very enterprising man, very energetic, and full of enthusiasm in his endeavors to get the great dramas continuously performed.

The whole cycle of the Histories from "King John" to "Henry VIII," is to be given in the Whitsuntide week next spring—and given on a large scale. Four years of intensive preparations have been already devoted to the festival, and the German Shakespeare Society has formed a committee to supplement Dr. Schmitt's work with lectures by well-known authorities, which will be given every morning during the festival week.

The decoration and stage lighting of the plays will have a symbolic value, and it is the intention to perform the plays continuously, with just one stage setting and very little alteration between the acts and scenes.

The play that has made the greatest impression on the miners is "Richard II." They like the Falstaff plays less because, perhaps, they see so much realistic life about them. It is just that remoteness of "Richard II," that unfortunate and rather weak king, who has impressed them, and the tinge of sentimentality in the play, as well as a certain superabundance of poetic diction.

People's Symphony Concerts For Workers and Students

The People's Symphony Concerts will again give a series of six artists' recitals for workers and students at the Washington Irving High School, 16th street, near Irving place. The series includes: Nina Tarasova, Russian folk songs in costume, Nov. 6; Corneliu Van-Viet, cellist, Dec. 4; Munz, the Polish pianist, Jan. 15; Josef Szegedy, the Hungarian violinist, Feb. 12; Madam Sokolsky Fried, Russian pianist, March 19, and Marguerite D'Alverez, the famous Peruvian contralto, on April 2. Workers and students may secure club subscriptions to six concerts for \$1 at the office of the People's Symphony Concerts, 32 Union square.

KATHERINE CORNELL



Returns to our midst in "The Green Hat," the Michael Arlen love tale, which comes to the Bronx Opera House Monday.

THEATRES

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Music Notes

Next week the Philharmonic Orchestra, under the direction of William Mengelberg, will make a tour of the following cities: Sunday, Providence; Monday, Holyoke; Tuesday, Northampton; Wednesday, Pittsfield; Thursday, Boston; Friday, New London; Saturday, New Haven.

Sunday, October 24, the Philharmonic opens its series at the Brooklyn Academy of Music. The orchestra will appear at Carnegie Hall Thursday evening and Friday afternoon, October 28 and 29.

A work new to New York by the French composer, Jacques Ibert, will be played by the New York Symphony Orchestra under the direction of Walter Damrosch at its opening concert in Carnegie Hall on October 29. It is a ballet, "Les Rencontres." Alfred Cortot will assist as pianist in D'Indy's "Song of a French Mountaineer."

Richard Crooks, tenor, will include the following numbers in his program at Carnegie Hall next Thursday evening: "Adelaide" (Beethoven), "Serafina" (Sgambatti), "Per Pletia" (Stradella), "Stille Thranen" (Schumann), "Liebesfeier" (Weingartner), "Heimliche Aufregung" (Strauss), "Les Morts" (Chausson), "Le Rove" from "Manon" (Massenet).

Mieczyslaw Munz, Polish pianist, will play the following program at Carnegie Hall next Friday evening, October 22: Six sonatas (Scarlatti), "Fantaisie" in C major (Schumann), "Menuet" (Labuski); first time, "Three Fairy Tales" (Medtner), "Impromptu" (Faure), and a group by Chopin.

Barbara Maurel, mezzo-soprano, will give her recital in Steinway Hall Friday evening, October 22.

Rudolph Reuter will give his piano recital next Friday afternoon at Aeolian Hall.

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—Stephen Rathbun, Sun.

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The Battle of the Creeds

By Henry Miller

POSSIBLY Professor Rufus M. Jones of the Quaker College of Haverford would object to the above title for his book (*The Church's Debt to Heretics*; N. Y., Doran, \$2). Doubtless it was the author's intention that the reader applaud the lives of those religious rebels for whom "the world was in any case an enemy's country, and the real fatherland was yonder, where the martyr fire would send them." What emerges out of the book much more significantly than the fact of martyrdom is the bitter and bloody conflict engendered by the Gospel of Love.

No sooner did Christianity, "the Judaic heresy," appear as a doctrine than it created heresies of its own. If Christianity were to be an influence it had to be first an institution, and no institution can tolerate heresies, at least none that matter. Truth, or that which was to be accepted, was distinguished from error not by logic, but by decrees and the sword. Professor Jones is at pains to show that though the heretics perished, their heresies remained. So much the worse, for the heretics started new conflicts of their own. Luther and Calvin have left a heritage of bitterness equal to if not greater than the Mother Church. The battle is still on. The Modernists and Fundamentalists, though less bloody, are as vindictive as ever. Thus the Church has been religion's worst enemy, though perhaps inevitably. As a result large numbers of people have become indifferent to religion altogether.

It appears to be the author's opinion as a liberal Christian that communal religion may exist independent of doctrine, though the substance of his book seems to deny it. Whatever may be the case for religion in general, it is obvious that existing religions flourish by virtue of their doctrines, as Fundamentalists are keenly aware. Thus with the most religious intentions of the world, Professor Jones has contributed to the growing number of critical studies of religion which undermine its basis more effectively than science, including the theory of evolution, ever can.

The Philippine Republic Fantasy or Fact?

By George Krinn

NOW that the tumult and shouting of the Dempsey-Tunney bout is but a ruin and memory, the eyes of the world are legitimately focused on that perennial battlefield of the Orient, China. Since the acquisition by the United States of the Philippine Archipelago and her advent into world politics as a first-class empire, her chief concern has been her business relations in the Far East. And, curiously enough, these relations have been the dominant theme in the cries of the Filipino for independence. In fact the destiny of the Philippine people depends solely on how China can succeed in throwing off the weight of "white" supremacy. A strong, awakened China means the revision of policies towards the subject nations whose fates are intimately commingled with hers.

The Philippine Islands are a base for the U. S. operations in the Far East. They are a naval station for the concentration of the watch-dogs of the Pacific. With them the United States holds her power and prestige in the Orient. Yet in the "Philippine Republic" (The Philippine Republic, by Leandro H. Fernandez, New York, Columbia Press, \$3.75), it was surprising to note that no mention of this important fact was made. Although the book is written from a purely "political science" viewpoint and touches those aspects of the Philippine problem from the pre-natal mutterings of the Katipunan (1896) to the lusty life-attempt of the Republic proper (1900) without this background of economic interpretation, the key-note of the situation is lost. No effort whatsoever has been made to trace the effect of social or economic forces in the determining of the Republic and for this neglect the book suffers.

