

A Newspaper Devoted
to the Interests of the
Socialist and Labor Movement

THE NEW LEADER

VOL. III. No. 22

Published Weekly at
7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.

SATURDAY, MAY 28, 1927

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

Price Five Cents

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

One Year..... \$2.00
Six Months..... 1.00
Three Months..... .75



Socialist Party to Enter Presidential Race in 1928

Boycott of Fascist Goods Suggested By A. F. of L. Chief

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.—Proposal of the Fascist government in Italy to cut wages of all workers 10 per cent. as the first step under the new charter of labor is fraught with international significance and may well become the forerunner of a world-wide "contest in starvation," in the opinion of Daniel J. Tobin, treasurer of the American Federation of Labor and president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America.

Mr. Tobin spent several weeks in Italy last summer observing industrial and labor conditions.

"The leadership of American labor will frown upon the Fascist-Syndicalist policy," he said, "and it is not beyond possibility that a boycott of Italian merchandise may come to be adopted by labor in various countries as an effective means of manifesting disapproval."

"Mussolini intends to capitalize Italian frugality and inurement to poverty in price-cutting competition for world markets. American prosperity is admitted in most quarters to be due, at least in part, to high wages and a widely diffused buying power. The situation in Italy is different, according to the Fascist view, and they intend to enrich the nation by concentrating on international trade."

"The danger lies in the possibility that Mussolini may attain some momentary success in his plan to develop industry by exploiting labor. It is

well known that centuries of poverty have developed in the Italian lower classes a talent for living on almost nothing. A few yards of spaghetti and a jug of cheap wine will keep an Italian family indefinitely. This was pointed out to me in Rome last summer by a gentleman who boasted of the prospects of his country under Fascism. It is now apparent what he meant.

"If this plan succeeds in Italy it is not illogical to suppose that other nations will be drawn into competition on similar bases—a sort of world-wide race to see who can live on the least. Any economist can foresee what this means to the present industrial system. Commerce must have markets if factory wheels are to hum and markets mean people with ability to consume, and money to buy merchandise. A 'contest in starvation' is likely to result in all continents reaching the goal only to find there is no prize."

SOCIALISTS WIN IN GERMANY

Decisive Victories Result in Mecklenburg and Danzig

AS GERMAN Socialists gathered in their annual conference this week at Kiel, election returns from two states showed increases in the Socialist vote and reverses for the Communists and reactionaries.

Mecklenburg was a former stronghold of the Junkers but in the election this week the Socialists won an additional seat in the state legislature and they dominate the government coalition by two seats and make it impossible for the reactionaries to control the executive.

The other election was in the Free City of Danzig where the Socialists were even more successful, while the monarchists and Communists lost heavily. However, press cables do not state the Socialist success in Danzig in terms of seats distributed among the parties.

The Steel Helmet League failed to conquer Mecklenburg as lamentably as its cohorts failed in Berlin a fortnight before. The reactionary veterans ran automobiles and trucks for Nationalistic voters and tried to intimidate the Republican element, but the voters refused to follow their standard.

At the Kiel Convention Otto Weis, the head of the Socialist National Committee, warned the 3,000 delegates that the German Republic was still by no means secure, and added:

"We must not let the vigilance of labor slumber, for the republic is safe only so long as we hold the sword in one hand and the sword in the other." Nevertheless, the strength of the Reichsbanner, the League for Republican Defense, Weis added, was now sufficient to enable the Socialists to devote more attention to building up their party organization, particularly their groups of youth.

As for the Communists, he declared that their real total strength in Germany was not more than 90,000 and that their plea for a solid labor front was a "mere maneuver designed to divide and weaken the Socialists."

Weis, like former Chancellor Mueller, affirmed the party's readiness to collaborate governmentally with the bourgeois factions. The contrary view has been advocated in a newspaper article by Dr. Paul Loebe, president of the Reichstag.

JUDGE PANKEN RENOMINATED

700 Pay Tribute to Socialist Judge in Testimonial Dinner

FEW individuals in the Socialist movement of this country have ever been extended such a signal honor as was given Judge Jacob Panken last Friday night. More than 700 representatives of every section of the working class, political and economic, joined with several scores of prominent men in public life in giving Judge Panken a testimonial dinner on the completion of 10 years on the Municipal Court bench—the only Socialist judge in the country.

It was inevitable that the dinner should turn to a demand that Judge Panken should again stand for election this year, when his term expired. When Morris Hillquit, in an after-dinner speech, nominated him for judge every person in the large dining room at Beethoven Hall rose in thunderous approval. Norman Thomas presided at the dinner. With the other speakers, among them B. C. Viadeck and Algernon Lee, he voiced high praise of Judge Panken's devotion to the Socialist and Labor cause. Several fellow members of the bench joined in the tributes.

Judge Panken responded in an eloquent address, pledging all his energies to the cause of the Socialist party.

"Whether or not I am a candidate for re-election to the office which I now hold," the judge declared, "we must aim at the capture of the judiciary. If we are students of our Constitution, we will realize the necessity of capturing the courts of the nation before that transformation which we so greatly desire can be effected. We may talk about the judges not being the important officers of our Government, but in the same breath we must admit that the United States Supreme Court by a stroke of the pen may undo all the social legislation effected by Congress."

"We may talk of the insignificance of the judiciary, but we know the curse which has been fastened upon labor by subjecting the law to a strained construction, making possible the enjoining of men from picketing on the line. Aye, the courts are even issuing injunctions denying men the right to strike. You may talk lightly of the power of the judges, but the judges of our nation have taken it upon themselves to fetter American labor, to compel involuntary servitude of free American citizens."

TICKETS IN ALL STATES TO BE NAMED

Survey Shows Party Is Only Rallying Ground for Opposi- tion Forces

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

PITTSBURGH.—"The Socialist Party is practically the only political organization of the working masses that is functioning in the United States. The rallying center for the rural and urban workers in the national campaign next year will be the Socialist Party."

This is part of a ringing declaration sent to its members and supporters by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party after considering a detailed survey of the situation in each state made by Executive Secretary William H. Henry. This survey required three months to complete. It reveals that of all the variety of independent and semi-independent third party movements which appeared in the years after the armistice and including the numerous Communist parties, the Socialist Party alone remains.

All indications are that in the national elections next year the Socialist Party alone will represent the workers of the nation and offer the one means of political protest against the parties of capitalism. Minnesota of all the states is the only one that has an independent political movement of the workers that does not function under the name of the Socialist Party.

Favorable as the opportunity is, the National Executive Committee does not assume that hard work is not essential to take advantage of it. The committee fully realized that intelligent and devoted work based upon a comprehensive view of opportunities and disadvantages must be undertaken if the party is to reap the fruits of a favorable situation.

Decisions Are Made
The result of this session of the committee is a number of important decisions, the more important being the following:

1. The national convention of the party will meet on January 14, 1928, the city to be determined at a later session of the executive committee.

2. A special national organizer will be chosen to work under the National Executive Secretary, who will compile digests of the primary and election laws of the states bearing on nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President and of State tickets.

3. This official is also to promote establishment of contacts with sympathetic individuals and organizations and secure their cooperation for the necessary work of making nominations in the States.

4. He will help in organizing State and local organizations of the Socialist Party and in strengthening those now functioning.

5. He will survey the field of organized labor, farmers and progressive political movements with which we can co-operate and obtain such co-operation and support in the elections of 1928.

6. Congressman Berger and Morris Hillquit were elected a special committee to raise funds from a selected list of those who appreciate the importance of this work, the minimum sum to be \$2,000.

Start in Northwest
Preparatory work has already been planned by Socialists in the Northwest States. They will hold an interstate conference in Salt Lake City on Labor Day and plan work for their region. A number of speakers and organizers will enter the field in the Northwest this summer.

The committee also took final action on the manuscript of the late Eugene V. Debs, in which he recorded his prison experiences. The book will bear the title of "Walls and Bars" and an edition of 2,000 copies will be printed, other editions to follow as the demand warrants. There will also be a special deluxe edition of 500 copies, each copy being autographed by Theodore Debs. There is reason for believing

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General Electric Company Union Spoofed by Labor

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

SCHENECTADY.—The farce of company unionism was never better exemplified than in the plants of the General Electric Company of this city. It works under the guise of the "G. E. Works Council" and is imposed upon the workers from above. It has become a laughing stock among the employees. It bears the reputation of being the most successful company union in the country.

Frequently action is taken by men in the shops to show their contempt for the bosses' union and to ridicule it in many ways, without starting an open revolt. Only recently a so-called election was held for delegates to represent each shop or section in the Council. Realizing the uselessness of trying to get any benefit from such an organization, several groups of workers proceeded to elect delegates that they knew would show their contempt for the whole scheme.

In one case a certain Scotchman in the good graces of the bosses—but too honest every employee to vote for him. Another man not in such good standing with the higher-ups was nominated against the Scotchman and made no effort to be elected. The Scotchman was defeated by a more than ten-to-one vote. In another case the workers elected an Italian janitor who could not speak English to represent them, and insisted on his being seated in spite of the objection of the boss. In a third case the workers elected an office boy 14 years of age, but he was not permitted to sit, because he was under age.

Only Trivial Matters
When a meeting is held, only trivial matters are permitted to be considered by the manager who presides. Such things as parking of cars and

possible purchase of gasoline by the company to be sold to employees may be considered; but nothing that will increase wages, or cost the company any money is tolerated. If some unruly delegate does make a motion for anything not desired by the management, the presiding officer will turn to the other bosses or assistants near him and say, "What do you think about that?" and the matter is declared out of order—naturally.

Since the introduction of the substitute Mussolini union speeding up and cutting of prices has been pushed to an extent believed impossible in the old days of true unionism. The shops are infested with inspectors, "experts," efficiency men, and stopwatch manipulators—all trying to get the most work out of the individual employee during the shortest period of time. In one shop prices on certain kinds of work have been cut to about one-tenth of their previous rate. Cuts to one-half and one-third are too numerous to be noticed any more. It all results in an effort on the part of employees to speed their work to the utmost point of physical endurance to make any kind of decent wages at all. Only the most skillful and strongest can come out at the end of the week with a decent sized pay envelope.

ROUSE WINS IN "BIG SIX"

Election Results in Vic- tory for Incumbant in Printers' Union

By LOUIS S. STANLEY

At the bi-annual election of Typographical Union No. 6, held Wednesday, May 25, Leon H. Rouse and John Sullivan were elected to succeed themselves as president and vice-president respectively. James J. McGrath beat Edward Ribicki for the office of secretary-treasurer, so long ably filled by John S. O'Connell, deceased. The official vote will be known in a few days.

ONE of the most fascinating election campaigns in the history of "Big Six," the New York Typographical Union, came to a close with the balloting on May 25. The intricate play of political forces arose from the presence of the independents in addition to the two political parties in the union; a three-cornered race for the presidency; a strenuous fight for the secretary-treasurer, resulting from the death of John S. O'Connell, the last incumbent; and a stiff battle for the four positions of delegates to the crucial convention of the International Typographical Union to be held at Indianapolis this coming August.

The 'Wahs and Progs
In the affairs of the International two political parties have been functioning for many years. The Wahnetas, or Wahs, as they are usually called, set 1857 as the year of their formation. They call themselves the Administration Party because they have generally been in control of the affairs of the I. T. U. One of those few periods when they have not had things their own way completely happens to be the present. The Progressives, or Progs, captured the presidency of the I. T. U. last year, but failed to put in any of their candidates for the four other places on the Executive Council. The new president, Howard, ordered the removal of a dozen organizers in compliance, as he said, with his campaign pledges of economy, but the Wahs objected and refused to do any other business until these men, who were also Wah adherents, were reinstated. The Executive Council of the I. T. U. has been deadlocked and no work has been performed since last fall. To complicate matters, "Big Six," a Pro-

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FULLER RULING ON VANZETTI DISAPPOINTS

Friends of Condemned Radicals Wanted Com- mission Appointed

DISAPPOINTMENT was felt this week upon the announcement by Governor Fuller of Massachusetts that he would not appoint a commission to review the case of Sacco and Vanzetti who are under sentence of death for the South Braintree murder. In answer to the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee of Boston the Governor declared that he had no power to delegate his authority to others as "the law provides that the decision must be made by him."

Governor Fuller added the significant statement that it would "seem reasonable that he should choose the method of investigation." It is pointed out that if he has the power to "choose the method" this method may easily include the appointment of a commission of men who would be associated with him in surveying the records of the trial.

