

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

THE NEW LEADER

VOL. III. No. 44

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1926

Entered as Second Class Matter, January 15, 1924, at the Post Office at New York, New York, under act of March 3, 1879.

Price Five Cents

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

One Year . . . \$2.00
Six Months . . . 1.25
Three Months75

7,000 Cloak Strikers Back; Compromise

20,000 Will Fight Against Association

AT going to the new Leader from reliable sources that an agreement has been reached between the Joint Board of the New York Cloakmakers' Union and the Industrial Council of the Manufacturers' Association.

This agreement will affect about 7,000 workers who are employed by the "inside manufacturers." About twenty thousand cloakmakers will continue on strike against the jobbers in the industry.

The following terms have been the basis of the agreement reached between the manufacturers and the union:

1. Increase in wages in accordance with the recommendations of the governor's commission.
2. Forty-two hours for two years, and 40 hours for the third year of the agreement.
3. Ten per cent. reorganization of personnel privilege for life of the agreement to such employers who will guarantee the equivalent earnings of 22 weeks' wages in the year.

The New Leader will have a more detailed report in the next issue.

TIMELY TOPICS

By Norman Thomas

THE amusing aftermath over an American election is with us. The political posters are trying to show us just what the results signify. The Democrats made some gains. To prove that that means anything in terms of principles or big issues is like arguing that there was a principle at stake in the World's Series between the Yankees and the Cardinals or that the future of the world is affected by the result of the Yale-Princeton football game. We need an honest label act to apply to politics. You can't tell what kind of a drink you are getting out of the Republican and Democratic bottle. Those magnificent purchasers of Senatorial honors, Messrs. Vane of Pennsylvania and Smith of Illinois, are Republican and so are Messrs. Norris and Borah, who will try to have them thrown out of the seats for which they paid so dear. As for the Democrats, they agree on nothing except that they want office.

The only thing left for us is, according to good old American custom, to rejoice that at any rate somebody has been licked, whether or not we rejoice that anyone has won. From that point of view we can get a little satisfaction in the defeat of Cal's rich Butler in Massachusetts, even if we don't think that David L. Walsh has much to offer to the country. The same satisfaction applies, as I previously said, in New York City. The steady growth of the Socialist vote in Wisconsin and in Jim Maurer's balliwick in Pennsylvania is more substantial encouragement.

There is no particular reason for discouragement among Socialists. If we will quit sighing about the past and stop looking for miracles we can begin a useful bit of political organization work. This means that in districts where we have potential strength we must go to work to try to elect Aldermen and Assemblymen before we hope to elect a President. In other words, we must organize. Organization involves all sorts of questions of more interesting local meetings, house to house canvassing, and what not. It also legitimately involves a new effort to make Socialist leaven work in the labor unions.

By Socialist leaven emphatically I do not mean something like the Communist nuclei. It is bad both in theory and in practice for organized groups in a labor union to be under definite orders and discipline administered by a political party which is outside the union. Because, however, we Socialists do not believe in the Communist cells is no reason why we should not talk about union problems from a Socialist point of view, see that our members do not in the unions adopt tactics un-

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PORTERS DITCH COMPANY UNION

Pullman Company's Czars Forced to Retreat from Attempt to Force Voting

IN a vigorous protest against the action of the Pullman Company in attempting to force porters to vote in its company union elections, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters definitely repudiated the "Employee Representation Plan" as representative of the porters at a regular meeting.

Telegrams from every section of the country were read telling the story of porters' refusal to vote in the "Plan." "The spirit of fear is broken," declared A. Philip Randolph, leader of the Brotherhood.

Two Pullman Company officials, czars in their districts, have been forced to back down in their campaign to intimidate porters into voting in the Employee Representation Plan, according to reports received in the National Headquarters of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Superintendent Mitchell of the Pennsylvania district and Superintendent Burr of the St. Louis district, noted for browbeating and threatening porters who have refused to vote in the company union elections, have been forced to change their tactics by the militant campaign of the Brotherhood, exposing their Simon Legree methods.

At the beginning of the elections now in progress many porters were sent to the offices of Superintendent Mitchell with a notice, "See Mitchell in regard to refusing to vote." The Brotherhood is in possession of several of these notices. Superintendent Mitchell questioned these men, and by innuendo and direct suggestion threatened them with company reprisals. It was "on the carpet" for any porter who stood on his rights of manhood and refused to cast a vote in the fake company union.

When this situation was reported to the Brotherhood its leaders began a militant attack upon the czar of the Penn Terminal, showing up his autocratic, irresponsible attitude toward the men in his employ. The result has been a precipitate about face on the part of Superintendent Mitchell. The day after the "Mitchell Must Go" campaign was announced he declined to see porters sent from the yards for not voting. As the Brotherhood attacks continued, he entirely reversed the company policy of forcing men to vote by holding back their pay checks, and can now be heard to declare, "Any man has a right to refuse to vote."

The same victory was won over Superintendent Burr in St. Louis, Mo., whose high-handed injustices to the men in the service had long been a grievance in that district.

The Pullman Company has made the forcing of the vote a definite policy both in the Employee Representation Plan and in its cousin, the Pullman Porters' Benefit Association. Elections for the latter were held in October and were marked by all varieties of coercion and intimidation. Pay checks were held up and men held off their runs in an attempt to force the men, who were disgusted by an open company steal of the primary, to register a vote.

Only the fighting spirit displayed by

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Debs Bequeathed Home To Wife; Died Without Wealth, Will Reveals

Terre Haute, Ind.—Eugene V. Debs left an estate valued at \$15,000, all of his property going to the widow, Katherine Debs. The will, containing only twenty-two words, reads:

"I, Eugene V. Debs, of Terre Haute, Vigo county, Indiana, hereby bequeath all my property to my beloved wife, Katherine M. Debs."

Debs owned a home here listed on the county records as worth \$8,550, and his personal property was listed at \$600. He is understood also to have had a fifth share in the estate of his father, Daniel Debs, which was worth a total of \$25,000. So far as is known here, Mr. Debs had no other property.

STRIKERS APPEAL TO NEGROES

Colored Paper Box Makers Plead with Fellows to End Scabbing

AFTER five weeks of bitter struggle the ranks of the paper box strikers are as firm as ever, despite the continued brutality of the police and unwarranted fines imposed upon young girl pickets haled into court on charges of "disorderly conduct" and "attempted assault."

The bosses still are recruiting colored boys and girls in their effort to break the union. Last Thursday night a fight took place between colored strikebreakers employed by the Best-Made Paper Box Company, 124 Wooster street, and striking workers. An Italian striker, Dan Lulo, received a razor wound in his head at the hands of one of the scabs, and two strikebreakers are being held for the Grand Jury on charges of felonious assault.

The union has just issued a circular, written by one of its colored members, appealing to "fellow-workers of the colored race" to help in the fight by refusing to act as strikebreakers. The circulars are being distributed among the workers of Harlem by the colored members of the union. The circular is signed, "The Colored Boys and Girls of the Paper Box Makers' Union of Greater New York," and reads as follows:

"We of your own race are appealing to you for help in winning the fight that we are now engaged in. We are striking for better conditions, less hours and more money, so that we can live a little better. The bosses refuse to grant us better conditions, but if they could not get many of our own race, along with a few white ones, to work for them and betray us, they would be compelled to give us our conditions."

"They are telling you that the leaders of the union discriminate between white and colored. Let us assure you that this is not true."

"So, Sisters and Brothers, please prove to the public that, though our skin is black, we are human beings with a white soul and just as good union members as the white boys and girls are. Refuse to work as scabs, no matter what the bosses tell you, or what they offer you. Come to our union headquarters and join our ranks."

As soon as there are openings you will be placed in good union jobs, where you will be able to go in and out like free people and not like prisoners with policemen guarding you. You will be respected by the bosses and everybody else. You will help us win our fight and become 100 percent unionized, and victory will be ours. We will then go back to work as free men and women, respected by the bosses, having better conditions, working less hours, getting pay for five holidays, an increase of wages and, best of all, a UNION to protect us, without which we would be like dogs in the eyes and estimation of the paper box bosses."

Many of the colored girls who have been brought in as strikebreakers have not been paid more than \$15 and \$18 a week. Three of them refused to return to work for Wilchik & Kline, 192 Greene street, on Monday, because the boss deducted Saturday's pay and didn't pay them the weekly wage that he had promised them.

Farmer-Laborites Elect Two Congressmen

CHICAGO.—Fuller returns on the showing made by the minor parties November 2 gave the Farmer-Labor party of Minnesota two Congressmen, Kvale and Cares, a loss of one.

Speaking of the vote in St. Paul, the Minnesota Union Advocate, which supported the Farmer-Labor ticket, says, "an analysis of the vote shows that the greatest decline occurred in the so-called labor wards, while in the non-labor wards there was an increase."

HIGH RAIL WAGE DISPELLED AS MYTH

Union Officials Testify Rates of Pay Fail to Meet Workers' Needs

STACKS of statistics and tabulations are making the case of eastern railroads physically bulky in the arbitration board hearings on conductors' and trainmen's demands for average 20 percent wage increases. W. G. Lee, president Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, and L. E. Shepard, president Order of Railway Conductors, occasionally attack the figures presented, but mostly are content to wait their turn in rebuttal.

The main contentions of the railroads against the workers' demands are: That while the roads' profits grow from year to year, they still do not reach the 5 percent earnings allowed by the Interstate Commerce Commission; that the roads have invested heavily in new property and equipment; that passenger traffic is declining; that freight traffic is increasing in manufactured goods, which are expensive to haul; that stockholders are not getting a proper proportion to bondholders from the roads' earnings and cannot if wage demands are granted; that conductors' and trainmen's wages are "favorable proportions" of railroads' earnings.

Meanwhile, financial reports indicate that 1926 railroad earnings will set a new high record. J. G. Walber, New York Central vice-president conducting the roads' case, submits total earnings of workers which are challenged by workers' testimony and their claim that basic rates and earnings should be the ones considered, not totals.

One good witness for the rail workers was Eugene Badger, head freight brakeman on the Big Four. He worked six years as an extra and intermittently for another four years before getting regular assignment. His basic pay is \$4.34 per eight hour day. He has to make 150 miles or 12 hours a day and his job works eight out of nine days. He told that one yardmaster would not allow the crew to line up its freight train in his terminal while the yardmaster to whose terminal they went required that the train be classified by arrival. The switching of cars had to be done en route to the men's delay. Badger said he had to work "practically all the time" to earn enough for his wife and three children, and that he wouldn't have a chance to enjoy an auto even if he could afford one. He said he had to be familiar with four or five rule books and had no pay for preparatory time reading them and special orders.

Local freight conductor J. H. Seidel on the Baltimore & Ohio told that he has been in service 24 years of his 41. He said: "I'd certainly like to have a wage on which I could save. Can't on this, that's sure." He is away from home two-thirds of the time. He said that the monthly pay guarantee for regularly assigned men is 26 days a month, but doesn't count if the workers lay off voluntarily for sickness or other reason and doesn't cover holidays voluntarily taken off.

William J. Heyworth, New York Central brakeman, told how his monthly wage of \$204 was reduced to \$181.50 by his away-from-home expenses. He said that special rates are

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N. Y. Teachers Penalized for Liberal Views

JEWEL STRIKERS DEAF TO BOSSES

Picket Is Attacked and Jailed — Coparo's Challenge Silences the Police

ARRESTS, jailings, intimidation and brutality having failed to shatter to the least extent the morale of the striking novelty jewelry workers, the Manufacturers' Association has resorted to circulating false appeals asking the men to return to work. An attempt is made to paint the leaders, all of whom have braved jail terms and the policemen's clubs, as being actuated by selfish motives.

The first appeal was signed by the "Associated Firms of Novelty Jewelers" and is an admission of the effectiveness of the strike. The bosses virtually beg the men to return to work. "Call up your boss," is the plea. "Tell him you are coming back to work and the association will see that you will not be molested by these agitators." The "protection" offered strikebreakers is a reference to the strong-arm men the bosses are employing to intimidate the strikers.

The second appeal attempts to give the impression that the firms are having the men turned out as usual. In the same breath it again begs the men to take up work at the old conditions. This is signed by the "Novelty Jewelers' Association."

Anthony De Santis, a striking stone-setter, is now serving a term of ten days in the workhouse. He was arrested while on the picket line. While walking up and down in front of the quarters of Hess and Winner, 209 West 26th street, De Santis proved very successful in informing would-be scabs of the strike that is going on.

Infuriated at De Santis' success, the firm made vain attempts to get rid of him. He was attacked by a combination slugging-foreman in the employ of the manufacturers. Policemen who appeared on the scene, instead of offering protection to De Santis, who was attempting to resist the brutal attack of the foreman, placed the striker under arrest. Monday he was sent to the workhouse convicted of assault.

An attempt to jail Anthony Caparo, leader of the strike, fell through when Caparo insisted on his right to picket. While picketing in front of the Hess and Winner shop, Caparo was approached by a policeman who demanded he "move on." The strike leader refused, finally insisting that he be permitted to continue picketing or be placed under arrest. The officer then took Caparo to the station house, where the latter was completely vindicated, no charges being filed against him.

Private detective agencies have made their appearance in the strike as they have in most others of recent years.

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Union Begins Fight to End Discrimination Against Instructors

TEACHERS who have qualified by the highest standards of scholarship for promotion in the New York public school system, but who have had the temerity to frankly espouse liberal views outside of the classrooms, are today being victimized by the bureaucrats of the school system.

"The movement for the control of thinking, especially in the school system of New York City, is as menacing today as it appeared to be in the 'Lusk Era,'" the Teachers' Union declares.

A free thought fight, the most significant in many years, has been centered around the cases of Dr. Jessie Wallace Hughan, well known Socialist, Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz, a leader in the New York State labor movement, and Miss Ruth Hardie, a liberal. All three have, by competitive examination, received gradings which long ago entitled them to promotion above their present rank in the school system.

The well-understood reason for the failure to advance Miss Hughan, Miss Hardie and Mr. Lefkowitz—their liberal views and associations—was made clearer a few days after the Teachers' Union began its fight by Superintendent O'Shea.

Taking a page from the bible of Lusk, Dr. O'Shea declared, "We expect teachers to differentiate between liberal and radical. How could the teacher teach children under his care to love American institutions and principles if, after school hours he went out and berated American institutions and principles. We find that many of those who have done so are considered by eminent medical men as psychopathic."

Dr. Henry Linville, president of the Teachers' Union, promptly demanded O'Shea make an immediate retraction or do his duty under the laws of the Board of Education and act to have any "psychopathic" cases removed from among the teachers.

At a protest meeting called by the Union and held in public school 27, more than 500 teachers adopted resolutions calling for a public hearing on the cases of the three teachers. At this meeting the superintendents were accused of having established an "unfair and discriminatory blacklist."

Dr. George A. Cos of Teachers' College, chairman of the Citizens' Committee of One Hundred on Intellectual Freedom for Teachers, presided and called upon the following speakers: Dr. Henry R. Linville, president of the Teachers' Union; Miss Rose Schneiderman, president of the Women's Trade Union League; Edward F. Cassidy of Typographical Union No. 6; Mrs. Johanna M. Lindolf, president of the Kindergarten to 6B Teachers' Association; Joseph Ryan, president of the Central Trades and Labor Council; Gilbert E. Roe, attorney; Oswald Garrison Villard and the three teachers in whose behalf the meeting was organized.

Assails O'Shea

Mr. Roe, who has represented the union in several of its legal battles in behalf of teachers accused of radicalism, bitterly attacked a recent statement of the superintendent of schools that he believed some radical teachers refused promotion were to be pitted as "pathological cases."

"Socialism is about worn out as an excuse for denying teachers' promotion," he said. "Communism and 'lack of patriotism' are also becoming dead issues which do not stir public approbation as they did during the hysteria of war. But our bureaucratic educational officials are fertile in raising new issues. Socialism, communism and lack of patriotism may be passing, but they have devised a new reason for nonpromotion, which is far more sinister than charges of radicalism."

"They now whisper abroad the awful charge that there is something wrong with their minds—that they are not to be trusted mentally, that is the suggestion they are now handing to every teacher who cannot be reached in other ways. It is a sinister, insidious charge based on surmise and suggestion. The salvation of our citizenry, and especially labor, rests in the public schools. This is your fight and it is a fight."

Mr. Villard characterized Dr. O'Shea's remarks about pathological cases as "the language of every tyrant, every Pilsudski, every Mussolini."

"Let us appreciate his frankness," he continued, "even if we cannot indorse his conception of his office. Such persons always want free speech with

'International Golddigger,' Socialist Calls Marie

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

MINNEAPOLIS.—A council leader rose up and called Queen Marie of Rumania "an international gold-digger," bumming her way across the United States, another pleaded earnestly for a ban on silk hats and spats for welcoming Aldermen and Socialist members, wound up a stormy city council session here a many months by informing the Mayor and the world at large that queens mean nothing at all to them.

Silk hats, spats, morning coats and canes may be required in New York, Baltimore and Philadelphia, but the City Fathers here, after two hours of bitter debate, tabled a well-dressed Aldermen resolution, and indicated they won't do anything more than shake hands and say "Hello, Queen, how's Rumania?"

And that was all that happened. The queen has come and gone. She won't have much to tell the folks back home about how Minneapolis greeted her.

Alderman H. A. Brown started it. He got up and said: "I move that the queen be greeted by the entire city council when she arrives here, and that we all wear silk hats, morning coats, spats and canes."

Mr. Brown is the best dressed man in the council. Alderman John Ryan,

who owned a livery stable for years before politics absorbed all of his time, isn't.

"What's this about silk hats?" Ryan demanded hurriedly.

"I move to amend it by striking out the section referring to silk hats and spats," said Alderman E. E. Sweeney.

It will be noted that the Irish in the council, like the Irish in Ireland, think not too highly of the trappings of royalty.

And they proved it by the battle that followed. They debated silk hats, canes and wrist watches for forty minutes, and got nowhere. Finally, it was decided to put the whole matter up to the efficiency and economy committee, which seemed the most likely to know what to do with it.

Then the battle began. Alderman L. G. Scott, Socialist, a stormy petrel in the council for years, came walking in with a folded paper. He had been writing assiduously out in the anteroom for some time.

"I've got a resolution here," he said. "I think it is about time that the workers of the United States have something to say about the system of government we are living under."

"This Queen is nothing but an international golddigger. She has sold her

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themselves as the judge where liberty ends and license begins. Who is wise enough to decide what is liberty and what is license in any of the pending issues of the day? Fear for their jobs under such a regime is reducing teachers to mere automatons who do not dare call their souls their own."

Mr. Villard drew prolonged applause when he quoted the free speech passage from Thomas Jefferson's inaugural address and then asked: "Who is the truer American, Thomas Jefferson, author of our great Constitution, or Dr. William J. O'Shea, officeholder?"

Miss Schneiderman, Mr. Cassidy and Mr. Ryan pledged the united support of their respective labor groups to the committee.

Resolutions adopted by the meeting read in part:

Hearing Asked

"Whereas, we believe that the denial of such promotion strikes at the roots of the merit system, and tends to undermine the morale and the mental alertness and progressive activity of the teaching body.

"Whereas, the Board of Education,

solicitous of the welfare of the educational system and the school children of the City of New York, must be zealous to maintain justice and fair dealing for the teachers, and to preserve that faith in the merit system which is a cornerstone of earnest, fruitful teaching;

"Be it therefore resolved that we, the Citizens' Committee of One Hundred on Intellectual Freedom for Teachers and other citizens here this night assembled, members of the community whose trustees you are, do hereby appeal to you (the Board of Education) to enforce the merit system by having the teachers heading the respective lists appointed to the existing vacancies and urge you to grant a public hearing on this matter, wherein we feel sure your decision will be such as to convince the public of your continuing careful regard for the welfare of the schools and the schoolchildren, and to reassure the teachers on the vital issues of teacher tenure and intellectual freedom."

Here are the facts concerning the cases of Miss Hughs, Miss Hardie and Mr. Lefkowitz:

The Case of Dr. Jessie Wallace Hughs

When the eligible list of first assistant (head of department) teachers in English was made public in 1914, Miss Hughs was found to have received a rating which entitled her to second place. Under the civil service law it is permissible for the Board of Superintendents of the Department of Education to appoint from the first three on an eligible list. As one of the first, or top three, is appointed, another name, lower in rating, is moved up to be considered as one of the top three.

A short time after the list had been promulgated, Miss Hughs discovered that her name had been "passed over," and that persons lower on the list than she had been appointed to positions in charge of departments in the school system. She brought the matter to the attention of a member of the Board of Superintendents and the then District Superintendent Inspector of high schools. These gentlemen assured her that her appointment was only a matter of time, and that their expectation was that she would be appointed to a first assistantship in the high school in which she was then a teacher, namely, the Eastern District High School, of Brooklyn. Relying upon this assurance, she ceased for some time to look for another opening.

The period of the World War ensued and Miss Hughs's political opinions were subjected to criticism. She obtained a transfer to the George Washington High School. In 1917 she was called before the Board of Examiners, and her license, which had expired under a provision of the state law, was renewed by act of the Board of Examiners. She continued to wait until her services should be desired, and in 1920 the renewed license granted in 1917, expired, a fact concerning which she was never given information, and did not learn of until in 1922, when Principal Dooley of the Textile High School, asked to have her transferred to his school and appointed as head of the department of English.

The transfer was made, and Dr. Hughs entered upon the duties of the head of the department of English, but she has never received the pay due for work of that kind, and under the law it is maintained that she cannot be appointed to the position of first assistant because of the expiration of the life of the eligible list. In simple language this record means that under the civil service law a teacher starting with a rank high enough to make possible almost immediate appointment may be passed over for any number of teachers of lower rank and never be appointed at all.

The Real Explanation

But it is not enough to suggest that the law may be faulty. In the particular case under discussion, and, in fact, in the other two cases as well, the education officials responsible for the fair and honest interpretation and application of the law, are chargeable with manipulating the law in such a way as to defeat its purpose, and at the same time discourage and terrorize every capable teacher subject to their authority. Since the Board of Superintendents has not made public its reason for not appointing Dr. Hughs to the position to which she was entitled, it is necessary for the Teachers' Union to give publicity to the facts.

On November 10, 1922, Dr. Hughs wrote to Mr. George J. Ryan, President of the Board of Education, as follows:

"At the suggestion of Mr. Arthur A. Boylan, I am sending you a copy of a letter written by me to Dr. Smith of the Board of Examiners. It contains a request that my name be reinstated upon the list of teachers eligible as first assistants, from which I find it was removed in 1920, upon the second expiration of my license granted in 1914.

"In view of the fact that no reason was given for the failure to put my name in nomination during that period,



Jessie Wallace Hughs

ried, I believe that justice would suggest that I should not, because of this failure, lose my place upon the list. I shall greatly appreciate any interest you may take in this matter."

This letter was referred by President Ryan to the Board of Examiners. The Chairman of the Board of Examiners replied to the President's inquiry in the following way:

"Nov. 15, 1922.
"Hon. George J. Ryan, President,
Board of Education.
"My Dear Mr. President:

"I have received your communication concerning the application of Miss Jessie W. Hughs for replacement on the eligible list for first assistant in English in the high schools. This ap-

The Case of Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz

In the summer of 1925, the Board of Examiners forwarded to Dr. William J. O'Shea, Superintendent of Schools, the list of teachers who had recently met all the academic requirements for appointment to the position of first assistant in high schools. The function of the Superintendent at this stage is to validate the lists. So far as is generally understood, he has no other function in this connection.

But the list of teachers of history was returned to the Board of Superintendents by Acting Superintendent Campbell, with the inquiry as to whether the Board of Examiners had fully considered certain details referred to as objectionable in the record of Dr. Lefkowitz before placing him on the eligible list.

The Board of Examiners replied that it had, and was satisfied that he deserved his place at the head of the history list. The events of the past few months indicate that the objections contained in the letter of the Acting Superintendent were not held by Dr. Campbell or by Dr. O'Shea, the Superintendent, but by certain associate superintendents who had no official right whatever to interfere with the promulgation of the eligible list. The proof of this is shown by the fact that when the nomination of Dr. Lefkowitz for a first assistantship was being considered in a hearing held by the Board of Superintendents in June, 1926, the same objections were revived, but in the voting both Dr. O'Shea and Dr. Campbell voted to nominate Dr. Lefkowitz.

