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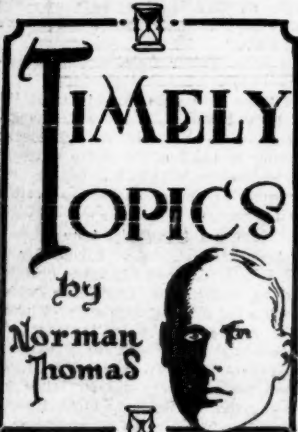
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TEN DAYS TO LIVE!

Hope for Sacco Lies Only in Great Popular Demand As Two Federal Judges Turn Down Plea for Lives



TIMELY TOPICS
by
Norman Thomas

A GAIN I am in the difficult position of having to write this column early on Wednesday before I know whether or not Sacco and Vanzetti will live to see tomorrow's sun. I am leaving on a belated trip to two Michigan conferences where, among other things, I am to speak on the Sacco-Vanzetti case. The fact that the Daughters of the American Revolution do not want me to come makes the trip somewhat more important in my eyes.

Our intense preoccupation with the Sacco-Vanzetti case necessarily makes all other news seem unimportant. Matters in themselves of some significance like the long-delayed report on milk scandals in New York, Vice-President Dawes' speech against a naval race, and the administration's unsatisfactory farm relief bill can scarcely be considered, while all our hearts are enlisted in the cause not so much of Sacco and Vanzetti, but of plain decency in the country in which we live.

In the midst of this tragedy it was heartening to observe the response of labor at the crowded meetings held under the auspices of the unions and the Socialist party. Something of a new spirit of determination is coming into the labor movement. The attitude of the immense street audiences in the evening up in the Bronx strengthened this impression. Yet while we rejoice in what labor is doing, let us face squarely the bitter fact that if labor in America had been well organized industrially and politically, united and alert, Tom Mooney would certainly be out of his cell in California and Sacco and Vanzetti would scarcely be counting the hours until the state with cold-blooded cruelty, horrible to contemplate—a cruelty blessed by clerics and educators and judges—leads them to death for a crime seven years old, of which their guilt has not been proved. It is only as labor is organized for the general struggle against imperialism, against the whole system which perpetuates class division and racial and national pride, that we can hope to escape the shame of new Sacco and Vanzetti cases.

Our good friend, Arthur Garfield Hays, one of the bravest, most generous and most useful of liberals, has questioned in some of his speeches our analysis of the Sacco-Vanzetti case as an example of class justice or rather injustice; that is, of injustice arising from the class struggle with its consequent effect upon men's ethical conceptions.

Now, it is quite true that not all injustice arises out of the class struggle. Courts may make terrible mistakes out of honest ignorance of the facts or misinterpretation of evidence. Justice may be betrayed by temporary waves of passion and prejudice arising from other causes than class division. Class prejudice may be supplemented or modified by racial and national feeling. Even under a classless society justice will not be perfect and automatic.

But these admissions do not account for the Sacco-Vanzetti case. From the very beginning feeling against these men because they were radical workers, complicated by the further fact that they were foreigners, has been a dominant factor in the prosecution.

Heywood Broun Quits "The World" In Row on Sacco

Told to "Lay Off That Case," Famous Columnist Defies Orders and Is Through, He Tells New Leader—Two of His Articles Are Placed on the Hook—Calls It a "Strike"

By GERTRUDE WEIL KLEIN

"AND, say, lay off that Sacco-Vanzetti case, will you, Broun,"

Heywood Broun, thus admonished by the assistant managing editor of the New York World, hitched up his pants, sat himself down to his typewriter and wrote another "piece" on the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

GUILT UNPROVED, SAYS LIBERTIES UNION

No Certainty That
Would Permit Execution Exists, Charge

CHARGES that the report of Governor Fuller's Commission of Investigation in the Sacco-Vanzetti case carried "no such certainty of guilt as to warrant the execution of these two men" were contained in a statement issued by the American Civil Liberties Union. The statement, which was made by the Executive Committee of the Union, follows:

"In the discussion which has arisen over the report of Governor Fuller's Advisory Commission a most serious question has been overlooked. The report is in effect an argument in support of the guilt of Sacco and Vanzetti. This argument the Defense Committee very properly is meeting in successive statements. That we leave to them.