Meantime Governor Fuller has been holding daily conferences with many persons associated in one way or another with the trial and conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti. While these conferences are being held the protests and appeals in behalf of the convicted men continue to pour in from this and other countries. These messages have become so voluminous that six additional stenographers have been placed in the Governor's office to acknowledge this correspondence. It is estimated that since the death sentence was imposed more than 17,000 communications have been received by Governor Fuller.

"Big Six" Makes Plea
Among the telegrams received this week was one from the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party meeting in Pittsburgh. One mail brought a petition signed by Senator Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin and Mrs. Robert M. La Follette, Sr.

Immediate investigation of the case with the view to ordering a new trial was urged in a petition signed by 65 residents of New York City, Brooklyn and Newark.

Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee, writing from Washington, asks the appointment of an advisory committee.

New York Typographical Union (Big Six) forwarded a resolution adopted at a meeting of the union on Sunday, which said in part:

"The conviction of these two men has been condemned as a 'ghastly miscarriage of justice' at the Cincinnati and El Paso conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and whereas the exercise of Executive clemency by Governor Fuller of the State of Massachusetts alone can prevent in this case the apparent and gross miscarriage of justice; therefore be it resolved by the members of Typographical Union No. 6, in regular meeting assembled, to respectfully appeal to and urge the Governor of the State of Massachusetts to exercise his power of Executive clemency in behalf of these two men and for the sake of vindicating justice."

Among the appeals received from abroad this week was one from prominent British churchmen, who cabled from London:

"In the name of Christ and Justice we urge that new trial be granted to Sacco and Vanzetti."

"CANON F. LEWIS DONALDSON, of Westminster Abbey.

"Rev. CONRAD NOEL, for the Catholic Crusade.

"Rev. PAUL STACEY, for the League of the Kingdom of God.

"FRED HUGHES, for the Society of Socialist Christians."

Decision Is Nearer

An ominous development this week is the insistence by John F. Dever, of Brighton, a member of the jury that convicted Sacco and Vanzetti, that he still believes the accused men are guilty. At the time of the trial Dever was a clothing salesman, but is now an attorney. Dever made his statement after a conference with the Governor.

"It is my opinion now, as it was when the case was tried, that Sacco and Vanzetti were given a fair trial and that our verdict was the only right one," declared Mr. Dever.

He declined to say what had transpired during the interview with the Governor.

Five other jurors have been consulted by Governor Fuller, but they have declined to express an opinion. Dever's departure from the course followed by all others who have conferred with the Governor is peculiar and friends of the condemned men are unable to understand it.

As the day approaches for the Governor's decision anxiety is expressed on all sides. It is believed that Massachusetts court procedure is now on trial and not the guilt or innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti. The sole question is whether the two Italians ever had a chance for their lives in an atmosphere of bias and hysteria which all students of the case admit prevailed when the two men were convicted.

SOCIALIST PARTY TO ENTER RACE IN 1928

(Continued from page 1)

that the book will have a wide sale, as many inquiries have been received by the National Office regarding it.

Other important actions were the sending of a telegram to Governor Fuller of Massachusetts on the Sacco-Vanzetti case urging a "searching public re-examination of all proceedings in the case and fearless action in accordance with conclusions honestly reached." A ringing protest against the amazing and menacing decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the anti-syndicalist cases of Kansas and California was also adopted. In another resolution the hazards to human life bound up with capitalism and the two parties of capitalism were pointed out in the Mississippi flood disaster and outlining a program for social control of flood waters.

The committee had before it a report by Aaron J. Parker, National Director of the Young People's Socialist League, which outlined the problems and difficulties of the young people. Final action on the request to elect a director who would give his entire time to the work of the Yipsels was postponed to the next meeting.

Mass Meeting Held

A number of local affairs were arranged by Pittsburgh Socialists and their friends which were fruitful of results. A Debs radio conference requested in what is the beginning of an organized group which will expand in the coming months into an active and continuous movement to make the WDEBS Station possible.

On Sunday afternoon a mass meeting was held in Labor Temple which was followed in the evening by an enjoyable banquet. About \$500 was contributed at these gatherings for the National Office and the local movement.

Pittsburgh Socialists without exception express appreciation for The New Leader, its policies and the work it is doing for the Socialist and labor movement. The local branches of the Workers' Circle, through their executive committee, will meet within a week, and in co-operation with the party, will take up the work of making a drive to increase the subscriptions to The New Leader. Later a general conference of all Workers' Circles in western Pennsylvania will consider and act upon a similar program.

The general view expressed by members of the Workers' Circles is that The New Leader admirably meets the need of their younger generation which reads English and finds it difficult to continue interest in Yiddish. To foster radical ideals and keep the youth devoted to the Socialist and labor movement it is believed that a publication like The New Leader is essential.

Socialists Ready to Cooperate With Labor Groups in 1928 Campaign, National Committee Declares; Supporters and Members Are Summoned to Action

TO MEMBERS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

Greetings:

Your National Executive Committee has concluded its sessions at Pittsburgh. This meeting was devoted exclusively to the problems of organization. In preparation for this meeting your committee has considered a survey of our prospects and problems in every State and has planned party work accordingly.

The results of this survey are so important that we believe it worth while to call your attention to them. The most significant fact which the survey reveals is that the Socialist Party is practically the only political organization of the working masses that is functioning in the United States on a national scale.

There is only one conclusion to be drawn from this. The rallying center for the rural and urban workers in the national campaign next year will be the Socialist Party. The two parties of capitalism and imperialism will leave no other refuge for awakened and thinking workers than the Socialist Party. In other words, the pre-war period when the Socialist Party represented the protest against capitalism and its servile parties will again confront the voters of the nation.

These conclusions are based upon a careful survey of facts and present tendencies. Should the organized workers in the meantime cut adrift from the parties of the ruling classes the Socialist Party will do its duty as a party of the working class. It has no interests or aims opposed to an independent party of the organized workers. It holds aloft the banner of independent party action of the workers, but will welcome the organization of a genuine Labor Party in the United States. It will co-operate with such a party should it appear, not divide the forces of the working class.

For the present there is no indication of the appearance of such a movement. Our opportunity and our duty are plain. We must organize the thinking masses into the Socialist Party, hold meetings, distribute literature, increase the circulation of the

party press, and prepare to nominate candidates in every State of the Union.

We must take up this work now. We have decided to hold our national nominating convention in January, 1928. A special national organizer will also be added to the National Office staff. He will give special attention to organization work in the weaker states and will assist these states in preparing for the campaign and placing their candidates on the ballot.

It now remains for the party members, our friends and sympathizers, to co-operate with the party in carrying out our plans.

Comrades, the United States has become an empire. Secure in their dominion our capitalist and financial classes have inspired a government policy of cynical conquest of all Latin America. It is now the custom to wage war against little nations to the south of us in the interest of American banks, oil magnates and other investors. Our American imperialism is a menace not only to the peace of the world, but to the freedom of our people at home. Freedom of the press, of meetings and of discussion cannot survive under a government committed to ruthless conquest abroad.

Enormous aggregations of capital in alliance with our great banks today dominate our economic life. The Republican and Democratic parties are two political agencies for perpetuating this economic and political rule of our upper class of capitalists and bankers. The only movement promising a release from economic servitude and political subjection is a party of the workers pledged to take political power from the parties of capitalism.

We call you to service to the Great Cause. The menace is real, the opportunity is evident. We ask your hearty co-operation for the great work that must now be accomplished.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, SOCIALIST PARTY.

Victor L. Berger, James D. Graham, Morris Hillquit, James Oneal, Joseph W. Sharts, W. R. Snow, William Van Esen, William H. Henry, Executive Secretary.

Public Investigation Of Sacco Trial Urged

Pittsburgh, Pa., May 22, 1927.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY,

Alvan T. Fuller,

Governor of the State of Massachusetts,

State House, Boston, Mass.

The Socialist Party of the United States, through its National Executive Committee, joins in the universal appeal to you in behalf of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti. With millions of other men and women, we believe that the two men have been tried before a biased court in a morbid atmosphere of post-war hysteria; that they have been convicted because of their radicalism and pacifism, and that they are innocent of the heinous crime of murder.

Their execution at this time would revive the disgraceful war hatreds and heresy hunting of the darkest period in the history of our country and would leave an indelible blot on Massachusetts justice.

To merely commute their sentence would be an evasion of the solemn duty cast upon you as governor of your

state. We urge a thorough and searching public re-examination of all proceedings in the case and fearless action in accordance with conclusions honestly reached.

All friends of justice and fair play from one end of the world to the other are anxiously watching your action, Governor Fuller.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, SOCIALIST PARTY.

Flood Called Result Of Reckless Capitalism

RESOLUTION

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party meeting in Pittsburgh calls attention of the American people to the economic and political implications of the disaster that has overwhelmed hundreds of thousands of men, women and children in the lower Mississippi Valley. This tragedy is due to the lack of foresight of politicians in office who in turn represent a planless system dedicated to the private accumulation of wealth without regard to the general welfare.

For decades this great region and the streams flowing into the Mississippi River have been the scene of a reckless destruction of forests and vegetation which in former periods checked the flood waters of this great inland river. Ruthless destruction continued into the modern period, bringing nearer the day when the people of the lower valley would have to pay for the greed for profits and the neglect of governing officials.

Moreover, hundreds of millions of dollars in rich soil have been swept away by each annual flood, this soil erosion itself being a permanent loss to the nation and requiring enormous funds and labor to restore. Added to the losses sustained by many thousands of poor families in the stricken region and the expense of restoring this region so that it can again be inhabited, we have some idea of the awful price paid for the continuance of an economic system based upon private or corporate gain and the rule of the two dominant parties that represent this system.

The Socialist Party insists that it is still possible through a program based upon human welfare to transform the streams of the Mississippi Valley into a social asset for all, and forever remove the threat of another flood disaster. We insist that the peril of annual floods in this region requires a comprehensive program of storing the flood waters by proper engineering projects, harnessing these waters for the purpose of producing super-power and thus contributing to the accumulation of power as the coal fields are exhausted and forever removing the menace of a flood disaster to the people living in this region.

We urge that Congress, instead of spending millions of dollars for military and naval armaments, appropriate sufficient funds to rehabilitate the devastated region, rebuild homes that have been destroyed, and insure the comfort of those who must wait for the restoration of agricultural and industrial activities in their communities.

If in the race for private fortunes in previous decades no account was taken of the penalties the people of the present generation would have to pay, there is no reason why this policy should be continued. The situation calls for foresight and statesmanship based upon the welfare of human beings and regardless of its effect upon private investments for the enrichment of the exploiters of human kind.

The victims of private capitalist greed have been sacrificed long enough. It is time to end the regime of haphazard and reckless exploitation of natural resources and human beings for the glory and profit of corporate masters.

A comprehensive program based upon the ideal of Socialism and social control of our natural resources and mechanical powers will alone avert another such disaster as that which has come to the suffering people of the Mississippi Valley.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, SOCIALIST PARTY.

Syndicalism Edict "Ruthless Assault" RESOLUTION

In upholding the constitutionality of the so-called anti-syndicalism laws the Supreme Court of the United States and the courts of the State of California have effectively nullified the constitutional guarantees of free speech in America.

Henceforward all opponents of the established political and economic powers may be controlled and limited in the utterance of their views and in the advocacy of their causes by the legislatures of the dominant parties at the behest of the ruling classes.

In the present instance the vindictive arm of the law, freed from constitutional restraint, has struck the two extreme wings of the political and economic movements of labor, Communism and the Industrial Workers of the World. But the baneful precedent may and in due time undoubtedly will be applied to other opponents of the capitalist oligarchy, including all progressive political organizations and the "legitimate" trade unions.

The Socialist Party of the United States appeals to all its members and supporters to organized labor and all progressive liberty-loving citizens to rise in protest against the ruthless assault on the freedom of speech, the cherished bulwark of our republican institutions, and to wrest the stranglehold of the reactionary ruling classes on our legislatures and courts while they still have some freedom of political action.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, SOCIALIST PARTY.

Children of Manumit To Hold Spring Festival

The children of Manumit School, at Pawling, N. Y., are preparing a picturesque spring festival for Sunday, May 29. Invitations have been issued for an entire day's festivities, to include an informal exhibition of the project work of the children, a music demonstration in the morning, a buffet luncheon served under the trees, a pageant of international labor in six scenes, two operettas and a hasty packet supper for those who must hurry for the last train.

Manumit is an experimental school for the children of workers, both of hand and brain. It has received wide commendation from well known educators for its broad social viewpoint and the freedom which it offers to the children for truly creative activity.

The festival will be a unique opportunity to observe what children so educated are capable of accomplishing. Tickets are on sale at the school or at the New York office, 303 Bible House.