In June, 1926, after the principal of the Textile High School had asked for the appointment of Dr. Lefkowitz as head of the Department of History, it became apparent that a majority of the Board of Superintendents was inclined to oppose the nomination. Dr. Lefkowitz thereupon asked for a hearing before the Board. This request was granted. The hearing was held on June 24, 1926. Dr. Harold G. Campbell was chairman at this hearing.

The leading part in the grilling of

Dr. Lefkowitz was accompanied by a letter from Mr. Arthur Boylan, her former principal. I have been exceedingly sorry about Miss Hughs's case. It appears that during the war she was very outspoken and has always been more or less addicted to radical tendencies. This operated very much against her while her name was on the list, and principals avoided asking for her appointment to their schools, with the result that the eligible list had expired before she was appointed. Under the State education law an eligible list is valid for three years. During the first three years of the life of this list Miss Hughs was not appointed. Under the bylaws the Board of Examiners may renew an eligible list for three years, thus making the life of a list six years. Miss Hughs was not appointed during the second three years, that is, during the six years of the life of the list, with the result that she remained on this list for six years without receiving an appointment. We have no power to renew a list after the expiration of six years. As seven years have transpired since this list was originally made, it is out of our power to place her name on the list, since it is non-existent.

"I have notified Miss Hughs of this effect. At the same time, I believe she is a thoroughly competent, honorable and capable woman and has had a marked influence on the moral character of children committed to her care. It is unfortunate that she has subjected herself to criticism in the respects that I have previously mentioned. My best suggestion to Miss Hughs is that she apply to take the next examination, and I shall do my utmost to see that justice is done her."

"Respectfully yours,
"JOSEPH M. SHEEHAN,
"Chairman Board of Examiners."

Radical Views Real Bar

Mr. Sheehan's letter offers but a partial explanation of the action of the superintendents. Dr. Hughs was on the list from 1914, three years before America entered the war. Thus, her attitude toward the war is of no importance in the matter of the failure to appoint her before the war. But the fact that Dr. Hughs is a well-known Socialist (in 1918 she ran for Secretary of State of New York and in 1920 for Lieutenant-Governor on the Socialist ticket, and this year for U. S. Senator) could and did have significance not only before the war, but during its continuance and afterward. In other words, the so-called radical views she held constituted the real bar to her promotion.

Dr. Hughs has refused to act on the suggestion offered that she take a new examination and seek promotion in that way, on the ground that there appears to be good reason to believe that the education officials would act as they have already acted. The remainder of this statement tends to justify that fear.

which Dr. Lefkowitz was subjected at the hearing was taken by Associate Superintendent Mandel. Among the things Mr. Mandel wanted to know at the hearing were whether Dr. Lefkowitz is a salaried official of the Teachers' Union, what he does with the \$50 a month he receives from the Union, whether he had written some articles for a labor journal, whether Dr. Lefkowitz's thesis stated in an article that "industrial workers, farmers and trade mechanics, who constitute 80 per cent of the population and have practically no representation in legislative bodies, while lawyers, who constitute a fraction of 1 per cent of the population, send 75 per cent of the representatives," is not analogous to the system prevailing in Russia.

Then follow in the record of the hearing three pages of questions designed to bring out Dr. Lefkowitz's attitude on the war, and especially the World War, and one page on whether the government had really discriminated against the five million unemployed in favor of the railroads, all of which had been dealt with in the articles.

Mr. Mandel was interested in knowing why Dr. Lefkowitz had written to the Globe criticizing the Teachers' Council for condemning certain Union officers for giving their support to the free speech issue in the celebrated Michigan cases. He also wanted an explanation of Dr. Lefkowitz's participation in a meeting held under the auspices of the American Civil Liberties Union, and to know whether he was a member of that organization. Did he write a letter recently to the World attacking the Board of Education because it refused to allow the Civil Liberties Union to hold a meeting in the Stuyvesant High School? Dr. Lefkowitz had written no such letter.

Dotey Report Quoted

Dr. Lefkowitz was asked, "Do you believe in the abolition of private property ownership?" and whether he had ever referred to the United States as a "so-called republic." He denied the implied charges. The record contains a mass of references to allegations contained in the Dotey report to the Teachers' Council about Dr. Lefkowitz. This report is an enormous mass of charges concerning alleged radical activities of practically every actively progressive person and organization in the United States. It is most important to note the fact that neither the Board of Superintendents nor the Board of Edu-

Was It for This We Died?



W.T. Brady

cation has ever accepted this report. Still the Superintendents have used its material whenever it suited their purpose to do so. Of especial interest to the Superintendents has been the charge that Dr. Lefkowitz once remarked to a history class in DeWitt Clinton High School that after leaving the Capitol following the expulsion of the Socialist members in 1920, he felt that he had just left a "dehousing camp." For this alleged remark Dr. Lefkowitz has been transferred in 1921 from DeWitt Clinton to the High School of Commerce. As a matter of fact, the remark appeared to have been made as a reflection on the drunken carousal and crap-shooting orgy which had characterized a closing session of a legislature of the State of New York. The official explanation given at the time of the transfer was that Dr. Lefkowitz had been guilty of "intemperate language," and that he had "shown disrespect toward our law-makers."

The record of the hearing contains a mass of other charges, although the Superintendents denied that Dr. Lefkowitz was under charges. It was intimated that he was a Bolshevik, a Communist as well as a Socialist, although Dr. Lefkowitz has long been a member of the Farmer-Labor Party, and in 1924 advocated the election of Senator La Follette.

Mandel Grinding Ore

He was charged with being a member of the Friends of Freedom for India, as well as of the Pioneer Youth

The Case of Ruth Gillette Hardy

In 1925 two eligible lists for the position of principal of elementary school, one for men, one for women, were announced by the Board of Examiners. A large number of names were on the lists. In September, 1925, Miss Hardy's name was reached. She was summoned to appear on September 30 "to consider your availability as principal of an elementary school."

The discussion was limited to a letter which Miss Hardy had written to the education page of the New York "Sun." This letter had been published on July 29, 1926. The occasion of writing the letter was the appearance in the Sun of a statement made by the editor of the page to the effect that the name of Miss Hardy had been passed over in the selection of persons to fill vacancies in the position of principal. In the statement it was intimated that the reason for passing over the name of Miss Hardy was thought to be her connection with the Teachers' Union and her supposed radical views.

In Miss Hardy's letter she took pains to exonerate the Board of Superintendents from the newspaper charge of discrimination. She said that so far as she knew the only reason her name had been passed over was to going to a school situated in an unfavorable locality. In her letter to the "Sun" she said the school building was under the approach of the Williamsburgh Bridge, and had become a school for recalcitrant children. Other objections to the school were noted. At the hearing the members of the Board of Superintendents expressed their displeasure at the statements made in the letter and undertook to reprimand Miss Hardy for her implied "disloyal" attitude, and for alleged "intemperate" statements contained in the letter. The superintendents went so far as to say that her letter was evidence of unfitness for the position of principal. On leaving the hearing, Miss Hardy asked that a transcript of the hearing be sent to her. She was told by the chairman that she was not entitled to

of America, an organization for children with which many good citizens are connected. Mr. Mandel wanted to know if one of the principles of Pioneer Youth is not to teach women "how to conceal the facts of a sinful life."

What is the animus back of all this foul and brutal persecution of one of our best-loved leaders, a man who has given extraordinary service to the Union and has more than done his regular duty as a teacher? In his record is the accomplishment of having prepared high school students for the regents so well last term that 93 out of 94 passed the examination.

Briefly, the fact is that Edward Mandel is a politician. He fostered the notorious "spoils bill" which would have destroyed the professional authority of the Board of Examiners, and let in Mandel's friends, Abraham Lefkowitz vigorously opposed that bill, being authorized by the Union to do so. In 1922 the Union opposed the election of Mandel to the Board of Superintendents, because of obvious unfitness. Similarly, it opposed the election of Miss McCooey and Mr. Sheehan, the latter of whom is under unanswered charges of "irregularities" committed while a member of the Board of Examiners. The tyrannical attitude of Edward Mandel in the board is feared by other superintendents, and signs are not lacking that members vote in response to that fear.

"War Record Probed"

As an indication of an attitude of mind within the Board of Superintendents, it is well to take note of the fact that before the hearing a member of the board had called up the principal of the Girls Commercial High School to inquire whether Miss Hardy is "loyal to the government," and what her "war record" was.

On October 13, Miss Hardy was summoned to the education headquarters by Associate Superintendent Lyon. Dr. Lyon informed Miss Hardy that in the November appointments the Board of Superintendents would pass over her name, and also thereafter at its pleasure in pursuance of the section in the State Education Law which gives the board the right to nominate one of the first three on the eligible list. Dr. Lyon further stated that after passing over her name three times she would be dropped from the eligible list. This threat apparently cannot be supported by the Education Law.

Dr. Lyon continued the interview to say that in his opinion Miss Hardy should write an apology for her rashness, and should waive appointment for a period of two years. The suggestion was not accepted.

The Union Asks Support

Concluding the presentation of the case, the Teachers' Union says: "Throughout the ten years of its existence, the Teachers' Union has been trying to do its part in setting up improved professional standards within the public school system of the City of New York. We have been active in the discussion of every movement for the betterment of elemental conditions relating to the physical welfare of the children and the teachers. We have succeeded in much of this work in setting up health and sanitation standards, standards that are still maintained. We have undertaken to work out lines of improvement and reorganization in the subject matter dealt with by the teachers in their classes. We have urged at all times the professional view of teach-

'Goldigger on Bum,' New Title for Queen

(Continued from page 1)

rights to say what she has to say to a newspaper syndicate. She has sold her name to manufacturers of cold creams and other greases, and she is bumming her way across the country. I think the resolution should pass. It is getting so we go down on our knees and hands before every foreign visitor. Why not welcome some of our own citizens? Roumania is only about the size of Duluth, anyway."

Then he read his resolution, while the Councilmen gasped and the alk hand sponsor reached nervously for a handy typewriter. In case Mr. Scott should carry his less majestic into overt action.

For the resolution read like this: "Whereas, it appears much time and official attention is being given in the United States to Queen Marie of Roumania, one of Central Europe's intriguing aristocracy and one of the members of the various aristocracies that were responsible for the intrigue and aristocratic rivalry that brought about the recent World War; and "Whereas, The American Government, created after seven years of warfare to throw off the rule of just such self-appointed masters, is founded upon principles of self-government; and

"Whereas, it appears that this representative of the decaying European tyranny and oppression is about to visit Minneapolis;

"Now, therefore, we, the City Council or employees of the City of Minneapolis, hereby request that no officer or employee of the City of Minneapolis take any time from his official duties to welcome or fetter this representative of a system so repulsive to the principles of the American Government;

"And we hereby protest against this attitude of American officials toward the much-advertised American trip of the Roumanian Queen, which has for its purpose the securing of a loan to assist this oppressor of Roumanian workers and peasants to continue her ruthless reign, and the creation of newspaper publicity for reproduction in Roumania; that this survival of aristocratic tyranny and oppression is so gladly received by the American democracy.

The Aldermen voted hastily to lay the resolution on the table. This carried, fifteen to seven.

ing as against the time-serving attitude wherever it existed. We have fought for the maintenance of the merit system for promotion against the practice of advancing through political connections and partisan favoritism.

"We have recommended the abolition of the politically-chosen Board of Superintendents and the substitution thereof of a Supervisory Council democratically selected from district superintendents, principals and teachers. And we shall continue to urge this reform not only for the purpose of wiping out a petty and degraded professional body, but also for the purpose of calling into being the untapped resources for good that are now undoubtedly latent in the unorganized body of thirty thousand teachers.

"Therefore, the Teachers' Union makes this appeal to an interested public. Not only do we ask fair and honest dealing for our own members. But we also ask it for the good of the educational system as a whole, and for the good of education itself."

Jewel Strikers Deaf to Bosses

(Continued from page 1)

years. Assuming a friendly front, a representative of a local agency attempted to draw out Capraro and other strike leaders on the conduct of the strike. Capraro informed him that the only form of discussion the strikers are interested in is negotiations, and these, he said, would be carried on only with bona fide representatives of the employers.

Another private detective attempted to interest the firm of Trifari, Krussman and Fischel, the largest firm in the industry, which has accepted the union terms, to join the Manufacturers' Association in fighting the union. The "dick" was abruptly shown the door and advised never to return again on a similar mission.

The strikers have been greatly heartened by the decision by which members already back at work will contribute 10 to 15 per cent of their earnings toward the strike fund. Enthusiastic meetings are being held daily at 7 East 15th street.

Porters Ditch Company Union

(Continued from page 1)

the Brotherhood and the power of honest workers banded together for their own protection check many similar abuses in the Plan elections. There is ample proof that check withholding has been practiced in previous elections.

An example of this kind of illegal pressure is in the offices of the Brotherhood in the shape of a notation from the Second Assistant District Superintendent of the Pennsylvania Terminal District to F. R. McGuire, the receiving cashier. It refers to the elections in the Plan on February 28, 1924, when Roy Lancaster, secretary-treasurer of the Brotherhood, was still trying to fight the cause of the porters within the Employee Representative Plan. It is as follows: "The following P. T. (Penn Terminal) porters have not yet voted. In order to secure every possible vote please withhold their pay checks until O. K'd by the chairman of the Election Committee, R. Lancaster."

Against tactics like these the Brotherhood instituted its successful campaign. "The Company Union Must Go" is its slogan, and it will continue to defend the rights of the men who wish to join an honest labor union that will protect their interests against the Pullman officials, who wish to force them to remain in powerless, non-representative, company-controlled "plan."

High Rail Wage Dispelled as Myth

(Continued from page 1)

company restaurants were no lower than outside. He told of deadheading on his own time when assigned from a terminal other than home. Ernest W. Burch, E. & O. hump conductor in Brunswick yards, gave detailed data on his work. He said he considered it particularly dangerous work because the car riders had to jump on and off freight cars as they "cut" up the trains that came in and assigned cars to respective classifications. Brakes had to be put on quickly and sometimes the bar flew off and struck the worker, often doing serious injury.

H. O. Barr, Nickel Plate brakeman, told of the workers' grievance on that line over the "pick up and drop" rule. Through freight trains are given up to four stops each, increasing the workers' work without higher pay, as the local freight rate does not begin to apply until five stops are made.

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DEFEAT ANGERS LEATHER UNION COMMUNISTS

Shiplacoff Reveals Reasons for "Lefts" Bitter Attack on Him

COMMUNIST officials of the local pocketbook makers' section of the International Pocketbook Makers' Union, having been repudiated by a vote of the membership, are now attempting to stave off probable defeat in new elections by a campaign of personal abuse and unfounded charges.

As usual, the "Freiheit," Jewish Communist organ, has made itself the vehicle for this campaign of abuse. It has singled out Manager Abraham I. Shiplacoff as responsible for its falling fortunes in the pocketbook makers' section.

A New Leader reporter went to see Manager Shiplacoff in order to obtain his views on the matter. Shiplacoff was reluctant, stating that he has important business to attend to and that he does not want to divert his attention from the important work in the Socialist and labor movement and give up time to answering Communist attacks. However, when the reporter insisted, Shiplacoff said:

Anonymous Letters Printed

"The campaign against me was started by these union wreckers as far back as last March. On the 23rd of March an article appeared in the English edition of the 'Freiheit,' namely, the Daily Worker in Chicago, which had the following headline over it: 'Renegade Socialist Lines Up With Labor Fakers and Bosses to Sabotage Passaic Strikers.' That article and headline was published at the time when the union I represent had contributed a total of about \$1,500 in cash for the strikers and merchandise for a bazaar held for the benefit of the strikers. What is more, Welsford, the leader of the strike, invited me to speak for the strikers time and again and I never omitted an opportunity to go to Passaic and address them in spite of my busy life and none too good health.

"Then anonymous letters began to appear in the 'Freiheit,' telling stories that had no foundation of truth and carrying on a campaign of slander based on the good old Communist principle that when you throw plenty of mud some of it is bound to stick. One of these letters recently charged the secretary-treasurer of our union with giving thousands of dollars to members of the underworld to help him get the election. The interesting feature about this story is that, while the Communists had a candidate to oppose my election, they had none to oppose the secretary-treasurer, and in fact, openly considered him their candidate.

The Recent Attack

"The latest attack on me in their issue of November 9th shows that not only are they cowards and fabricators, but that they are very sore losers. The actual facts of the story are as follows: the members of the pocketbook makers' section of our union have become dissatisfied with the left-wing administration of that section. At a meeting of the membership committee was seriously criticized. The committee then turned around and announced that they would call a special meeting and there ask for a vote of confidence. This they did. At the meeting held at Beethoven Hall on October 26th, the secretary of that section read a report of their activities for the year and after the report was thoroughly discussed some one moved that a vote of confidence be given them and the vote was 64 in the affirmative and 56 in the negative. Some one immediately rose to a motion that nominations for a new committee be opened. As I was conducting the chair during the count of the vote of confidence, and as it was already midnight, I announced that a special meeting would be called for the purpose. The chairman and secretary of that committee, who were right near me on the platform, never uttered a word of protest and for several days after that nothing was said by any of them. When I issued a call for a special meeting for the purpose of nominating and electing a section committee to function for the next two months until the expiration of their term, they changed their attitude toward the question and they are now insisting

that the vote of confidence did not imply a demand for their removal or resignation.

"No matter how much they want to hang on technically, the fact remains that the meeting called for the vote of confidence was not forced upon them, that they were perfectly willing to go through with it in the hope, I suppose, of coming out victorious. When they failed in impressing the majority of the members with their efficiency, they did what the Communists in this country have always been doing—started a campaign of slander in their press, knowing that the outside public cannot possibly discriminate between the truth and falsehood and cannot go into the details of matters that can only be settled in one place and that is within the union itself. As far as I am concerned, I look upon them as a visitation of nature just as much as smallpox or any other malady which simply must run its course, and therefore the less attention given to it by those who have work in the labor movement, the better off the labor movement will be."

Offices to Let

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Eugene Debs and Socialist Party Policies

By James Oneal

ABOUT the most revolting performance of American Communists is their attempt to claim the late Eugene V. Debs as their own. Now that he is gone, they make this claim. How well they know that he would repudiate this claim if he were alive.

Two sentences appear in a circular they distributed at the Socialist memorial meeting held at Madison Square Garden, New York City. One was that Debs was "always on the left wing of the Socialist Party." The other is that only in recent years did the Socialist Party permit Debs "to become a member of the National Executive Committee."

How pitifully small these gentlemen become when they resort to their Communist virtue of lying. Even the memory of the dead representative of the best proletarian ethics does not inspire any regard for the truth.

The first year of Debs' connection with any Socialist movement he faced a "left wing," and fought it till it was exterminated. This was in the year 1897. The American Railway Union dissolved that year. The delegates then met with delegates of a number of scattered organizations and organized the Social Democracy. Quite a number of Anarchists came to the convention and, because of their numerical strength, they succeeded in getting a program adopted which provided for the colonization of the State of Washington in order to capture it for Socialism.

Debs at Unity Convention

This was the "left wing" program of that year. In the year 1898 another convention of the Social Democracy was held in Chicago, and the Socialists came there determined to ditch the "left" program. They did so, despite the fact that they knew that it meant a split in the party, which was very small and could not spare many members. The "left wing," in fact, had a majority of the delegates. Debs and the Socialists withdrew and organized the Social Democratic Party. The "left wing" did not survive a year.

The Unity Convention was held in Indianapolis in 1901. The "left" at that period was represented by the Socialist Labor Party, which opposed the trade unions and was organizing the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance. That convention repudiated the "left" position regarding the trade unions. Thus the Socialist Party was born as an opposition to the "left wing" in 1901, and Debs was heart and soul with the Socialist Party.

In 1904 the "left" repudiated all economic organizations of the working class. The "left" declared in the national convention of that year that trade unions were useless, and only "reformists" would encourage economic organization.

Will the spiritual heirs of the "lefts" of 1904 contend that Debs supported this position? Can they quote a single sentence that he ever uttered or wrote that will support it? Certainly not. Since the Communists unwittingly approve all "left" factions that have appeared, we give them the honor of supporting the platform from Oregon and the nut from Kansas, who in the 1904 convention of the Socialist Party quoted the Communist Manifesto to prove that economic organization of the working class was utopian.

On Immediate Demands

The next "left" position I recall reached its culmination in the convention of 1908. The "left" had forgotten their position of 1904 on trade unions, and four years later fought for something which they had also urged in 1904. They wanted no measures of immediate relief for the workers stated in the party platforms. They were "bourgeois" and "reformist" measures, according to the "left."

Did Debs range himself with this position? Not at all. Debs realized, as any sane and intelligent Socialist would, that the moment a Socialist goes into office it was his working-class duty to fight for every measure

that the vote of confidence did not imply a demand for their removal or resignation.

"No matter how much they want to hang on technically, the fact remains that the meeting called for the vote of confidence was not forced upon them, that they were perfectly willing to go through with it in the hope, I suppose, of coming out victorious. When they failed in impressing the majority of the members with their efficiency, they did what the Communists in this country have always been doing—started a campaign of slander in their press, knowing that the outside public cannot possibly discriminate between the truth and falsehood and cannot go into the details of matters that can only be settled in one place and that is within the union itself. As far as I am concerned, I look upon them as a visitation of nature just as much as smallpox or any other malady which simply must run its course, and therefore the less attention given to it by those who have work in the labor movement, the better off the labor movement will be."

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EUROPEAN LABOR SINGS PRAISE OF DEBS

German, French, Czechs and Austrian Socialists Parties Mourn Passing

THE high regard in which Eugene V. Debs was held by the Socialists of Europe is evidenced by the comment of their leading papers upon the passing of the great leader of the vanguard of American labor.

In a front-page article of two columns the Vienna Arbeiter-Zeitung pays its tribute to Debs as "a living piece of the American labor movement," whose greatest importance consisted in his yeoman service in the much-needed Americanization of the Socialist movement in this country. In the historical sketch of Debs' activities the Austrian writer repeatedly refers to the difficulties encountered by the American Socialists, due to the fact of Socialism being regarded as a foreign doctrine, and urges the Socialists to carry on the work of the "fighter at whose bier the international proletariat reverently mourns."

The Berner Tagwacht begins its column obituary by saying: "The warning prophet of America, Eugene V. Debs, has closed his eyes forever. His eloquent voice, that spurred the multitudes on to fresh battles, is silent, and the proletariat of the whole world dips its colors before the open grave of the tireless one who joyfully drove forward until the last moment of his life. Debs was a stormy petrel who personified the best part of the American working class and spurred it forward."

The Swiss writer, who heard Debs speak in New York and Boston, gives a description of these meetings and of the power and charm of Debs on the platform, and concludes as follows: "It is up to us to carry the banner, which he bore through storm and stress, forward until the enemy's fortress is finally destroyed."

The Sozialdemokrat of Prague points out that to the European workers the name of Debs was the very embodiment of the greatest Socialist virtues present in the American labor movement.

The organ of the German Social Democratic party in Czechoslovakia then refers to the expulsion of the Socialist Assemblymen from the New York Legislature during the post-war hysteria period, and says: "To work, fight and suffer constantly, unshaken and conscious of one's objective all one's life for Social Democratic ideals in such a country, as Eugene V. Debs did, means a service that the international Socialist Democracy counts among the highest personal achievements of its battle for freedom. Therefore the name of Eugene Victor Debs will stand forever graven in our history."

Vorwaerts, central organ of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, refers to Debs as "the most popular figure of the North American labor movement," and says that his imprisonment by Wilson and the persecution to which he was subjected for his opposition to the World War only increased his popularity with the masses and aided the cause of Socialism, and concludes by noting that Debs firmly rejected the advance of the Communists, who tried to lure him away from the Socialist Party.