First the origins of the Republic are laid, showing the omnipresent desire to break away from Spain as far back as 1888. With the establishment of the Association Hispano-Filipina and the Liga Filipina the movement for separ-

ation was well afoot. The Katipunan, that underground brotherhood formed with definite separatistic aims, plunged central Luzon in armed revolt and from then on it was a conflict to the finish. After some brief encounters, the insurgents actuated by a consideration of the nation's welfare, signed the pact of Biacnabato and with the proceeds of a healthy indemnity, Aguinaldo was exiled to Hong Kong. The entry of the United States into this world of affairs changed the complexion of events. Aguinaldo returned, assumed control. A dictatorship was established, then a Revolutionary Government and finally the Republic proper. All these facts are clearly presented and the book is copiously provided with foot-notes.

While no direct effort is made to show the bearing of this book on Philippine capacity for self-government, that wish is evidently the motivating factor for its existence.

The years from 1896 to 1900 with which Mr. Fernandez deals were most momentous in the world's history. From then on China was the cynosure. With England and France in control of the trade of South China and Germany and Russia battling for the North, the United States occupied the position of an outsider. The Spanish American War and the Boxer Rebellion made her position more tenable, and the Russo-Japanese War thrust a more powerful adversary in the arena. Spain as a first-rate power was decaying. Stripped of most of her colonial possessions, she was prey to all nations. Even the Filipinos recognized this and for that reason rose in armed conflict against her. The vast sugar central, tobacco, abaca, copra, all these interests were in the hands of Spanish hidalgos. The Filipinos of the upper classes wanted a share in these enterprises, hence the attempt to resist the Church and Government by revolting.

A world market was opening for the Philippine Islands just the same as it was opening for other countries in the Orient. Independence from Spain meant working out their own national destiny. Without the naval aid of the U. S., there might never have been the Philippine Republic but history would then have contributed some other factor for releasing Spanish pressure.

As it was, the United States, in conjunction with other world empires, was wrestling for an entrance into the "Open Door" of China and that struggle ended the hopes of Filipino independence. Independence will come when the time is ripe for it. Not that it will mean an end to the exploitation of the Filipino lower classes, but it will narrow the issue within na-

Books Received

LITERATURE

The Poetry of Nonsense. By Emily Cammaerts. N. Y., Dutton, \$1.75.
Awards. By George Moore. N. Y., Boni & Liveright, \$3.
Ann Lee's. By Elizabeth Bowen. N. Y., Boni & Liveright, \$2.
A Man Could Stand Up. By Ford Madox Ford. N. Y., A. & C. Boni, \$2.50.
Power. By Lion Fouchtswanger. N. Y., Viking Press, \$2.50.

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Minutes of the Albany Committee of Correspondence. Albany, University of the State of New York.
Sex and the Young. By Marie C. Stopes. N. Y., Putnam, \$2.
The Human Body and Its Functions. By Marie C. Stopes. N. Y., Putnam, \$2.
Land Planning in the United States. By Harlan James. N. Y., MacMillan, \$5.

MISCELLANEOUS

Eight Years with the Wilson Cabinet. By David F. Houston. Garden City, Doubleday, Page, Two vols. \$10.
Benjamin Franklin. By Phillips Russell. N. Y., Brentano's, \$5.
Darwin. By Gamaliel Bradford. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, \$3.50.
Orpheus, or The Future of Music. By W. J. Turner. N. Y., Dutton, \$1.
Second Book of Negro Spirituals. J. W. and J. R. Johnson. Viking, \$3.50.

Critical Cruisings

(Continued from page 10)

first—didn't want a peach that Bernard had picked, much less taken a bit out of— and in another place in a spirit of exclamation he cries:

"Everything I touch turns to ash—I wither the roses, by God—I'm a soul on fire—I'll die unsatisfied. I'm an over-sexed tart, and my husband's a eunuch."

"You eat your heart out for a dame and you get her and you're sick of her in a week. Once the fort surrenders it isn't the fort you wanted."

In Jarnegan Jim Tully has not written a great novel that will stand comparison with *Jude the Obscure*, *The Brothers Karamazov* or *Madame Bovary*—or even with *An American Tragedy*. Yet he has produced a piece of work so spirited in theme, so modern in motif, so dynamic in treatment, that in American fiction it is a singular and fascinating effort.

Whitman and Melville Two True Americans

By Joseph T. Shipley

THE new "English Men of Letters" series has made excellent choice of Americans for inclusion in its little volumes; the first two (Walt Whitman, by John Bailey, Herman Melville, by John Freeman, N. Y., Macmillan, \$1.25 each) are in their fields perhaps the most characteristic we have yet to offer: the novelist Melville, the poet Whitman. The one in his lofty moral ideals, in his mysticism, represents the Puritan aspect of our pioneers, and the spirit of adventure that drove them across the seas, into frozen waters and unknown hostile forests, swells in his turbulence. In the other rings the call of democracy, of America to the world, the all-embracing humanity and fraternity that was the early vision of this "land of opportunity."

When the "New England group" of American writers comes to mind—Holmes, Whittier, Emerson, Hawthorne, Longfellow, Lowell—it is at first hard to believe that the rugged Melville was their contemporary and their kin, was, indeed, a close friend to Hawthorne. The recent vogue of the South Seas turned attention to Melville's books of adventure in those waters and on the savory isles, to "Typee," "Omoo," "Redburn," "White-Jacket" and "Moby Dick." All these, published about 1850, were reprinted in 1922, and had the "feel" of new books, seeming in spirit of our own age. What had the old stay-at-home New England school, staid writers with one eye on their conscience and the other on old England, to do with the seductive languors and the stirring deeds of far-off evil places? Ready to protest at wrong they were, and strong in courage and moral indignation; but hide-at-homes, looking upon wanderers as shiftless, ne'er-do-wells. Yet, while these writers in sedate tones observed and preached to the world around them, or decorously retold old legends, from New England harbors staunch craft bore hardy seamen to the north in year-long voyages through drifting icebergs to the fies, adventuring for whale. Combine the two temperaments, and Herman Melville is explained. Throughout his books of far adventure he carries a Puritan soul, and "Moby Dick," his greatest story, pictures the grim Ahab with a fervor that is half-mad and surely half-religious, pursuing the fearful whale—which might easily symbolize evil—to the end. "They are, in one view, spirit against flesh, eternity against time. . . . Lucifer is everthrown but undaunted, but vindictive his perverted spirit against a malignity not less perverse. Ahab is slain by the White Whale. . . . It is a parable of an

eternal strife." The spirit of Melville, which burns him into his stories, is well described and suggested in Mr. Freeman's clear development, which friends of Melville should read, and which will make its readers Melville's friends.