Educational Conference To Be Held in Stelton

The second annual Educational Conference held under the auspices of the Modern School of Stelton, N. J., will open May 27 in the school auditorium at Stelton. The sessions will continue for three days.

Opening of I. L. G. W. U. Unity House in Penn.

The Workers' Unity House of the I. L. G. W. U. will reopen on Friday, June 17. This marks the ninth season of Unity House and will be celebrated with three days' festivities, Friday, Saturday and Sunday, June 17, 18 and 19.

North American Laundry Still Unfair

The strike against the North American Laundry Company at 500 East 164th street, the Bronx, it still in full swing. It will be remembered that the drivers, members of Laundry Drivers' Local No. 810, walked out on April 25, 1927, when their employers violated the agreement with the union. The inside workers, chiefly negro girls, who joined Laundry Workers' Local 290, struck in sympathy. The Laundry Owners' Association has come to the rescue of the firm. Guerrillas have been employed from the first. The strikers, still as enthusiastic as ever, are determined to hold out to clinch the victory which is due them.

READING CARPENTERS CONTINUE OUT ON STRIKE

Reading, Pa.—The union carpenters of Reading will continue their strike for a wage increase which will raise their hourly rate from \$1 to \$1.12½, and will refuse to settle under a plan which resembles compulsory arbitration.

CAMP TAMIMENT Is Open for the Season!

Rush your reservation for the Decoration Day Week-end (Friday evening to Monday afternoon). Rate: \$20.00.

Phone Stuyvesant 3094, or call at the Office, 7 East 15th Street, New York.

SPEND YOUR VACATION AT CAMP TAMIMENT

Help the Plumbers' Helpers Build a Union

Grand Picnic SUNDAY, JULY 10, 1927

From 10 a. m. to 12 p. m.

Music By PLUMBERS' HELPERS JAZZ BAND

Added Attraction: Baseball Game, Plumbers' Helpers Teams

SPORTS AND GAMES FOR YOUNG AND OLD PROMINENT SPEAKERS

At PLEASANT BAY PARK Unionport, Bronx, N. Y.

Auspices of American Association of Plumbers' Helpers

TICKETS 35 CENTS

At the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street, New York City

DIRECTIONS—West Side: Take Broadway Subway to 181st St.; Cross-town car to Unionport. East Side: Take Lexington Ave.-Bronx Park Subway to 171th St.; then 15th St. Cross-town car to Unionport.

SHADOW AND COLORLIGHT DANCE

GIVEN BY THE DEBS CLUB

AT THE BROWNSVILLE LABOR LYCEUM

219 Sackman Street, Brooklyn

SAT. 28 MAY 1927

EVENING

Music by MULFORD'S BAND

Tickets : : 75c

Proceeds to Go to The New Leader

YOUR SAVINGS

Deposited on or before June 3d will draw interest from June 1st, 1927

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Last Interest 4% Per Year on all sums from \$5.00 to \$7,500.00

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"PROSPERITY" TO BE L. I. D. TOPIC

"State of Mind" to Be Treated From All Points of View at Tamiment Conference

ONE of the most interesting and significant programs ever undertaken by the League for Industrial Democracy is being planned for the June conference of the league, to be held at Camp Tamiment, near Stroudsburg, Pa., from Thursday, June 28, to Sunday, June 30, 1927. The subject of the conference is "Prosperity." This subject, of course, declares Harry W. Laidler, the chairman of the conference committee, will be treated in a far different fashion than at the meetings of the Rotary clubs and the Chambers of Commerce. Nothing will be taken for granted in the analysis of this American state of mind.

The first session of the conference, which will be presided over by Norman Thomas, executive director of the league, will be devoted to the origin, extent and distribution of present day prosperity.

The opening speaker will be Willard Thorp, professor of economics, Amherst College, member of the staff of the National Bureau of Economic Research, author of "Business Annals." He will be followed by Paul Brissenden, assistant professor of economics, Columbia, and the discussion will be led by Solon De Leon, editor of the "American Labor Year Book."

The Students' Part
On Friday morning the continuance of prosperity and the effect of our policy of economic imperialism on the economic situation will be discussed. George Soule, an editor of the "New Republic," director of the Labor Bureau, Inc., will give the opening address, and Scott Nearing, author, lecturer, economist, will lead the discussion.

A. F. OF L. ASKED TO SEND FRATERNAL DELEGATES TO AMSTERDAM PARLEY

Representatives of the American Federation of Labor and of the unaffiliated trade union federations of the other nations, will be invited to send fraternal delegates to the congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions which is to meet in Paris, August 1st to 6th. The Labor-Socialist International, the Socialist Youth International and the International Labor office will also be asked to send fraternal observers.

451 New Readers In Month Record Of Leader Boosters

Three Others Match \$250 Contribution of New Leader Friend in Washington

THE New Leader has hit the high road. In the last month our readers have shown their faith in us, sending in over \$2,000 in donations to help tide their paper over a financial storm. On the impetus of this more than generous display of support, the comrades around the paper have gone out and secured 451 new readers to the paper. This is the record for the month ending May 25. This rate, if continued—and all signs are that it will continue as a minimum—will bring us 5,412 new readers in a year.

But we are aiming higher than that. We are not talking impossibilities when we say that 20,000 new readers in a year is a reasonable figure. For it must be remembered that the 451 new readers secured in the last month were brought in through the work of a mere handful of comrades and friends of the New Leader. No more than seven or eight comrades are responsible for this great record. If we can duplicate the number of workers three or four times our 20,000 new readers will be assured.

The work performed by these New Leader go-getters is simple. There is not a comrade who cannot do the same. Here is the formula. See what work you can do:

First, there is Abraham I. Shipplackoff, manager of the International Pocketbook Workers Union. Comrade Shipplackoff three weeks ago pledged the sale of 300 subscription cards in his union. Already he has turned in a good part of the first hundred. Comrade Shipplackoff the other day declared that he is convinced of the necessity of doing the "Jimmie Higgins" work for Socialism all over again. And he has suited his action to his words.

The New Leader needs a subscription agent in every labor union in the country. Already we have a number of them. Alex Rose has taken the job in the Millinery Workers Union. Let us hear from others.

Those who are not in a position to do this union work, can find a line of work in that indicated by Oscar Hochman, of Brownsville section of Brooklyn. House-to-house canvassing in his spare hours netted almost 80 subscriptions. And he did it in two weeks time. We hope to hear from him again next week and report as great success.

There are no ends to methods Socialist party branches, progressive clubs, fraternal societies and unions can follow. The Brownsville Socialist organizations are pointing the way to a few of them. At the suggestion of Max

Rosen, the efficient manager of the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, a Debs Club was organized by the Lyceum and Circle 2, seniors, of the Young Peoples Socialist League, for the purpose of running a subscription dance. The dance will be held this Saturday evening, May 28, in the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 229 Sackman street. The price of admission will entitle the dancers to a six months subscription to The New Leader. We expect to gain at least 1,000 new readers through this affair. Other organizations interested in holding similar affairs should communicate at once with The New Leader. We will take care of the publicity, and, if the affair is held in or near New York, try to provide some entertainers.

That is one thing organizations can do. The 23rd Assembly District Branch of the Socialist party is planning another affair for The New Leader, an automobile outing. The proceeds of this pleasure jaunt will go to The New Leader. Comrades who can spare automobiles on Sunday, June 19, should communicate at once with Comrade Sadie Rivkin, Dickens 1300.

Another source of subscriptions during the past month has been addresses made before trade unions and Workmen's Circle branches by Louis Waldman, James Oneal, S. A. De Witt, A. N. Weinberg and others. New Leader readers who are members of trade unions should raise the question in their unions of having The New Leader send a lecturer. We are ready to supply lecturers on topics of general interest to workmen. Only a few minutes of these talks will be devoted to The New Leader.

The campaign for contributions which set the subscription drive in motion has been most successful. To raise the remainder of our deficit we are planning an enjoyable affair on a large scale for the summer. What we have in mind is an open-air opera on some beautiful summer evening. We will let you know more about it if our plans materialize.

Comrade "M" in Washington, who offered to give \$250 to The New Leader provided three others would do the same, has brought The New Leader \$1,000. As we recorded two weeks ago, Albert Halpern, of Brooklyn, N. Y., was the first to respond to comrade "M's" challenge. Soon after we went to press with that announcement, Comrade Morris Berman, of Pleasantville, N. Y., and S. A. De Witt, of New York City, brought in the other \$500. Comrade "M's" check followed immediately.

And the steady stream of small contributions, as dear to us as the larger ones, has continued. We are able to report the receipt of \$1,073 in the last two weeks. We have sent an important letter out to most of the contributors to the Emergency Fund. We hope they will give us an immediate response.

ROUSE WINS IN "BIG SIX"

Election Results in Victory for Incumbent in Printers' Union

(Continued from page 1)

stronghold, has, through its president, Leon H. Rouse, obtained an injunction aimed at the old Wah administration, restraining the president of the I. T. U. from collecting higher minimum contributions to the old age and mortality funds than the constitution supposedly permitted. Meanwhile the mailers, generally supporters of the Wahs, have secured an injunction restraining the new International president from submitting to referendum vote a Prop. proposition partially to disfranchise the mailers by restricting their voting power to the third vice-president only, whom they elect exclusively at present in addition to the other officers.

The Candidates for President
This internal fight in the International has its reflection in the situation in New York. The Wahs function locally as well as internationally, the Progs are divided as to the advisability of participating as a body in local politics. Consequently, we find that Leon H. Rouse, president of "Big Six," is a Prog internationally but an independent locally. In his campaign for re-election he stood alone, technically speaking. The result is that the Progressives had no presidential candidate in the field, though they did not neglect the other officers.

For the presidency of Typographical Union No. 6 three candidates were contending. Rouse stood upon his twelve years' record in office. He stated that during his incumbency the membership rose from 7,423 to 10,225, the money in the treasury increased from \$36,934 to \$72,237, the scale of wages showed jumps of \$31 to \$35 a week, the working week was reduced, new plants were unionized and the union headquarters building was acquired. He was proud of having been able to obtain the injunction "protecting the membership against the illegal action taken by the Executive Council March 4, 1925, in levying a monthly minimum assessment of \$1.50 on our members, even though they were unable to obtain employment." He proclaimed "that he stands shoulder to shoulder with President Howard in his gallant stand for the entire International Union." Finally, he asked rhetorically, "Why change or experiment?"

Opposed to Rouse were two candidates: the comparatively young William M. A. Power, the Wahnetta standard bearer, and D'Arcy (Doc) Milliken, independent. Both of Rouse's opponents minimized his accomplishments. They claimed that industrial conditions brought about the improvement and that organization work could have been even more intensive and extensive. They disapproved of going into the courts. But the argument they counted on most was the very thing that Rouse considered a virtue, his long term in office.

BROOKLYN CONTRACTOR SETTLES WITH HELPERS

The Promie Plumbing and Heating Company, one of the largest independent contractors in Brooklyn, has settled with the Plumbers' Helpers' Union, consenting to all the terms of the union, Mr. M. Mason, signing for the company and C. E. Miller, president of the union, signing for the helpers. The terms are recognition of the union, five-day week, double time for overtime, nine dollars for first class helpers, \$8 for second class helpers, \$7 for third class helpers. This is the second firm that has settled with the union recently.

The American Association of Plumbers' Helpers, 135 East 24th street, New York City, has issued the following appeal to all trade unions and labor organizations:

"Dear Sirs and Brothers:

"We wish to put before you the following statement and appeal:

"On April 1st, our 1,700 members went out on strike in sympathy and support of the striking journeymen plumbers of Brooklyn, and also set up our own demands. On April 27, the Master Plumbers' Association, under the instructions of the General Building Trades Employers' Association, in order to crush our Brooklyn strike, declared a lockout in the other boroughs of the city. This involved some 4,000 additional plumbers' helpers.

"Our organization is composed of young trade unionists who are striving to maintain their union against a concerted attack of not only the Master Plumbers' Association, but also the general Building Trades Employers' Association.

"We are on strike for the past eight weeks and we now find it necessary to appeal to the labor movement for support. It is in the interest of organized labor that the attack which is now being carried on against us be stopped. If our struggle to maintain trade union standards is to be lost, it will immediately affect the entire building trades and ultimately the entire labor movement in New York. From this point of view we urge your organization to seriously consider this appeal and come to our assistance.

"We are maintaining a kitchen to feed our most needy members since we cannot pay cash strike benefits to our members who, because of their low wages, could not save money to hold out any length of time.