Le Peuple, the leading Socialist paper of Belgium, in sketching Debs' career, remarks that his imprisonment "for his opposition to compulsory military service" was nothing but a punishment by the American bourgeoisie of the father of American Socialism for his fiery devotion to the workers of his country. It concludes as follows: "With him a beautiful and noble figure and a lively intelligence disappear from the Socialist world."

L'Humanite, the Paris Communist paper, while affirming that Debs was not one of those "who, in the light of the Russian experience, knew how to correct the Social Democratic errors and take the right path for the new class struggles," praises him for his courage in opposing the war, and says he merits the final salute of all revolutionists. It cites the honesty and simplicity of Debs' life as worthy of emulation. The Communist organ cannot refrain from taking a slap at the French Socialists. It avers that the very Socialist leaders now honoring Debs' memory would have welcomed his execution in 1917 for his anti-war attitude.

PIONEER YOUTH CHILDREN WILL PRESENT CONCERT SATURDAY, NOV. 13

The children of Pioneer Youth will give a concert Saturday, November 13, at the Labor Temple, 14th Street and Second Avenue.

The concert has been managed by the children, and only club members of Pioneer Youth will appear on the program. Admission is 50c, for club children and \$1 for others. Jack Rosenfeld, who is chairman of the Executive Committee, promises a good time.

DEC. 3 NEW MASSES BALL WEBSTER HALL SAVE THE DATE!

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At the Bier of Debs; Hillquit's Tribute

By Morris Hillquit

EVERY great movement for human progress and betterment produces a type of men and women endowed with special qualities for the fulfillment of its aims.

Among these there are usually a chosen few, sometimes one, who express the ideals and aspirations of the movement in such a high degree in their own persons that they become the visible incarnation of its spirit, the symbol of what is best and noblest in it.

Socialism, which has quickened the pulse of modern civilization for more than a generation and deeply permeated the moral and spiritual life of most nations and races of the world, is the sublime movement in history.

To a human race affected with the primitive predatory instincts of the beast of prey, laboriously evolving through a succession of ever-changing but never-ceasing forms of mutual oppression, of violence and wholesale carnage; to a human race nurtured in misery, fear and bondage, Socialism holds out the dazzling vision of a new society—a society of truly civilized men and women living in mutual helpfulness and good will; a free, equal and happy society of peace, abundance and progress.

Modern Socialism's Leaders

A movement based on such a lofty program and such an exalted ideal is bound to produce leaders of exceptional character. Modern Socialism has given to our age an imposing galaxy of thinkers and fighters, of heroes and martyrs; of men and women who have merged their whole being in the cause, who have lived for it and literally died for it.

Their names are deeply engraved in the hearts of all friends of human liberty and social justice. In a more enlightened age they will adorn the pages of the world's history.

But even among these heroic figures of our movement few reach the spiritual stature and moral grandeur of the immortal leader who has just passed from our midst—Eugene V. Debs.

What was it that set Debs apart from all the rest of us? What was it that made Debs one of those great outstanding figures that are born only once in a generation, perhaps once in a century, one of those sublime beings who come into our midst to bring sunshine into the dark world; who spend their lives among us largely misunderstood and misinterpreted, but leave us richer, better and nobler for their having been with us? What was it that made Gene our Gene?

The Personality of Debs

He had many high gifts of mind and heart. He was one of the most effective orators of America. His hold on the large masses of people, his power to move them, to raise them to his own lofty level, was unsurpassed. Self-taught as he was, he had few equals as a writer in the elegance and forcefulness of style.

But it was not his gifts alone that made Gene Debs. It was Gene himself. It was his personality. It was first of all the boundless love of everything that bears human countenance which radiated from him. Not an intellectual love, not an abstract love, but a love that flowed naturally, organically, communicating itself electrically to all who came within the magic sphere of his personal contact. He loved everybody—the poor and even the rich, the righteous, the criminal and the outcast. He loved mankind and his very eloquence sprang from his love. He did not merely appeal and convince, he communicated part of himself, part of his very being to his audience. His hearers became one with him.

Coupled with that great love for mankind was his personal modesty, his simplicity of soul, the purity of his life and saintliness of his spirit.

When Gene Debs gave himself to his cause, when he suffered for his convictions, when he went to jail, it was not done theatrically, it was an act of simple faith, done because he had to follow his convictions, because he could not do otherwise.

If Debs had cared to put his great gifts and magnetic personality in the service of wealth and power, he would have been what is commonly called a successful man, a man of wealth, of social position, of political power. Gene Debs did not care for these miserable achievements which to the common herd constitute success in life. He gave his gifts, his talents, he gave his all, he gave himself to the cause of the workers, to the downtrodden and the oppressed of every type.

When Gene proclaimed that "while there is a lower class, I am in it; while there is a criminal element, I am in it; while there is a soul in prison, I am not free," he expressed what he felt every moment of his life. In giving of his life, giving of himself to the cause of the weak and disinherited, Gene has attained greater satisfaction of mind, greater happiness of spirit than any of the so-called most successful men or women. Gene Debs, all through the fifty years of his services to mankind, was at peace with his conscience. He had the respect of his fellow-men, even his opponents, and what was infinitely more important to him, he maintained to the last his complete self-respect. Gene Debs has lived a happy life. And Gene is dead.

Death comes to all things living sooner or later. Eugene Debs was almost seventy-one years old. His frail body had undergone much physical suffering and privation. His death is a natural phenomenon, and yet it is difficult for those who knew him, for those who enjoyed his companionship, for those who loved him, to realize that he is no more among us, that he will never, never again return to us. There was not another man so much alive as Gene Debs. To the very end, in spite of his age, in spite of his feeble physique, his whole being radiated life and communicated life to others. And when I gazed at his still, cold form, at the eyes that have lost the deep lustre and living fire in them, the thin lips that

LABOR PARTY TO HONOR DEBS URGED

Large Cincinnati Theatre Is Filled at Memorial to Socialist

THE necessity of political action by labor was stressed by Joseph W. Sharts, member of the Socialist National Executive Committee and principal speaker at a Debs memorial meeting that filled the Shubert Theatre, one of the largest halls in Cincinnati, the afternoon of Sunday, November 7.

A number of strikes that were winning on the industrial field have been lost because of the intervention of the political arm of government in Cincinnati, Newport and other places in the immediate vicinity, and Sharts made good use of this fact. He recalled that Debs the first years of his manhood was one of the outstanding trades unionists of the country, having assisted in organizing some of the now most important unions in the nation. The A. R. U. strike was a success until the courts, the administration and the legislature stepped in and defeated it, Sharts said, and this convinced Debs that labor was helpless unless it became the power in government.

Sharts referred to the great recent victories of British labor in the municipal elections in England, prompted as they were by the attacks of the Tory government on the unions, and contrasted them with the meager political results for labor in the late election in the United States.

E. L. Hitchens, member of the Typographical Union in Cincinnati, presided at the meeting, and was chairman of the committee of arrangements, the secretary being Alfred Henderson and the treasurer, William Proust, the latter a member of the United Boot and Shoe workers and formerly a national official of that organization.

PULLMAN PORTERS HONOR DEBS FOR HIS FRIENDSHIP FOR THE NEGRO WORKERS

The following resolutions were adopted at a mass meeting of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters at St. Luke's Hall, New York City, N. Y.

"Whereas, In the death of Comrade Eugene V. Debs the world has lost one of its greatest apostles for peace, love, courage and justice; and

"Whereas, Early in his career Debs consecrated his great qualities to the service of the laboring masses of the world; and

"Whereas, In the course of his labors for peace, liberty and justice for all mankind, Eugene V. Debs never permitted an opportunity to pass without pleading for fair play for the Negro race, and to demand for it full and complete social, political and economic equality with all other races;

"Therefore, be it resolved, That this mass meeting of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the first national organization of Negro workers in the United States, and the largest in the world, honor this great fighter for the rights of labor and the oppressed of all lands by standing with heads bowed for one minute."

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How Fares British Labor? Politics and the Strike

The Margate Congress Prepares for Election

Nationalism Made Prime Issue — Communists Silenced — MacDonald Emerges Strong

By Rennie Smith, M. P.

THE Labor Party Congress, like the Trade Union Congress, has come and gone under the darkening shadow of the mining dispute. There can be few greater contrasts than the Tory Conference which met at Scarborough a few days before with its hotbed of reaction and die-hardism, and this animated scene of Labor at Margate, facing in a spirit of realism and sombre earnestness the questions of industrial reconstruction, and even the reorganization of agriculture itself, that industry on which the Tory party lives and battens.

Toryism spent its time trying to forge chains to bind trade unionism in permanent servitude, with hotbeds threatening to run away with the conference. The Labor Conference, with an ever-deepening sense of responsibility and the necessity of saving the country from the follies of its ancient governors, was busy in a series of practical and statesmanlike proposals, preparing its program for the immediate future and the next general election.

The agenda was, as usual, a very crowded one. Out of the many subjects discussed, five seemed to me of outstanding importance: Labor's attitude towards Communism, the chairman's address, the attitude of the party towards the mining industry, the new agricultural policy, and the resolution dealing with organized massed resistance in the event of future wars. Let me say a little about each of these.

LABOR AND COMMUNISM

The party had taken great care to keep, if possible, Communists out of the Conference. The practical sense of the meeting was that it had no time to be bothered with the Communists, and indeed very little time was given to the subject. An effort to raise the question in the early part of the proceedings was decisively rejected by the Congress by nearly 8,500,000 votes against 200,000. Among the leaders the most sympathetic expression towards the Communists is that voiced by George Lansbury. His view was that the Labor movement was taking a line in regard to the Communists which would lead to disaster. He did not regard the Communists as enemies. For him the philosophy of the Communist party was sound, although he did not agree with their methods.

The general feeling in the conference was that precisely these methods made the difference. But the earnestness of the industrial situation and the general position in the country created an overwhelming impression in the conference, as one delegate put it, not to stand any tom-foolery from Communists.

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Mr. Robert Williams, the president, who is also the manager of the Daily

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British Socialists' Local Victories Wakes Politics From Lethargy

LONDON.—American observers in this country had the amusing experience of watching and yawning over the United States Congressional election—and waking up to discover that overnight England had had an election of her own in which Socialism had captured the strongholds of the industrial north. The Congressional election coincided with municipal elections nationwide here in which one-third of the membership of all borough councils was involved.

The eve of the polls on both sides of the Atlantic was regarded by the majority of the newspapers of all parties of this country as a suitable occasion for stressing the unimportance of the American election. That inasmuch as international relations were not likely to be sensibly affected or any clear cut decision reached on the prohibition question, polling in the United States was, from this country's angle, a dreary affair. This viewpoint is expressed by opposite poles of politics as represented in such newspapers as the extreme Conservative "Morning Post" and the Radical "Daily News."

Views on American Election

The American election as a whole, according to the former, "naturally reflects the temper of a nation which by reason of abundant prosperity persists in general indifference to politics." In a similar vein to that of the conservative journals the opposite radical number comments: "Prosperity in America seems to have blunted political sentiments and stilled party passions." "General indifference" happens to be the attitude of the voters in this country toward municipal elections in general, and newspapers here had hardly time to point out this alleged mote in the American elector's eye before they were forced hurriedly to turn around and direct British voters' attention to the consequences of the neglect to pick the team out of their own.

For the result of the municipal elections, to which—in accordance

Liberal Whip Bolts To Join Labor Party

Another outstanding leader of the British Liberal party, Commander Kenworthy, a Liberal whip in the House of Commons, has crossed the floor and taken a place on the Labor benches. In an explanatory statement, Kenworthy said: "I feel personally that it is now the duty of all Radicals and Progressives to assist in forming one united party, with the object of gradually removing social inequalities and injustices which have accompanied the industrial revolution and have established the landlord system in most of the agricultural and many of the urban districts."

with the traditional antipathy displayed toward all but national politics—papers of older parties, with one or two exceptions, paid little attention until after the event, has been that Labor has made a net gain of 159 seats in municipal councils all over the nation and captured the control of local authorities in a number of key positions throughout the industrial north of England.

Labor Success Startling

Labor's success is so startling that conservative and liberal opinion is shocked from its conventional viewpoint that local elections are not a fair barometer of national opinion. The capture of the machinery of local government, has always had a foremost place in the Labor program, and with this week's elections Labor has gone a long way toward realizing this ambition. Since only a third of the councilors retire annually, landladies such as may occur in a general election are impossible, and sustained effort is needed. This is the second year in which the

Liberal party has conducted a somewhat active offensive, and its efforts this time have been more richly rewarded. Last year the Socialists' net gain was forty-seven seats. This year the number of their successes was three times as great. Such an important industrial center as Sheffield will for the first time in its municipal history now be ruled by Labor, and in such a conservative stronghold as Leeds the Socialists are now on a basis of equality with the Conservatives.

Little attempt is made by Labor opponents to slur over the significance of these sweeping successes. The Conservative "London Times" concedes that unless these opponents best themselves the municipal affairs of the country as a whole soon will be administered by Socialists.

"Labor's victory," says the Liberal "Daily News," "shows how swiftly Labor is gaining an effective grip on local administration in the chief centers of population and therefore in those places where policy matters most and where both the example and pace are set for the rest of the country."

The claim put forth by the Laborite "Daily Herald" is that results are indicative of a tidal wave that will overwhelm Premier Baldwin at the next general election. "This is borne out by the Liberal 'Westminster Gazette,' which declares that the moral of the municipal elections is that 'Baldwinism is paying the way for a Labor rally at the next general election.' The result is of chief importance as illustrative of the drift of opinion—partly due to the government's mis-handling of the coal tie-up—against the Conservative administration, which just two years ago came into power with a majority unprecedented in British Parliamentary history."

DEBS AND SOCIALIST POLICIES

(Continued from page 3)

all so simple, as simple as the Communists themselves. They wanted no pardons and no amnesty. It hurt their "revolutionary" feelings to suggest such "bourgeois" things. Therefore, they were going to release all political prisoners by "revolutionary mass action." That was the program. How many did they release by the use of this blood-curdling measure? Not one. Did they even attempt "revolutionary mass action"? Not one. What did they do? They eventually followed our course by doing the very things for the release of prisoners which we had decided upon when the issue first confronted us. Did Debs ever at any time or anywhere support the idea of "revolutionary mass action" for the release of political prisoners? Not one. He recognized this for what it was and as we Socialists recognized it. It was another "left" stupidity.

I know of only one instance in Debs' whole career when he was with a "left" faction in the party. This was when he helped to organize the I. W. W. But he was also big enough to leave it when he saw his mistake. Most of us have made occasional mistakes. The writer of this article was an impossibilist in 1902. He also lived to regret his mistake and to acknowledge it. The genuine Socialist learns by experience. The mouth revolutionist never does. The habitual "left" never learns anything, and for that reason he is always ridiculous and rarely right on anything.

Debs Refused Election

But enough of these examples. Many more could be cited to show the gross perversion of facts. Let us now consider the assertion that only in recent years did the Socialist Party permit Debs "to become a member of the National Executive Committee." The falsehood is so easily punctured that one is amazed that the assertion was ever made.

In the first place, in all the elections for a National Committee and for a National Executive Committee Debs always received many nominations from locals all over the country, but he always declined to accept a position on an executive body of the party. Had he accepted at any time he could easily have been elected. From the time the party was organized in 1901 Debs time after time refused to accept, even though he was urged by members all over the country.

The reason for this is known to his most intimate friends. He never liked to be burdened with administrative matters. He was primarily a propagandist and wanted to give all his attention to this phase of his work. Many times the party members would have been glad to have Debs serve on the executive, but it was his firm refusal to accept nominations which kept him out of executive councils of the party. He also followed this course as a rule regarding conventions by refusing to go as a delegate.

The Communists have involved themselves in a peculiar position by making this assertion. They have said that Debs was not really with the Socialist Party and its policies that he consented to go on the National Executive Committee in recent years. The fact that he took up work that he disliked and which he had avoided for

more than twenty years shows that he was so convinced that the Socialist Party represented his views.

Here I may refer to an episode that occurred shortly after the release of Debs from prison. A few months later the National Executive Committee met in Terre Haute and the writer was a member at that time. It will be recalled that while Debs met with us he gave out no statement on the controversies that were still rife. He told us why he took this course, and asked us to keep his confidence. We did, although we believed that it would have been better to speak out.

Decency to the Winds

Debs then told us that leading Communists had written him. A number had visited him personally and pleaded with him to go with them. He refused. He hoped, however, that he might do something to bring the warring factions together. We believed this to be impossible. We believed the differences were too wide to make adjustment possible. But Debs was entitled to his opinion, and we respected it. He tried. Subsequent events show that he came to our conclusion. He went so far in his effort to effect some accommodation that he was sometimes misunderstood. He, like the rest of us, had for years worked with men and women on the other side, and it pained him to know that we were in opposite camps.

Eventually Debs gave up what proved to be a fruitless task. But in that Terre Haute meeting he told us what he thought of the talk of dictatorship, of "revolutionary mass action," of the Communist declaration that he was "only a casualty of war," of the silly underground adventure, of the aping of the Russian Bolsheviks, and the idea of placing the movement in the hands of that insufferable egoist, Zinoviev.

Now that "Gene Debs is gone, I feel that I can tell the inside history of the Terre Haute meeting in December, 1921. The performance of those who,

Communist Tribute to Eugene Debs

Below, The New Leader presents to its readers a translation of an editorial from a Bolshevik organ in Moscow, which shows Communist affection for Eugene V. Debs. Readers will observe the studied inference, repeated twice, and emphasized in the concluding sentence, that Comrade Debs was insane. The reference to his brother, Theodore, is also in keeping with the spirit of the editorial, which also falsifies the history of the movement in this country. Our only comment is that only the lowest scoundrels are capable of this thing.

The Moscow Emes (Truth), official Jewish organ of the Russian Communist Party, October 23, 1926, contains the following cable from its New York correspondent:

New York, October 22.—At the age of seventy-one years the founder of the American Socialist party, Eugene V. Debs, who recently was ill of mental diseases, died.

(End of cable. From here on it is editorial comment.)

For the unity of the movement, Debs remained in the Socialist party after all the radical and Communist elsewhere either were expelled or left that party. He often made public statements that contradicted each other. Sometimes the statements were very radical, and sometimes weekly reformist. Most of the time since his release from prison Debs was ill, and it is believed that most of his statements, especially the reformist ones, were made in his name by his brother, Theodore Debs, an attorney, and a thorough-going politician.

In the past few years all that remained of the Socialist party was Debs, and his influence was likewise based upon his policies but rather upon old memories. It was given to him, he who founded the Socialist party, to see the party fall to pieces, and the fragments that remained were sunk in the yellow morass, and they dragged Debs in with them. He didn't resist, however, and he even permitted the S. P. politicians to use his name in their shameful attacks upon the American Communists and it is even possible that he didn't even know what they were doing. Because, as stated above, he grew sicker and sicker, and weaker and weaker during the past few years and he didn't know what he was about, what world he was living in. The last few years there were reports in the newspapers that he was dying, and the last report was that he was not in full possession of his mentality.

as Debs himself told us, never lifted a hand to get him out of prison, is revolting, now that he is gone. Nothing of decency and respect is left to those guilty of this wicked conduct. They have earned oblivion and they will get what they have earned.

STENOGRAPHERS' UNION ARRANGES NEW FEATURES FOR MEETING ON NOV. 13

As a means of increasing attendance at meetings and to inspire members to organization activity, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union has arranged the following program for Monday evening, November 15, at 3 West 16th street:

1. Buffet, from 5 p. m. to 6:30 p. m. Tea, sandwiches, cake and fruit will be served without charge; 2. meeting will open at 6:30. At 7:30 Fannie M. Cohn, executive secretary, Educational Department of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, will speak (20 minutes), on "White Collar Workers and Organized Labor." Meeting should adjourn at 8:30; 3. dancing from 8:30 to 11 p. m. (or later).

It is believed by the officers of the union that as a result of this and similar features at the monthly meetings that members will persuade their friends and co-workers to join the union. The Women's Trade Union League has advocated the combining of sociability with meetings to interest "flappers" and older girls in union activity, and the B. S. & A. U. is making the experiment which, if it proves successful, will no doubt be adopted by other unions.

Friends of members, and young men in other unions have been invited to the dance which will conclude the program.

Second General Strike Seen As Impossibility

Love of Constitutionalism Called Barrier to a Walkout for Revolutionary Purposes

By Jessie Stephen

(Miss Stephen, now in the U. S., is the prospective Parliamentary Labor candidate for South Portsmouth, England.)

OPINIONS as to the wisdom of the general strike which took place in Britain last May vary very considerably, according to the viewpoint of the critic. For a great many years there has been an active minority propagating the idea of the general strike as a panacea for all evils, economic and otherwise.

Naturally, the failure of the general strike gave the Communist group in Britain the time of their lives. Not for a long time had they been able to indulge themselves in an orgy of abuse. Every trade union and political labor leader was a fakir, a traitor, even some of their erstwhile comrades not escaping their fire.

Now they talk glibly about preparations for the next general strike, a mirage which will never materialize into anything more substantial, for a very simple reason. The British worker has a horror of anything which savors of unconstitutionality, a fact which was very well known to trade union leaders, as their insistence during the crisis upon the constitutional issues of the strike showed perfectly. Had there been any suggestion of using industrial action to change the government of the country, it is doubtful if there would have been such a magnificent response to the strike call.

Another Strike Doubtful

Most of us who took any active part in the strike at all stressed the fact that it was an industrial issue and not a political one. Any other line of suggestion would have received short shrift. At any rate, it is safe to say that it will be many a long day before a similar effort is launched in Great Britain. Trade unionists now realize it is useless to take strike action when the government of the country is in the hands of a huge reactionary majority who can use all the forces of law and order to help the employing classes. If there is a progressive and broad-minded government it is hardly likely that it would allow such a catastrophe to overwhelm the country without taking the necessary steps to adjust the differences between both sides.

As an experiment it was useful as showing how antiquated a method of fighting the general strike has proved to be. The more successful it is, the more the participants suffer, which is had strategy to say the least of it. In war one endeavors to make the other fellow suffer, and not at any period were we able to do that.

For the first five days the response was marvelous. Not a bus, not a street car, not a taxi could be obtained. Tin Lizzies and antediluvian monsters which had not seen the light of day for ten or twenty years grunted and spluttered their way along. But they might just as well have stayed at home. It was so much quicker to walk. There were strings of these vehicles stretching for a mile and more in every main street and at every crossing.

The Rumors Begin

One dear old lady, seeing this traffic jam, wanted to know the cause. "Somebody's just moving out and they're racing to leave the house first," suggested one wit.

Then all sorts of rumors began to fly over the radio and in the government propaganda sheet. Men were rushing back to work about a hundred miles away. It was never any nearer. Indeed, their methods can be gauged from the following samples:

One item of news broadcasted by the government was that all the street car employees had returned to work at Rugby. There are no street cars in Rugby!

A cargo of fish had been landed at Huddersfield was another tit-bit. Huddersfield is an inland town. Of course, one must remember that the average worker is a little weak in geography, hence the contempt for veracity.

It is somewhat similar to a story which all the newspapers carried some years ago when the Prince of Wales made his first trip round the world. His picture was shown, dressed in stoker's overalls, while he was desperately grasping a shovel. The caption read, "Prince Stokes on the 'Renown'." Only a small minority of readers knew that the "Renown" was an oil tanker!

Speakers Are Jailed

The whole labor movement threw itself wholeheartedly into the struggle, the first fruits of our efforts being a steady accession of strength to the ranks of the local labor parties and I. L. P. branches. Street meetings were usually attended by thousands of people even in the most conservative districts. The government tried to stop this work by harassing and jailing the speakers, but it made no difference. One speaker on the same platform as myself, a lay preacher, during the course of some remarks said that he gave allegiance to no earthly kings or queens, but only to the Lord Jesus Christ. This is a phrase I have heard countless times from the lips of Salvation Army officers at street corners, not to mention other religious speakers, but this man received a fine of \$125 or a month in

jail. He was lucky. Most of the others did not even get the option.