"But there is a question of even more immediate importance which needs no detailed and documented argument. That question is: Does the Governor's Commission on the face of its report so firmly establish not only the guilt of the men but the fairness of their trial as to warrant their execution after seven long years of delay in the face of the protest of a large part of the civilized world and the conviction, right or wrong, that this is a monstrous example of class injustice with the incalculable consequences for evil that flow from such a conviction? To this solemn question the answer is an unhesitating negative. The report of the Commission on its face and without detailed rebuttal evidence carries no such certainty of guilt as to warrant the execution of these men with utter disregard of the consequences to the reputation of America and the hope of substituting reason for passion in the affairs of men.

"We do not attempt to pass on the conscious motives of the highly respectable gentlemen, all drawn from one social class, who wrote the report. Whatever their conscious motives, they have given us a piece of special pleading. They have confused the separate issues of the fairness of the trial and the guilt of the prisoners arguing one or the other as suits their purpose. They discredit the witnesses for the defense and accept the witnesses for the prosecution without reference to the serious charges brought against their probity. They utterly ignore the discrepancies in the identifications and other stories of witnesses for the prosecution between what they told the Pinkerton men and the police soon after the crime and what they testified in court. They pass over in profound silence the alibi for Sacco triumphantly established by Mr. Bosco and Professor Guadagni in face of the steadfast opposition of President Lowell. They admit that Gould, the man in the best position to identify the criminals, said that Sacco and Vanzetti were not the men and that he was never given a chance to

Not a wild piece, in fact a very mild piece, compared with the two which had preceded it in his column. But because of it, or rather because of the refusal of the World to print it, Mr. Broun, to quote himself, is on a general strike, which promises to be lonely and prolonged.

In short, Mr. Broun feels that if the time has come when he can no longer express his honest opinion in what is supposedly his personal column, "It Seems to Me," then the time has come for him to quit.

On Sunday last Mr. Broun wrote his Monday column and sent it in from the country by way of a friend. The friend was somewhat delayed and did not get to the World office until rather late. On Monday Mr. Broun opened his World, and there was no story. He called up William P. Beazell and asked for an explanation.

Well, said Beazell, it had gotten in pretty late, you see, and—well, wouldn't Broun write another piece right away for the next day?

"And lay off the Sacco-Vanzetti stuff, Broun, will you," was the parting suggestion.

But there was nothing else to write about but the Sacco-Vanzetti case, and so Mr. Broun wrote another article about it. It was similar to the one which had not gotten there in time.

Mr. Broun brought it in himself, early, and said to Mr. Beazell: "I'm

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WORLD HATRED LOOSE ON U. S.

Name of America Is
Cursed, Flag Jeered
in Turmoil Over
Sacco

THROUGHOUT the civilized world today men and women curse the name of the United States. American flags are being jeered. American consulates are surrounded by menacing mobs.

For the United States, in this day of enlightenment and progress, is permitting Massachusetts to execute two men because they hold unpopular political opinions. Throughout the world the cry rings, "Sacco and Vanzetti are innocent!" "Shame on the United States!"

Men and women of all classes in all nations, in England and on the continent, as well as in Latin America and in the Pacific nations, are clamoring for freedom for Sacco and Vanzetti.

50,000 Demonstrate In Stockholm

Stockholm, Sweden.—About 50,000 persons demonstrated here on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti. At a protest meeting at the General Motor Building, Branting, the Socialist leader, proposed a protest strike, and as a result the workers walked out.

Premier Ekman received a delegation which requested the government to intervene with the Washington government for a postponement of the execution of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti.