"Brothers! Help us to keep our union. Help us to defeat the attempt of our employers to institute the open shop. Help us to win an American standard of living for our members. Help us defeat the drive of the open shop bosses."

PIONEER YOUTH BOYS' CAMP SITE IN N. Y.

Pioneer Youth of America has finally acquired its own camp in the purchase of a 140-acre site near Rifton, N. Y., six miles from Kingston. A lake adjoins the camp and there are ample open grounds for athletics and living quarters. The larger part of the site is heavily wooded.

A social hall is being built with dining room, infirmary, shop, and in other ways preparing the place for the summer, which is expected to prove a notable season.

Friends of Pioneer Youth are being called to a meeting on Wednesday, June 1, at 3 West 16th street, when a complete report will be made. Among the speakers will be Norman Thomas, B. Charney Vladeck and A. J. Muste. The Pioneer Youth children's orchestra will present their final concert for the season.

LONDON MONUMENT TO BE UNVEILED

Members of the Socialist Party, Workmen's Circle branches, trade unions, and friends and admirers of the late Meyer London will be interested to learn that a monument is to be erected in honor of the great Socialist leader of the East Side.

The monument, which will stand at his grave in the Mount Carmel cemetery, Long Island, will be unveiled Sunday, June 12th, at noon. Further details and instructions on how to reach the cemetery will be given in an early issue of The New Leader. The monument is being erected by the Workmen's Circle and the Socialist Party.

NEW HAVEN BAKERS OUT FOR WAGE RAISE

New Haven—Jewish union bakers of this city have entered the third week of their strike for a wage increase and with no plans for a settlement in sight. Representatives of the Bakers' International Union paid strike benefits to the strikers and said that financial aid would be provided during the period of the strike.

A movement to establish a co-operative bakers' establishment has been started by the strikers and several hundred dollars has been subscribed for this purpose. It is highly probable that all of the strikers will join the co-operative movement, and that they will soon have their own shop.

It is said that the strike shops are having considerable difficulty in securing strikebreakers in sufficient number to produce a day's work.

PAPER BOX STRIKERS RELEASED FROM JAIL

Peter Florio, Trippi, and Salvatore Rosini, New York paper box makers, were released from jail Tuesday, May 24th, after serving five months and one week. They were arrested during the general strike of the Paper Box Makers' Union last winter. The sentence was from six months to three years.

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Comrades, and Friends of The New Leader, Who Own Automobiles, Attention!

Comrades and friends of The New Leader who own automobiles can render great service to The New Leader by joining an automobile outing which is being arranged by the 23rd A. D. for Sunday, June 19th, to some point in Long Island.

THE ENTIRE PROCEEDS WILL BE GIVEN TO THE NEW LEADER

All comrades who have cars will please get in touch with Rivkin, at Dickens 1300, or at Ingersoll 5059, or with Rosen, at Dickens 3237, or write to The New Leader, 7 East 15th St.

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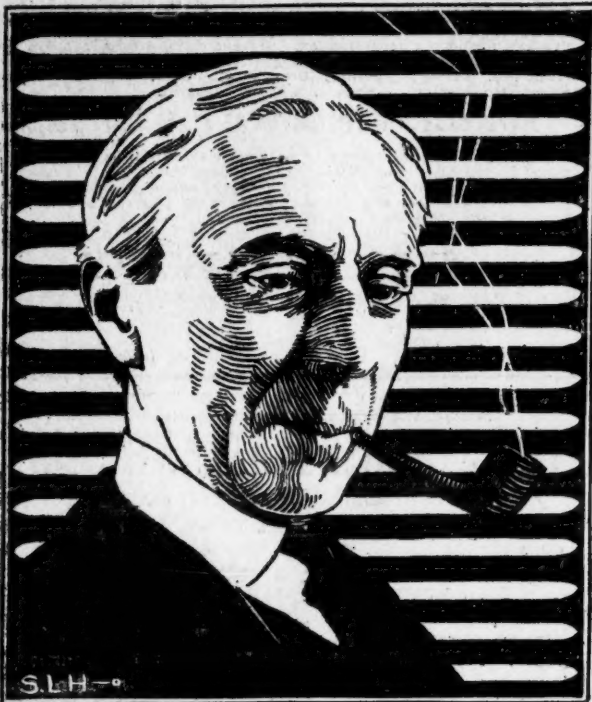
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.. The Coming Age of World Intolerance ..

Fears a Creed War



BERTRAND RUSSELL

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By Bertrand Russell

INDUSTRIALISM is synthetic; it builds up large economic units, makes society more organic, and demands a suppression of individualistic impulses. Moreover, the economic organization of industrialism has hitherto been oligarchic, and has neutralized political democracy in the very moment of its apparent victory. For these reasons it seems likely that we are entering upon a new age of synthetic intolerance, involving, as such ages always do, wars between rival philosophies or creeds. It is this probability that I wish to explore.

There are in the world today only two Great Powers, one is the United States, the other is the U. S. S. R. Their populations are about equal; so are the populations of the other nations which they dominate. The United States dominates the rest of the American continent and Western Europe; the U. S. S. R. dominates Turkey, Persia and China. The division is reminiscent of the medieval division between Christian and Muslim; there is the same kind of difference of creed, the same implacable hostility, and a similar though more extended division of territory. Just as there were in the Middle Ages wars between Christian Powers and wars between Mohammedan Powers, so there will be wars within these two great groups; but we may expect that they will be terminated, sooner or later, by genuine peace treaties, whereas between the two great groups there will only be truces produced by mutual exhaustion. I do not suppose that either group can be victorious, or can derive any advantage from the conflict; I suppose the conflict is maintained because each group hates the other and regards it as wicked. This is a characteristic of creed wars.

I am not, of course, suggesting that a development of this sort is sure to come about: in human affairs the future must always be uncertain until science has advanced very much further than it has done yet. I suggest only that there are potent forces tending in the direction indicated.

Since these forces are psychological, they are within human control; therefore if a future of creed wars seems disagreeable to the holders of power, they can avert it. In making any unpleasant prophecy about the future, provided the prophecy is not based upon purely physical considerations, part of the object of the prophet is to induce people to make the efforts necessary to falsify his predictions. The prophet of evil, if he is a philanthropist, should therefore seek to make himself hated and let it seem as though he would be much vexed if events failed to confirm his forecast. With this preliminary, I propose to examine the grounds for expecting creed wars, and afterwards the measures that will be necessary if they are to be averted.

The fundamental reason for expecting a greater degree of effective intolerance in the near future than in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is the cheapness of large-scale standard production. The result of this in leading to trusts and monopolies is an ancient commonplace, as old, at least, as the Communist Manifesto. But it is the consequences in the intellectual sphere that concern us in the present connection. There is an increasing tendency for control of the sources of opinion to become concentrated in a few hands, with the result that minority opinions lose the chance of effective expression. In the U. S. S. R. this concentration has been carried out deliberately and politically in the interests of the dominant party. At first it seemed very doubtful whether such a method could succeed, but as the years pass success becomes more and more probable. Concessions have been made in economic practice, but not in economic or political theory, nor yet in philosophical outlook. Communism is becoming more and more a creed, concerned with a future heaven, and less and less a way of life for this mundane existence. A new generation is growing up which takes this creed for granted, having never heard it effectively questioned during the formative years. If the present control over lit-

erature, the press and education last for another twenty years—and there is no reason to suppose that it will not—the Communist philosophy will be the one accepted by the immense majority of vigorous men. It will be combatted, on the one hand, by a diminishing remnant of elderly discontented men, out of touch with affairs and with the main stream of the national life, on the other hand by a few free-thinkers, whose influence is likely to remain negligible for a long time. The less Communism there is in the actual economic regime, the more there will be in the generally accepted creed.

In the Western world, where official orthodoxy has the advantage of the status quo and tradition, more subtle methods suffice; indeed, the methods which exist have largely grown up without set purpose. The modern creed is not seen in its purity in Europe, where remnants of the Middle Ages interfere. It is in the United States that industrial capitalism has the freest hand, and that its character is most obvious. But Western Europe must, bit by bit, take on the American character, in view of the fact that America is the greatest of world Powers.

America, like Russia, has an ideal which is not realized, but to which values are theoretically adjusted. The Russian ideal is Communism. The American ideal is free competition. What the New Economic Policy was as a stumbling block to the Russian ideal, trusts are to the American ideal. Where the Communist thinks in terms of organizations, the typical American thinks in terms of individuals. "From Log Cabin to White House" represents the ideal to be put before the young in politics, and a similar ideal in the economic sphere inspires the advertisements of systems for securing business advancement. The fact that it is impossible for everyone to occupy the White House or become president of a corporation is not held to be a defect in the ideal, but only a reason for urging every young man to be more industrious and cunning than his fellows. While America was still empty it was possible for most people to achieve a considerable measure of success without standing upon the shoulders of others; even now, so long as a man cares only for material prosperity, not for power, a wage-earner in America can be richer than a professional man on the Continent.

But power is becoming concentrated, and there is a danger lest those who are excluded should come to demand their share. A part of the national creed is designed to minimize this danger. The Napoleonic maxim of "La carrière ouverte aux talents" does a great deal; the rest is done by representing success as an individual rather than a collective affair. In the Communist philosophy the success which is sought is that of a group or an organization; in the American philosophy it is that of an individual. Consequently, the individual who fails feels ashamed of his incapacity rather than angry with the social system. And the individual philosophy to which he is accustomed prevents him from imagining that there is anything to be gained by collective action. There is, therefore, no effective opposition to the holders of power, who remain free to enjoy the advantages of a social system which gives them wealth and world-wide influence.

There never has been a period when the things that men desire were evenly distributed throughout the population. In a stable social system there must

be some method of making the less fortunate acquiesce in their lot, and this is usually some kind of creed. But in order to secure widespread acceptance, a creed has to offer advantages to the whole community sufficiently great to compensate for the injustice which it condones. In America it offers technical progress and increase in the general standard of material comfort. It may not be able to go on providing the latter indefinitely, but probably it will do so for some time to come. In Russia it offers the conception of industry conducted for the benefit of all, not only of the capitalists. No doubt the Russian wage-earner is poorer than the American, but he has the consolation of knowing (or at least believing) that he is receiving his fair share, and is not suffering unnecessarily to make someone else great and grand. Moreover, he feels himself a unit in a closely-knit co-operative community, not one of a mass of units all struggling one against the other.

I think we come here to the kernel of the difference between the creeds of America and Russia. America, whose outlook is moulded by the Protestant tradition and a century of pioneering, believes in the individual fighting his way by his unaided efforts from poverty to affluence. In imagination he is supposed to be fighting the wilderness like the backwoodsman; in fact it is against human competitors that he fights, that is not a matter upon which it is necessary to dwell. Nor is it good form to stress the fact that he will be probably all his life a slave as regards the expression of opinion, winning material comfort by the sacrifice of mental integrity. The opinions which he must not express are obviously undesirable opinions, and to compel him to hold his tongue about them is only to exercise a wholesome restraint upon anarchic impulses. By the time he is middle-aged he himself is in complete

agreement with this point of view.

In Russia, on the contrary, the Byzantine Church, the Tartars and the Tsardom have successively impressed upon the popular mind the nothingness of the individual; what he formerly sacrificed to God or the Tsar can be sacrificed with less difficulty to the community. Russian Communists differ from their sympathizers in the West chiefly in this matter of lack of respect for the individual. In this they can be more thorough than their Byzantine predecessors, who believed in the soul and the prospect of immortality. Having abolished the soul, the rulers of the U. S. S. R. can accept the analogy of Leviathan more wholeheartedly than is possible for a Christian. To them the individualism of the West is as absurd as if the separate parts of the human body were to set up to live for themselves as in the fable of Menenius Agrippa. This is the root of their views on art, on religion, on ethics, on the family—indeed, on everything. Socialists in the West sometimes speak as if they held similar views as to the paramount importance of the community, but in fact they seldom do. They would think it natural, for example, that a man who migrates to a distant place should wish to take his wife and children with him, but to the more thorough-going Eastern Communists this would seem mere sentimentalism. They would say that his children could be cared for by the State, and he could no doubt get a new wife, just as good as the old one, in the place to which he was going. The claims of natural affection would be thought a trivial matter.

There have been some who have supposed that the Russian philosophy would suddenly or gradually conquer the West. In favor of this view there are certain considerations that might at first sight seem to carry great weight. Undoubtedly the Communist philosophy is more suited to indus-

trialism than the philosophy of capitalism, because industrialism inevitably increases the importance of organizations as against individuals, and also because individual ownership of land and natural resources belongs more naturally to an agricultural than to an industrial regime.