Walt Whitman won reader place as spokesman of the American people, though it is interesting, if not significant, to notice that those for whom he spoke heeded him not (but loved him), while he was hailed by the literary group in New England, and even by the young writers over the sea. Emerson wrote an enthusiastic letter to the young author of "Leaves of Grass"; all the young men of England were eagerly discussing the book; and Swinburne grew ecstatic, especially over "A Voice from the Sea." A Whitman cult developed in America, with Horace Traubel and others devout; annual Whitman dinners are still given in his memory; and while one volume has been, a dozen might be filled with poems that trace their form or their subject matter to the great gray poet.

Apostle of freedom and brotherhood, Whitman is most beloved for the memory of his hospital service during the Civil War, most revered for the intimacy of his relations with his friends. (On this ground a protest was printed against the recent Whitman exhibition in the New York Public Library.) But his poetry has come to be accepted almost without critical consideration, as something established, as the rock on which our modern poetry rests. The two moving spirits in all verse of today, in all countries, may be called the aristocratic and the democratic. The former, a concern with form, with the expression of the poet's thought or feeling, regardless of how many understand, stems through Baudelaire from the American, Poe. The latter, an acceptance of any form, any diction, that best conveys any thought or feeling the poet may have—a concern with the message—stems from the American, Whitman.

This sweeping gesture of acceptance has blinded many to the obvious faults of Whitman's writing (he is, indeed, rather the prophet than the poet of the new movement), and Mr. Bailey is timely and sane in his re-estimate, which indicates the limitations of the poet's work while maintaining him in his high place as a seer. An effort is made to deny the sexual implications we in America now take for granted and disregard; yet this critical presentation captures the real Whitman far more effectively than the recent novelization of his life, and makes him seem near to us, wholesome, kindly, great-hearted Walt.

make the Syracuse and Rochester meetings of Judge Panken successful. Buffalo.

Socialists of Buffalo will hold a rousing meeting with the candidate for Governor, Judge Jacob Panken, at Cairo Hall, 784 Main street, near Edward, in the Teck building, Sunday, Oct. 17, at 8 o'clock. The committee in charge urges every Socialist and sympathizer to hear one of the most eloquent defenders of the Socialist cause, one who has been in active contact with Socialist and Union activities for 25 years. The campaign is on and there are only two weeks to election. We need your moral support. We need your financial support. We need your whole hearted support in this work.

Have you settled for your Sender tickets? Let's have the money at once. We need it to meet urgent bills. The hall holds 1,500 people. You surely will help to pack it to its capacity.

Bronx

Party members and members of the Young People's Socialist League must report at Headquarters, 1167 Boston Road, Sunday at 10 a. m., to make up squads for literature distribution. New leaflets are on hand and an effort must be made to place them in the hands of the voters. Every active Socialist must enlist.

Every Socialist who will watch at the polls on election day must get in touch with Samuel Orr or Samuel Grossman at Headquarters, 1167 Boston Road, any and every evening during the week.

A mass meeting will be held in Claremont Casino, on Friday, Oct. 29. The speakers are Judge Jacob Panken, August Claessens, Jesse Stephen, A. Chant, Max Pine, H. Rogoff and Samuel Orr.

Queens

On Thursday, Oct. 7, about fifteen members of Branch Jamaica gathered at the home of Barnett Wolf to give a surprise dinner to Harry Smith, the capable Secretary for Queens County for many years, in recognition of his long and devoted service to the party. Comrade Smith was completely taken by surprise when he and his wife entered the banquet room. The dinner was one of the most wholesome and enjoyable the members have ever attended. Addresses were made by nearly every guest, including Comrades Wolf, Welch, Golden, Oneal and others, to which Comrade Smith responded. A few weeks ago members of the branch presented Comrade Smith with a traveling bag just before his vacation.

Yipseldom

Junior Yipsels

The Junior Executive Committee will meet Saturday, Oct. 23, Circle 4 Juniors of Borough Park, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 p. m. at the Borough Park Labor Lyceum, 1377 42d Street, Borough Park. The organizer, Comrade Epstein, is assisted by Comrades Koschov and Green, of the Socialist Party, and Lester Shulman, of the Juniors. At the last meeting the Circle was addressed by Comrade Chateauf. Comrades of the various circles are requested to attend the meetings.

Circle 9

Circle 9, Juniors, meeting every Friday evening at 1336 Lincoln Place, Brooklyn, has decided to run a package party at its headquarters. Due to the limited space in the meeting rooms, the affair is only open to members of the Junior organization. It will take place on Friday, Nov. 12, at 8 p. m. Admission charge will be 10 cents.

As this is the third affair of the circle since its existence (one year), it is hoped that, like the rest, it will be highly successful in promoting good comradeship. The committee in charge consists of Nathaniel Whitehorn, Sophie Randall, Ida Randall, Irving Cohen and Art Janofsky.

Circle 6

Circle 6, Juniors, considers itself very lucky in having at last succeeded in obtaining a director. The director is Sam Schwartz, who formerly acted as director of the present Senior Circle 6. Last Friday a joint meeting of Circles 6, Seniors and Juniors, was held. The speakers were Norman Goldstein and Comrade Dobsevig. This Friday evening the Juniors are holding a hot talk. Starting with the meeting of October 22, a series of extemporaneous speaking contests will be held in Circle 6, Juniors. Everyone in the circle will have an opportunity to partake in these contests. The judges will be Comrade Adler, organizer of Circle 6, Juniors; Comrade Schwartz, director of Circle 6, Juniors, and Comrade Kaplan, educational director of Circle 6, Juniors. The circle will hold its regular semi-annual elections on either Oct. 22 or Oct. 29.

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MUSIC

Metropolitan Opera Season To Open with 'La Vestale'

GENERAL Manager Giulio Gatti-Casazza of the Metropolitan Opera, announces that his nineteenth season will begin Monday evening, November 1st, with Spontini's "La Vestale," with Rosa Ponselle, Margaret Matzenauer, Giacomo Lauri-Volpi, Giuseppe DeLuca, Ezio Pinza (debut) in the cast.