Then the strike collapsed. There were threats of imprisonment against the leaders, but there was also taking place a slow drift back to work, nothing very big, but nevertheless disquieting. The government gave these deserters a guarantee that their comrades would be prevented from giving them a piece of their minds or expelling them from the union. To show that this was no idle promise, when the railwaymen had gone back to work, a porter had the temerity to draw on the wall at one station a picture of a tombstone on which were the words, "To the memory of the scabs who helped the boss so nobly." For this little piece of humor he was jailed for a month.

The antics of the employers and of the government immediately after the strike was called off were disgraceful. They sought to impose the terms of the conquered upon the vanquished until they discovered it would not work. Nevertheless there are thousands of workmen today in Great Britain who have not yet been reinstated and who are hardly likely to be for many months to come. This kind of treatment has bitten deep into the minds of the most conservative of trade unionists.

An Amazing Turnover

A few examples will serve to show what I mean. Chiswick in London has long been a noted hardshell Tory constituency. The local council is dominated by Tory politicians, yet in a by-election for a council seat since the strike a Tory majority of 1,000 was turned into a Labor majority of 1,200, truly an amazing turnover.

In Hull, where two hundred street car employees have been victimized, three by-elections have taken place and each of these Tory seats on the council has been won for Labor. More significant even than these are the victories which have been obtained in Birmingham, where the Chamberlains have had everything their own way for years and years. The chances are that this city which has been represented in Parliament by fifteen Tories for years and has only one Labor member now will increase its Labor representation to six at least.

Then we have had five important by-elections at Hammersmith, a Tory district in London; East Ham, another such; Darlington, which has been consistently Tory for forty years except for one mistake they made when Trebitsch Lincoln won the seat; Stockton, also Tory consistently, and Walsend. Every one of these has been captured by Labor with astounding majorities.

The Reward Is Coming

I have traveled Britain from one end to the other for years and I have never observed such enthusiasm for Labor and Socialist politics as there is now. A Labor speaker is always assured of a warm welcome and a sympathetic hearing. Literature sales are on the up grade again and at indoor meetings there is an evangelistic fervor which augurs well for the future of the party. It matters not when the next general election takes place, this year, or two years hereafter in the normal course of events, Ramsay MacDonald is assured of a majority in the House of Commons. All we are worrying about is whether his majority will be strong enough to beat the votes of the two other parties combined or whether it will fall just short. We require 300 to 310 seats to assure this. It is almost certain we shall capture 270 to 280 such is the steady rise in our vote and influence, but even so one thing is certain—nationalization of the mines will then be an immediate possibility. Thus will the present epic struggle of the British miners be rewarded in due season.

We are members of one great body. Nature planted in us a mutual love and fitted us for a social life. We must consider that we were born for the good of the whole.—Seneca.

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

Hurrah for Spending Day

"The country is ready for the five-day week. It is bound to come through all industry. The short week is bound to come because without it the country will not be able to absorb its production and stay prosperous. . . . The harder we crowd business for time, the more efficient it becomes. The more well-paid, the more efficient the workers. The more well-paid, the more efficient the workers. The more well-paid, the more efficient the workers. . . . The industry of the country could not long exist if factories generally went back to the ten-hour day, because the people would not have time to consume the goods produced. . . . Just as the eight-hour day opened our way to prosperity, so the five-day week will open our way to greater prosperity."

THUS my old friend, Henry Ford, in announcing the five-day week in his plants. And right you are Henry. The only excuse for production is consumption. When the masses lack the leisure or means for consuming the products of their labor, the machinery clogs up and production comes to an end.

Folks who earn only enough to keep body and soul together are mighty poor customers for automobiles and so are the poor devils who toil from cock crow to bed time story. Leisure and cash are the lubricants in the cogs of industry.

Most of the big industries haven't seen that light yet. Their idea is to produce at top speed, turn out the largest possible quantity of goods at the least possible cost and then sell them to people with empty pockets.

This policy produced the installment selling evil. The big idea underlying this delusion is that people who do not earn enough to pay as they go may supply their wants by mortgaging something they haven't got and may never get, as next year's income for instance. So, if a fellow doesn't earn enough to purchase a straw hat in July he may buy a fur coat on credit and pay for it by refraining from buying palm beach suits during the next five summers. What the whole thing amounts to is that certain classes of sellers are trying to catch dollars which are not earned yet, so that when they are earned they may not fall into the evil hands of the cash and carry crowd.

All purchases, however, are and must be paid out of the national wage fund. That is, the income of the producing masses. So that anything that lowers or raises the wage fund will automatically de-, or increase purchasing power. In other words, the only possible way by which sales can be increased is by putting more money in the pockets of the consumer.

What doth it avail a merchant to put silk and satin in his show window when the passing females are loaded for calico only? Why spend millions, nay billions, in advertising for no better purpose than to increase the wanting of people who lack the wherewithal to supply their wants? All the advertising between heaven and the other place will not sell a pair of shoestrings to a fellow who's broke and neither can total sales be raised above the national income.

Moreover, what are all these inventions, discoveries and labor saving devices, of which we boast so much, good for if they do not increase income and lessen the hours of toil? According to the National Industrial Conference Board, the volume of manufacturing and output in the United States increased 62 per cent. from 1921 to 1925, while the workers employed in the plants increased only 14 per cent. The same board also calculates that the output of the average American working man increased 43 per cent. in the years 1919-1925 alone.

On the basis of these figures the wages of American labor should have either doubled since 1919 or labor should already enjoy not only a five-day week but a three-day week, provided always that the gain in output had gone to labor instead of being wasted at the selling end.

But did our industrial grand dukes make any attempt during that period to lower hours or increase wages? Not much they did. For in that period we had the great open shop drive and the deflation of the farmers, the most heroic effort ever made by American capitalists to lower the purchasing power of their best customers. They succeeded in shaking down the free and independent American farmer, whose freedom and independence consists in paying what is asked and taking what is offered, with the result that when the corn belt is not crying for relief the wheat belt is howling for help, while the cotton belt is praying for boll weevil mercy and moratorium. Fortunately, the resistance of organized labor was sufficient to prevent American capital from committing hari-kari, also by now it would be trying to sell refrigerators to Eskimos and electric food warmers to Bedouins of the Sahara desert. For there is no surer way to bankruptcy than trying to do business with bankrupts.

President Green, in a recent interview in the New York Times, expressed the same thought when he said:

"Unless American workers keep pace with material progress, our whole civilization will fall down upon our efforts. We are living in an age of great technical progress and industrial development. Silently, unnoticed by the mass of the people, there are forces working towards specialization and mass production. Industries are revolutionizing their whole procedure, with resultant greater productivity of the worker because of higher and higher industrial efficiency. This dynamic, ever-changing characteristic which distinguishes modern industry calls for constant adjustment, so that our social and human values may not be overwhelmed in the general mechanizing process and the lives of the workers may not be merged with their machines until they, too, become mechanical."

"In this it is for the organized labor movement to safeguard our human values. As the worker's productivity increases, his wages first of all must increase in proportion, in order that they shall help to absorb this increased output. Secondly, there must be a progressive reduction of the hours of labor, so that men and women may have time to rebuild exhausted physical energies. This is more than ever important in the highly specialized processes of modern industry, where speed and monotonous physical resistance to the utmost. With these two safeguards the physical resistance of the workers can be conserved and the foundation laid for the higher development of spiritual and intellectual powers."

That's it, Brother Green. Unless this insane race for output is accompanied by increased leisure and spending, our machine civilization will go to the pot. The struggle for shorter hours and higher wages is, therefore, much more than a fight for more beans and bacon. Higher wages and shorter hours are but the means for the achievement of a fuller and richer life. The victories of labor are shared by all classes of society, including the employers of labor. For even a master class cannot enjoy the blessings of civilization if surrounded by industrial barbarians, such as the policy of the open shop would certainly create, if there was no resistance.

Henry Ford does not believe in labor unions, but he realizes at least that it requires money to buy Ford cars and leisure time to wear them out and that is a heap to be thankful for. So, long live King Henry and Queen Lizzy. The millennium is still some distance away, but Henry has made a rattling good start.

Adam Coaldrigger.

Syndicalism---The Militant Minority

THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

IT was primarily in his conception of the general strike that Sorel made his contribution—a contribution not altogether accepted by his friends—to the syndicalist philosophy. The idea of the general strike, he maintained, was the greatest organizing and educative force in the possession of the workers. Not that the general strike was ever likely to take place. That was not necessary. "Social myths" play a very large part in social development. How powerful a factor was the myth of the second coming of Christ to early Christianity! Myths are indispensable to every revolutionary movement. They make it possible for those believing in the day of deliverance to keep up their courage and enthusiasm. They concentrate the forces of a rising class and intensify it to a point of action. Social myths generally have Utopian features connected with them. But these features are not essential. The essentials are the hope which the acceptance of the myth brings and the ideals strengthened by the myth.

The general strike idea is the social myth most needed by the modern working class in their struggle for emancipation. The masses who hold the image of the final general strike before them are encouraged to fight in the intermediate struggles, regarding them as skirmishes before the great, decisive battle. On account of the idea of the general strike, "Socialism remains ever young, the attempts made to realize social peace seem childish; the desertion of Comrades who run over into the ranks of the bourgeoisie, far from discouraging the masses, excites them still more to revolt; in a word the rupture (between the bourgeoisie and the working class) is never in danger of disappearing."

This rupture, according to Sorel, should be developed by every possible means. For progress through democracy, which is based on the fiction of the "general will," cannot be depended upon. The working class must break with this idea.

Sorel on Violence

This rejection of the democratic method leads Sorel to lay much emphasis on the application of proletarian violence as the way out. This does not mean wholesale brutality, but that the "social struggle must assume the character of pure struggles similar to those of armies in a campaign." Such violence will indicate to the capitalists that social peace is impossible. They will then turn their attention to

their economic interests, and the development of the forceful, inventive, captains of industry will be the result. Violence has the additional effect of stimulating the class-consciousness of the workers, or bringing vividly before them their sublime mission in history and, as a result, of incorporating their aspirations in the idea of the general strike.

The catastrophic character of the general strike heightens its moral value. The workmen are stimulated by it to prepare themselves for the final combat by a moral effort over themselves. For only in such unique moments of life "when we make an effort to create a new man within our-

selves" "do we take possession of ourselves" and become free in the Bergsonian sense of the term. The general strike, therefore, raises Socialism to the role of the greatest moral factor of our time.

"Thus M. Sorel," remarks Levine, "having started out with Marx, ends up with Bergson. The attempt to connect his views with the philosophy of Bergson has been made in all his later works. But all along M. Sorel claims to be true to the 'spirit' of Marx. . . . It is doubtful, however, whether there is an affinity between the 'spirit' of Marx and that of Professor Bergson. It appears rather that Professor Sorel has tacitly assumed that affinity be-

cause he interprets the 'spirit' of Marx in a peculiar and arbitrary way."

In fact, as Levine points out, Sorel differed from Marx in his emphasis on the mystical and subconscious factors, as contrasted with the economic factors in social development; in his utter skepticism as to the possibility of determining the future course of history and in his belief that the new social order would arrive—if it came at all—through a possible or probable general strike, rather than as a result of necessary economic and social changes. From Proudhon, the anarchist, Bergson, Nietzsche and Renan, Sorel received perhaps more of his inspiration than from the Socialist thinker.

It might be added that the actual influence of Sorel on the syndicalist movement has often been over-estimated. Many of his philosophical interpretations, notably that on the general strike, received scant consideration among the rank and file of the movement. Later he broke off relations with syndicalism and at one time was a collaborator with a group publishing a "neo-monarchist" journal.

Other Theorists

Lagarde's writings were far more systematic than were those of Sorel. He confined his attention to the economic and political, and acknowledged the value of democracy in making Socialism possible and of the Socialist party in dealing with problems not included within the domain of industrial activities. Herve's contribution was chiefly in the domain of the movement's relations to militarism and the army of which he was a bitter opponent until France's participation in the World War. It is, of course, also true that the philosophy of revolutionary syndicalism was influenced vitally by the anarchist philosophy and thinkers as well as by the left wing Socialists who entered the movement.

So much for the theory of syndicalism. From 1902 to the outbreak of the World War a constant battle took place within the Confederation between the revolutionary branch of the movement and the reformists. During 1905 and 1906 the French unions conducted a vigorous campaign for the eight-hour day, during which several of the leaders of the Confederation were arrested, and the government, under the premiership of Clemenceau, sent numerous troops to Paris to protect it against the so-called "coming revolution" which the C. G. T. was supposed to be letting loose on society.

To Be Continued Next Week

London Portrait on View in Rand Library

A PORTRAIT of our late comrade Meyer London painted by Alexander L. Berthe, is now by the courtesy of the artist being exhibited in the Library of the Rand School of Social Science at 7 East Fifteenth Street. Those who have seen the picture have been unanimous in praising it both as a faithful portrait and as an admirable work of art. The library is open from 2 to 10 p. m. five days in the week and from 1 to 5 on Saturday, and all who are interested are invited to call and view the London portrait.

The Rand School Library has just put a circulation service into effect for the benefit of those who wish to borrow books dealing with sociology, history, economics, political science, the labor movement, and related subjects. A \$2 deposit is required, but there is no service charge.

August Claassen's new course in Elements of Social Progress, given on Thursday evenings at 8:30 o'clock, is commanding lively interest. Next Thursday the subject will be: The Psychic and Cultural Factors in Social Progress.

A new class is being organized for the study of Fundamentals of Socialism, with Jacob L. Afros as instructor, more accurately, as class leader, since it is his intention to make this an experiment in co-operative education, using the method of guided discussion, rather than formal instruction. The

class meets on Tuesdays at 7 p. m. All who are interested should be present next Tuesday, November 16. If party officials are wise they will be sure themselves to make this a large class, so that a goodly group of well-grounded Socialists may be ready for next season's political campaign.

The Rand School Fellowship met last Saturday, with an attendance of about sixty persons, most of them present students in the school, the rest former students, with a few of the instructors. There was an enjoyable musical program and a few short speeches; refreshments were served by the lady members; and steps were taken to assure the success of the Fellowship's first big enterprise, the concert and dance to be held on Thanksgiving Eve, Wednesday, November 24, for the benefit of the Scholarship Fund.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS STAND IN TRIBUTE TO DEBS

The members of the White Goods Workers' Union, Local 62, I. L. G. W. U., at a general membership meeting held at Beethoven Hall, stood bowed in deepest sorrow over the death of Eugene Victor Debs, "noble idealist and leader of the toiling masses."

"His service to the workers will never be forgotten; his name and his ideals will always live in the memory of the workers in America, who will carry on the struggle which he so ably championed," A. Snyder, secretary-manager of the local, declared.

GOVERNOR MINTURN A Labor Novel of the Northwest

By M. H. HEDGES

Chapter XVIII Bosses

WHEN they got back to Minneapolis, Dan found that the tide of events had receded and left him high and dry. He thought of Hector Morreson and his remark, "I have fallen behind in the procession," and he understood it better now. Old Morreson had not fallen behind his generation actually, but had sustained a change within that made men and their tangled scheme seem strange. It was so with Dan. He felt older than he was, fatigued, and indifferent. But he had not come to that point where he could discuss the situation with himself, and face the outcome. "I guess everyone has just one good fight in him," he commented, "and I've made mine." He himself was a straggler in the great human army.

One day, soon after his return, Matt Gaylard came to the Toller Building, on the second visit that he had ever made to Dan's office. The first, Dan recalled, was on the occasion of Dan's quarrel with Goodnite. Gaylard, his clothes flapping on his emaciated form, came in confidently and smiling.

"Why, Mr. Gaylard, are you ill?" "Never felt better in my life," the great man informed him.

"Then you have been reducing by music?"

"By the forcible method. Been through the fight of my life and lost. By the way, it affects you, Minturn." Dan looked up quizzically. He resented Gaylard's implication. But he was tremendously interested. Gaylard had always intrigued him, long before he had ever known him, and lately he had come to like the big boss very much. Gaylard's humanness was irresistible. He had a kind of feminine tact, too that made him let Dan alone. Save in the one campaign, Gaylard had respected his wishes and followed a policy of "hands off."

"I'm done, Minturn." There were unmistakable notes of bitterness in Gaylard's voice, though he smiled and tried to appear indifferent.

"How can you be done? You're not in office?"

Gaylard emitted a fatherly smile.

"Give me a cigarette, will you?"

Dan held a match while the old man puffed. Gaylard's face was pathetic with the heavy folds of skin lying loosely about his jaws and neck. One could not mistake the face's benevolence or obvious age.

"You make me laugh, Minturn. I sometimes wonder how you got as far as you did in politics. You always impress me as one who was born yesterday."

Dan was not disturbed by this criticism. It was in accord with his present mood not to care about it, or anything else.

"Mr. Gaylard, ever since I was knee-high, I have heard your name spoken in awe by men. They have feared and envied you. You can't expect me to get over that attitude in five minutes—just by your coming in here and saying you're done."

Gaylard chuckled. He was pleased, as any old man is pleased by recollection of exploits far past.

"I made 'em hop, I guess, while I was on the job," he said.

"Did you ever know they called you Czar Gaylard?" Dan asked inquisitively.

"Oh, they called me worse than that, and I don't know but what I deserved it," he mused while a look first of dejection then of pride flitted across his face. "You see," he added, "it's Goodnite."

Dan understood that Gaylard expected him to be surprised at this revelation, but he was not.

"You worked with him?" Dan asked.

"Why sure."

Dan surveyed Gaylard's uncle sharply and wondered just how much he knew of the ugly episode with Brickport.

"God damn it all," Gaylard continued, "what makes me mad is that I made him. I took him out of a thirty dollar a week job, and taught him all he knows. . . . Looking some of his vehemence, in the mellow light of retrospection, the big boss went on."

"Everybody knows that Hiram Goodnite has no brains. Everybody knows that he has the soul of a scab traveling salesman. That's what he was when I discovered him; think of that, that 250 pound baby selling ladies' silk lingerie for a living." Gaylard could not suppress a smile at the incongruity.

"I met him one night in Fargo. We got caught in one of those blizzards that crumple up transportation, and had to lay up several days. I had been up to see Alex McKenzie. The farmers had been badly hit by drouth and hail that year and I wanted him to modify his campaign policy."

Well, I met Goodnite in the lobby of the hotel, and got talking to him. I was surprised to find that he had a grasp on the political situation in both Dakotas and Minnesota. He traveled in all the little towns of the Northwest, kept his ears and eyes open, and formed his own opinions. But he had no ambition; he was lazy, bummed a lot, and I had no idea of offering him anything until after a little episode at the hotel."

Gaylard paused here, as a good story-teller will do when he is about to make a good point.

"Hiram is the crudest and coarsest man I ever saw. We were having a little drink and a game of cards in a back room of the hotel the second night, and Goodnite got tight. He swore and used the vilest language I ever heard. There was one woman in

the place at the time, drinking with a man at the other end of the room. Goodnite got up and staggered over to her and seized her. Her companion arose to remonstrate, and Goodnite felled him with a back stroke of his great paw a good deal as an angry bear might brush away a hornet. Then the damn fool started to take his pleasure right before us. . . . I took three of us to whip him and get him to bed. I finally knocked him down with a poker. . . . That's how he got the scar over his left temple." Gaylard chuckled softly.

"After we got back to Minneapolis I offered him something. He organized his ward for us, and afterwards went to the city council."

The narrator paused reflectively.

"You know, Hiram Goodnite has got more than anybody else I know what every politician has got to have—the kyo punch. . . . There used to be a prize ring man round here that had everything—strength, speed, ring generalship, staying powers, a great defense, everything but the power to give the final kyo blow. He was the best defensive heavy in the business, stayed 15 rounds with Jack Dempsey. As long as he could fight a defensive fight he was a bird. But just let him get the other fellow on the run, and he turned yellow. He never had the heart to take his man. He would dawdle along, dawdle along until the final gong. Well, the irony of the thing was that he was knocked out by a third-rater that he had already whipped. He had floored his man four times in the second round, and then began to ease upon him, only to rush into a stiff left in the sixth. . . . Goodnite never made that mistake. He is 100 percent ruthless. Politics to him is war. He tears into them and eats them up. And if you ask me, Minturn, I guess he's right."

"I had my round with him," Dan asserted.

"But I never thought that he'd turn on me," the old man continued sadly.

"If I'd said the word last fall, he could have been retired, but I thought 'no, what's the use? He's a good scout. I'll let him get by.' Now he's got me."

"He can't last," Dan asserted.

"Surely that fellow can't last."

"Well, I don't know. He's cunning, and he's ruthless. Ever since the close of the legislature, he's been taking credit for the defeat of the power act."

You know, I told him to let you alone about that fool bill, and he claims credit for having swung you over."

"He's a damn liar," Dan interjected.

"Yes, of course he is," Gaylard declared. "But his story looks plausible. He's told Granville and the others that I'm getting old and losing my grip,

and that you've changed me." He smiled. "After twenty years on the firing line, he thinks I could be budged. . . . You see, Granville's the kind that likes big results. The margin on the power bill was a little shaky, and he's afraid."

"Granville?"

"Yes—Asa. He and I have been going it together for twenty years. Asa's got more political gumption than all the other bankers put together."

"I'll tell him," Dan offered eagerly.

"I'll tell him the truth about Goodnite."

Again Gaylard smiled—a fatigued, amused smile.

"Oh no, you won't. It wouldn't do any good if you did. And if it would, I wouldn't let you do it. I'm done, and I'm glad I'm done. Unmistakable weariness on his face. "I made the mistake of getting sore at first and of fighting back. That was because of Goodnite. But now I'm glad. . . . You don't know what a relief it is to be out of that game. I haven't had a free hour in 25 years. Not one. They call me the Big Boss, but they don't know. I don't boss anything. I have had to watch my step, pleasing both sides, the voters and the others. It wasn't easy, and it wasn't pleasant. No honor. No applause for Gaylard. Only obscurity and a lot of hard work and grief. You know I was only an appointee to the senate. . . . It's funny," he reflected. "I was a good deal like you when I started, idealistic and all that sort of thing. But I learned in two campaigns that it won't do. The people won't let you. The mob needs a man in a high hat to sit on the coach and drive them. After my little flirtation with reform I switched, and tried to make the best Driver I knew how. I gave them all I could. Minturn, under the circumstances."

He spoke with great dignity and the soundness of his philosophy.

"Now I'm going back to Chicago county and wear old clothes, and do just as I damn please." He paused and smiled. "I may get married."

He was at the door. "By the way," he said, "if Goodnite comes round about the governorship, I'd take him up if I were you."

"Did he send you?" Dan demanded.

"Hell, no. If he'd said a word, I'd handed him another poker. I really think you are the best man for the place, Daniel."

Dan was silent. Gaylard shook his hand, and drifted out, looking worn and stooped.

"The old war-horse faithful to the last," Dan mused. "Knocked out, but still eating out of the same old nose-bag."

(To Be Continued Next Week)

The Decline and Rise Of Codfish Culture

EVERY now and then some native New Englander who can trace his lineage back to the Mayflower rises up with a terrible yawp about the awful things that are happening down East. According to these laments our best people around Boston way are being shouldered out of the New England scene by coarse natives of Poland, Hungarians and low-down Rumanians (with all apologies to our present royal visitors).

They are handing a sock to the ancient stock that were first to land on Plymouth Rock, if you believe these stories.

It is all very pathetic. We lie awake o' nights weeping into our pillow about the sad estate of the descendants of the run-runners, slave-herders and all-around smugglers who settled New England. But the other day we saw an item that cheered us considerably. What though the Greeks have won another Thermopylae on State House Hill? What though the Sacred Cod is rapidly turning into a gefillterfish? What though the awful form of Senator Butler, the white-haired boy of the White House, has been laid in the dust by the irreverent Irish? Art and culture still hold sway in New England, New England that gave us Lowell and Holmes, Longfellow and Emerson.

Said the New York Times: "One-half of the village of Plymouth, Vt., the home of President Coolidge, visited the President at the White House. The villagers comprised an old-time orchestra and dancing group which are filling an engagement at a local motion picture house this week. They were headed by John Wilder, 81-year-old uncle of the President, and included several of his cousins and old friends."