Quebec Holds Protest Meeting

Montreal, Que.—Orderliness characterized the meeting here to protest

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Pullman Porters Win Concession at Chicago

As The New Leader goes to press, A. Philip Randolph, representing the Brotherhood of Pullman Porters, before the Federal Mediation Board in Chicago, wires that the board has concluded its hearing, and Chairman Edwin P. Morrow has recommended arbitration. This means practical recognition of the Brotherhood as a union in the service, and gives it standing with other railroad unions before the Board. The decision is a decided defeat for the Pullman Company.

INQUIRY WAS A STAR-CHAMBER, S. P. SAYS

Party Joined in General Strike Call to Halt the Execution

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

CHICAGO.—Up to the last minute of the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti the Socialist Party put forth its greatest efforts to save them. The national executive committee of the party issued the following manifesto:

To Our Members, Friends, Sympathizers and Liberal Citizens in General:

A terrible miscarriage of justice has occurred in Massachusetts. Another case of judicial prejudice, economic coercion, prostitution of court procedure and upper class malice have led two Italian workmen, Sacco and Vanzetti, to the electric chair. The trial was conducted in the atmosphere of a medieval tribunal in the presence of a judge whose prejudice against the accused has been sworn to in affidavits by a number of conscientious men. Conscience-stricken agents of the Department of Justice have sworn to their part in the hounding of these men while

(Continued on page 6)

Outside Pressure On Boston Counts Heavily in Crisis

By McALISTER COLEMAN
(Special Correspondent of The New Leader)

BOSTON, Aug. 11.—Within a breathless hour of the time set for their executions in the Charlestown prison at two minutes after midnight today, two of the most famous prisoners in America, Sacco and Vanzetti, and Celestino Maderios, who was a witness for their defense, learned that they had received a twelve day respite from the chair. Their fates will not be definitely known until after midnight on August 22, next.

There was the same drama in this last minute respite as has characterized every move in this celebrated case, the same tragic suspense. While over across the river in Charlestown, witnesses were gathering, the newspaper men were preparing to wire out their descriptions of the three electrocutions and practically the entire civilized world was listening in.

It was a counsel of the elders that finally voted unanimously with the governor to give Sacco-Vanzetti another chance to try their fortunes in the various courts where motions are pending. They came, eight of them, for the most part old men, conservatives (seven of them are Republicans), and they listened to the arguments of Arthur J. Hill, counsel for the defense, and his assistants from before noon, with an hour or so intermission, until long after midnight.

In the meanwhile in the ante-room, with its white colonial wainscoting, its low French windows looking out over the trees on the commons very beautiful beneath a high-rising August moon, some fifty reporters, two of them women, the representatives of all the important papers and wire services in the world, milled uneasily up and down watching the hours slip away on the big clock on the wall wondering if any word would come from behind the closed doors of the governor's offices before the electrodes should be affixed to the heads of the prisoners at Charlestown.

Sacco and Vanzetti were resigned to their doom, despite the rumors of a respite that had been current on the streets of Boston all day. One of their lawyers and the only outsider to see either of them during the day, found that Sacco had been reading the works of Robert Ingersoll and Thomas Jefferson and that the other so-called destroyer of America's institutions had been deep in Beard's "Rise of American Civilization," and his favorite essay by Ralph Waldo Emerson, "The Reformist."

Sacco was reported as being so weak from his self-imposed fast that he was in a coma and might have to be carried to the chair. "On the contrary," said his counsel, "he is a good proletarian as always, strong and stern and somber even though he thought that all was over.

"I will sign no more papers," he said, when they came to him with legal documents, "I have been crucified enough. Let them end it, if they will."

Vanzetti would sign only if assured that his act in no way interfered with Sacco's legal privileges.

It was a crowded day of many amazing scene shifts, this August tenth that was to see the state rid of these greatly loved and bitterly hated radicals. As for the last week, crowds shouldered before every bulletin on the case smeared out before the newspaper offices. Boys ran about crying extras, and in the big police headquarters building ponderous personalities had whispered conferences, tons of ammunition were stored away and preparation for violence were everywhere in evidence from the guards marching the State House grounds to the eight hundred police holding back a crowd of not more than one hundred and fifty at its most in front of the state prison.