The season in Philadelphia will begin on Tuesday evening, November 2d, with Puccini's "Tosca," with Jeritza, Martinelli and Scotti.

At the Academy of Music, Brooklyn, on the same evening, Donizetti's "Lucia Di Lammermoor" will be given, with Talley, Gigli, Danise and Pinza.

During the first week at the Metropolitan, Gatti-Casazza will present his revival of Mozart's "Die Zauberflöte," (The Magic Flute) in German, with entirely new mise-en-scene by Serge Soudeikine. Arthur Bodanzky will conduct and the principal roles will be sung by Reisherg, Talley, Laubenthal, Schützendorf, Bender and Whitehill.

Other operas of the first week will include Wolf-Ferrari's "The Jewels of the Madonna" and von Flotow's "Martha," which will be given for the first time.

Giacomo Puccini's posthumous three-act opera "Turandot" will have its first performance at the Metropolitan at a special non-subscription performance on Tuesday evening, November 16th, with Maria Jeritza in the title role. The opera will be prepared and conducted by Maestro Tullio Serafin.

The scenery has been designed and painted by Joseph Urban.

The revival of Verdi's "La Forza Del Destino" and Montemezzi's "L'Amore Dei Tre Re," will take place during the month of December and the revival of Beethoven's "Fidelio" during the first half of January.

The American opera, "The King's Henchman," by Deems Taylor, will have its premiere during the month of February.

Music Notes

The Russian Symphonic Choir, under the direction of Basile Kibalechich, at its concert this Sunday afternoon at Aeolian Hall will present a program of sacred songs by Glinka, Tchesnokoff, Gretchenko, Archangelovsky, Lvovsky's "Lord, Have Mercy," a classical group of Beethoven, Rubinstein, Rimsky-Korsakov and Borodin, and a folk song group of Russian, Czech and Slavic songs, as well as two English songs.

Beatrice Pinkham will make her piano debut in Aeolian Hall Friday evening, October 22.

Mischa Levitzki, pianist, celebrates the tenth anniversary of his American

ALEXANDER KOSHETZ



Conductor of the Ukrainian National Chorus who make their only New York appearance this Sunday evening at Carnegie Hall

debut this Sunday with a concert in Syracuse.

Doris Niles, dancer, assisted by Cornelia Niles and an orchestra under Louis Horst, will make her concert debut in Carnegie Hall Tuesday evening, October 25.

Benno Moiseiwitch's piano recital this Saturday afternoon will offer the following program: "Impromptu," A flat (Schubert), Waldstein sonata, Op. 53 (Beethoven), two ballads by Chopin, "Toccata" (Ravel), "Filtration in a Chinese Garden," Rush Hour in Hongkong" (Chasins), "Intermezzo," C major (Brahms).

Alberto Salvi, harpist, will make his first recital appearance here in four years at Town Hall next Friday evening.

Yacob Zayde will give a violin recital Thursday evening at Town Hall.

The Philadelphia Orchestra will play the first of its ten New York concerts on Tuesday night at Carnegie Hall.

James Friskin, English pianist, will give his annual recital at Aeolian Hall Monday evening.

Hester Nichols and Albert Hunter will give a joint piano recital Saturday afternoon, October 23, at Town Hall.

Grace Hofheimer will appear in piano recital at Town Hall Tuesday night.

Marcella Roessler, soprano of the Metropolitan Opera Company, will give her recital at Aeolian Hall Tuesday night.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

Maryland

Being declared dead by the "militants" (Socialist Labor Party) and the "super-militants" (Workers Party), the Socialist Party of Maryland showed that it is very much alive by being the only one able to gather the required number of signatures to get on the ballot in the coming State and Congressional elections. We lost our political standing in the LaFollette Presidential election.

The Progressive Party, for reasons best known to themselves, will not have a ticket this fall. The two "militant" parties were unable to gather the required number of signatures (showing how alive they are), thus leaving the Socialist Party the only political exponent of the working class in Maryland. By the interest shown at William Toole's street meetings we think that the Socialist vote in Maryland will be a very good one.

Our candidates are as follows: For governor, Dr. P. Gustave Dill; attorney general, John A. Orman; comptroller, Dr. James L. Smiley; clerk of the court of appeals, John A. Baker; United States Senate, William A. Toole; second congressional district, Richard Schneider; third congressional district, Dr. S. M. Neistadt; fourth congressional district, Clarence Taylor; sixth congressional district, Chas. L. Myers.

PENNSYLVANIA

Our movement suffered a great loss in the death of our loyal comrade, state executive committee member, and candidate for United States Senator, Cora M. Elxier, of Lancaster. At her funeral the minister gave her the highest possible praise when he said, "She had the courage of her convictions. She stood out for what she believed to be right when she was almost alone. Those who mourn her loss must not let grief overcome them. It is their duty to take up her work where she left off."

The S. E. C. unanimously selected George W. Snyder, of Reading, to take Comrade Elxier's place as candidate for United States Senator and papers have been filed at Harrisburg. The vacancy on the S. E. C. will be filled in the near future.

Very few applications for Slayton meetings have been received. We are not going to incur a deficit to route a speaker under present conditions, much as we would like to tour our candidate for governor. If you want a date, apply to the state secretary, \$15 flat per meeting.

It is vital to collect dues and build up the circulation of the American

Appeal and the New Leader. Even Dabson is now predicting a financial collapse within two or three years. We must be ready to reap the harvest.

Tony Sender in Pittsburgh

Hear Miss Tony Sender, Socialist member of German Reichstag, Wednesday evening, Oct. 20, at Moose Temple, 628 Penn avenue, 8:15 p. m. Subject, "Germany's Trend Toward Socialism." Miss Sender has been active in the Socialist movement of France and Germany. She is exceptionally forceful and eloquent. She will speak in English. Tickets 50c.

Miss Sender will speak in German at the International Socialist Lyceum, Thursday evening, Oct. 21, corner of James and Ford streets N. S., Pittsburgh, at 8 p. m. The German comrades are out to make the meeting a success.

Michigan

The Socialist Party has come to the front and has placed a partial ticket in the field for state offices to be voted on in the November election.

We had about given up hope of having a ticket in that state, but the comrades have succeeded in putting it over and they feel confident that when this election has passed into history the Socialist Party of Michigan will again be an official party and ready for the battles ahead. The candidates are: Secretary of state, George M. Campbell; Pontiac; treasurer, August Schmidt; Detroit; auditor, Francis E. Elliott, Detroit.