Now let the viol swell and the saxophone proclaim the glad news! Here is the New England renaissance at hand. Once more the Muses can walk State street with heads held high. Even Katherine Fullerton Gerould, arch-champion of New England culture might be inclined to do a Charleston over this happy appearance from the rugged Vermont hills of the Coolidge Troubadours. Who says that Cal is not appreciative of the fine arts? Has he not given his 81-year-old uncle to the great cause, to say nothing of a couple of cousins?

And think what it means for the future. If many more elections go the way the last one did, several members of the President's family may be looking for jobs after November, 1928. Right now there is Fatty Butler, who certainly must be looked after. Why can't Cal fit him out with a handsome slip-horn and let him join up with Uncle John? For His Excellency himself, the All-Highest Guardian of Prosperity, it might be possible to put on a little riding act and dust off that electric horse. Or have him do his famous sleight-of-hand trick whereby he turns a de-vastating Republican defeat into a splendid victory. This would knock the sticks cold if properly staged, say on Keith's junior circuit.

What a glorious time the tabloids are having now that the Hall-Mills stink is being aired once more. The Queen of Rumania was a big flop and no editor, no matter how persevering, can be constantly printing pictures of Papa Drowning doing his bear stuff. So it was mighty thoughtful of the New Jersey authorities to dig up a four-year-old murder and give all us gum-chewers as good a time as though we ourselves had been on the grandstand on De Russos' lane the night of the shooting. Considering the number of witnesses who have been dragged into this case, I felt a bit put out at not being summoned. But then I remembered that I was in jail in West Virginia that night and you couldn't ask for a better alibi than that.

The sky-pilots are suddenly discovering that the late war wasn't all it was cracked up to be and now that the shouting and the tumult have died down a bit, they are mildly lamenting the fact that they were kidded into allowing their churches to become sounding boards for the blood deans. Up in Bishop Manning's scab cathedral, Dean Robbins broke out the other day with the statement that the war did not seem to have gotten us anywhere. To be sure, he praised the rank and file of the soldiers who, he said, went over the top, singing lustily. He did not explain to his congregation just how lustily one can sing in a gas mask, so this is presumably a clerical license. However, so rare in the exalted atmosphere of the Morningstar Heights religious hippodrome, as to create a real stir. At the same time, over in England, Dean Inge, that gloomy one of St. Paul's, London, is getting out a book in which he says that England is doomed as a world power, in spite of the fact that she won the war, or was it the American Y. M. C. A.?

The gloomy Dean says that England is so far down the toogoo-gang and has lost so much of America's friendship, that only a "black invasion" of England will bring the United States to her rescue. He is not specific as to how this black invasion is to be brought about, but seems to have a vision of our own Klan, the American Defense Society, the National Security League and other allied flag-wavers, standing shoulder to shoulder with the few remaining Englishmen, fighting off hordes of Africans bent upon the looting of St. Paul's. Like Dean Robbins, Dean Inge also feels that the war was not all it was said to be and you gather the impression that he has a sneaking notion that the next war won't leave England sitting so pretty.

Of course, all these belated apologies from the church folks are to be taken with heavy grains of salt. There is nothing in their past performances to guarantee that they will not all go cuckoo on the eve of the declaration of the next war, and in the name of gentle Jesus, send out our youngsters to tackle some new-found foe. With an intelligent man today, the word of any clergyman who backed the last war, is about as good as an I. O. U. from Albert Fall to the United States Government. It was Anatole France who once said that there is but one light to guide us through the darkness of our little life, the faint and flickering light of reason. And then, said the old skeptic, up comes the theologian and blows it out. The checks of the majority of our ministers were distended from the day we entered the war until the Armistice in their efforts to distinguish such lights of reason as there were in this distracted country. When they begin to tell us that the war was all one big mistake, we have a right to listen to them with a cynical tongue in cheek.

McAlister Coleman.

Left Squad of Communists Spew Venom on Members, Officers of Amalgamated

The Field of Labor

WHAT reason can anyone give to justify the meeting held at the Central Opera House, New York City, on Saturday afternoon, November 6, 1926. The gathering was supposedly under the auspices of the Amalgamated Section of the Trade Union Educational League. The object ostensibly was to answer the question: "What has the Amalgamated done to assist the cloakmakers in their struggle for the 40-hour week?" The purpose turned out to be the launching of a general campaign against the local and national administrations for reasons that are suggested later.

If the aim was to help the striking cloakmakers, no gathering could have been worse arranged. First, to hold a demonstration in order to demand donations in bad taste, according to any book of etiquette, provided one uses some text at all. It smacked too much of a hold-up disguised as a voluntary contribution. Secondly, the Amalgamated was at that time considering the advisability of a one dollar assessment on its members for the benefit of the strikers. A shop chairman's meeting the following Tuesday still had to approve of the action of the Board of Directors of the New York Joint Board. Thirdly, the Amalgamated had already contributed twenty-seven thousand dollars in cash and signed notes for more than one hundred thousand in addition. This in view of heavy expenditures of its own at the present time. True, the Furrier's Joint Board had donated \$60,000 but then it owed the cloakmakers \$150,000 on loans contracted during the recent strike of fur workers. In other words, the Furrier's Board was still \$90,000 in debt. Fourthly, the speakers who addressed the meeting were, with the exception of Gitlow, Nelson and Lipin, the leaders of the opposition in the Amalgamated, outsiders. Fifthly, among the speakers were so-called responsible union officials. They certainly spoke in the most irresponsible fashion. Borochowitz, a vice-president of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, ridiculed the Amalgamated for paying its \$27,000—which, by the way, was \$2,000 more than promised—in several payments. Why could not the mighty Amalgamated pay the sum all at once? And that was a reason for insurance. Zimmerman, head of the Dressmakers Division of the New York Joint Board and vice-chairman of the General Strike Committee, attacked not only Hillman and Beckerman of the Amalgamated, but accused President Sigman of the I. L. G. W. U., who has been co-operating with him during the 18 weeks of strike, of sabotage. Ben Gold, manager of the Furrier's Joint Board, laid the blame for the loss of the cloakmakers' strike—and it won't be lost, he added hastily—upon the right wing administration of all the needle trades unions. Amalgamation was needed and the youthful leader was visualized by his admirers as the head and brains of the new big union.

If, on the other hand, a purpose of the meeting was as it seemed to be, to initiate a drive against the right administrations of the Amalgamated, it certainly was a tactless way to go about it. Nobody really imagined that this was a gathering called by Amalgamated members alone. If it were, why so many outside speakers, even if the opposition leaders are rather weaklings. In the audience of about two thousand there were no more than about five hundred or six hundred Amalgamated members at the most. The attacks by non-members would only prompt the sincere unionist to tell them to mind their own business. When Lipzen, in the midst of his speech, very excitedly began to call for the dollar assessment which the Amalgamated Joint Board was to levy after the vote of the shop chairman the following Tuesday, he was certainly indiscreet. After all, any organization would demand that assessments that it was collecting should pass through its own hands and a record kept of each contribution. The members would be held responsible for their payment. Then, to call the present officers bad names because of their alleged neglect of the cloakmakers' charges of gangsterism are mutual—and at the same time urge these same officials to help the strikers and amalgamate with their accusers is certainly not a model of diplomacy, if not of sincerity. Therefore, when the shop chairman's meeting finally

took place there was great indignation at the behavior of the leaders of the Saturday meeting. The local administration of the Amalgamated took up the challenge hurled at itself and now there will be war to the hilt. The dollar tax was, as expected, approved.

The agreement that will settle the cloakmakers' strike may be made public by the time these comments appear in print. One hopes for the best, but the manner in which the leaders are trying hard to shift the responsibility for the consequences to the "right" administrations in the International office and in the Amalgamated, which culminated in Saturday's meeting, does not prophesy the very best tidings. We are anxious to see the terms of the settlement.

TECHNICAL ARTICLES IN THE LABOR PRESS

The arbitrary condemnation of the large number of technical articles published in the official monthly organs of many labor unions is quite popular among many cynics. It is claimed that they clutter the periodicals with material that has nothing to do with the labor movement as such; that they are, in fact, devices for filling up space. The more highly technical the contributions are the less interest and, therefore, justification do outsiders award them. In many cases this criticism has much weight. The whole problem is, however, relative. Take the photographer, for example. During the last half dozen years he has been threatened with his very existence by the advances made by the rotogravure and lithograph offset processes. It has been necessary for him to keep up with the latest improvements made in his craft in order to retain his job and perhaps contribute to the preservation of photo-engraving as a commercially successful process that will satisfy large advertisers. His union journal, "The American Photo-Engraver," has, therefore, been compelled to supplement the oral instruction in the shop both of the old workers and the apprentices by special technical articles. Thus, in 1922 only one of these appeared in the official periodical, in 1923 twenty-four, in 1924 forty-one and in 1925 fifty-seven. Of these one hundred and thirty-one fifty-five, or half, were contributed by fourteen members of the union itself. "The Lithographers' Journal" shows a similar attention to technical development. Given to satisfy the needs of the readers, these articles aid in the development of the labor press. The wholesale criticism of the snobbish falls in special circumstances.

MISSOURI GAINS WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

We have noted in this column previously that the voters of the State of Missouri were to be given the opportunity once again to vote on a workmen's compensation law. The last Legislature passed the measure, but the damage suit lawyers thought they could defeat its going into effect by maneuvering for a referendum vote. In previous years they have been able to raise such a smoke screen of propaganda. On November 2, however, the voters fooled them. By a vote of three to one they presented Missouri with one of the best workmen's compensation laws in the country. The employers, organized in the Associated Industries of Missouri, fought hard for the law. President William Green of the A. F. of L. came into the State to help in the battle. R. T. Wood and George R. Patterson, president and secretary of the State Federation of Labor respectively, were in the forefront. Only the St. Louis Building Trades Council divided the ranks of labor. Some of its members were dominated by the damage suit lawyer crowd. At the last moment the president of the Council, John Barry, broke with the others and joined the overwhelming majority of the workmen and other citizens in seeing the law through. And now labor in Missouri will enjoy the protection of those elementary rights that in other States has become commonplace.

BRONX FREE FELLOWSHIP

The next lecture will be given Wednesday, November 17, at 8:30 p. m., in the lecture forum at 1301 Boston road, near 169th street. Eli Seigel, winner of The Nation's poetry prize last year, will be the speaker. His subject will be "Current Literature."

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THE ELECTRICAL WORKERS STORY

By LOUIS STANLEY SILVERSTEIN

IV. Recent Progress (1913-1926)—Part 2

What Has Come Before

THE first evidence we have of unionization among electrical workers is found in 1876 among the telegraph linemen. In that year some of the local assemblies of the Knights of Labor were admitting them as "sojourners." Later they became numerous enough to form assemblies and finally a District Council of their own. An ill-advised strike in 1883 shattered their organization. The following year the United Order of Linemen was founded in the West. It failed because of its provisions for secrecy.

The St. Louis exposition of 1890 supplied the occasion for the next attempt at unionism. Local No. 522 of the A. F. of L. was formed, consisting this time of wiremen (inside) as well as linemen (outside men). President Henry Miller spent his time going about from one city to another, working his way, trying to arouse sentiment for a national organization. The result was a call issued by the St. Louis union and the holding of a convention in November, 1891. President Miller then journeyed to the A. F. of L. convention at Birmingham, Alabama, with the aid of a loan from the St. Louis local, and obtained a charter on November 28, 1891, for the National Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America. The new organization was handicapped by a low per capita tax and a death

benefit system that drained the treasury. This was corrected in 1895.

Between 1908 and 1913 the Brotherhood split into two factions. Hard feeling had been engendered between the inside and outside men over their respective jurisdictions. To make matters worse the former managed to elect one of their number, Frank J. McNulty, president in 1903. At the same time he was put on a full time salary basis. His efforts to increase the centralization of the union created much bad feeling. Finally, some of the Socialist leaders sought to gain control of the Brotherhood as a part of a similar struggle going on in the A. F. of L. The result was that after much maneuvering the insurgents finally held a convention at Cleveland in 1908 and declared themselves the legally constituted authorities in the Brotherhood. J. J. Reid and J. W. Murphy were their leaders. The whole American labor movement was torn by the dissension. The A. F. of L. administration sided with McNulty. Eventually the latter won the outstanding legal suits and began to regain following. In 1913 those still with Reid were permitted to return by paying their current monthly per capita tax. The union closed ranks.

In the last installment the history of the Telephone Operators' Department was given followed by an account of recent jurisdictional disputes.

to discontinue it entirely. Others, led by Local 457, of Altoona, Pa., proposed an assessment of one hour's pay on each member whenever the fund fell below a half million dollars. It was realized that for the scheme to work it had to be equipped to meet emergency situations as well as normal disturbances. Neither of these proposals was accepted. The majority preferred to maintain the status quo until the next convention and in the meantime have the fund built up by continuing the suspension of payments.

Death Benefits a Problem

We have seen how, in 1909, the death benefits of the Brotherhood had been increased in order to counteract the benevolent measures of employers. Previously a hundred dollars had been paid to the heirs of the deceased. Now a scheme, grading benefits according to years of membership, was adopted providing for an upper limit of three hundred dollars. No per capita tax was accepted until a semi-annual assessment of fifty cents was paid by each member. Then five cents of the per capita was added to the amount already contributed. Human nature being what it is, this caused delay. Therefore, in 1919 the assessment was abolished and the simple procedure of doubling the quota from the per capita tax was started. This worked splendidly and a surplus accumulated. Naturally, it was proposed to increase the benefits but here legal difficulties arose. This would make the Brotherhood an insurance company in the eyes of many state officials. Group insurance through private companies was objectionable because it was too expensive and generally valid only for but one year at a time. At the suggestion of International Secretary Charles P. Ford, an investigation was made of the possibility of the Brotherhood's establishing an insurance department of its own. The usual overhead expense would be reduced because the union officials would undertake the necessary work in addition to their other duties. The electrical workers who, because of their dangerous work, were prevented from insuring themselves on account of absolute prohibitions or high premiums of private companies or fraternal orders, would thus be assured a substantial death benefit. It was important as an inducement to membership as well as a humane protective measure.

Consequently, the Electrical Workers Benefit Association was incorporated in the District of Columbia upon the approval of the membership in a referendum vote in 1921. On January 1 of the following year the corporation began business. It received the balance of one hundred and ninety thousand dollars from the old Death Benefit Fund. Membership is made compulsory upon all members of the Brotherhood. The premium is uniformly \$10.80 per year and the benefits are \$300 after one year, \$475 after two, \$650 after three, \$875 after four and \$1,000 after five. The system, therefore, compares very favorably with that of private enterprises. The Association is organized on a lodge basis.

Full Insurance Service

This insurance work of the Brotherhood proved to be so successful that steps were taken to extend the service. By Resolution No. 32 of the 1923 convention at Montreal a canvass was made of the opinion of the membership as to the advisability of establishing an old line, legal reserve insurance company. Returns were only received from a small minority of the individual members and local unions, but those who reported were overwhelmingly in favor of the proposal. The canvass showed 21,627 for and 4,272 against. Therefore, in accordance with the terms of the resolution the officers went ahead and on November 10, 1924, the Union Co-operative Insurance Association was incorporated in the District of Columbia. It began to do business on January 1, 1925. Nine hundred and forty-six members bought stock at twenty dollars per share, one-half of the price going into the surplus. The Association

was fortunate in being able to continue with the actuarial service of Charles F. Nesbit, who had worked out the benefit association scheme. He had had long experience with insurance and was the government's expert in working out the military and naval insurance during the war. The Union Co-operative Association writes all standard forms of policies for members and their dependents, such as straight life, limited payment life, insurance, old-age annuities and group insurance for national and local trade unions. The premiums are practically the lowest in the United States because the overhead costs are cut to the bone. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in its report to the convention at Detroit coupled its praise for its own Union Life Insurance Company with that for the Union Co-operative Insurance Association of the Electrical Workers.

Trade Agreements

The collective bargaining experience of the Brotherhood on a national scale has been limited. Trade agreements are generally made by the local unions, frequently with the active assistance of the International Office and always with its consent. Sometimes in the case of telephone companies, railroads or public utilities the locals of a whole territory may combine to negotiate with a company covering a large region.

During the war the Brotherhood increased in membership along with other trade unions. The Government then practically compelled union recognition. When the railroads were taken over, the shopmen found themselves under the jurisdiction of the United States Railroad Administration. The principle of collective bargaining was plainly recognized. The three electrical workers' locals on the railroads at the beginning of the war increased to one hundred and fifty with a membership of twenty thousand by 1921. National Boards of Adjustment giving equal representation to management and employees were set up to deal with disputes that could not be adjusted locally. The sixteen standard railroad workers' unions were divided into three groups, with a board of adjustment over each. The Federated Shop Crafts in which was found the Electrical Workers' Union constituted the second division. The friendly attitude of the Railroad Administration made the workings of the new scheme of things very satisfactory to the unions involved.

A letter of Director General McAdoo in February, 1918, to A. O. Wharton, president of the Railway Employees' Department of the A. F. of L., practically constituted a national agreement. Therefore, when the armistice was signed the Federated Shop Crafts put forth proposals for a formal document of that sort. On September 10, 1919, such a national agreement was signed by the interested parties. The Brotherhood of Electrical Workers as an affiliated union of the Railway Employees Department added the signatures of its representatives too. Unfortunately, the time was approaching for the return of the railroads to private ownership under the provisions of the Transportation Act of 1920. The railway companies would not continue the Boards of Adjustment for the settlement of future grievances. The Federated Shop Crafts appealed to the newly created Railroad Labor Board. The latter did not nor could it help. Its decision on April 14, 1921, therefore, marked the official termination of the national agreement, much to the disappointment of the unions. The Brotherhood of Electrical Workers joined with the other interested organizations in the successful campaign to abolish the Railroad Labor Board and is behind the present Watson-Parker law. The disastrous shopmen's strike of 1922 struck a heavy blow at the membership on the railroads. It is only within the last two years or so that recuperation has set in.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

Amsterdam International Birthday Is Celebrated; Tomsky Doubts 1 Big Union

Labor Doings Abroad

REPORTS received by the Amsterdam Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions about the celebration in various countries of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the launching of the I. F. T. U. show that it was a great success. Material increases in the membership of the affiliated unions are expected to result from the propaganda activities carried on in connection with the birthday fetes.

Austria, having postponed her propaganda week until the beginning of October, then set to work. The Austrian trade unions left no single district or trade union untouched, so that their campaign, unlike that of other countries, lasted for several weeks. On Sunday, Oct. 3, the work began with two large festival meetings of the metal workers and the national center and many other recruiting meetings in the provinces.

In spite of the troubles of the labor movement, Poland organized great celebrations. In the largest hall of Warsaw some 6,000 workers assembled, while in almost all the trade union headquarters meetings of separate trades were held. The same thing applies to the provinces, in towns such as Cracow, Lemberg, Posen, Lodz and Vilna, and in the petroleum and coal mining districts. The total number of meetings held in the provinces was about 200. The Trade Union Center brought out a special I. F. T. U. number in its journal, while individual unions also published manifestos and leaflets.

In Belgium C. Martens, secretary of the Trade Union Center, made a broadcast speech. In addition to the meetings in Brussels and the issue of a special number of the journal of the Trade Union Center, great demonstrations were organized by the local trades councils throughout the country, as in Antwerp, in the Borinage mining district, in Charleroi, Ghent, Liege, Malines, Verviers, etc.

Reports have already come from Germany (where one of the greatest demonstrations ever known was held in Berlin, while in other towns also magnificent work was done) in regard to increased membership. For instance, the Tobacco Workers' Union admitted 3,000 new members between the 13th and 19th of September.

During the same period the National Center in Bulgaria organized meetings and conferences throughout the country. At the festival meeting held in Sofia, a resolution was adopted in which a vote of thanks was offered on behalf of the workers of Bulgaria to all the pioneers whose efforts had contributed to the formation and building up of the Trade Union International.

Most businesslike preparations were made in Switzerland for the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary. In an article appearing in the official organ of the Trade Union Centre the form and aim of the arrangements made were fully explained, and it was emphatically stated that the Special Effort Week must be the opening of a "methodical, determined and intensive propaganda campaign."

Even in countries where the workers are persecuted and oppressed, as in Italy and Spain, the twenty-fifth anniversary was commemorated as far as was possible. The Journal of the Italian Confederation of Labor brought out an anniversary number. In Spain meetings were held in Madrid, while various trade union papers contained accounts of the commemorations.

In Portugal, where the National Center is not affiliated with the I. F. T. U. and where the anarchist-syndicalist movement has the upper hand, the bodies sympathetic towards the I. F. T. U. arranged a festival meeting, and for the publication in the press of articles on the history of the I. F. T. U.

The latest adherent to the I. F. T. U., the Trade Union Center of Argentina, held a festival meeting in Buenos Aires. Among the speakers was the Labor Attaché of the Mexican government. Open air meetings were also held in the same city and in Tucuman, Mendoza, San Juan, Bahia Blanca, Cordoba and a number of other towns.

Having completed his five-year sentence, Frank Nash, an I. W. W. sentenced to Walla Walla prison under the Washington State criminal syndicalism law, has been released and is now in Seattle. Nash was arrested April 16, 1921, in Centralia as an I. W. W. organizer and sentenced by Judge W. A. Reynolds of the Superior Court on September 21, 1921.

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RUSSIANS QUESTIONING INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

Despite the fact that the recent origin of the larger labor unions in Russia has prevented the development of the craft traditions and official machines that in some countries militate against the extension of the principle of industrial unionism, there appears to be some doubt in the mind of L. Tomsky, head of the All Russian Labor Unions, as to the advisability of going too far along that line. In opposing recently the amalgamation of several unions, he is quoted as saying:

"At present, when the chief task of unions is to safeguard as much as possible the interests of the workers, it is not a good thing to combine too large a number of mixed groups of workers in one union, for in such case their interests cannot be adequately safeguarded. This is, of course, not true for such homogeneous unions as those of the metal workers and textile workers. It applies, however, to such mixed unions as that of the Soviet Employees, which comprise an enormous number of members, who differ absolutely from each other in social origin, standard of living, salaries, nature of work, etc. The Union cannot possibly succeed in safeguarding adequately the interests of a million members with their different cultural and social qualities. The same is true of a number of other unions. The Paper Workers' Union can cope with its work precisely because it is a small union, and the same applies to the Municipal Workers' Union."

Krol, president of the Russian Food Workers' Union, was really supporting Tomsky's views when he said:

"Life itself leads to the division of our unions. Our unions can manage their organizational and cultural work, but they cannot deal with the labor problems which we are up against. This is due to the fact that our unions are too mixed in character to be able to represent fully the interests of large masses of workers."

REGULAR DUTCH UNIONS OUTNUMBER THE OTHERS

Due to the steady gain in membership of the regular Dutch trade unions since the decline was halted two years ago, the 192,442 unionists in the organizations affiliated with the Netherlands Trade Union Federation on January 1, 1926, slightly outnumbered those in the other six national labor bodies, whereas a year previous their percentage of the total unionists in Holland was under fifty. According to the report presented to the Federation's convention, held in Utrecht from October 18 to 21, the weakest spots in the organizations are found in the small number of women unionists, their total being slightly less than 11,000, and the failure to get the young apprentices lined up for full membership.

While there was some dissatisfaction voiced with the stand taken by President R. Stenhuys on a number of questions during the last year, his explanations took the wind out of his opponents' sails and his position of leadership apparently remained unshaken.

During the last two years the Federation has been able to adopt an aggressive position and to force some improvements in working conditions and wages, despite the hard-boiled policy followed by the employers belonging to the National Industrial Association, which embraces 1,467 individuals, employing about 300,000 workers. A problem for the unions is found in the steady increase of population (about 100,000 a year) and the lessening of opportunities for emigration, largely because of restrictions imposed by the United States. Unemployment in September amounted to 52,000 and will be much greater during the winter.