Industrial communities are much more closely knit than agricultural communities, and legal powers which can be accorded to individuals without great harm in the latter, become extremely dangerous in the former. Moreover, there is the obvious appeal to envy (otherwise known as a sense of justice), which works on the side of the Socialist. But in spite of these considerations I do not think that the socialist outlook is likely to become common in America at any time during the next hundred years, and unless America is socialist in opinion, no nation within its economic orbit will be allowed to practice even a modicum of Socialism as was seen by the abolition of the state ownership of railways in Germany under the Dawes scheme.

My reasons for saying that America will not become socialist are based upon the belief that American prosperity will continue. So long as the American working-man is richer than the working-man in a Socialist country, it will be possible for capitalist propaganda to rebut the arguments in favor of economic change. In this respect the economies of large-scale production which I mentioned earlier are of paramount importance. Syndicated newspapers, higher education subsidised by the churches, which in turn profit by the donations of millionaires, a well-organized book trade which can decide by advertisement which books shall sell widely and can produce them much more cheaply than books with a limited circulation, but, above all, the cinema, where immensely expensive produc-

tions are made to pay by being exhibited throughout the Western world—all these things make for uniformity, for centralized control of ideas and news, for the dissemination of only such creeds and philosophies as are approved by the holders of power.

I do not think that such propaganda is wholly and inevitably irresistible, but I do think it is likely to prevail so long as the regime which it recommends appears to the common man to bear the marks of success. Defeat in war, which is a mark of failure that everybody can understand, may upset any regime, but the prospect of America being defeated in war is remote. One may therefore expect the same kind of popular enthusiasm for the American system in America as there was in England for parliamentary government in the nineteenth century when England was successful.

Of course, differences in economic creeds between East and West will continue to be reinforced by differences of theology in the old-fashioned sense. One may expect America to remain Christian and the East anti-Christian. One may expect America to continue to pay lip-service to Christian doctrines of morality and the family, while the East regards these as outworn superstitions. One may expect that on both sides there will be cruelty on a large scale, and that propaganda will cause each side to know the cruelties of the other but not its own. Very few Americans, for example, know about the case of Sacco and Vanzetti; condemned to death for a murder to which another man has confessed, and the evidence for which has been acknowledged by policemen engaged in collecting it to have been a "frame-up." I met recently a professor in the University of California who had never heard of Mooney, imprisoned in a California gaol for a murder he is known to have probably not committed. All these facts are, of course, known in Russia, where they tend to produce an unfavorable opinion as to capitalist justice. Similarly, the Russian trials of Patriarchs and Social Revolutionaries are known in America. Thus each side acquires abundant evidence to prove

(Continued on page 5)

Bertrand Russell Envisages a Bitter Clash Between Communism and Capitalism

An Appeal for the Upper Classes

By Edward Levinson

INGRATITUDE has ever been a trait of the working class. They have never been fully appreciative of the blessings of the subway, the factory whistle, the police supplied free of charge, installment houses and Coolidge prosperity. They have neglected "the other half" shamefully. In utter indifference they have squandered their time and their wealth on cinemas, radios and the art publications.

It is almost impossible to understand how they could remain so hardened to the pitiful plight of the upper classes when, in so many cases (part of the year) they live within a stone's throw of them. Less than 50 feet separate the haughty working classes from their less fortunate rich brothers. Yet what had-carrier can say that he ever paid a neighborly call of a Sunday morning to inquire for the health of the upper classes. Never a "How's the Missus?" or a pat on the neglected head of a little millionaire-to-be.

Terrible things have been happening in these outwardly tranquil mansions that line Fifth avenue and the intersecting streets that run on to Central Park. "The tragic futility of fashionable life" has engulfed those who were

"The Tragic Futility of Fashionable Life"

once our lords and masters. There are few homes that have escaped. The horror of these lives has been brought home to us by a book we have just finished reading.

Aid Is Needed

We must do something at once. I am ready to become publicity agent of a committee for the uplift of the upper classes. The Socialist Party should immediately organize such a committee. Shall we stand by idly while a helpless group of fellow-citizens perish? Listen to the facts and you will agree that action is needed. "Tragic Mansions" is the book that has awakened us to these thoughts. It is written by Mrs. Philip Lydig, an Albia, a granddaughter of one of the famous old titles in Spain. Holding entrée to the most guarded circles of aristocracy, she has lived many years among these sufferers.

All the stories Mrs. Lydig tells in "Tragic Mansions" are true ones. Only the names are disguised.

There is the story of the doings in

"one of the most beautiful homes in New York. As spacious and as noble as a Florentine palace, it is supported by a fortune so large that the magnificence of the Medici would be shabby beside it." It is the "scene of one of the most terrible tragedies," according to Mrs. Lydig. The story of its inhabitants is one of a marriage on the one side for money, on the other for a title. Money and title united, but happiness failed to enter the golden halls of the mansion.

A third party enters into a liaison with the lady of the house. The husband learns of it, but doesn't care. It was the money he married. He wouldn't think of a divorce. Then the lover died. The husband wreaked his spite by driving his wife out of the house, setting up one of his paramours in her place.

"Ida now lives in the rooms of the departed lover, a recluse. The house is beautiful. It has one of the most distinguished facades in American architecture, but it looks now like a bleached skull."

Down the street a bit is another mansion, somewhat less pretentious, but still elegant. For while a Western lawyer and his wife lived there. But the New York sponsor for the lawyer, a gambler in Wall Street, took too great an interest in the woman. The husband learned of the affair, but held his peace. He waited until he was financially independent. "Then he started an action for divorce. With diabolic cleverness, he did not mention Yelland (the plunger) as a co-respondent. He named two other men against whom he had plenty of evidence."

A Near-Senator

"Her husband disgraced her and turned her out, disgraced and notorious, after cruelly exposing her in court. He was free to abandon her. He had every excuse for it. He was to go to Washington as a Senator. He would certainly not be helped by having such a woman as his wife." But the ambitious plunger reckoned without his worthy confederate in the Republican Party. The deserted woman sailed for Europe. "On the ship Yelland was a Republican boss whose favor Yelland needed. She enticed him into a liaison. . . . told how she had been betrayed, and won him to her assistance. When he returned to New York he notified Yelland that he could never get his senatorship unless he married her." Yelland married her, only to be double-crossed by the politician.

"That completed the general debacle. All three are now equally wrecked. Her first husband, the lawyer, having lost his faith in loyalty and friendship, lived like a bandit of the law, plundering and betraying for his own profit at the head of a group of financial highway-men who bought and bankrupted public utilities of various sorts all over the country. . . . She disappeared abroad. . . . Yelland began dragging himself with drink and dissipation, living on the loot of his earlier raids in Wall Street, as shrewd and friendless as a fox."

Four More Pillars These are tales typical of dozens of others Mrs. Lydig recites. There

was the beautiful Southern girl who carried on a liaison with four wealthy men at the same time, all of them respectable married men and church-goers. By "intimidation, the favors of friendship and deliberate bribery," the four cavaliers forced her acceptance into society. One of them was a Fifth avenue clergyman, another "an old railroad builder," the third "the reigning heir of a huge fortune in Manhattan real estate," and the fourth "an adventurer, a stock gambler, a racing man."

Stories of tragic endings of "marriages for money" are commonplace and the usual thing, it appears. "I saw a score of such marriages," Mrs. Lydig says, "Reginald Tally" was one of "the great catches" of the town. He was wild and handsome, and every one forgave him. Isabel was in love "with an impractical, musical boy who had no money." Isabel's aunt arranged the marriage with Reginald and it all came off as lively as though it were a Newport tennis match.

"Then I heard that she was ill. . . . I went . . . to find her wrecked and broken. 'You wait,' she said, 'I'll make him pay for this.' He had given her that disease which destroys so many of the fashionable wives of disreputable men."

"And she certainly made him pay. She did not divorce him. She made him give her a separate allowance of several million dollars. She went abroad and got cured. . . . and came back to take a series of lovers, openly enough to humiliate him, and to live a life that paralleled his own in dissipation."

Dead in Two Years The millionaire in another of these "money marriages" was a heavy drinker.

"He'll be dead in a year unless he stops drinking," the doctor warned the loyal wife.

"She proceeded to place a bottle of whisky on his bedside table every night, and in two years he was dead." There are other tragedies that run through the book: "A perfect pirate of a man who had made his money as a sort of Wall street buccaner," a fashionable frau with "as many lovers as Messalina," a beautiful girl who married for money and killed herself. Another "who destroyed half a dozen men in her secret campaigns against her husband." "Poor Waldo," who gave enough money to anti-Bolshevik propaganda "to have reformed many of the social grievances on which Bolshevism thrives."

After a recital of such searing tragedies, what worker can remain unmoved? The trouble with the rich seems to be their money. If we seem to have taken their misfortunes lightly we have given a wrong impression. Their personal tragedies are no less real than the many that mar the families of the common people. For the sake of the rich as well as the poor, we should hasten the day of a social system in which there will be no extremes of wealth and poverty. The fabulous wealth amassed in the hands of a chosen few corrupts their own lives and condemns the rest to poverty or, at best, an uncertain livelihood.

The workers have dined into their ears much froth about "the self-respect bred by honest labor." They can afford to trade some of their honor for a little more of the world's goods. And the wealthy couldn't lose by such a deal.

The Victor :-: A Novel of High Finance :-: By Theodore Dreiser

(Continued From Last Week)

The reminiscences of Byington Briggs, Esq., of Skeff, Briggs & Waterhouse, private conversation at the Metropolitan Club in New York in December, 19—.

"YOU knew old Osterman, didn't you? I was his confidential adviser for the last eight years of his life, and a shrewd old hawk never sated the air. He was a curious combination of speculator, financier and dreamer, with a high percentage of sharper thrown in for good measure. You'd never imagine that he was charitably inclined, now would you? It never occurred to me until about a year and a half before his death. I have never been able to explain it except that as a boy he had had a very hard time and in his old age resented seeing his two stepsons, Kester and Rand Benda, getting ready to make free use of his fortune once he was gone. And then I think he had come to believe that his wife was merely using him to feather her own nest. I wouldn't want it mentioned to a soul as coming from me, but three months before he died he had me draw up a will leaving his entire estate of something like forty millions, not to her, as the earlier will filed by her showed, but to the J. H. Osterman Foundation, a corporation whose sole purpose was to administer his fortune for the benefit of something like three hundred thousand orphans incarcerated in institutions in America. And but for the accident of his sudden death out there at Shell Cove two years ago he would have left it that way."

The First Will

"According to the terms of the will that I drew up, Mrs. Osterman and her

two sons were to receive only the interest on certain bonds that were to be placed in trust for them for their lifetime only; after that the money was to revert to the fund. That would have netted them between forty and fifty thousand a year among them—nothing more. In the will I drew up he left \$500,000 outright to that Gratiot Home for Orphans up here at 68th Street, and he intended his big country place at Shell Cove as the central unit in a chain of modern local asylums for orphans that was to have belted America. The income from the property managed by the foundation was to have been devoted to this work exclusively, and the Gratiot institution was to have been the New York branch of the system. His wife has leased the Shell Cove place to the Gerberts this year, I see, and a wonderful place it is, too, solid marble throughout, a lake a mile long, a big sunken garden, a wonderful glassed-in conservatory, and as fine a view of the sea as you'll find anywhere. Yet she never knew until the very last hour of his life—the very last, for I was there—that he planned to cut her off with only forty or fifty thousand a year. If he weren't I should close friends I wouldn't think of mentioning it even now, although I understand that Klippert, who was his agent in the orphan project, has been telling the story. It was this way:

"You see, I was his lawyer, and had been ever since the K. B. & B. control fight in 1905, and the old man liked me—I don't know why unless it was because I drew up the right sort of 'watertight' contracts, as he always called them. Anyway, I knew six or seven years before he died that he wasn't getting along so well with Mrs. Osterman. She is still an attractive woman, with plenty of brain power

and taste, but I think he had concluded that she was using him and that he wasn't as happy as he thought he would be. For one thing, as I gathered from one person and another, she was much too devoted to those two boys by her first husband, and in the next place I think he felt that she was letting that architect D'Eyrault lead her about too much and spend too much of his money. You know it was common rumor at the time that D'Eyrault and his friend Besero, another man the old captain disliked, were behind her in all her selections of pictures for the gallery she was bringing together up there in the Fifth Avenue place. Osterman, of course, knowing absolutely nothing about art, was completely out of it. He wouldn't have known a fine painting from a good lithograph, and I don't think he cared very much either. And yet it was a painting that was one of the causes of some feeling between them, as I will show you. At that time he looked mighty lonely and forlorn to me, as though he didn't have a friend in the world outside of those business associates and employees of his. He stayed principally in that big town house, and Mrs. Benda—I mean Mrs. Osterman—and her sons and their friends found a good many excuses for staying out at Shell Cove. There were always big doings out there. Still, she was clever enough to be around him sometimes so as to make it appear, to him at least, that she wasn't neglecting him. As for him, he just potted around up there in that great house, showing his agents and employees, and the fellows who buzzed about him to sell him things, the pictures she was collecting—or, rather, D'Eyrault—and letting it appear that he was having something to do with it. For he was

a vain old soldier, even if he had had one of the best business minds of his time. You'd think largeness of vision in some things might break a man of that, but it never does, apparently. "Whenever I think of him I think of that big house, those heavily carved and gilded rooms, the enormous eighty-thousand dollar organ built into the reception room, and those tall stained-glass windows that gave the place the air of a church. Besero once told me that if left to follow her own taste Mrs. Osterman would never have built that type of house, but that Osterman wanted something grand and had got his idea of grandeur from churches. So there was nothing to do but build him a house with tall Gothic windows and a pipe-organ, and trust to other features to make it homelike and livable. But before they were through with it Mrs. Osterman and D'Eyrault had decided that the best that could be done with it would be to build something that later could be turned into an art gallery and either sold or left as a memorial. But I think both D'Eyrault and Mrs. Osterman were kidding the old man a little when they had that self-playing attachment built in. It looked to me as though they thought he was going to be alone a good part of the time and might as well have something to amuse himself with. And he did amuse himself with it, too. I recall going up there one day and finding him alone, insofar as the family was concerned, but entirely surrounded by twenty-five or more of those hard, sick and yet nervous (where social form was concerned) western and southern business agents and managers of his, present was about to be served in the grand dining room adjoining the reception room, and there were all these fellows sitting about that big room like a lot

of blackbirds, and Osterman upon a raised dais at one end of the room solemnly rendering "The Bluebells of Scotland," one of his favorites, from the self-player attachment! And when he finished they all applauded!"

"Well, what I wanted to tell you is this: One day while I was there, some dealer dropped in with a small picture which for some reason took his fancy. According to Besero, it wasn't such a bad thing, painted by a Swedish realist by the name of Dargson. It showed a rather worn-out woman of about forty-three who had committed suicide and was lying on a bed, one hand stretched out over the edge and a glass or bottle from which she had taken the poison lying on the floor beside her. Two young children and a man were standing near, commiserating themselves on their loss, I presume. It seemed to have a tremendous impression on Osterman for some reason or other. I could never understand why—it was not so much art as a comment on human suffering. Nevertheless, Osterman wanted it, but I think he wanted Nadia to buy it for her collection and so justify his opinion of it. But Nadia, according to Besero, was interested only in certain pictures as illustrations of the different schools and periods of art in different countries. And when the dealer approached her with the thing, at Osterman's suggestion, it was immediately rejected by her. At once Osterman bought it for himself, and to show that he was not very much concerned about her opinion he hung it in his bedroom. Thereafter he began to be quarrelsome in regard to the worthlessness of the gallery idea as a whole and to object to so much money being squandered in that direction. But to this day no one seems to know just why he liked that particular picture so much."

(To be continued next week)

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

How to Write English Novels

AROUND the main office of the League for Industrial Democracy at 70 Fifth avenue there is much hurrying and scurrying these days. It is in connection with the next conference of the league, which will be held at Lake Taminnet, Pa., from June 23 to 26, inclusive. Nowadays most liberals, radicals and labor folks have so many varied conferences, meetings, etc., to attend to that they have to be notified at least a month ahead if dates are to be kept clear. Take our advice and put this one down on your calendar right now. These annual conferences, held in one of the real beauty spots of the East, are always significant and inspiring. The speeches are usually good, in that the speakers have something to say on important subjects on which they have specialized; there's plenty of recreation as well as information to be had—boating and tennis and swimming; you meet a lot of fine old friends and make a lot of new ones, and, on the whole, the days at Taminnet from June 23 to 26 are likely to be the happiest you will spend this summer.

The general subject for this year's L. I. D. Conference will be this so-called "prosperity" that we are all supposed to be enjoying so hugely. Just out of sheer curiosity we are going to Taminnet, for one thing, to find out where it is, if any. For you must remember that there will be conservative as well as liberal and radical speakers at the conference, and maybe some of the former can tell us where it is to be had. We figure it is about like happiness in that "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" gag—mostly a matter of pursuit, and a long, hard, tail-end pursuit at that.

For awhile we had hoped that the English novel of about a decade back had been put out of business by the new realists who are coming up everywhere in America. But apparently its vogue is as strong as ever. You know what we mean. The windy stories about beautiful young Englishmen and Englishwomen who are suffering from spiritual hives and itch all over 350 pages. Anyone who has read more than a couple of them can tear off a suitable English novel in six months with the help of an atlas, an encyclopedia and a lot of English smoking tobacco. They begin this way:

"The Dorsetshire express drew up at South Wapping-on-Worms, Scrubs Wells, M. D., as the old chimneys on the ancient cathedral were striking four. Out of a second-class carriage stepped a lean, hard-bitten, middle-aged man with bushy black eyebrows, a birth-mark on his prominent, hawklike nose and unmistakably British adenoids. He also had a cane, or, rather, a stick. At the sight of this traveler, Alfred Storgington, the day porter at the station, ran forward, crossing himself and crying:

"Marster Beaver, you have returned at last. How happy your dear old mother, the Duchess of Tripe, will be to lay her blessed eyes on you again."

"Yes," thought Beaver as he held out his slim, artistic hand for the old man to fondle, "I have returned. But to what? That is the question."

You can take it from us that you won't find the answer until clear at the end of the book, and then it won't be so hot. Usually it turns out that he has returned to rape the daughter of the landlord of the "Flying Sow." She, of course, is duly grateful, as becomes one of the lower classes, but at last, when the whole town turns out and chucks rocks at her, she becomes peeved and goes around to Beaverhole, the ancestral home, and makes quite a scene. All this is fixed up by the author, who has the landlord's daughter go off with Alfred Storgington's nephew, and finally Beaver settles down and marries Lady Pentwhistle, which is as should be. All the while, of course, Beaver suffers greatly and keeps moaning to himself about his soul and how tough it is for a perfect English gentleman to have to put up with such indignities.

For us, we prefer the American brands, which may not start off so elegantly, but which, at any rate, have closer relation to real life.

To write an American novel, you begin this way: "Wild Bill Beaver was lying in the gutter in front of the Yale Club. He was cock-eyed. He was a Harvard man, and damned aristocratic. Along the street from Park avenue came Lydia Paramore. She was only slightly boiled. But she was aristocratic, too. At the sight of Bill she stooped and said:

"Where have you been?"

"Bill rose as he heard that familiar voice and answered:

"I been drunk, Lydia!"

Then you go ahead and describe the various places Bill has been drunk in—Paris, Vienna, Berlin and The Bronx. You work in a lot of geography and useful information about the bars of different countries, for which your readers will be grateful, they having no particular interest in the flora and fauna of old English cathedral towns. If you call your book "Boiled in Bed" there's a good chance that it will be banned by the Boston police. Then your fortune is made.

There was a time when we enjoyed "The American Mercury." Even when it took dirty flings at Socialists we could stand it. But nowadays we find it just a green bore; and we don't say this because the "Mercury" turned down a piece of ours, either. In our opinion—and we find lots of others who think the same—it has become as much of a bore as the club wit who gets off the same wisecracks year in and year out. Mencken is overworking the formula that brought him his success. Today he gets some bright young newspaperman to tell all the inside dirt on the private life of Dr. Parkhurst or Felix Adler or some other equally fascinating character. Usually there isn't any dirt at all and the writer is hard put to it to fill his shovel. Then follows a heavily sardonic piece about how dull most Baptists are. This astonishing discovery having been set out at length, we are then treated to a disquisition on the low mental condition of the natives of Oklahoma. Finally, the college professors get theirs. Interpersed between these recurrent gems are the departments in which Mr. Mencken tells us once more that we are all boobs—and Mr. Nathan describes the perfectly horrid times he has at the theatre. Now and then, to brighten up the book, a philatelist writes about his hobby or a captain of heavy artillery becomes profound about trajectories.

From any editorial standpoint the new "Harper's" is simply running rings around the "Mercury." If Mr. Mencken doesn't get some new tunes, some day soon he will awake and find that his book is becoming almost as widely read as the "Outlook" or the "Baptist Chronicle."

McAlister Coleman.

Scanning the New Books

A Pillar of Methodism By Bert MacDonald

HERBERT ASBURY, one of the seven scourges of Methodism, has gone on a huge reconnoitering expedition into the enemy's camp and has returned to civilization with a remarkable book which he calls "A Methodist Saint" (Knopf, \$5). It is the life story of Bishop Francis Asbury, who undoubtedly would be roosting in Wayne B. Wheeler's office if the gods had willed his birth a little later.

The bishop came here from England when the Department of Labor was still in the womb of time, and therefore was quite unable to harass this odd disciple of Wesley. He came upon a colony which was mainly concerned with the retention of its scalp and the evasion of the British tax collector; when he left it for another world after an incredible life, that colony had become a nation and vast sections of it were mainly concerned with the Saviour of their souls and minding their neighbors' business.

It was Bishop Francis Asbury, first of the long line of Methodist Cardinals, who wrought that miracle of the spirit. He had seized on the beaten sections of the colonies—those overpowering frontiers and dreary backwaters—at a time when there was a great need to do something emphatic about God because the forces of nature were so inexplicable. This man, Asbury, came forward with a pat explanation of the universe—the world molded into a compact ball and placed on the pulpit railing of the log church—and thus was able, by his amazing energy, to set the Methodist Church on the path which led to that marble shrine in Washington—The Methodist Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals.

Some Early Americana

Herbert Asbury, a distant kin of the bishop, has let the man's writings and those of his contemporaries speak for themselves. He has not, and for this much praise, attempted to apply the magic of psychology to the bishop and attempt to explain the foundation of the church by an edipus complex just because young Francis was brought up by his mother to be a holy man. But he has dredged up some of the most remarkable history of early America ever crammed into one volume and has arranged it in admirable fashion.

As he explains in his introduction, the life of Francis Asbury must, of necessity, be to a large extent the early history of the Methodist Church in America. And the early history of that far-flung organization, with its Epworth Leagues, Ladies' Aids, strawberry festivals, Klansmen, foreign missions and skyscraper temples, gives a new and important glimpse into the revolutionary period of the United States.

Perhaps one of the most timely sections of the book is to be found on page 232, where a letter from Eliza Bryan to Lorenzo Dow, one of the Methodist magicians, as Asbury describes him, gives one of the few records of the great earthquake which shook the Mississippi Valley during 1811 and 1812. Although the admirable Associated Press and a horde of able staff correspondents now are following Herbert Hoover around the devastated regions of the rich bottom lands, none of them has done as good a job of reporting as this same Eliza Bryan. If only for this, the book is well worth having done.

There were some, including this correspondent, who had doubts that Herbert Asbury would do right by his illustrious ancestor in view of his previous volume, "Up from Methodism," which seemed needlessly bitter, but "A Methodist Saint" can leave no doubt that he has dealt fairly with the bishop. The passages are few where the author lampoons the early devil chasers and then he indulges only after quoting, line and chapter, some particularly apocalyptic remark by the primitive Gantys. It is an important and impartial document, not only in church affairs, but in the history of this weird nation of ours.

Common's "Labor"

FOR all of the fact that it abruptly ends its story with a few fragmentary notes of tendencies in the first ten years of this century, "The History of Labor in the United States" remains the standard work on

American trade unionism. The two volumes of Professor John R. Commons and his associates have just been reissued by MacMillan at a price which should make it a little more accessible to workmen who may have the interest to read it.

There are no revisions in the book. No attempt has been made to bring it up-to-date, though the American trade union movement has for years travelled along straight and unwavering lines, that makes its analysis a fairly easy job. Scanning the table of contents, re-reading pages here and there, one is struck with the divergence of opinion, the sharp conflicts that marked a labor movement that has now, to all appearances, settled down to a steady,



From the Jacket of "A Methodist Saint" (Alfred A. Knopf, New York)

almost monotonous course. Where years ago the American Federation of

Labor's story revolved around its annual struggle with the opposition group, today there is no opposition at conventions or between conventions. Yet it seems true that the trade union movement, in the point of view of material gains, has done quite as well without an opposition faction within its ranks as it did in the decades before the World War. What is lacking that was present in the old days is the fierce earnestness with which Socialists and Gompersites fought their battles of policy.