California

Readers are advised to vote "yes" on measure 18, known as the Water and Power Act (in no way related to the Volstead Act, except by accident of having the same designation number), and also at the same time vote the straight Socialist ticket so as to further strengthen the move toward public ownership of water rights and power plants. No party can carry out the program for public ownership as efficiently as the Socialist Party.

The larger the Socialist vote the more pressure can be brought to bear on the elected officials to carry out the will of the people if this measure carries. During the past four or five weeks Lura Morrow Lewis has covered practically the entire length of the state, reaching large numbers of people. In some sections she was able to make two towns a day, and where we had no local workers to cover the intervening points with copies of our platform and a liberal display of cards carrying pictures of the candidates and short, terse statements of our planks. If any readers have not seen any large

Montana

James D. Graham is putting up a good campaign in Montana. Socialists expect to elect some representatives to the state legislature and roll up a big vote throughout the state.

Utah

O. A. Kennedy, secretary of the Mountain States, continues to give information as to the live campaign they are putting on in the state of Utah. Comrade Stoney, Socialist candidate for United States Senator, is speaking throughout the state to good crowds.

West Virginia

West Virginia Socialists have put out a big poster, giving the names of state candidates of the party and a brief of their state platform. They are doing the best work that Socialists have done in West Virginia for a long time. They are pushing literature and getting subscriptions to the American Appeal.

New Mexico

Word comes from New Mexico to the effect that they have placed their Socialist ticket in the field. The Socialists are lining up everywhere, and they should not forget that party organization is most necessary and that every Socialist should carry a membership card with paid up dues.

New York City

The New Leader. Party branches all over the city should take advantage of this opportunity to use The New Leader at prop-

aganda meetings. The New Leader is our Party paper and a political campaign is the best time to introduce it to citizens. A good many subscriptions can be secured at these meetings and chairmen of meetings should see to it that the paper is displayed and advertised. We know that there are many Yipsels who will be willing to help in this work. Make your arrangements for a supply of The New Leader without delay for each meeting. If we are to have a large circulation for the Party organ we can only get it by working for it. Did you have a supply at your last meeting? If not, why? Do not let it occur again. Branch secretaries take notice. Act immediately. Have New Leaders at every meeting.

New York State

State Secretary Merrill reports up-state engagements of Judge Jacob Panken as follows: Friday, Oct. 15, Syracuse; Sunday, Oct. 17, Buffalo; Friday, Oct. 22, Elmira; Saturday, Oct. 23, Rochester; Friday, Oct. 29, Schenectady; Sunday afternoon, Oct. 31, Albany. Negotiations are in progress to place Panken upstate on Saturday, Oct. 30. The Schenectady address will be broadcasted by Station WGY from 8:15 to 9:15.

Executive Secretary Claessens, of the City Committee of New York, has been designated as the representative of the State Committee of the Socialist Party in negotiations with radio-broadcasting stations of Greater New York for putting the message of the Party "on the air" during the present campaign.

The Prohibitionists, S. L. P. and Communists have filed petitions for independent state tickets with the Secretary of State at Albany. Casual examination of the Workers Party petition shows that no inconsiderable proportion of the 19,223 signatures are obviously fraudulent, whole pages being apparently in the same handwriting. When a similar petition was filed by the Communists in 1924, the matter was brought to the attention of the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, but the Committee voted to abstain from protesting the petition on the ground that the Communists should be given opportunity of showing how infinitesimal their vote was. It is doubtful if the Workers' Party receives half as many votes as the number that signed its petition or had their names signed for them.

Organizer Emil Herman, having accomplished the reorganization of Local Elmira, has been recalled to the central part of the state, and will work with arrangement committees to

THE NEW LEADER

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SATURDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1926

THE DETROIT CONVENTION

LITTLE encouragement will be found by live men and women in the Detroit convention of the A. F. of L. It contented itself with a verbal denunciation of "company unionism," but reaffirmed a policy that has contributed to this menace. Corporate unionism with its "welfare plans" is the result of labor's political impotency. The functions that belong to the State are being taken over by the corporations and are being used to undermine the trade unions. As long as the organized workers remain powerless in legislative bodies more of these welfare functions will be taken over by the corporations and the more difficult will it be to organize the workers.

A Labor Party with fighting groups in the legislative bodies forcing absorption by the government of these welfare functions would undermine corporate unionism, but instead of this the Federation practically approved Governor Smith for the Presidency. Smith is the acknowledged leader of a party whose officials in power in this city have made more arrests and raids of union meetings and union pickets in one year than have occurred in any other year in our history. If trade unionism is satisfied with the leader of a party whose officials have proven efficient strike-breakers we may be sure that union ballots might as well be placed in a swill barrel for all the good that will come to those who cast them.

It seems to us that these two questions serve as an index to the outlook of a majority of the delegates. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the convention represented in its actions the views of a majority of the organized workers of this country. That is the tragedy. Unionism in this country has never faced a more bleak outlook and nothing is to be gained by denying it. We are living in a new world and a majority of the organized workers are thinking in terms of the nineteenth century. There is much educational work yet to be done.

THE NEW LEADER

ONLY a few weeks remain of the political campaign, and we take this occasion to suggest to all Socialist Party workers the importance of using The New Leader. This publication belongs to the members. It is their paper, and its influence as an educational publication depends on them. We cannot give it a circulation. Only the party workers and members can do it.

A large number of meetings are being held by the party branches, many more than last year, and yet only a few of them are taking advantage of the opportunity to handle The New Leader at these meetings. This is not deliberate neglect, but it is a serious omission. At every campaign meetings a bundle of New Leaders should be on hand. The paper should be advertised. It should be sold. Subscriptions should be taken.

We hope that co-operation, in this matter will be immediately taken up. It is generally conceded that The New Leader is one of the best weeklies the party has ever issued. The business and editorial staffs are glad to have the expressions of approval received by The New Leader, but we also want to make it a POWER, and this we cannot do without the help of the party branches. It is up to you. Get your bundles. Make The New Leader known at every meeting and let us make it the POWER it can be with the help and co-operation of those who appreciate the service it is trying to render.

THE SESQUI "BUSTS"

THE celebration of the Sesqui-Centennial of the Declaration of Independence has proven a failure, and it has been decided to close it on November 30. The reasons given for this action is the attendance of 4,000,000 instead of the expected 25,000,000, a deficit of several millions, politics with a hint of graft, and location of the celebration in a swamp infested with mosquitos in order to boost real estate values. The heavy cost of making the swamp fit for the celebration gave it a financial handicap at the start. Philadelphia faces a debt of \$5,000,000, the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company is likely to fall heir to the city-built lines to the grounds and will probably take over the grounds as an amusement park.