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The New Leader Mail Bag

The Liquor Question

Editor, The New Leader:

The editorial in The New Leader October 23 to the letter of Ira D. Kneeland, is very good and will satisfy all. I. D. Kneeland, in his letter, says people of all shades of religious belief or unbelief can work in harmony for socialism. Very well. Why not work in harmony whether one is a prohibitionist or one who likes a glass of light wine or beer? If one drinks too much he is as much to blame as one who eats too much.

Socialism teaches moderation. About Fresno it may be better now in the booze matter since they had a big scandal this year where several policemen have been arrested for bootleg business. Fresno, a city of 60,000 inhabitants, has no Socialist branch and misses good educational work. Fresno has a labor paper, the Tri-County Labor News. I asked for the price of an advertisement in regard to the American Appeal and got no answer.

JOSEPH ANDEREGG.
Merced, Cal.

\$10,260 for Miners

Editor, The New Leader:

Now that the work of the Women's Committee for the Relief of the British Miners' Wives and Children has come to an end, I wish to thank all who so generously contributed and to state

that the net amount sent to Lady Slessor, the British treasurer, was \$10,260. Receipts for these contributions have been kept on file and those who gave can rest assured that every penny was spent on relief.

EVELYN PRESTON.
American Treasurer, Women's Committee for Relief of British Miners' Wives and Children.
N. Y. C.

The Job-Holders

Editor, The New Leader:
Have just finished reading Cahan's "Communists or Job-Holders?" Would like to suggest that this article ought to be broadcast in pamphlet form among the blind workers, who are misled by the "Job-Holders."

The psychological truth of the article is convincing beyond any ordinary doubt that may be left in the minds of the misled. The dreamers are always more profoundly impressed by a psychological or even "logical" argument than by mere competent evidence.

Of course, when plenty of real and competent evidence is not wanting to substantiate the burning truths of the article referred to, it becomes the more convincing and the more impressive. It is a case where even the "blind of the blind" may become convinced beyond a reasonable doubt.

MORRIS WOLFMAN.
Brooklyn, N. Y.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS START DRIVE TO EXTEND INFLUENCE OF UNION

A well-attended general membership meeting of the White Goods Workers' Union, Local 62, as the first order of business a resolution was adopted that the members of the union work four hours for the cloakmakers' strike in the City of New York.

The meeting also discussed many trades questions. Mr. A. Snyder, manager of the White Goods Workers' Union, gave a report on conditions in the trade. He talked of the agreement with the employers, which is about to come to an end, and called upon every union member to help in the organization campaign which the union is conducting at this time.

The principal speaker of the evening was President Morris Sigman of the International, who came to the meeting upon the invitation of Manager Snyder. In his very interesting talk President Sigman reviewed the history of the White Goods Workers' union, compared present conditions in the trade with past conditions, and pointed out the importance of strengthening the union at the present moment. He called upon the workers to bring as many members into the union as possible, especially the American element. President Sigman said that the international would always be ready and willing to lend a hand whenever necessary, but it would be necessary for the workers themselves to take the initiative in the work of strengthening the position of the White Goods Workers' Union.

In connection with the organization campaign Miss Elsie Gluck, the new organizer, assigned by the international especially for the purpose of winning the American element into the union, addressed the membership.

I. L. G. W. CLASSES START SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 13

The classes in the Workers' University of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union commence Saturday, November 13, at 1:30 p. m. in Room 130 of Washington Irving High School. Emory Holloway will start his course on "A Social Study of American Literature." At 2:30, A. J. Muste of Brookwood Labor College will give the introduction to his course "Currents Events in the Labor and Social World." This course will be continued thereafter on Sundays at 11 a. m. in the same place. Members of the I. L. G. W. U. who wish to join the classes should register at the Educational Department, 3 West 16th street. The opening exercises of the Educational Season will take place Friday, November 19, in the auditorium of Washington Irving High School. In the musical program will participate the Saleski Trio Ensemble, consisting of distinguished members of the New York Symphony Orchestra and Mme. Jeanne Sorocoka, European opera singer. The evening will end with a dance. Get your ticket now at the Educational Department of the I. L. G. W. U. Free to members.

SOCIALIST PARTY READY TO ARRANGE LECTURES FOR ALL ORGANIZATIONS

The Socialist Party, New York City office, 7 East 15th street, is at the service of all forums, branches, unions, in obtaining lectures either for individual dates or series of lectures or classes. A large staff of splendid speakers is offered. Some of them must be compensated, and many of them are volunteering their services. Write at once for dates, topics, etc. Special attention is called to the following:

Ether Friedman, eloquent and effective lecturer, Socialist Party speaker and national organizer for several years, it available for individual talks or series of lectures. Ethelred Browne, Unitarian Minister and Socialist speaker, forceful and impressive speaker. He is ready to lecture on "Debs: The Apostle of Socialism," and other topics. Jessie Stephen of the British Labor Party will return to New York City early in January. She has spoken to immense crowds during the late campaign and proved herself a speaker of unusual ability, information and power. Miss Stephen is prepared to lecture on all phases of the British Labor and Socialist movements.

To obtain the services of these and numerous other well-known Socialist lecturers just drop a line to the City Office, 7 East 15th street, New York City.

An Interesting Lecture For Young Folks Planned

The Workmen's Circle has recently organized a number of Young Circle Clubs, whose purpose is self-education, sociability and development of cultural tastes. Young Circle Clubs of this nature are in existence in a number of cities outside of Greater New York.

It is the object of the organization to interest the children of their members to become acquainted through junior clubs. A number of entertainments have been arranged by the National Educational Committee of the Workmen's Circle for the young folks. The first "get-together" will be at the Museum of Natural History, Saturday afternoon, November 20, at 2 p. m. in the Academy room. Mr. Bertram Brustle will lecture on "Some Creatures of the Outdoors." The lecture will be illustrated with stereoscopic views. After the lecture, the audience will be taken through a few interesting departments of the museum by competent guides. Admission is free. The museum is located at 79th street and Central Park West. All young folks are welcome.

Man's knowledge of natural forces and his power to control them, used co-operatively, would ensure a plenitude of material comforts, and when these needs are automatically satisfied who can define the limit of his intellectual advancement?—J. E. Dobson, in London "Justice."

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A m u s e m e n t s

D R A M A

Moving Beauty

Hampden Gives Rich Dramatization of Browning's Strongest Theme

A MORE varied Hampden, with a cast that again reveals its harmonious competency, and settings that blend with a deeply stirring play, mark the performance of "Caponsacchi," a tale of murder and self-sacrifice in the gorgeous days of the seventeenth century, in Italy. Robert Browning discovered the tale in an actual court record of the day; he drove it with masterly sarcasm and character portrayal and dramatic power through the most sustained of all his poems, "The Ring and the Book"; from this Arthur Goodrich and Rose A. Palmer have made the acting version.

Caponsacchi—but go see for yourself—is a gay young priest, the favorite of the ladies of Arezzo; he thinks nothing of risking a month's penance to go disguised as a fortune teller to the Carnival. But the monk is also a man; he is roused, with the highest impulses that can surge in priest and man, by the pathetic plight of pitiful, lovely, Pompilia, whose husband, lustful for her wealth, tortures her to have it out of her and her family. The whole bloody intrigue, typical of late Renaissance Italy in its wild surge of passions, is presented in the throw-back device; the priest is talking at the trial, the curtain falls, rises, and he lives his story. While it is a portrayal of a friend, a saint, and an angel, the play is also a tense and colorful drama.

Hampden himself has opportunities for a more varied role than usual, and reveals himself equally at home as the mocking fortune teller, the gay cavalier, and the spiritually exalted priest, one of the most intelligent and profound actors on our stage. There are moments when the play given him, in its shift from the blank verse of Browning (a deal of which it seems effectively to retain), makes the worship of Caponsacchi for Pompilia seem exaggerated, sentimental; yet the sincerity of the playing prevents any such feeling from too powerful an intrusion. Edith Barrett is a touching Pompilia; Cecil Yapp as the jovial Canon Conti makes excellent foil for Hampden, and Stanley Howlett as Pope Innocent XII also stands out, with his sympathetic performance, in a cast of great merit. The settings are simple, without losing color in the Carnival scene, and power in the Inn at Castelnuovo; the general movement of the play is well controlled, and takes advantage of the opportunities for tenseness. The Hampden tradition of sincerity, power and rich dramatic fulfillment is sustained in "Caponsacchi."

J. T. S.

"Pygmalion," by Bernard Shaw, Opens Monday at the Guild

George Bernard Shaw's "Pygmalion" will be presented by the Theatre Guild next Tuesday evening at the Guild Theatre. This is the second production of the season and is the ninth Shaw play to be produced by the Guild.

In the cast are Lynn Fontanne, Reginald Mason, J. W. Austin, Beryl Mercer, Helen Westley, Henry Travers, Winifred Hanley, Phyllis Connard, Charles Courtneidge, Leigh Lovell, Rex O'Malley and Bernard Savage. The play has been directed by Dudley Digges; costumes and settings are by Jo Mielziner.

"Pirates of Penzance" Next
Gilbert and Sullivan Operetta

The run of Gilbert and Sullivan's "Iolanthe" will come to an end at the Plymouth Theatre Saturday evening, November 27. At its closing "Iolanthe" will have achieved a run of 32 weeks, a record for America. The succeeding presentation will be "The Pirates of Penzance," which Winthrop Ames is rehearsing with the same company, "Iolanthe." The opening of "The Pirates of Penzance" is scheduled for Monday evening, December 6, and the Plymouth Theatre will be dark one week to allow a series of dress rehearsals of the new production.

"Cradle Snatchers" at the
Bronx Opera House

"Cradle Snatchers," after a 60 weeks' tenancy of the Music Box theatre, will be presented by Sam H. Harris at the Bronx Opera House for a week's stay, commencing Monday night.

The company is headed by Mary Boland in the role of the amorous romantic matron. The other players include Edna May Oliver, Margaret Dale, Humphrey Bogart, Raymond Hackett and Raymond Guion. "Cradle Snatchers" is authored by Russell Medcraft and Norma Mitchell.

Marjorie Rambeau in "Just Life" will come to the Bronx on Nov. 22 for a week's stay.

Following the successful reception of "Gay Paree" at the Winter Garden Tuesday night, the Messrs. Schubert announced they would produce each year a new revue under the same title, "Gay Paree."

MARGOT KELLY



Gives an interesting portrayal of Any Man's Sister in "The Pearl of Great Price," the elaborate drama at the Century Theatre

The Civic Repertory Theatre

By WILLIAM LYON PHELPS

REGARD the establishment of the Civic Repertory Theatre in New York by Miss Le Gallienne as one of the most significant events not only in the history of the American stage but in the history of America, as the drama and civilization are inseparable. Miss Le Gallienne is an actress and a scholar of great attainment and high ideals, and what is more, has the ability to realize them. There can be no true connection in America between the theatre and civic life without the repertory system. It is this system that has made the theatres of Moscow, of Stockholm and of Germany lead the world. It is this system which enables the inhabitants of any town where there is a repertory theatre to hear the best of ancient and modern, of foreign and native plays.

Miss Le Gallienne's aim in this undertaking is not for personal profit. Should there be any profits they will be devoted to a sinking fund for the perpetuation of the theatre. The idea is to have a genuine folk theatre similar to that which exists in Moscow and everywhere in Germany where excellent plays, well acted, are given at a price within the reach of the average purse. It is my earnest hope that this repertory theatre will be subsidized, but whether it is or not, it deserves the support of all people who love the theatre.

"The Witch," John Masefield's
New Play, Opens Thursday

Carl Reed's second production of the season, "The Witch," a new play by the British poet-playwright, John Masefield, from the Norwegian of H. Wiers-Jensen, will open at the Greenwich Village Theatre next Thursday night. Hubert Osborne, assistant director of the University Theatre, Yale University, is the director. Alice Brady is starred. The supporting cast includes Hugh Huntley, David Landau, Maria Ouspenskaya, Ersine Sanford, Adelaide Fitz Allen and Craig Williams.

"The Witch" has been produced in England by Granville Bask, with considerable success, the action of the play takes place in Bergen, Norway. In the year 1574, Livingston Platt designed the settings.

Richman's "Proud Woman"
Coming to the Maxine Elliott

Next Monday night Edgar Selwyn will present at the Maxine Elliott Theatre, Arthur Richman's new play, "A Proud Woman." Florence Eldridge will play the title role. Other members of the cast include Elizabeth Yost, Margaret Wycherly, Herbert Yost, Anne Morrison, Percy Ames, Brandon Evans, John Marston and Madeleine King.

Kathryn Reece, Sybil Sterling
and Paula Langlen



Three of the dainty fairies in "Iolanthe" at the Plymouth Theatre. The Gilbert and Sullivan operetta is now in its final three weeks

New Film Invention Revolutionary—Griffith

"THIS is the most revolutionary and progressive improvement made in motion pictures in years. It will result in a complete change in picture technique. The speaker was David Wark Griffith, 'father' of the motion picture as present day audiences know it; the man who made the first full length feature picture; who discovered the 'flash-back,' 'close-up' and similar effects; who made the 'Birth of a Nation,' 'Intolerance,' 'Broken Blossoms,' and scores of other picture classics.

He was referring to 'Natural Vision' pictures, made by the Widescope process, which were shown for the first time at the Cameo Theatre, last Sunday. At the end of the film, which followed a showing of his own 'Broken Blossoms,' Griffith, the center of a big gathering of movie notables, gave vent to his feelings.

"I have spent years and a small fortune trying to get the wide angle and stereoscopic effects which these 'natural vision' pictures present," he continued. "For the first time I have seen a film without distortion. I watched it from every part of the auditorium and failed to find any distortion.

"The immense angle of the pictures—I understand they show an angle of 50 degrees, as compared with the 30 degree angle of the ordinary camera—open up hitherto unsuspected opportunities. The great depth will eliminate all our previous ideas of 'long shots,' in favor of a new system of photography.

"I cannot overestimate the importance of this discovery to the motion picture world. It is practically the only advance that has been made in the construction of the motion picture camera itself since the taking of motion pictures became an art. The new process enables a director for the first time to show life as it appears to the normal eye, instead of merely showing a photographic representation of life. I look forward to making the first feature picture with this new process."

The First Good Film

THE revival of "The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari" brings back the first of the German art-films to come upon the moving picture public with the shock of pleased surprise. Since its first presentation, many miles of film have flowed across the screen; but the revival at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse brings back the same eerie emotion with which it first fascinated our wondering eyes. The pure photography of the picture has been excelled since its making; but the distorted art of its setting remains weirdly suggestive of its maniacal plot, and the harmony of theme and treatment make it a picture rarely equalled.

In order to show the progress in film technique, there is a presentation of a lively "What Are the Young Films Dreaming?" which covets through weird plays of pictorial fancy than what a movie man's mind could create. "A Dog's Life" agreeably brings back an amusing picture of Charlie Chaplin; and a nature film showing the details of ant domesticity harmonizes with and completes a most entertaining program.

Vaudeville Theatres

MOSS' BROADWAY

Beginning next Monday, B. S. Moss' Broadway will have as headline attractions Al Moore and his orchestra, Mr. and Mrs. Jimmy Barry in a new act, "Scandals of Hensfoot Corners," Fred Murray and Charlotte, and Edna Irving and Ben Chaney.

The photoplay program will feature Eugene O'Brien, Virginia Valli and Jean Hersholt in the first presentation of "Flames," a picture of the North-west.

REGENT

Monday to Wednesday—Marion Sunshine, Emma Earle Harvey, other acts, Conway Tearle and Irene Rich in "My Official Wife."

Thursday to Sunday—Reginald Denney in "Take It From Me," vaudeville.

FRANKLIN

Monday to Wednesday—Benny Rubin & Co., Frances Arms, Goode & Leighton, others, "My Official Wife," with Irene Rich.

Thursday to Sunday—O'Hanlon & Zamboni, Jay C. Filppen, Lorne Girls, others, "Take It From Me," with Reginald Denney.

"Twinkle, Twinkle" to Brighten Liberty Theatre Tuesday Night

Following closely on "Happy Go Lucky," which has been playing at the Liberty Theatre since September, and which moves out of town after Saturday night, "Twinkle, Twinkle," a new musical show, will open at the Liberty on Tuesday night, presented by Louis F. Werba. The piece is the work of Harlan Thompson and Harry Archer, with additional scenes and numbers by Bert Kalmar and Harry Ruby. In the cast will be Joe E. Brown, Ona Munson, Alan Edwards, Flo Lewis, John Sheehan, Frances Upton and Joseph Lertora.

LYNN FONTANNE



Will play the title role in Bernard Shaw's "Pygmalion" which the Theatre Guild will present at the Guild Theatre Monday

Fay Bainter Returns

Thin Comedy Offered at Booth Theatre—Bruce McRae Also in Cast

WE suppose one ought to be thankful for the return of Fay Bainter without cavilling at the kind of a play that has been provided her. Nevertheless it is fairly well understood that a few dashes of originality never hurts the most popular of plays.

"First Love" is the name of Fay Bainter's new vehicle and it is being offered to playgoers by the Shuberts at the Booth Theatre. Zoe Akins contrived the play from the French. Laying down as a basis the rule: "A daughter's love affair is a father's business affair," the play proceeds to entangle fathers, daughters and a son in various complications.

Bruce McRae is the high and mighty father, possessor of millions, who refuses to tolerate a little fling into music on the part of son. But "allowances must be made for artists," as someone says, in effect, somewhere in the course of the three acts, so Jean finds some people to sympathize with him. Among them is the beautiful and spirited Rumanian girl—the (Marie influence on the stage is beginning to emerge) who loves him and shares a dingy (?) attic in the Paris quarter with him.

There comes an emergency where Jean goes out to "sell" himself. He is to get half a million francs provided he takes a certain girl to wife with it. He'll take the half million and keep it, but he'll only keep the wife for a little while. That's the dope. But then little sweetheart decides Jean must not sell herself, but that rather she must. She hies herself to the "baron" who has often expressed the wish to make her intimate acquaintance. Yes, you guessed it. The "baron" was his father. However, the "baron" gets his kiss after all and like a good baron turns over twice half million francs, so all in all nothing is lost.

E. L.

Guitrys to Open in
"Mozart" December 22

A. H. Woods announces the first American appearance of the Guitrys at Chanin's Theatre on Dec. 22. The company will include Sacha Guitry and his wife, Yvonne Printemps, and their French company of twenty-five players. The engagement is limited to eight weeks.

The Guitrys will first appear in "Mozart," a play of Mr. Guitry's own writing, which they have presented in Paris and London. Two other plays from Mr. Guitry's pen, "Deburau" and "The Illusionist," are scheduled. The former was given here in English, with Lionel Atwill in the title role.

Bernard Shaw's "Mesalliance" will be revived this Friday and Saturday nights by the Washington Square Players at the University Playhouse, 100 Washington Square.

ALICE BRADY



Will have the chief role in "The Witch," John Masefield's new play opening at the Greenwich Village Theatre next Thursday night

THEATRES

Theatre Guild Production

OPENING MONDAY NIGHT

The Theatre Guild Acting Company in George Bernard Shaw's PYGMALION

GUILD Theatre, 245 West 52nd St. Evns. 8:30.
Mats. Thursday and Saturday at 2:30.

BOOTH Theatre, 45th W. of B'way, Evns. 8:30.

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with BRUCE McRAE

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"The Judge's Husband" ranks easily as the best of all the Hodge plays. . . Mr. Hodge is doubly welcome this season."

—Stephen Rathbun, Sun.

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JULIE HARTLEY-MILBURN

"The art and the gifts of Mr. Shine and his players are shining in international concert. The production that has brought them to New York affords a generally entertaining exhibition of the drama as it can be, and flourish—simple, affecting, true."—E. W. Osborn in "The World."

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BY DENISON CLIFF

with ANN HARDING

LOUIS CAHNERMAN, CHAIRMAN

FORREST

THE ST. MARY

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FLORENCE REED

THE SHANGHAI

GESTURE

BY JOHN COLTON

Chicago's melodrama in the world

CHANIN'S 46th ST. MAT. WED. 2:30

WED. 8:30 SAT. 2:30

Broadway Briefs

"Up the Line," a Harvard prize play by Henry Field, is announced to open at the Morocco Theatre on Monday night, Nov. 22. The producer is Richard Herndon, and the cast will include Dorothy Estabrook, J. Malcolm Dunn, Barry McCollum and Carlton Macy.

The Neighborhood Playhouse announces the final performances of "The Lion Tamer," Savoir's satirical farce, which will be given this Friday, Saturday and Sunday night and Saturday matinee. The final performances will take place next Tuesday and Wednesday. "The Little Clay Cart" will begin a little run of its own next Thursday night.

The Film Arts Guild will continue its repertoire at the Cameo Theatre. This Sunday and Monday D. W. Griffith's "Intolerance" will be shown. The balance of the week, from Tuesday to Saturday, John Barrymore will occupy the Cameo screen with his interpretation of "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde." The Natural Vision films will be continued a second week.

Eva Le Gallienne will give a second performance of Ibsen's "John Gabriel Borman" Monday night at the Civic Repertory Theatre. On Wednesday afternoon the players will present "The Master Builder." The balance of the week will be devoted to "Three Sisters" and "Saturday Night." The first will be given Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday nights; the latter Wednesday and Friday nights and Saturday matinee.

William Hodge celebrated the fiftieth performance of his play, "The Judge's Husband," at the 49th Street Theatre Tuesday night.

"Howdy King," Anne Nichols' comedy, will resume next Monday, opening a three-day engagement at Hartford. Minor Watson, the leading man, has fully recovered from his recent illness.

The Actors Theatre's second production will be a revival of Eugene O'Neill's "Beyond the Horizon," to be presented for a limited engagement. Following this, will be "Cats and Paws," a dramatization of the novel "Porgy," by Dorothy and Du Bose Heyward.

"Little Lord Fauntleroy," by Frances Hodgson Burnett, will be presented by the Feagin Players at the Central Park Theatre this Saturday morning at 10:30. The play will be repeated on November 20, 27 and Dec. 4.

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Eva Le Gallienne

NIGHT MONDAY

"JOHN GABRIEL BORMAN"

TUES., THURS. and SAT. NIGHT

"THREE SISTERS"

By TCHERKOV

WEDNESDAY MATINEE

"THE MASTER BUILDER"

By BENAVENTE

WED. and FRI. NIGHT and SAT. MATINEE

"SATURDAY NIGHT"

By BENAVENTE

HORACE LIVERIGHT Presents

DREISER'S AN

American

Tragedy

dramatized by Patrick Kearney

LONGACRE THEA.

EVENINGS, 8:30

Mats. Wed. & Sat.

BROCK PEMBERTON Presents

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By J. FRANK DAVIS

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EVENINGS at 8:30

Mats. Wed. & Sat.

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STUNNING SCREEN SPECTACLE

"INTOLERANCE" with JULIAN GISH

TUES. to SAT. 5 DAYS

JOHN BARRYMORE

in his

"DR. JEKYLL & MR. HYDE"

A LIZARD-HEAD DIVISION

NATURAL VISION PICTURES

B'WAY 41st BEGINNING

MONDAY

VIRGINIA VALLI

EUGENE O'BRIEN

JEAN HERSHOLT

"FLAMES"

A SUPERB BILL AND VAUDEVILLE

including AL MOORE & BAND

MR. & MRS. JIMMY BARRY

EDITH CLARKE & BOYS - MURRAY & CHARLOTTE

MUSIC

Premiere of Puccini's
"Turandot" Next Tuesday

Puccini's posthumous opera, "Turandot," will have its premiere in America at the Metropolitan Opera House next Tuesday evening. It will be sung by Mmes. Jeritza, (in the title role), Attwood, (Lerch and Fiesler and Messrs. Lauri-Volpi, DeLuca, Ludikar (debut), Cehanovsky, Tedesco, Bada and Altglass. Mr. Serafin, who has prepared the opera musically, will conduct.

Other operas of the week:
"The Magic Flute," Monday evening, with Mmes. Talley, Rethberg, Fleischer, and Messrs. Laubenthal, Whitehill and Bender.