For lack of something better students must still refer to this "History of Labor," which ends with the deeds of the late nineties. It is comprehensive and readable, considering the type of work. But it cannot fill the want of those who want to understand the contemporary movement.

E. L.

Migratory Workers of the West Gain Ascendancy in the I. W. W.

Whence This Communism? By James Oneal

(Continued from Last Week)

THE casual, migratory and homeless worker is typical of some large sections of the West. Casual and seasonal occupations offer little opportunity for marriage, children and a home, yet "the fact that 90 percent of the migratory workers have no women awakens no train of thought," wrote Carleton H. Parker. A wandering life means a disfranchised man, who has no interest in voting or in the normal functions of citizenship. Being greeted by the constables of the towns and the police of the cities with the customary "move on," he is likely to become a cynic regarding governing institutions and their officials. Generally a suspect wherever he goes, he acquires the psychology of the baffled man. Society uses his labor power and then forgets him. Should he fail to appear at the harvest season, there would be a crisis in agriculture and urban residents would suffer for foodstuffs. When he does appear at the harvest season, he is treated as a suspect and deported if he tries to organize a union. His uncertain life and abnormal experiences leave him in a mood to accept the crudest of revolutionary theories of change, and he is likely to use his organization to expound it. Certainly his environment and mode of life are not calculated to reconcile him to the social order as he finds it, yet there are millions who are astonished that he is not like other men. His ribald songs, uncouth appearance, and the rough language in which he often clothes his propaganda also fosters prejudice against him.

Although the migratory workers did not exercise any great influence in the first convention of the I. W. W., they gradually obtained ascendancy in the organization as the powerful organizations that founded it left it because of internal dissensions. The migratory

faction gained control in the convention of 1903 and forced out the political actionists, and the political clause was stricken from the I. W. W. constitution. Under the control of this group the I. W. W. entered upon its stormy career. It has carried the distrust and opposition of the Syndicalist to the State so far that it has applied the principle of decentralization to its own organization. While propagating sabotage as a principle, the I. W. W. has not often practiced it, but it has brought savage retaliation. In decentralizing the organization it has followed to some extent the French type of Syndicalism. Power and responsibility are distributed among thousands of members. Its members and unions are so loosely knit together and its executive so short of power that the organization is easily disturbed by factions and divergent views. Its history is an example of how an organization of wage workers can provoke the conservative classes to extra-legal methods in dealing with it. It recalls the observations made by Kautsky quoted above.

The American Federation of Labor has also represented what may be called a half-way Syndicalism in its attitude towards the State and legislation. In its hearings before the Industrial Relations Commission in New York in 1914, the late Mr. Gompers, in answer to questions, replied that the A. F. of L. had a number of times rejected proposals for the legal limitation of the workday of adult workers, and that it would oppose an eight-hour law enacted by a State Legislature, or even by Congress. The reason for this is that the A. F. of L. relies upon trade union action alone for the reduction of the hours of labor, and this is the position of all Syndicalist organizations. In all countries where trade unions support their own political organizations they rely upon both economic and political action to obtain shorter hours and other concessions. There are other concessions and reforms, however, which cannot be realized through economic action, so the A. F. of L. is compelled to consider

politics as a form of social power. With the Syndicalist it rejects independent party politics, but distributes its voting power among thousands of candidates of all political parties. It thus dissipates its political power, and the results are practically the same as though it followed the course of the pure Syndicalist by avoiding all forms of political action. To scatter and render ineffective the political power an organization possesses differs little from abstaining from its use entirely.

The result of this semi-Syndicalist policy of the leading trade unions of the United States is tragic, and desperate strikes, frequently accompanied by physical conflicts, as dramatic as those waged by any pure Syndicalist organizations in Europe. As the union members become aware that the weight of public powers is against them, they instinctively turn to other methods. More often a strike will attract irresponsible elements of the population who have no connection with the unions, and these elements generally begin physical assaults which invoke the intervention of the police and military powers. A large element of the employing classes also employ spies who, as mercenary provocateurs, deliberately urge and plan violent measures to discredit and break strikes. The lack of any effective political action by conservative American unions inevitably gives free play to factors that result in various forms of physical violence. Perhaps the most striking demonstration of this fact was given in 1912, when the McNamara brothers confessed to having blown up the Los Angeles Times building. With an increasing measure of political power falling into their hands members of American trade unions would be able to use it to suppress the extralegal activities of spies and contend with other obstacles that now render economic struggles difficult. By dissipating their political power many American unions are often Syndicalist in action when involved in strikes, although sincerely rejecting Syndicalism as an economic philosophy.

(To Be Concluded Next Week)

The Coming Age of World Intolerance

(Continued from page 4)

the other side wicked, but remains ignorant of its own wickedness.

For these reasons I do not think it likely that any country in which the existing regime appears to the common man to be successful, or in which American economic influence is uppermost, will adopt the communistic creed within any measurable future. On the contrary, it seems probable that the defense of the status quo will lead the holders of power to become increasingly conservative and to support all such conservative forces as they find in the community. The strongest of these, of course, is religion.

For my part, I look upon the coming strife as Erasmus did, without the ability to join wholeheartedly with either party. No doubt I agree with the Bolsheviks on many more points than with the American magnates, but I cannot believe that their philosophy is ultimately true or capable of producing a happy world. I admit that individualism, which has been in-

creasing ever since the Renaissance, has gone too far, and that a more cooperative spirit is necessary if industrial societies are to be stable and to bring contentment to the average man and woman. But the difficulty in the Bolshevik philosophy, as in that of America, is that the principle of organization for them is economic, whereas the groupings that are consonant with human instinct are biological. The family and nation are biological, the trust and the trade union are economic. The harm that is done at present by biological groupings is undeniable, but I do not think the social problem can be solved by ignoring the instincts which produce those groupings. I am convinced, for example, that if all children were educated in State institutions without the co-operation of the parents, a large proportion of men and women would lose the incentive to arduous activity and would become listless and bored. Nationalism also perhaps has its place, though clearly armies and navies are an undesirable expression of it, and its proper sphere is cultural rather than political. Human beings can be greatly changed by institutions and education, but if they are changed in such a way as to thwart fundamental instincts, the result is a loss of vigor. And the Bolsheviks certainly are mistaken in speaking as though the economic instinct were the only one of the psychological importance. They share this mistake with the competitive society of the West, although the West is less explicit in the matter.

The fundamental delusion of our time, in my opinion, is the excessive emphasis upon the economic aspects of life, and I do not expect the strife between Capitalism and Communism as philosophies to cease until it is recognized that both are inadequate through their failure to recognize biological needs.

As to the methods of diminishing the ferocity of the struggle, I do not know of anything better than the old liberal watchwords, yet I feel that they are likely to be very ineffective. What is needed is freedom of opinion and op-

portunity for the spread of opinion. It is the latter particularly that causes the difficulty. The mechanism for the effective and widespread diffusion of an opinion must necessarily be in the hands either of the State or of great capitalistic concerns. Before the introduction of democracy and education this was much less true: effective opinion was confined to a small minority, who could be reached without all the expensive apparatus of modern propaganda. But it can hardly be expected that either the State or a great capitalist organization will devote money and energy to the propagation of opinions which it considers dangerous and subversive, and contrary to true morality. The State, no less than the capitalist organization, is in practice a stupid elderly man accustomed to flattery, ossified in his prejudices, and wholly unaware of all that is vital in the thought of his time. No novelty can be effectively advocated until it has passed the censorship of some such old fogey.

The evil is an increasing one, since the whole tendency of modern business is amalgamation and centralization. The only method of securing wide publicity for an unpopular cause is that which was adopted by the suffragettes, and that is only suitable where the issue is simple and passable, not where it is intricate and argumentative. The effect of the official or unofficial censorship is therefore to make opposition to it passionate rather than rational and to render calm discussion of the evidence for or against an innovation only possible in obscure ways which never reach the general public. Extreme opinions on either side can obtain publicity, while moderate and rational opinions are thought too dull to bear down the opposition of the authorities.

If would, of course, be possible to devise remedies if one could suppose that in authority felt the need of them. It would be possible to educate people in such a way as to increase their powers of weighing evidence and forming rational judgments, instead of which they are taught patriotism and class bias. Perhaps in time men may come to feel that intelligence is an asset to a community.

A Letter to Hoover

MR. HERBERT Hoover,
Secretary of Do Things,
Washington, D. C., U. S. A.

Dear Herb:

I see by the papers that Brother Cal sent you to the Mississippi Delta to see what can be done to make that region safe for the Democrats who live down there.

You're one of the worst politicians I know of, but when it comes to doing things I wouldn't swap you for all the professional handshakes, back slappers, baby kissers and bunk shooters in Washington. In fact, Herb, I think you're one of the brainiest and most useful men in the U. S. today, which is the reason why I am writing this letter. You see, Herb, it takes a great mind to understand another great mind, so I know that the tremendous idea I am about to spring on you won't be throwing pearls to the swine.

Now, the Mississippi Delta, which the big flood has so kindly introduced to the American people, is the biggest thing in the U. S. It contains the richest soil in the world. It has a growing season of nearly ten months. It raises anything that can be grown in the temperate zone. The climate is neither too hot in summer nor too cold in winter. Health conditions are better than in most of our northern cities. There is artesian water all under the Delta. In short, the Delta is so big and so rich that if it were properly tilled, drained and protected it could feed and clothe all the people in the United States and have a surplus for export.

What's more, some day the Delta will have to feed and clothe the population of the U. S. for the yield of other farm land is gradually going down. Sooner or later, necessity will force this nation to redeem the Delta, its richest inheritance, or go "kafkoo." So if "eventually, why not now?" And I know of no better man to tackle that job than you.

Now, Herb, there are only four things needed to make the Delta the garden spot of this country, and we've got them all: money, men, engineering ability and patriotism. The only other problem is how to mobilize these forces in a constructive war against destruction. But let's tackle the problem serially. Money. We've got more than half the gold in the world. We have loaned Europe during and since the war some twenty-two thousand million dollars and we are still sinking more millions into the same hole almost every week. Now, Herb, you and I know that there isn't a ghost of a show of ever getting that money back or even getting the interest on it. The only thing those fool foreign loans can do is to get us into trouble, for some day Morgan may agitate us into another collection expedition to Europe and then there will be hell to pay.

At the same time our capitalists must have some place to put the money they take out of our pockets, so why not make them invest it in this country? Make them see America first. Give 'em to understand that the money they loaned to Europe to make the world safe for democracy went to the devil—with what little democracy they had over there. Then put 'em next to the possibilities of this country. Show 'em a map of the United States with a water way clear through the heart of it, connecting the fisheries of Newfoundland, the forests of Canada, the iron ore of Minnesota, the wheat and corn of Iowa, Nebraska and the Dakotas, the manufacturing cities of the great lakes, the coal of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois and Indiana with the sugar, cotton and peach garden land of the Delta. Picture the merchant navies of the world, carried on the broad back of the "Father of Rivers" from the Lakes to the Gulf, from the Panama Canal to the St. Lawrence. Talk about the Suez Canal, the Kiel Canal, the Panama Canal—but there is no water route in all this world to compare to what the Mississippi will be some day, nor one that flows through territory more greatly blessed by Mother Nature.

Tell them that their investments in Mexico, Nicaragua, China and goodness knows where all, are but crap games in comparison with what the exploitation of the heart of America would yield them and that their property and persons are a thousand times safer here than on any other part of the globe.

Appeal to their love of country, if they have any, and if that don't work, advocate an embargo on the export of American capital. (I have a hunch Morgan and Mellon would second the motion). Then, having done that, start a Delta Redemption Bond drive. Rile up the parsons, journalists and politicians. Send out flocks of four four-minute speakers, strong-arm crews and yellow paint parties, and if that doesn't knock 'em loose, encourage a lynching now and then for the moral effect. Well, Herb, no use going into details. You know how these things are done (and were done). And you also know that one-tenth of the effort and mazzuma expended on the great crusade to make the whole world our enemy would turn the Delta into a garden that would make Paradise look like a backyard.

After raising the mazzuma comes labor, and when it comes to that you've got a pipkin of a cinch. Just now there are some 200,000 coal miners on strike—I mean on suspension. They know all about picks and shovels, and the strip miners even know how to handle steam shovels. Offer good wages, reasonable hours and you can have the whole shambang blowing a whistle, and what those boys will do to Father Mississippi will be plenty.