"The only persons," reads a dispatch to the World, "who appear to have profited by the Sesqui are certain real estate interests and politicians who got in on the ground floor in the early stages of the affair by handling realty deals on the strength of the Sesqui." That tells the whole story. It is merely another instance of the vulgar motives that underlie the "idealism" which Coolidge and

others so often assert Americans are conspicuous for. The very Babbitts and politicians who pay homage to "American idealism" translate it into a coarse gamble for increasing their bank accounts.

Another aspect of this failure is interesting. So far as the people of this country are concerned they have known nothing of what is now being admitted in Philadelphia. They are supposed to be intensely patriotic, and yet the figures of attendance at the Sesqui show that little interest was taken in the celebration of the most important event in our history except the Civil War. Probably the largest attendance on any day was the day when the championship passed from Dempsey to Tunney.

We pass these facts on to the National Security League and similar organizations for what they are worth. Meantime real estate and traction interests of Philadelphia may hold a celebration of their own.

SECESSION IN MINNESOTA

THE Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota is facing a situation that often comes to a political organization of workers if it is too loosely organized and lacking in discipline. When such a movement gets a large following the professional and the adventurer begin to enter it and to divert it from its professed purposes. In the late twenties the promising city labor parties of the East were destroyed in this way. The farmer revolt of the nineties was sold at auction in St. Louis to the Bryanites in 1896.

Minnesota is now having the same experience, but whether it has developed to the status of a menace we do not know. At any rate a disbarred lawyer in Minneapolis has opened headquarters in that city and is leading a secession movement from the Farmer-Labor Party. Whether he succeeds remains to be seen.

The idea back of this revolt is for the Farmer-Labor Party to shut up shop and deliver its members and voters to the Democratic Party. The absurdity and dishonesty of the proposal may be seen in the fact that last year the Democratic Party received 50,000 votes in the state, while the Farmer-Labor Party received 366,000! The latter party has steadily increased its vote for several years, while the former has steadily declined. As one prominent Democrat is reported as saying, "all that's left of the Democratic Party, are the blind Democrats."

But aside from the question of numbers there is the fact that the revolting farmers and workers of the state have organized their own party precisely because the old parties have been the instruments of reaction and big property interests. Moreover, the Minnesota laborites hope to contribute something to the establishment of a national Labor Party in this country. As voting stock of the Democrats this would be impossible. It is to be hoped that the masses in Minnesota will avoid the disaster that secession will certainly bring.

GARY ON PEACE

IF THE glorification of our super-Babbitts continues, we may yet erect shrines to them. Of the mediocre men who have climbed to the top of a mountain of dollars, Judge Gary of the steel trust is about the dullest, yet he breaks into the headlines frequently and homage is paid to observations that do not rise above the level of drivel. It recalls the days when in the early nineties millions watched the daily prints for the news of the gold reserve in Washington, it being assumed that the amount of gold accumulated in the national money vaults would determine whether the industrial prostration would pass or remain.

We recall only one thing ever said by Gary that is worth remembering, and that is the statement attributed to him the other day at a luncheon given him by friends. Referring to the "cordiality" between the steel monarchs of Germany and the United States, he is reported as saying: "Friendship is not a mere sentiment. It is a principle of economics."

True, but he said more than he should have said if he were a shrewd spokesman for his class. Translated into plain English, his statement means that friendship between nations depends upon the economic relations between the masters of property in these nations. "Sentiment" has nothing to do with it. Economic interests of the ruling classes form the basis of peace and war. That is what he meant when he declared that friendship is a matter of economics and not sentiment.

Now it is all right for the Socialists to say this of the order that spawns the monarchs of property because they want to end this order, but it is a blunder for Gary to say it, as he wants to perpetuate this order. Therein does he exhibit his mediocre mind. His publicity man should teach the old gentleman the danger of spilling the beans.

THE MACHINE REVOLUTION

IN THE October Forum Thomas A. Edison expresses the opinion that machinery is "the greatest of emancipators" and he looks forward to the time when "every task now accomplished by human hands is turned out by some machine." So do we, but does the inventor realize that when that ideal is reached it will make imperative a revolution in all the institutions of society?

The machinery of production is private property. Assume that it becomes more and more automatic until most every task now performed by human hands is performed by machinery. Few workers will be needed in the industries. The few that will be required will give their time to pressing a button, throwing a lever or turning a wheel to start or stop the machinery. The machines will even feed themselves as they now do in some industries.

What is to become of the great mass of workmen no longer needed in the industries? The owners will not need them, but these masses will need the jobs. Will the workers quietly go off and die because they are not needed? Hardly. They will want to live, but to live they must have employment

Two Patriots In the Pillory

Following every war in our history we have had revelations of extortion, theft and bribery and the trail has always led to eminent "patriots." The recent trial of ex-Attorney General Daugherty and Thomas W. Miller is an example. After four days of deliberation, the jury is discharged. That body stood 10 to 2 to convict Miller and 6 to 6 on Daugherty on a charge of conspiracy. There is no doubt that Richard Merton, head of a German syndicate, paid John T. King, a Republican National Committeeman, \$441,000 to pass Merton's claim for \$7,000,000 through the Department of Justice. All the jurors agreed that Daugherty and Miller got the liberty bonds through which the graft was paid. It is known that King was the go-between in the transaction. Miller was the incorporator of the American Legion, and Daugherty, as Attorney General, was the gentleman who called Eugene V. Debs from Atlanta prison to Washington and told Debs about the majesty of the law. We must add that Miller was Alien Property Custodian when the dirty transaction occurred, while King was the New England broker for the graft. This nasty mess is piled on the Republican primaries in Illinois and Pennsylvania and the Republican Koo Koo scandal in Indiana. It must also be remembered in connection with the extortions and profiteering of the war period to appreciate what professional "patriotism" really means. All history demonstrates that this virtue expounded by political and professional agents of the capitalist class is a screen for plunder, graft and theft. Whether Daugherty and Miller are convicted in another trial makes little difference. Enough is known and admitted by the jury that disagreed in their first trial to convince intelligent people that capitalist politics is politics for the capitalist class, and it can be nothing else.