"Andrea Chenier," Wednesday evening, with Mmes. Easton, Alcock, Bourskaya and Messrs. Gigli, Danise, and Didur.

"Faust," Thursday evening, with Mmes. Aida, Dalosy, Howard, and Messrs. Martinelli, Basola and Rothler.
"Lucia di Lammermoor," Friday matinee, with Mmes. Talley, Egner, and Messrs. Lauri-Volpi, DeLuca and Tedesco.

"Lohengrin," Friday evening with Mmes. Jeritza, Matzenauer, and Messrs. Taucher, Whitehill and Bender.
"Gloconda," Saturday matinee, with Mmes. Ponselle, Gordon, Alcock, and Messrs. Gigli, Danise and Pinza.
"Cavalleria Rusticana" and "Pagliacci," Saturday night, the former with Mmes. Vettori (debut) Wakefield, Bourskaya, and Messrs. Tokatyan and Basola; the latter with Mme. Mario and Messrs. Martinelli, Tibbett, and Cehanovsky.

At this Sunday night's concert Mmes. Easton, Mario, Telva, Wakefield, and Messrs. Fullin, Tedesco and Basola will sing.

With the Orchestras

PHILHARMONIC

Following this Sunday afternoon's concert at Carnegie Hall, the Philharmonic Orchestra will travel out of town for the week, playing in Philadelphia Monday, in Washington Tuesday, and in Baltimore on Wednesday.

At the first of the Sunday afternoon series at Carnegie Hall this Sunday, Wagner's Funeral Music, composed in Weber's memory, will be played for the first time here in commemoration of the centenary of the death of Weber. This music was written by Wagner in 1844 from themes out of "Euryanthe" for the occasion of the arrival of Weber's body in Dresden from London, where it had lain neglected for eighteen years. Other numbers on the program will be the "Euryanthe" Overture, Casella's La Glara and Beethoven's Eighth Symphony.

At next Sunday's concert in Carnegie Hall, Wagner's Overture to "The Taming of the Shrew" will be played for the first time in America. Mr. Menckelberg also announces Charpentier's Impressions of Italy, Stravinsky's Fire Bird, and Liszt's Mephisto Waltz.

NEW YORK SYMPHONY

Walter Damrosch again plans to devote a complete program to Wagner. At the Carnegie Hall concert next Thursday afternoon and again in Mecca Auditorium Sunday afternoon, Nov. 21, he will present the first act of "Walkure" in concert form with soloists.
Mme. Elsa Alsen will sing the role of Sieglinde; Rudolf Laubenthal, Siegmund, and Frederick Patton, Hunding. Damrosch will precede the performance with explanatory comments at the piano. Dr. Leopold Damrosch gave the earliest hearing of this first act in New York fifty years ago, November 4, 1876.

An interesting program is scheduled for the two concerts during the following week, when "El Retablo" by Manuel de Falla will be presented with puppets.

The orchestra opens its Brooklyn series at the Academy of Music Nov. 20, with the "Walkure" program.

Centenary of Beethoven to Be Celebrated by Music Festival

On the occasion of the Centenary of Beethoven, an official festival will be held in Vienna from March 26 to 31 next. A committee has been formed headed by President Hainisch, and has taken the necessary steps for the work of preparation. The Socialist municipality is willing to place up to \$5,000 at the disposal of the committee if the government will grant the same amount. In the course of the concert season all the symphonies and other orchestral and choral works, chamber music, etc., of Beethoven are to be performed.

EUGENE O'BRIEN



In "Flames," a new screen play of the Northwest coming to Moss Broadway Theatre on Monday

MARY BOLAND



The featured player in "Cradle Snatchers" the amusing farce which opens a week's engagement at the Bronx Opera House Monday

Music Notes

This Friday evening and Saturday matinee and evening, at the Mecca Auditorium, three special performances of "The Pied Piper," operetta-extravaganza, by J. Francis Smith, will be given as a benefit for the National Association for Music in Hospitals. The cast of 400 will be headed by Charles Massinger, tenor, who will sing the role of "The Pied Piper"; Helen Shipman, soprano, will sing one of the leading roles, and Fred Patton, basso, will play the Mayor. There will be a chorus of 300 children.

Georgia Hazlett, soprano, will give her song recital at Aeolian Hall Saturday afternoon, November 20.

The Lenox String Quartet will give their first recital of the season next Tuesday night at Aeolian Hall. The program includes compositions by Charles Martin Loeffler, Haydn and Beethoven.

Helen Spiville will give a pianoforte recital next Thursday evening at Aeolian Hall.

Harriet van Emden, soprano, will give a second recital next Saturday evening at Aeolian Hall.

Julia Claussen will give a song recital in East Orange, N. J., on November 12 and another in Meadville, Pa., November 22.

Norman S. Plotkin, pianist, is scheduled for a recital next Saturday afternoon at Town Hall.

Bruce Simonds will appear in pianoforte recital on Sunday afternoon, November 28, at Aeolian Hall.

Marguerite Valentine, pianist, will give a recital at Aeolian Hall November 17.

Josef Hofmann, pianist, who has been abroad for several months, arrived here last Thursday night. Mr. Hofmann's first concert will be given at Carnegie Hall, November 20.

The International Composers' Guild will offer three Sunday evening concerts at Aeolian Hall: November 25, Eugene Goossens conductor; January 2, Fritz Reiner conductor; April 17, Leopold Stokowski, conductor.

Drama

"Ned McCobb's Daughter"
Due Here November 22

The complete cast of Sidney Howard's new play, "Ned McCobb's Daughter," which the Theatre Guild will produce November 22, consists of Clare Eames, Margalo Gilmore, Alfred Lunt, Earle Larimore, Edward G. Robinson, Albert Perry, Philip Leigh, Philip Loeb, Maurice McRae and Morris Carnovsky. Philip Moeller is doing the directing. The settings are by Aline Bernstein.

"Ned McCobb's Daughter" will probably go into the new John Golden Theatre, 58th street near Sixth avenue, which has been leased by the Guild for a term of years. This means that the Klaw and the Garrick will be given up—the leases run out this season and will not be renewed. The Golden Theatre is an intimate house of some 900 seats.

Broadway Briefs

David Belasco's new melodrama, "Lily Sue," will be given its New York premiere Tuesday evening, November 16, at the Lyceum Theatre, with Beth Merrill in the featured role. The new play, by Willard Mack, is a melodrama of the west in the early nineties.

Ellen Dorr has taken over the feminine lead in "Loose Ankles," Sam Janney's comedy now at the Garrick Theatre.

"Countess Maritza" has been purchased by Clayton and Weller for production in London.

Charles S. Gilpin is appearing in a revival of "The Emperor Jones" at the little Mayfair Theatre.

Maurice Schwartz's new Yiddish Art Theatre at Second avenue and 12th street, scheduled to open last Thursday, will open next Tuesday night.

PAINTERS' PROBE
BALKS DRIVE OF
LEFTS"Graft" Charges Fall
Through—Were Intended as a Campaign
Maneuver

By Philip Hockstein

District Council No. 9 of the Brotherhood of Painters, for many years in the forefront of the progressive labor movement, is the latest victim of the Communist campaign for a foothold in the labor movement.

With a general election for officers of the district council approaching in December, a Communist group in the union, inspired and led by the "Freiheit," Communist organ, has "uncovered" a "graft" of over \$20,000 from the union's treasury.

Not satisfied with accusing the administration of a mere \$20,000 in thefts, the "Freiheit" has gratuitously raised the sum to "about \$200,000."

According to the "Freiheit," the Communists within the painters' union had known of this corruption and theft for a period of some six or seven months. Apparently, they have permitted this "thieving" to go on undisturbed for this time, reserving their "expose" for campaign purposes.

The Facts of the "Scandal"

Here is the story of the "scandal" in the Painters' Union:

On October 3, the "Freiheit" reported that a huge shortage in the funds of the district council had been uncovered, referring to the council as "a nest of thieves." Over \$20,000 was declared to have been stolen. These accusations were based on a "report" made by a firm of "accountants" hired by the investigators.

This newspaper report was the first definite intimation to the union officials that they were under suspicion. Accordingly at the next meeting of the district council, on October 7, the officials of the council demanded that an investigation be conducted. This general executive board of their national organization proceeded to New York and investigate them.

The general executive board arrived in New York October 26 and began its investigation.

At the very first session of the investigators the accusing Communist group began to retrace its steps. For instance, they had charged that officials of the district council were being paid their salaries twice.

This charge was confirmed in the "report" of the "accountants," who turned out not to be certified public accountants, although members of the Communist Party.

Nevertheless when asked for proof of this charge, the accusers pleaded that they were "in error" on this point and asked for permission to withdraw it.

Another accusation had been that security deposited by employers had been pocketed by officials of the union. This was definitely disproved when the officials produced bank books carried in the joint name of the union and the employer, covering every item referred to.

Thus the accusations upon which the Communists had placed the most stress were either voluntarily withdrawn or definitely disproved. There remained only the general charge of a shortage in funds, which the general executive board set about to investigate by going over all the financial books and reports of the district council for a period of nearly two years.

Koenig Is Suspended

In accordance with the union's rule requiring that any officer under charges be suspended while the probe is pending, the general executive board suspended the financial secretary of the union, Charles Koenig, explaining at the same time that his suspension was not to be considered the slightest implication of guilt.

The general executive board at the same time decided there was nothing in the charges to cast suspicion on any other members of the district council, although the main target of the Communist attack has been Philip Zauner, secretary of the council.

Disappointed by the failure of the general executive board to suspend Zauner, the "Freiheit" on the following day conspired itself by proclaiming in bold headline type that "the secretary" of the council had been suspended. Although lower down in the body of the article it was explained that the suspended official was the financial secretary, the casual reader nevertheless was given the impression that Zauner had been suspended.

It has already been developed that the "accountants" employed by the accusing Communists never saw the books of the union and never requested the right to consult them, although any member of the union has that right beyond question. The report in which the "accountants" specifically accuse officials of specific acts of theft is based upon fragmentary reports and gossip relayed by the accusers. Where the fragmentary reports did not definitely disprove the theory of dishonesty, the "accountants" freely interpreted them as evidences of theft.

The investigation of the books by the general executive board is still in progress. All records were voluntarily surrendered by the district council and no attempt is being made to prevent a most thorough investigation.

Apparently anticipating a repudiation of their charges, however, the Communists are already beginning to question the honesty of the general executive board, insinuating in the "Freiheit" that the national organization is in league with the "local thieves."

As matters now stand, the sensa-

National

Emil Herman's Dates
Further dates arranged for Emil Herman on his way across the continent are as follows: Syracuse, Kansas, Nov. 19; Colorado Springs, Colo., Nov. 20; Denver, Colo., Nov. 21; Loveland, Colo., Nov. 22; Ft. Collins, Colo., Nov. 23; Cheyenne, Wyoming, Nov. 24-25; Green River, Utah, Nov. 26; Salt Lake City, Nov. 28; Ogden, Utah, Nov. 29; Logan, Utah, Nov. 30.

California

The memorial service for Eugene V. Debs, held by Local San Francisco, was attended by an unusual number of old-timers and the meeting was one of the finest affairs ever held by the Socialists of that city. The Jewish Verband also had a meeting on the anniversary of Gene Debs's birth, addressed in Jewish, excepting Cameron King's speech. Other locals over the state are doing honor to our departed Comrade's memory, especially Los Angeles, where an unusually fine program is being given at Trinity Auditorium, Nov. 14.

A small deficit remains to be met on the campaign work and California Socialists voters are asked to send contributions to the state office at 208 Grant Building, 1095 Market St., San Francisco.

State Secretary Lena Morrow Lewis is circulating the locals and membership at large urging payment of back dues and a drive for new members.

Illinois

The Socialists of Chicago are planning to hold a Party conference in the near future for the purpose of beginning arrangements for a greater Socialist Party activity in Chicago, and prepare as soon as possible a city ticket for the election next spring.

Pennsylvania

State Secretary Hoopes will double his efforts in building the Socialist Party in Pennsylvania and the gathering of subscriptions for the American Appeal. He has sent a strong letter to the Socialists of Pennsylvania urging activity all along the line.

A Letter From Philadelphia

Editor, The New Leader:
In your last issue, under head of "The Socialist Party at Work," the Pennsylvania—Philadelphia section, you have a notice relative to the lecture course given by the Progressive Library. This notice states that these lectures are being held under the auspices of the West Philadelphia Branch.

Will you be kind enough to inform us from whom you received this notice? It did not come from this office and it is not true. The West Philadelphia Branch of the Socialist Party, or no other section of the party, is in no way connected with these lectures given at the Progressive Library. We will appreciate it greatly if you will make this correction in your columns this week.

MARIE W. WANNENMACHER,
Secretary, Local Philadelphia.

The notice The New Leader received went to the printer, and we do not recall the name of the person who sent it. It is a maneuver of the anemic Lefts to get blood from the "dead" Socialists.—Editor.

New York State

State Secretary Merrill writes that complete returns on the election will not be available before Dec. 1, the Bureau of Elections of the office of Secretary of State having so informed him. From all accounts the vote of the Workers' Party upstate was even more infinitesimal than in the Greater City, and the same is true for that of the S. L. P. The Communists, declares the State Secretary, will do well if they garner more than a third the number of signatures, or alleged signatures, of their nomination petition.

Reports are coming to the State Secretary as to the clearness with which the speech of Judge Panken came out over the air at long distances from Schenectady when the remarks of the Judge were broadcasted by Station WGY. State Secretary Merrill will recommend to the next meeting of the State Executive Committee that action be taken to have addresses on Socialism broadcasted at intervals during the winter season.

The State Executive Committee will meet in the near future and take up a program of work for the winter and spring. Members of the committee are voting on choice of Nov. 14 or 21 for time of the meeting and on New York or Albany for place.

State Secretary Merrill has called upon locals and party members to press the sale of Debs's Liberty Bonds. Owners of such bonds will have something of a memorial of Eugene V. Debs and at the same time help the cause for which Debs lived and died.

tional charges which were intended to involve every official of the district council and bring about a walk-over for the Communists in the next election have been reduced to vague charges against one minor official. The willingness and helpfulness of the district council in furthering the investigation has had the effect of taking the issue out of the election campaign and the Communists are once more revealed in the role of reckless slanderers.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

National

Buffalo

This year's Socialist vote in Buffalo and Erie county is in close correspondence with 1925, approximately 4,400 in the city and 1,600 in the county. The Socialists feel satisfied with the results, especially when we consider the small amount of work done in Buffalo.

Local Buffalo arranged a Debs memorial meeting, which was well attended. Our veteran member of Local Buffalo, Frank Ehrenfried, delivered the oration. Ehrenfried's knowledge of Comrade Debs's activities date back to the time before Debs became a Socialist. Those present were well pleased with the gathering in memory of our leader. There were other Debs memorial meetings held in Buffalo under other auspices than the Party, which culminated in attacks upon the Socialist Party.

Election returns by radio with a card party were held at the East Side Labor Lyceum, it being well attended. The next general party meeting will be held Thursday evening, Nov. 18, at 8 o'clock at the East Side Labor Lyceum, 1644 Genesee St., near Montana. After the short business session Comrade Neeb will deliver a lecture, to be followed with a discussion. All members are urged to be present and bring their friends.

The Woman's Club of Local Buffalo is arranging for a card party to be held in the above hall Monday evening, Nov. 22. Good prizes, refreshments and a pleasant time to all who come.

Members are urged to make returns for Panken tickets.

New York City

Plans are now being laid for intensive organization and educational work in several sections of the county. The 1st and 2nd A. D. under the new leadership of Morris Goldowsky, is drawing up an ambitious program of activities. The 4th A. D. branch is also showing signs of life again. The 6th-8th-12th A. D. the banner branch of Manhattan, is laying plans for an active season's work that includes Sunday morning forums, lecture courses and classes, and covering of the entire list of enrolled voters of the 14th congressional district with special literature and The New Leader. Our Harlem branches will announce their activities shortly.

LECTURES AND MEETINGS

Borough Park, Brooklyn
Debs Memorial Meeting, Borough Park Labor Lyceum, 42nd street and 14th avenue, Brooklyn, on Saturday evening, Nov. 13, at 8:30 p. m. Speakers, Abraham I. Shipplaff and William Morris Feigenbaum.

Manhattan
Henry Frucher—Subject, "The American Democracy." Sunday evening, Nov. 14, at the East Side Socialist Center, 304 East Broadway.

Ernst K. Harran—Subject, "Socialism in Denmark." Monday evening, Nov. 15, auspices 3rd, 5th and 10th A. D. Branch, at the Rand School, 7 East 15th street.

Brooklyn

The branches in the Brownsville and East New York districts, who conducted a remarkably effective campaign, are now organizing their forces for intensive organization and educational work. The 3rd A. D. is arranging for Sunday morning and Friday evening forums and classes in Socialism. The 2nd and 2nd A. D. branches are also preparing for an active winter's work. A joint conference will be called in the near future of the several branches in the Williamsburg districts for organizational activities and the running of a forum in that territory.

Bronx

Central Committee
The 7th A. D. and the Central Branches are conducting forums and plans are afoot for the organization of new branches in the 8th and 2nd A. D. The Bronx County Committee will meet on Monday evening, Nov. 15, at headquarters, 1167 Boston Road. The principal order of business will be the perfecting of a drive to make the annual concert and ball of Jan. 30 at Hunte Point Palace a huge success.

Interpretive Dancing Class
If you have a little girl in your home who loves to dance, then listen!

At the request of several comrades a class in esthetic and interpretive dancing for children will open at Local Bronx headquarters, 1167 Boston road, on Sunday, Nov. 21, at 11 a. m.

Local Bronx has been fortunate to obtain the valuable services of Minna Donn, well-known teacher in the art of rhythmic and interpretive dancing, who for several years has studied with Bird Larson.

Two classes will be formed—one for beginners and one for advanced pupils. To defray the expense of these dancing courses of ten weeks each a small charge will be made. Register your child now at Local Bronx headquarters, 1167 Boston road, or address Esther Friedman, 1930 Harrison avenue, Bronx.

Yipseldom

Members are again asked to attend the Yipiel classes that are held every Saturday at 4:30 p. m. Also the Mass Singing Group at 3 p. m. These two groups are of real value to every Yipiel. Come and take part.

Circle 7
Circle 7, Manhattan, will hold a circle meeting Saturday at 8:30 p. m. in the Rand School, 7 East 15th street. All Circle members kindly attend. Also tell others of this meeting.

Circle 13
Circle 13, having completed its work on the campaign of the past election, has begun new activities. At the last meeting of the circle George Berkowitz was elected organizer.

Frank Rosenfarb, director and former candidate for Assembly, lectured on the topic, "Why I Joined the Socialist Party." Henry Sapkowitz reviewed the work of the campaign. A very large audience attended.

Sunday, Nov. 14, at 7 p. m., Simon Wolf, a veteran of the World War, will lecture on "Socialism" at the circle headquarters, 20 Hindsdale street, Brooklyn. All are invited to attend.

Circle 8
On Saturday, Nov. 13, Circle 8, Manhattan, will hold a little sociable for its members and Yipsels in general. It has been the custom of the circle to hold such parties every five or six weeks. They have proved to be a great success and there is every reason to feel that this one will also prove a success. All Yipsels are welcome to this affair, which will be held at 137 Avenue B.

Circle 1
Saturday, Nov. 20, Circle 1, Bronx, will run a dance at their headquarters, 1167 Boston Road. Fifty per cent. of the proceeds will be contributed to the local branch of the party. The other 50 per cent. will be used for educational work the circle is contemplating. League and party members ought to attend this affair and help the circle. Remember the place and the date. Come one and all.

Directors Wanted

All comrades who would like to assist in the work of the Y. P. S. L. by acting as leaders or directors, and to help in the educational work of our young people's movement, are hereby informed of a class and conference under the direction of Almeron Lee, organized for this purpose. The first meeting of this conference will be held Saturday, Nov. 13, 2 p. m., at the Rand School, 7 East 15th street. It is urgent that every comrade available for this work should respond, as the numerous senior and junior circles of the Y. P. S. L. must receive the cooperation and the leadership of well-informed and willing party members.

Porto Ricans in N. Y.
Organize Socialist Branch;
21 Sign Applications

PORTO RICAN Socialists living in New York have organized a branch of the Socialist Party. On Oct. 31, by special call, signed by Luperio Arroyo, Juan B. Moreno, Emilio Fariza, Valentin Floreo and Jorge R. Gauthier, the Porto Rican Socialists living in New York assembled.

Comrade Moreno was the first to deliver his speech. He moved immediately election of a president and secretary. The election was as follows: Moreno, president, and Juan Roins, secretary. After this election Moreno explained the necessity of uniting and of struggling for the emancipation of the working masses and urged the organization of a section of the National Socialist Party. He spoke of the personality of Eugene V. Debs and of those representing Socialists' ideas in the whole nation. Those who followed were: Julio Diaz, Emilio Fariza, Juan Rovira and Jorge Gauthier. They spoke of the principles and ideas of Socialism, declaring that Porto Rico was a place where poverty and oppression of the working mass are understood, and that they did not dare to go through cities and villages preaching the emancipation of the workers.

After the speeches officers were chosen as follows: Juan B. Moreno, organizer; Juan Rovira, secretary; Julio Diaz, financial secretary; and Juan Pagan and Jorge Gauthier, delegates to the Central Socialist Committee.

NEW MASSES TO HOLD
BALL ON DECEMBER 3

The New Masses Russian Workers and Peasants' Ball, to be held in Webster Hall, December 3, will present for the first time in New York, a Russian proletarian entertainment and scheme of decoration. The ball will follow the tradition of the old Masses and Liberator balls which became famous rendezvous of New York Bohemians, liberals and radicals. The decorations for the hall have been designed by well-known New Masses cartoonists and artists, including Bill Gropper, Hugo Gellert and Louis Lozwick.

The Workmen's Circle Opens
Classes in Mandolin

Members and friends of the Workmen's Circle have now the opportunity to learn how to play the Mandolin at a very small cost. Mandolin classes will be opened all over Greater New York.

The addresses of the schools where to register for such classes are:

DOWNTOWN—
196 East Broadway

HARLEM—
1399 Park Avenue
Near 104th Street

BRONX—
1422 Wilkins Avenue
Near Jennings Street

WILLIAMSBURG—
261 Tompkins Avenue
Near Greene Avenue

BROOKLYN—
1465 St. Mark's Avenue
Near Howard Avenue

TIMELY
TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

becoming to Socialists without recourse from us, and generally inspire them with a new vision of the role that labor unions can play in the United States.

present, by some bitter paradox, many labor unions are condemned to utility by the practical tactics to which they look for success. They want a little special consideration by the police or by the magistrates. They want some judge not to include picketing in an injunction. They want to reward some politician for the crumbs he has thrown them. So they employ "fixers" who stand well in the old parties, and endorse old party politicians. They get a certain immediate reward. Certain things that happen on strikes are overlooked. But for these small favors they sell their soul. The leaders of Illinois labor, like the leaders of the Anti-Saloon League, endorse a man like Smith for the Senate, against whom the moral sentiment of the country, such as it is, has revolted. Labor is seldom able to push for big demands formidably because the politicians know in advance that it has rejected the principle of a labor party, and because it has already sold its support for small favors. The damage done in this way is not merely political. Unions which have got to the level of bargaining with politicians and police are unions that have lost sight too often of the great function of labor unionism. They buy a certain degree of immunity at the price of the moral passion necessary for them to organize the job. Part of the reason why the A. F. of L. is making no progress in fighting company unionism is because it still sticks to archaic principles of craft organization. Part of it is because too many of the leaders are "practical" men who are more dependent on the little bargains they can drive with bosses and police than on any such intelligent appeal to the workers themselves as made Gene Debs in his younger days a prince among successful organizers.

This slavish devotion to "practical" politics unfortunately sweeps down to the rank and file. It helps to explain why here in New York labor unionists who profess to be opposed to injunctions in strikes meekly voted by thousands and tens of thousands for the party responsible for Commissioner McLaughlin and the New York injunction situation. It is no secret that for a time the Democratic politicians were alarmed. The election results show that the overwhelmingly majority of New York workers are "practical," which means that most of them would rather ride on a bandwagon bound in the wrong direction than get out and cut their own road through the jungle. The organizing campaign of Socialism must include an effort to revive a new and finer spirit in the labor unions.