Now, Herb, just think a minute what this suggestion of mine would mean to the country. Run your optics down this list and, with your intelligence, you'll see at once that here is the biggest idea ever sprung in the history of this country.

1. Redeem one hundred million acres of the best farming land in the world.
2. Make the Mississippi River the principal trade route of the world.
3. Furnish safe, sane and sound investment for American capital.
4. Reduce the oversupply of miners.
5. Create a home market for our farmers.
6. Increase consumption of American coal, immediately by the steam shovels, eventually by the steamships passing through the country.
7. Make the winning of the strike—I mean the suspension of the coal miners, a dead cinch.

But why go on when a hint to the wise is sufficient? So go ahead, Herb, and give the world a lesson in constructive patriotism, such as it never has seen before. Maybe the dumbbells will learn their that true greatness and true patriotism are not found in the war of man against man, but in the war of man against his environment. Do this, Herb. Make the redemption of the Mississippi basin your life's work. That basin is God's greatest gift to our people. Then some day when historians have learned that history is much more than the registration of fool wars, the children will read:

"Columbus discovered America, Washington separated it from England, Lincoln held it together and Herb Hoover saved it for posterity."

Well, Herb, that's enough for one load. Say "hello" to Cal for me and tell him that if switching you off on that flood job will help him to get a third term, he's got my blessing. Ever your friend,

Adam Coldigger.

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IN THE THEATRES

Views and News of Current Productions

Gilbert and Sullivan

OF all the dramatic flowers that bloom in the spring or spring in the bloom of Broadway's lighter season, none is more eagerly waited than the twin perennial, Gilbert and Sullivan. It is over long since we have heard them, although but last season. Without one of their comedies, how can we be expected to have "Patience"? So "Patience" has come, to the Theatre Masque; and, as a reward for our waiting, "Ruddigore" leapt three days before it, to the Cosmopolitan. We can but hope that one of the two companies will give us the too long withheld "The Yeomen of the Guard" and "The Gondoliers," not to mention those we have more recently seen, but could without lessening of pleasure hear again.

Performances of Gilbert and Sullivan are never bad; they are good, or very good. That of "Patience" is good; it has a number of individual features, but a rather slow and heavy handling of the chorus, and a stolid effort, in scenery and stage boxes, to recapture the Victorian. But Joseph Macaulay has a rich voice and an intelligent humor as Archibald, the idyllic poet, and Vivian Hart, though a somewhat too knowing, is a bewitching Patience, while Bernice Mereson makes a most impressively Lady Jane. The presentation of "Ruddigore" is very good; William Danforth can always be relied upon—his patter songs quite convince us that they really do "matter, matter, matter"; and the respectable capers he cuts with Mad Margaret are desperately reassuring. Violet Carlson as Rose Maybud is another of those fetching simple creatures Gilbert creates, with all the Victorian pride in the soil, and faith in the triumph of the homely virtues—when wedded to beauty and lack of guile.

Neither "Ruddigore" nor "Patience" pierces the social structure of our lives as keenly and as deeply as other of the comic operas; yet each thrusts a clean rapier of satire at a common vice. The aesthetic craze burlesqued in 1881 grew to its height in the 1890's;

yet no period has been wholly free from the affection. This country has no bad barons, but the gay young blades who must dissipate the family wealth or reputation as frequent now as when Sir Despard Murgatroyd was forced, by a curse laid on, to commit a crime a day. And, wholly aside from the satire, the fun of these plays ripples on. It should be too well known to need further comment.

Reports from London indicate that the searching analysis which "Spread Eagle" has turned upon the imperialists of this land has been applied to the English also, in a new play by H. M. Harwood, called for the sake of its love-tale "The Transit of Venus." In the case of the English play, oil is also the main desire of the capitalists, but instead of sending forth a young man to die, the astute English are more gentlemanly; they work the concession in as part of the apology for an attempt at the "honor" of an Englishwoman. Harwood, also, is less courageous, for although he arranges the Arab capture of the flirtatious woman as an Englishman's scheme, he does not connect its origin with the desire for oil. Nonetheless, the play is another exhibition of the unscrupulousness with which the powerful, seeking further power, clutch at any means of achieving their personal ends, and reminds us that it was an Englishman who declared that patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel.

Joseph T. Shipley.

Notes of the Theatre

"A Very Wise Virgin," by Sam Janney, author of "Loose Ankles," opens in New York at the Bijou Theatre June 2.

Walter Hampden announces that he will devote a considerable portion of next season at Hampden's Theatre, his fifth consecutive season in New York,

to plays of Shakespeare, which dramatist he has neglected this year because of the success of "Caponeaschi." He is preparing to appear in two of the Bard's plays in which he has never acted, "Much Ado About Nothing" and "Coriolanus." In addition he will again come forward in "Hamlet" and "The Taming of the Shrew." Not in fifty years has "Coriolanus" been acted in New York, or since the days of John McCullough, one of whose most famous parts the title role of this drama was. The last important revival of "Much Ado About Nothing" was made by Mr. Sothern and Miss Marlowe more than a dozen years ago.

The Messrs. Shubert announced yesterday that "Countess Maritza" will conclude its New York engagement at the Shubert Theatre on Saturday, June 4, and the following Monday Texas Guinan in "Padlocks" will begin an engagement at the same theatre.

LABOR GROUPS IN N. Y. CO-OPERATE ON MEMORIAL MEETING FOR MATTEOTTI

New York Italian branches of the Socialist Party are busy at work arranging the Matteotti Commemoration meeting scheduled for Friday, June 10, in Carnegie Hall. The Italian Chamber of Labor, Italian Labor Daily, Nuovo Mondo, many trade unions and liberal organizations, as well as Y. P. S. L. and the Socialist Party branches are co-operating to make the meeting a big success. The Italian branches are in touch with the Italian Socialist Party, now having its headquarters in Paris, for the purpose of having one of the big leaders of the party and also a member of the Labor and Socialist International present at this commemoration. The following speakers will address the meeting: Morris Hillquit, Judge Jacob Panken, Norman Thomas, and in Italian, Arturo Giovannitti and Vincenzo Vacca.

Labor institutions are being invited to reserve a box or purchase a certain number of tickets for the occasion. The response secured so far is very encouraging. The committee is working to solicit other organizations which have not yet responded to send final word not later than June 1. Italian mutual and co-operative societies are securing a large number of general admission tickets for distribution among their membership, which is indicative of the tremendous crowds that will attend the meeting. Price of general admission tickets is only 25 cents. Tickets can be purchased at the Socialist Party Headquarters, Socialist party branches and Trade Union Headquarters.

HUNKY MEETS A MAN

... I just met a man,
A lanky sort, with a bend
From shoulders down
Like a feller does giving things
To kids.

... When I met this guy, all the old story
Came like a flash to me, and I saw Him
who
Two thousands years ago...
Funny, someone told me that this buddy
I met today
Also done his bit in the pen, just for
saying
All the things that Jesus said.

Did I get introduced? No sirree! He just
Walks up and grabs my mitt, and with a
voice
That still sounds like a hundred golden
harps
In my ears,
He says, "Glad to meet you, brother. My
name is 'Gene,
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—From *Idylls of the Ghetto*.

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personal memories that make them the most
vivid and moving of his verses; he has
walked the street with the gangster, felt
his arms sting with the muscles of "Kid"
Twist... The East Side has scorched
him beyond all healing... and Sam De-
Witt wears a cloak of cynical indiffer-
ence, of strong "gangliness" over the
bared heart of his tender concern. For-
tunately, it is a garment that life has torn,
and through the tatters of this early har-
ness gleam the fires of love that burn in-
dignantly at human wrong, that glow
brightly in human fellowship.

—Joseph T. Shipley, from introduction
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THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

National

Party Activity

There is a growing interest and determination by Socialists throughout the country to get the party in fighting trim for future work. The increasing enthusiasm gives us assurance that the Socialist movement of the United States will soon be a great power, political and economic. The plans outlined by the National Executive Committee should entice and encourage our comrades everywhere to increase their activity in the building of the party organization, in the building of the Socialist press, and in preparing for the 1928 campaign.

In the Northwest

The state secretaries of Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado and other adjoining states are planning for a series of meetings in the near future for Ida Crouch Hazlett. We are quite sure that with the growing interest for greater activity, Mrs. Hazlett will receive a hearty welcome in this section of the country. Socialist organizations are asked to arrange meetings and we hope that they will fully cooperate in every way. We know that the voters are ready to listen to our speakers and every effort should be made to get them to the meetings.

Finnish Federation

No group of the Socialist Party in this country gives closer co-operation and better support than the Finnish Socialists. Their organizations everywhere are co-operating by contributing to the organization work of the National Headquarters. These comrades never fail to reply to letters for help to the national organization.

Wisconsin

The party is continuing its plans for big educational work during the summer and fall months. It is not only preparing for more educational work in the cities where the party is now strong, but also to place literature all over that state. The increase of subscriptions to the American Appeal among the farmers as well as the city workers proves that there is a growing interest in building the party in Wisconsin. The preparation of millions of leaflets to be distributed throughout the state will doubtless increase the party organization and its vote in the coming election.

Kentucky

John J. Thobe, state secretary, continues his excellent work in correspondence with Socialists in the state with the idea of building the party and preparing for the work ahead. He is flooding the state with the Berger speech on "Militarism," and expects to follow it up by mailing and distributing other literature. The readers of the American Appeal and New Leader in that state should co-operate with him.

California

Lena M. Lewis, state secretary, is preparing to do lecture work throughout that state. While she is doing considerable work in editing the party weekly, she also finds time to go into

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the state for the purpose of encouraging party members and building up the circulation of the party press. She is determined to keep the California movement and its vote on the increase.

Los Angeles

At a joint meeting of party branches and Yipsel circles it was decided to raise a fund of \$3,000 to employ an organizer in Los Angeles for a year. A committee of twelve was elected to carry out this program. Socialists are also hoping that they can induce Congressman Berger to speak in a large hall this summer.

Pennsylvania

Reading

At a recent meeting of the campaign committee it was decided to have at least two picnics during the coming summer months and June 4 and August 28 were selected as the probable dates. Socialist Party picnics have always been popular with the workers of Reading and the committee will seek to outdo all its former efforts this year.

New England

Lectures

Esther Friedman will tour Massachusetts from June 2 to the end of July. Branches desiring dates are urged to get in touch at once with the District Office, 21 Essex Street, Boston. From August 21 to September 18, Rev. Ethelred Browne will tour the State.

Radio Fund

Readers of this paper are urged to contribute to the Debs Memorial Radio Fund, through the District Office at 21 Essex Street. We must have a broadcasting station of our own if we want to take advantage of modern means of communication.

Three months' trial subscription can be given to trade unionists and other lists of progressive groups for the American Appeal and The New Leader at reduced rates. This is a very effective method of doing our propaganda work.

The District Office has ordered another list of Berger's "Old Social Question—Still New," which can be had at the rate of \$3.00 per thousand.

Vipsels

The circles at Peabody and Worcester have been reorganized through the work of Comrades Manning, Ginsburg and Rabinowitz. The Boston Yipsels, under the leadership of Comrade Manning are planning to start open-air propaganda on Boston Common a week from Sunday.

Connecticut

Convention Postponed

The Socialist Party State Convention was postponed to Sunday, June 5 at Arbutus Manner Chor Park, Arlington, New Haven, because of the cold, rainy weather, also because we were unable to obtain Judge Panken to speak on that date. It was thought by the committee that a larger attendance would be obtained by holding it on a later date.

A meeting of the Debs Radio Station Committee will be held in connection with the convention.

The ladies of the Manner Chor will serve a dinner at a very reasonable price, 50 cents. Anyone wishing to take dinner should notify Joseph Peden, 155 Bradley Street, New Haven, at least three days in advance.

The Workmen Circle Branches of New Haven are very active raising money for the Debs Radio Station Fund.

A joint meeting of the Jewish Verbod and the American branch of the Socialist Party of New Haven was held Wednesday evening, May 25. Plans were made to help boost the meeting for Judge Panken at the State Convention, June 5.

New Jersey

Passaic Yipsels

The Passaic Circle held a successful business and discussion meeting last week at headquarters, 50 Howe Avenue. Samuel Seidman of Newark delivered an interesting address which was also humorous and much appreciated. Arrangements are being made for a family outing at Eagle Rock the last Sunday in June, which will be the first outing and athletic event of the Circle. William Karlin of New York will address the Circle Friday night, May 27.

New York State

Referendum Results
State Secretary Merrill announces that so far as New York State is concerned

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