Europe Has Quiet Week

About the only event of real importance reported from Europe during the week was the meeting in England of a delegation of German big business men with a number of British captains of industry for the probable purpose of working out a plan for the harmonizing of the commercial interests of their respective countries with those of the rest of Europe in the hope of thus strengthening the capitalist system and checking American financial domination. Few details of the conversations at this meeting have been given out, but the correspondents all agree that the effects of the gathering are likely to be far-reaching. On the surface of affairs,

Two Types of Savage America

If the Man from Mars were to pay a visit to "God's own country," the United States, he would likely fly back after a day's sojourn. New York is notorious for its criminals, and what with armored cars, guards with high-power rifles guarding bank vaults, it has only to add machine gun wars by bandits to bring it up to the current standards of Americanism in this line. Several months ago Chicago provided this latest installment, and a number of men met their death in the street. This week another automobile equipped with a machine gun is reported as roaming Chicago streets in a gang war. From San Francisco comes the story of a thousand policemen, detectives and deputies occupying automobiles equipped with shotguns and machine guns, prepared for gangsters who have murdered three and wounded five persons recently. When we consider all this in relation to our lynchings, our savage race riots, and the horrible atrocities of hired gunmen in mining areas of Idaho, Colorado, Minnesota and West Virginia, one wonders what our 100 per centers are thinking of when they pay homage to the United States. The same week that brought this news also brings an attack on the American Civil Liberties Union, the League for Industrial De-

mocracy and the Students' Forum by Joseph T. Cushman at the Army and Navy Club. The Civil Liberties Union more than any other organization has been trying to teach the subjects of American capital civilized ways of doing things, fighting for the expression of all opinions and helping the moneyless man to have his day in court, yet it is singled out for condemnation by this top! Our brainless reactionaries are first cousins of the lynchers and mobbers, and their opposition to dissenting opinions and efforts to suppress them is the other side of the savage character that runs through American life.

British Labor In Conference

All accounts agree that the British miners' strike is crumbling. Late last week the estimate of the number of miners returning to work totaled 203,000. This week two other counties report miners returning to work. A suggestion that the safety men be withdrawn from the mines brought the report that the Government would use troops and an emphatic declaration by Secretary Cook of the miners against withdrawal of the safety men. It appears that the Government responds quickly to the need of protecting property, but the welfare of the miners is another matter. Meantime, the Labor Party Conference is meeting at Margate, and the plight of the miners came up for discussion. The fact was brought out that little financial aid can be given because of unemployment in other trades and depleted union treasuries. Thomas of the Railwaymen reported that 45,000 members of his union had been unemployed since the general strike and 200,000 more were working only three days a week. Ben Tillett reported that the Transport Workers had spent \$5,000,000 on the strike, that \$0,000 of the transport men were unemployed, and that 60 per cent. of the dock workers have no jobs. This situation seems to be general in England. Former Labor Premier MacDonald declared that he was appalled at the present state of union finances, but believed that relief was to be found in political action, return of a Labor Government, and nationalization of the mines. The Conservative Party at its conference last week demanded legislation declaring strikes illegal unless preceded by secret ballot, but it is reported that Premier Baldwin does not favor this. Local elections in the past few months have given sweeping victories to the Labor Party, and there is little doubt that in the next general election the party will return to power, but whether it will have a majority over both old parties is uncertain.

THE CHATTER BOX

THE world has always been too harsh on Xantippe, the alleged hen-pecker of old Socrates. Perhaps all that was due because most of the married masculinity through the ages has squirmed under the fell clutch of inferiority complexes, and has set up the crude image of that venerable lady for their defensive abuse. And here, in our editorial silence, we pour through Fritz Mauthner's "Mrs. Socrates," so excellently translated from the original German, and published by the International Publishing Company, and become unalterably convinced that Xantippe was beyond pearls and rubies, and Socrates was nothing short of the village "Lightnin'." We might have here just to remark how much wiser and more human "Mrs. Socrates" reads alongside Prof. John Erskine's "Private Life of Helen of Troy," which latter is quite sufficient in worldliness and understanding.

It has always fallen to the lot of solid and practical maidens to become maritally entangled with cloud scrapers and sky plasterers. The immutable statute reads that opposites shall attract each other, and where some frail dreamer is accepted by a lady whose feet walk and remain on the firm earth, immediately a busybody world whispers prophecy of "What a life she will lead him!" Most of these business-like women are messianic in nature. They dream only that impossible vision of moulding something to their hard desires. They take a Socrates in the flaming hope that under their untiring tutelage he may gradually be transformed into a cash register, or an income tax report. The seeming softness of the poet's or philosopher's nature has a lure for the sculpturing digits of the lady. But when the clay proves to be para gum, eternally springing back to its original shape, and utterly unimpressionable, then a dull anger stirs within her, and the virago appears. Xantippe scolded the lazy disciples of her husband in the prayer that if they left him because of her ire he might become more attainable for her plans. She was scooping water with her hands from the Mediterranean Sea, with the aim of emptying that pond. That she failed is history. That she was grossly abused and sadly misjudged is still uncommon knowledge. There has always been too much romantic nincompoopery about the shrewishness of wives. There has forever been too much lacrimose indulgence over the "henpecked husband." From our little observation nook, it has always occurred that wives and mothers are not at all fractious enough against the unjust share of life burdens that is imposed upon them. Most men are potential loafers, even if their outwardly visible actions mark them as ideal hard-working breadwinners. Their wives are the practical planners, even as they scour pots and shop for the evening meals. That the husbands do not prove in the end as untractable as Socrates is due only because none of them are poets or philosophers. And, unfortunately, very few of our modern ladies possess the enduring strength of Xantippe's character, and so they eventually yield to the drudgery of housewifery,

and the horrible fear of being called a "nagging woman" by their neighbors, and nothing but dull existence results for the innumerable marriages of the mediocre innumerable. We can understand just how the red-blooded men-men out of the open spaces will feel about a glorification of "Mrs. Socrates." We are even now holding our ear-drums against the thunder of their disagreement. But, if we are at all alive to goings-on, most of these stentorian protestants are usually the most abject employees of bullying bosses—white-collared whining whelps before the "chief"—and ballyhooing barons in their installment-furnished flats. At the dread cost of instilling rebellion in our own home, allow us to whoop 'er up for that much to be admired lady, "Mrs. Socrates." May her tribe multiply.