Mussolini's latest decrees make Italy a veritable prison house. Men can be forced to live under continual espionage. They can be exiled to lonely islands simply on suspicion that they do not love the black shirts. Nothing can be written or said which does not praise Fascism. The contemptible depth to which the grandson of the great Garibaldi has fallen proves the extent to which the art of spying, even outside Italy, has been carried. In a little while not even Russia of the Czars will have had such an amazing tale to tell of crossing and double-crossing as Mussolini's Italy. For this utter denial of freedom peasants and workers do not even get prosperity. They may get fairly steady work, but at the cost of real wages far below even the low level of the rest of post-war Europe. But, as an American professor told me, "the trains run on time." For this boon the death of liberty is doubtless a price well worth paying!

I have recently come back from a heartening experience. I have been attending a student interracial conference at Baltimore. Baltimore is Southern enough in its sympathies to make it a phenomenon of no small social consequence when students from many countries in Europe sit down with students from Japan and China and America—black, white and yellow—both men and women, discussing together, and what is far more remarkable, eating together with every sing of friendship. The fact of such a consequence may be more important than anything decided at it. The United States has a long, long way to go, but there are genuine signs of progress along some of these racial lines.

THE NEW LEADER

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

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

Contributing Editors:

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

Morris Hillquit
Algernon Lee
Norman Thomas
Lena Morrow Lewis
Wm. M. Feigenbaum
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SUBSCRIPTION RATES

United States
One Year \$2.00
Six Months 1.25
Three Months75
To Foreign Countries
One Year \$3.00
Six Months 1.50
Three Months75

The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, reports the activities of the organized working class. Signed contributions do not necessarily represent the policy of the New Leader. On the other hand it welcomes a variety of opinion consistent with its declared purpose. Contributors are requested not to write on both sides of the paper and not to use too much ink. Manuscripts that cannot be used will not be returned unless return postage is enclosed.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1926

A FASCIST NIGHTMARE

ITALY under the rule of the Fascists is the most cruel and barbarous state in all history. It is ruled by madmen and criminals. Shocking as the deeds of the Black Shirts have been since the march on Rome, their history of the past ten days is without a parallel for savagery and intrigue. Italy has become a danger to the peace of Europe. If a nation has a right to quarantine itself against a deadly disease the nations of the world have ever reason for establishing a sanitary cordon around Italy and refuse to have any intercourse with her so long as the Fascists grip the throat of that unhappy nation.

A crisis between France and Italy over the amazing intrigues of Fascist agents in France was avoided by Mussolini disavowing actions of his agents. It is a pretty picture presented by Mussolini, who has protested against alleged anti-Fascist plotting in France, only to learn that his own agents in that country have been plotting to embroil France in trouble. His agents have also served as provocateurs, spies to induce Italians to go to Italy to attack Mussolini and have the police prepared to grab them. Then there is the latest batch of laws that puts the whole population in chains by suppressing all opposition by word or deed. A leaf is also taken out of the Bolshevik book by ordering "purgings" of the Fascist Party, that is, to weed out the slightest difference of views and keep the membership confined to a certain number that can be relied upon to accept the orders of the chiefs. Intelligent men and women grow sick with disgust at this reversion to beasthood and wonder how it comes that Italy, the land of beauty and music, should suffer such a fate. We may imagine the agony that millions suffer. The censorship cuts them off from the outside world and they only get such news as the Fascist bandits permit. Nevertheless, we predict that a terrible nemesis will eventually overwhelm those responsible for this nightmare. The masses will burst their fetters and retribution will as certainly sweep Italy as it did the empire of the Romanoffs, but in the meantime Italians must bear the loathsome Caliban.

SMITH A "SAFE MAN"

ON ELECTION day the Boston Herald's financial department carried an analysis of the two leading political parties and some of their leaders that is illuminating. The editor, Edson B. Smith, assured his readers that both parties were in the hands of safe and conservative leaders and that so far as capitalist interests were concerned it made no difference which party was successful. The writer proceeded from the general to the particular. Cotton and textile interests, he declared, had nothing to fear because capitalism in the textile industry of the South had become so pronounced that Democrats in Congress from that region would support these interests.

The expert then turns to a consideration of Governor Smith, and he again gives comfort to finance and capital. "Governor Smith," he writes, "could not win time after time in New York without the support of the business interests. Indeed, it is being freely predicted in financial circles at the present time that a Smith victory will be followed by an immediate betterment of the New York traction situation. . . . New York traction securities have been bought during the past fortnight because of the probabilities of his re-election in New York State. He is regarded as a distinctly safe man by the big business interests."

Unlike workmen, these financial experts never make a mistake in their man. Here is a financial authority claiming Smith, and he certainly knows. The masses contributed the votes, but power does not belong to them. A "safe man for big business interests." What a farce!

SOCIALIST OPPORTUNITIES

WITH about 50,000 votes in New York City anything is possible for organized Socialists with a determination to win. All the powers of reaction combined with childish antics on the left cannot destroy the Socialist sentiment planted by forty years of devoted labor. This sentiment is rooted deep and it remains with us to make it expand and to become a power in working class life.

Look where you will and out of all the cross currents in the politics of the past eight years the Socialist Party alone gives some evidence of strength and permanence. The Farmer-Labor Party that was so promising a

few years ago survives only in Minnesota. The Conference for Political Action failed to rise to its opportunity. It retreated and many of its sincere elements found themselves in the muck of some of the most disgusting primary scandals in our history. The "non-partisan" policy is just as barren of hope and results as it has always been. Our Peter Pans of Communism are buried so deep beneath the Socialist vote that it will require clever wording of the report to Moscow to avoid being abandoned by the "staff of the world revolution."

Amid all the storm and stress and the admitted apathy of the workers of the nation we have recovered some losses. With 50,000 voters in the city alone we have an army to mobilize. It can be done, and it must be done. It must be day by day work in the interval between elections. Even one-fifth of these 50,000 voters organized into party units can do amazing work. We should have and can have 50,000 readers of The New Leader in Greater New York. It can become a great power and add to the momentum of party growth as the party expands. Already applications for membership are many times more numerous than they have been in a campaign period for many years.

Let us take our task seriously and begin to build. The capitalist system even in the United States is an unstable structure. At any time an economic catastrophe may overwhelm us with its maze of problems and opportunities. We have the human material on which to build. It remains now to gather it into effective units inspired by intense earnestness and Socialist determination to batter down the enemy's defenses. This is our Socialist duty. Let us translate it into plans, education, organization and the determination that leads to victory.

MORE "BETRAYAL"

WHAT was publicly announced as a mass meeting in the Central Opera House last Saturday by the Amalgamated Section of the Trade Union Educational League in the needle trades was a mask for the Communist Party. It was the Leninist squad and nothing else. Its members march to the order of generals in Moscow and not in response to union decisions.

This is clear from the speakers and what they said. The speakers included Nelson, Boruchowitz, Gitlow, Zimmerman, Lipzin, Worthis and Gold. The speeches were of the stereotyped style. They remind us of the kraut band that persists in coming to the same neighborhood and playing the same melody. Sidney Hillman and Abraham Beckerman of the Amalgamated have combined "with the police to break the strike" of the cloak-makers. "They hired gangsters to terrorize the workers." They were only interested in graft and sabotaging the strikers. They are in partnership with the manufacturers. Of course, the Amalgamated contributed \$27,500 to the strike and before these Communists met in this meeting the same organization decided to assess the members \$1 per week in support of the strike. But these facts are of no importance. Only the kraut band counts.

Really it is time to raise the question as to whether some of these gentlemen are not secret agents of the employing class. It is a notorious fact that agents of the government helped to organize the Communist Party and to write some of its programs. One high official who, several years ago, offered testimony that sent two Communists to prison, is still a trusted member of that party. The history of the labor movement in all countries is strewn with examples of such agents, giving currency to such falsehoods for the purpose of destroying labor organizations.

At any rate, we are unable to tell where the spy ends and the Communist begins and there is reason for believing that in some cases both are employed by the same paymaster.

BEGGAR AND FAT MAN

AMERICAN railroad magnates are engaged in the most amusing drama that has ever been staged by professional gougiers. They are playing a dual role. In one act they appear as blind beggars in need of alms to save them from incarceration in a home for the poor. In another act they appear as fat and prosperous gentlemen stuffed with wines and rich food, enjoying life, and blessed with the joy of luxurious living.

This dual role is presented on two pages of one issue of the New York Times. The beggars appear before the Board of Arbitration in New York City presenting figures to show that they are poverty-stricken and unable to grant a few pennies to 80,000 trainmen, conductors and yardmen on the Eastern roads. We have already called attention to the fact that in one railroad zone the workers handled 200,000 more cars in one year than in the previous year without receiving a cent for the extra labor.

Turning to the financial page of the Times, the beggars emerge as jolly fat men doing their joyous stunt. Here it is announced on the authority of the Bureau of Economics that in the first three quarters of the current year the profits of the magnates are nearly \$90,000,000 in excess of the same period last year and a new monthly record was established in net operating income by reporting over \$145,000,000 for September. It is declared that the financial world is convinced "that the railroads will set a new high record for all time in the current year in both gross and net" income.

Filching of the values produced by the working class goes hand in hand with deception and hypocrisy, but it is rare that the robbery and the deceit are openly displayed in the same issue of a newspaper. The publicity agent apparently blundered in advertising the loot taken by the railroad gamblers at the same moment that these gamblers were making their plea of poverty.

Doc Coolidge is certain that there is prosperity in the holy land of Babbitt. So are we, but there is a little difference of opinion as to who is eating cake, and it is evident that the railroad workers are sure that they are not getting a slice.

The News of the Week

Greeks Vote; Dates Later

Last Sunday, while the Greeks were voting in a general election to the National Assembly, authorized by Acting Premier, General Kondylis, to succeed the one dissolved by General Pangalos when he was dictator last winter, Theodore Stauning, Socialist Premier of Denmark, announced that Parliament would be dissolved on Dec. 1. While the results of the Greek elections are slow in coming through, it appears that the so-called Republicans have won about 165 seats and the Monarchists some 110 out of a total of 287. The cables also mention the election of 8 Communists. According to pre-election reports, the Greek Socialists and Communists had effected temporary fusions in some districts, so it is probable that the Communist label is not very exact. The proportional system of representation was used and it looks as if Greece has taken a short step along the road leading to popular government. The reason for the impending dissolution of the Danish Parliament is found in the refusal by the Socialist Government to accept its radical allies' cuts in the grants for unemployment benefits and other economic measures proposed by the government. As the Socialist Government has safely guided Denmark almost to the end of a serious crisis, due to bringing the crown back to par and the falling off in exports of dairy products, it is probable that Premier Stauning thinks that new elections will put his party in an absolute majority and thus free it from the necessity of dickering with the radicals in order to hold the conservatives in check. Spain's dictator had a big scare when the French police uncovered a plot by Catalan independence enthusiasts to chase the Spanish rulers out of that part of the kingdom. Wholesale arrests of alleged plotters and Republicans followed the seizure by the French of Francisco Macia, leader of the Catalonians. It was also averred that some of Mussolini's provocative agents were mixed up in this affair, but the proof is lacking.

Prison Rules Harder in Italy

Driven to the last stages of desperation either by the latest attempt upon his life or by the rising tide of the opposition that lives under the surface of the prison called Italy, Benito Mussolini is again tightening the rules of that penal institution. As the revelations by the French police of the role of Fascist provocative agent apparently played by Ricciotti Garibaldi, grandson of the famous Italian

China May Cancel Debts

Press opinion agrees that the refusal of China to renew the commercial agreement with Belgium may be a hint to all the powers that the same course will be taken regarding them. Moreover, as the information correspondence of Thomas F. Millard in the New York Times shows, China is seriously considering a policy of repudiating her debts, especially the war debts and obligations that were forced upon her by a policy of coercion by the Powers. Millard divides these debts into five classes: The remainder of indemnity claims, bond issues underwritten by foreign bankers, debts of dubious fiscal and moral standing, domestic loans of which some are secured by foreign-administered revenues, and debts for supplies and materials. Aside from the wide-spread sense of injustice which the Chinese feel over their long subjection to foreign exploiters, the suspension of debts by European nations has had an influence in China. Millard interprets this view in the following

words: "If there is to be any cancellation, then why should China pay? If States in Europe which rank as first-class powers are in no hurry to pay, or to do anything about settling their debts, why need China bother, because the virtually defunct Peking Government at times contracted, and at other times was bullied into debts to foreigners?" These are very pointed questions, but we are inclined to think that the Powers will offer other points in answer. These will be the points of bayonets, points which have been used frequently in China. Millard also reports that one prominent Chinese banker referred to the United States as "Uncle Shylock." Evidently our role as saint in China is playing out.

Knights Speak On Mexico

Ex-President Obregon emerges from his retreat to take part in the Mexican struggle between Church and State. In a statement on the social, economic and political conditions in Mexico he asserts that the clergy voices the views of the wealthy classes against the Mexican proletariat. The following is a striking paragraph: "The latest friction between the clergy and the Government is due to one of many errors made by the Catholic clergy in systematically opposing social evolution, the Socialistic movement, which in modern times represents the principal objective of all proletarian masses, both on the farms and in the cities." He adds the opinion that the masses who have depended on the Church are learning that they can get along without it. Meantime the Knights of Columbus in this country claim to have raised the million dollars they asked for to carry on propaganda against the Mexican Government's program. Supreme Knight James A. Flaherty declares that the Government and its agents are "now resorting to murder, rapine and cruelties" and that the Government "is Communist, that its principles are subversive of American ideals." From this we are to understand that it is our mission to destroy any government not shaped after our own. If we undertake this task, it would be necessary to include Turkey, England, France, China, and a few other nations. But it is a grotesque distortion to say that Mexico has a Communist Government. The Knights may think they have a grievance, but when they talk about rapine, murder and Communism in Mexico it is an evident attempt to capitalize ignorance, not to throw light on the Mexican situation.

THE CHATTER BOX

WE hear that an election took place somewhere between the Hudson River and Niagara Falls. Rumor has it that the Socialist Party entered a full ticket against the usual Democrat and Republican Siamese twins. We understand that a marked increase was discovered in the Socialist vote over last year. All in all, something happened that should have interested us, but in which we refuse extreme concern. Even your humble scribe had his monicker on the ballot, and if the unwatched vote in his district runs true to the usual Tammany Hall tally, we were allowed the usual four dozen and a half complimentary. If a U. S. Attorney General can get away with half a million cold simoleons, what mundane chance be there to convict an election board captain for expropriating a few thousand real Socialist votes. A great world, bozo, and a greater life, this. Then, you die-hards will say, why strike this lower register? Are you turning to the Communist philosophy of revolution instead of the ballot? Are you giving comfort and aid to the enemy? A plague take the enemy! They are as moon struck with madness as we are prodigal with our energies. The rabies they are suffering from is gruesome, and then so pathetic. We at least recognize in some measure the colossal task before us, even if we are somewhat untrained in our perspective. They are altogether beyond reason and sanity. So we do not intend here, or at any time, to blur up our stand on the question of Socialist tactics and principles.

Fellow speakers and workers for the cause, we have grown too secure in our judgment that street corner mobs and packed hall meetings in the lower East Side and Brownsville sections mean our party is being taken seriously, and that our army of converts is swelling. Personally, we believe the crowds come, not because our philosophy is understood or desired by them, but because we pull off the best show of all political parties year in and year out. A meeting on a busy corner these days, especially in the poorer working class sections, is successful only if our speaker is entertaining, tells the best sort of stories, and in the homeliest sort of manner drives home a few sympathetic points on the side of economics. The grandiloquent manner, the oratorical bombast, the Ingelsollian paragraphs, that used to thrill every young elocutionary hopeful, and bulldoze the dull moron into auditory politeness, have gone the way of the phonograph and the horse car. Even the matter of fact speaker who sticks to the rote and rule of his subject, finds it hard to keep more than a dozen interested. The rest stand restlessly by, waiting against time for a pun or a wise crack to emerge from the serious lips of the man on the platform, to sort of compensate them for their patience, and we darsay, forbearance, in the final and unalterable analysis, we get our biggest crowds, because our speakers give them an entertainment that is better and is cheaper than the movies. Their homes are perhaps radioless as yet, and still as unpleasant as tenements afford in the slum sections. The weather is mild and their feet are not uncomfortably cold. And so they stand and listen. But save for the quips and jokes, our real message makes no indentation. And we wonder when the day of counting is over, why the thousands who listened to us with upturned eyes, and heaving breasts of hope, wilt into paltry tens and twenties of actual votes.

People used to say that our crowds were composed in the main of voteless aliens. Subsequent tests and analysis proved little worth in that venture. Most of the former voteless workers who used to bulge out our party with numbers and disension are now in the Communist or Tammany ranks. We lost little if anything by their desertion. Others say that these same lefts were the spirit and life of our organization. We say here quite convincingly that these dissenters impeded and kept back our progress among American workers, just because of their intense nationalisms. We see now in the distilled essence of

what was once a numerous and ineffectual party, who were and who still are the true Internationalist of American Socialism.

It is right here that we stop for summing up. We have remaining in our movement today, a fine lot of sincere and willing propagandists, and genuine Socialists. We are in the main without prejudice toward the workers of other faiths and beliefs. We are above all honest in our faith for Socialism. And most of us do more than our sacrificial share. Let us not waste too much of our precious energies playing King Canute to the tides of universal ignorance and political stupidity. Let us keep our political tactics for a gesture and not for practical hope. That will cost ever so little, and give us so much more time, and where-withal to run lecture forums, distribute intelligent and interesting literature, and build up our Socialist organization along Fabian and social lines. Concerts, debates, discussion forums and the like are the newer approaches to spreading our philosophy. It is a slower and less picturesque process but a surer one. Personally, good men candidates of any political creed give us the pup's fatigue. And especially when they run on the Socialist ticket, and issue forth pronouncements that they will do and won't do when in office. We have seen too many of our good comrades make sport out of the party and themselves by such acts in the past. Maybe we are wrong in all this . . . but really, dear pale, isn't it about time we stopped playing the other fellow's game, and developed one of our own? Particularly when we have made such ridiculous progress for all the gargantuan effort expended? And why not begin right now building up the New Leader into a big circulation? Perhaps if you had half a million circulation, those of you who disagree so heartily with everything we ever say, will be able to hire a much better columnist. The floor is open for discussion.

At Sunrise

At sunrise I awake at the sound of the birds singing.
They are talking to me.
They ask me to do the seven-veil dance.
I say to them, I'd love to dance to your music,
But, tell me first,
Where I may get the veils.
Then I bethink myself of the sunrise sky.
I possess myself of its glorious colors.
I drape my body with violet and blue,
With orange, purple, rose and lemon.
Then I dance.
My accompaniment is the birds' songs.
The fading stars are the audience.
They seem to laugh. It sounds like applause.
I am intoxicated. I dance and dance.

—Ray G.

Advice to an Agitator

O hide the little hates,
Cover them with tears,
O leave them to the fates,
Leave them to the years.

But thoughts of deeper wrongs
Strengthen them like steel,
O make them into songs
Everyone can feel!

—Henry Reich, Jr.

We have not forgotten nor neglected, dear readers, our promises to tilt another lance at the Charity Corporation of America. We have been gathering inspiration at sources from whence all their beatific blessings gurge forth, and with these coming days of wintry blasts, we shall trumpet forth our own cold greetings, to the "scrimped and iced" centurions who battle forth for a "statistical Christ" and a vanishing Jehovah.

S. A. de Witt.

Critical Cruisings

By V. F. Calverton

Old Russia

IN The Three Sisters, which Eva Le Gallienne is now staging at her Repertory Theatre on Fourteenth street, we discover in form dramatic and cogent a play that breathes of a culture now so beautifully ineffectual and impotent. The Three Sisters is a very familiar and intimate symbol of a dead epoch. The old Russia of the Obolomovs and Rudins, this is the country whose spirit it has enshrined and whose philosophy it has expressed.

"Obolomov," as Goncharov described him in phrase marked by its pithiness and scope, "the disenchanted man who had lost his power to live," who "had succeeded in escaping life," and who had lulled "himself to sleep amid the problems and the stern demands of duty and of destiny," was representative of that old Russia that fed upon dream and indolence. It was the Russian intelligentsia, impaled in fiction, Obolomov was a national disease. In Rudin we find but another deviation of this disease. Rudin, as Turgenev portrayed him, was the charming conversationalist, eager to argue, but afraid to act. Like in Merzeshovski's December 14th, we discover the revolutionists better in plan than execution. They talk like philosophers, but act like adolescents. In Bunin's The Village the same dull, dead, achievementless existence is again manifest. In Sashka Jigouloff Andreyev has voiced this attitude of tired pessimism in his description of the early life of his protagonist:

"Sashka Pogodir, it seems to me, never had what is called an untroubled childhood. Although he had been a child like others, he had no memories of that unique feeling of peace, innocence and boisterous vitality which is characteristic of one's early years. It was almost as if he had not been born, as others are, but rather that he had awakened a child. He had gone to sleep, a child, and had awakened a child. He had forgotten everything that had gone before, but the sense of profound tiredness and vague foreboding lay heavy on him throughout his adolescence. Years ago in Petersburg days and while his father was still alive, Sashka once went to his mother and complained with quaint seriousness: "Oh, mummy, if you only knew how tired I am."

We may call it the spirit of Weltschmerz, and yet there is an element in its substance that is peculiarly and emphatically Russian. The Weltschmerz attitude of the German romanticists and the Byronic school was without the inimitable "horror and madness," for instance, that characterizes Andreyev's Red Laugh and Black Maskers, and without the indolent futility of the Obolomov motif. Russian life, as Gorki wrote, is marked by "a mad inanity of everyday facts"—so madly inane "that one may kill a human being in a spirit of vengeance or in a state of violent passion just as easily and frequently as from deeply idealistic motives. . . . Dostoevsky's Raskolnikov (for instance) is a true type of Russian."

It is this Obolomov attitude, free of the strident rhetoric, the strange crucifixions of sentiment and the wild madmen of Andreyev, that forms the background of this Chekhovian drama. In the character of the Baron, which years ago was interpreted with such genius by Meierhold, lies the spirit of the milieu projected. His sense of weariness, and yet determination, with the passing of each year, to sacrifice the annual of inactivity for the joy of labor, are the essentials of his philosophy. The Baron cannot escape the Obolomovian infection. At last it is death itself that saves him from action.

The Moscow motif is part of the same philosophy. The yearning for Moscow is, after all, but a yearning for another kind of life. The three sisters typify this yearning in intense and heart-moving fashion. Everywhere there is boredom, tiredness, discontent. Yet it is always discontent that cannot translate itself into activity. It is discontent that tortures itself in repetition and retrospect. It is the discontent of a society weary of itself and of the world—a society that was decadent if not dead, that struggled on like a ghost deaf to joy or aspiration.

The mood of the play is admirably conveyed by the Repertory cast. Eva Le Gallienne herself, who in certain interpretations of Ibsen has failed to achieve excellence of impersonation, has effected in this play a piece of acting of enduring distinction. The parts of the other sisters, as well as that of the Baron and Vershinin, are also interpreted with arresting simplicity and convincingness. Altogether the production is a decided histrionic success.

TONY SENDER TO GIVE FAREWELL ADDRESS AT DINNER WEDNESDAY

A farewell dinner will be tendered Tony Sender, the young Socialist member of the German Reichstag, whose lectures in the United States during the last few months have attracted such favorable attention, on Wednesday evening, November 17, at the Town Hall Club, 123 West 43rd street.

The New York Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy and the New York Socialist party are co-operating in arranging the dinner. Miss Sender will be the only speaker and will discuss "Social Democracy's Struggle for Reconstruction in Germany." Morris Hillquit will preside.

The price of the dinner is \$1.50. Reservations should be made at once to Harry W. Laidler, 70 Fifth avenue, New York City.