Our young poet contrib, Joseph Resnick, sends in the following as an actual result of experience with the charities we inveigh against here:

At the Dispensary

For twenty-five cents you may sit and wait.
Whether with bloodshot eye or fractured limb,
And count the minutes as they dissipate
The gruelling hours. Or you may try to swim
The weary sea of patience, time and pain
Envisaging a dream-world where there are
No arctic doctors with money on the brain,
Nor rude, prim nurses austere singular.

So spacious is the heart of Charity
That its compassion for a needy soul
Strays over its vaulted immensity
To lose itself. And those who ask a dole,
Or seek her bounty with a body worn,
Find phantom solace at the hands of scorn.
Joseph Resnick.

Sunlight Among Pines

The pines, with a million needles
Are busily stitching
The sunlight.
To form a vast and glittering quilt
Spread upon the ground.
I wrap myself in it,
Inhaling its fragrance,
Of an Autumn afternoon.
Henry Reich, Jr.

We never have much of praise for any of our millionaires. A Socialist cannot possibly see virtue in any of them, so cruel is the process through which they attain their swollen fortunes. And yet, what can one say except to acclaim Mr. August Hecksher, whose last philanthropic project of wiping out the Ghetto and rebuilding it by private and public subscription is so timely and all important. Our only regret is that the venerable gentleman does not suggest the drafting of a billion dollars from the thousand or so real millionaires in this city to immediately go about the task and accomplish it within the life of the teeming hordes that still are forced by poverty to infest the abominable East Side. It is long stride from Marie Antoinette's suggestion to the poor to "eat cake, if there be no bread," to Mr. Hecksher's outraged vision and conscience—and his proposal to build habitable homes for millions who now live in inhuman hovels. Unfortunately, the laws of his own class stand solidly against such a project. Hundreds of landlord swine will grunt and squeal at any such scheme, especially where drastic condemnation proceedings are suggested. And if laws will be necessary, what real chance is there of Republican and Democrat legislators ever passing them. What a Socialist Governor and legislature would do if they were voted into power is only as yet the pious prayer and inspired dream of a splendidly phantasmagoric. Yet our praise for Mr. Hecksher is neither forced nor hampered. It is indeed our mutual privilege to have the same vision, even if our ways of accomplishment differ.

S. A. de Witt.

Critical Cruisings

By V. F. Calverton
Jarnegan

IN JARNEGAN, Jim Tully's recent novel (A. & C. Boni) the proletarian motif is projected without the gesture of interpolation. At no time does one feel that Jarnegan's attitude toward labor is insincere or affected. Nor is it employed as a vestige of the dramatic, trailing the protagonist as a characteristic interesting because curious. Jarnegan's reaction to the labor struggle is intense and intimate. His words, his actions, his psychology breathe of the milieu of the proletariat.

While Jarnegan as a novel may be a less revolutionary production than a play such as Toller's "Man and the Masses" or Pretzang's "Daughters of Labor," it is, nevertheless, part of that new movement in literature that we may flexibly classify as a proletarian trend. Jarnegan, who, under the name of Muldoon, had murdered Japper, a scab, is a proletarian hero of no microscopical dimensions. Untutored, never having written a letter in his life, Jarnegan, aided by fakir and harlot, passes from the nirvana of the religious healer to the acrobatics of Hollywood. Melodramatic in detail and denouement, the novel is, notwithstanding, a vivid, striking, and, at moments, even a beautiful thing.

The beginning episode of the novel is interesting because of the attitude revealed toward organized labor. The scab is sacred. Muldoon's scrap with Japper, ending in the latter's murder, is certainly without the dreary dullness of detail that too often characterizes such description. The swift, staccato style gives a hastening rapidity, an electrifying alacrity to the whole movement of the novel. The ideas brought out by Brannigan, the labor lawyer, in the trial of Muldoon, are significant. Brannigan "too had labored in the mill; he, too, knew the psychology of the toiler." Brannigan's speech:

"Suppose, gentlemen," he said, "that Jack here was your boy—and he'd been caught in the net of circumstances as Jack has. This lad has always worked, gentlemen—has shared with me and every body. There are invisible laws, gentlemen, which are bigger than man-made laws. In a time of war Japper would have been shot, gentlemen—"

"Washington," cried when he was betrayed by Arnold, gentlemen—and Japper betrayed a cause. Those among you, like myself, that have labored in the mills and the mines, know how dear that cause is. We ask you, gentlemen, for understanding. It was not premeditated, gentlemen—it was in the heat of battle. I ask you again, gentlemen, for fairness and understanding."

In the admission of the genial deputy-sheriff—
"It ain't a murder to kill a scab, anyhow,"
is crystallized the social spirit of the entire novel.

From the time when Jarnegan, "still in sympathy with Union Labor," made a speech to the assembled laborers during the noon hour—
"Fellow diet-slingers, you've got nothing to lose but your pick and shovel—let's all strike!"—

to the apex of his career at Hollywood, there is no deviation in his attitude toward the radical movement. Even in the midst of a moment of retrospection, maudlin and erotic, he never forgets his social affiliations—
"Members of the I. W. W. and trade unionists, found in him a friend. They were striking for something. It was the rebellion in his own soul that he loved in them."

In sex motif, too, the novel is in definite revolt against the bourgeois mores. Jim Tully's candour is but part of the contemporary sex attitude prevailing in literature. Jarnegan does not item his desires behind ruffles and furbelows of phrase, but frankly admits that
"he was funny about women—liked the fruit he had sampled"

(Continued on page 9)

Statement of the ownership, management, circulation, etc., required by the Act of Congress, August 24, 1912, of THIS NEW LEADER.

Published weekly at New York, N. Y., for Oct. 1, 1926, State of New York, County of New York, 82.

Before me, a notary public in and for the state and county aforesaid, personally appeared Usher Solomon, who, having been duly sworn according to law, depose and say that he is the Business Manager of The New Leader, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, and circulation of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above certificate, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in Section 442, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are:

Published by The New Leader Publishing Association, 7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.

Editor—James Oneal, 7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.

Managing Editor—James Oneal, 7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.

Business Manager—Usher Solomon, 7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is:

Owner—The New Leader Publishing Association, 7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.; Morris Herman, President, Pleasantville, N. Y.; Meyer Hill, Treasurer, 175 East Broadway, New York, N. Y.; Julius Tierber, Secretary, 7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.

3. That the total number of copies of this publication for the week ending October 9, 1926, were:

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager, as they appear upon the books of the company, are true and correct.

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