For the second time during the afternoon, the "death watch" picketers, marshaled by Alfred Baker Lewis, State Secretary of the Socialist Party, took up their slow patrol in front of the governor's office. And for the second time the police swooped down on them and hustled them away to the ironically named Joy street jail. They have made a haul of real culture in these arrests, Lewis himself, Grace Hutchins of an old Beacon street family, Dos Passos, novelist and playwright, and pretty plucky little Dorothy Parker, the poet.

But on the whole there has been little outward evidence of the need for all these elaborate marchings and counter marchings of the Boston police. The tension over this case has, it is true, been marked. In hotels and theatre lobby, grim lipped, red faced, spectated gentlemen have loudly expressed their hope that the "damned anarchists burn." In the clubs of the town profanity has had a decided revival, ever since Governor Fuller first announced that no reprieve was coming from his quarter and the former automobile salesman, whose term expires in 1928, was praised to the Massachusetts skies and his name everywhere coupled with that of Coolidge, the hero of the Boston police strike.

Only the dirty streets over on the north side where the hard working members of the Sacco-Vanzetti defense committee have

Fuller's Crucifixion of Sacco And Vanzetti Realization Of An Oft-Repeated Hope

"Red Scum," Governor Called Radicals, Urging Execution of the "Whole Brood"

By Marx Lewis
(SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT OF
THE NEW LEADER)

WASHINGTON, Aug. 5.—Crucifying radicals has long been Governor Alvan T. Fuller's ambition, the realization of which he was able to achieve when he decreed the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti. This ambition, stated in his own words, appear in the speeches he made during the two terms he was a member of the House of Representatives.

Examination of the Congressional Record covering that period discloses a speech delivered in the House on November 19, 1919, at the time when the red raids which resulted in the arrest and conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti were in full blast.

Fuller, then a member of Congress from Massachusetts, pleaded for the "crucifixion" of "the whole brood of anarchists, Bolsheviks, I. W. W.s, and revolutionaries."

The occasion was the expulsion from the House of Representatives of Representative Victor L. Berger, the legally elected representative in Congress from the Fifth District of Wisconsin, because he opposed America's entry into the World War. Fuller was then one of the leaders of the mob which demanded that the voters of

Berger's district be deprived of their opportunity to be represented by a member of their own choosing.

Approved "Crucifixion"

The expulsion of Berger, Fuller declared in that speech, may be the crucifixion which Berger characterized it, but "it is the same sort of crucifixion," he added, "which sent Debs and Big Bill Haywood behind the bars, which suppressed Berkman and Emma Goldman, and which has brought the hand of the law down upon a host of Reds who have plotted the destruction of the Government of the United States in the hope of substituting the rule of anarchy."

Continuing this harangue, the Congressman, who began his recent statement sealing the doom of Sacco and Vanzetti with the statement that he approached their case without prejudice or bias, made a plea for the espionage act, declaring that it was passed to keep down such "ENEMIES WITHIN" as Berger and others, to whom he referred as the "RED SCUM."

"The American people and their forebears have paid too dearly for their Government to see it thrown to the wolves of anarchy," this "unbiased and unprejudiced" judge of radicals declared.

This was practically the only speech of importance Fuller delivered in the four years he served Congress. He occasionally injected in his remarks by way of extensions, in the course of which he would renew his labor-hating and radical-baiting attacks. On another occasion, in which he

devoted thirteen pages of the Record to describing a trip of his in France, he said:

"Agents of Red Flag"

"You will agree, I am sure, that we are facing the gravest crisis in our history. The fight in between constitutional government—law and order—and bolshevism." He continued by denouncing the mailing of a speech by another member in opposition to preparedness, characterizing the other member's refusal to join the preparedness crew as "a devilish scheme of undermining the morale of the people" for which that member should have received, German gold.

"The agents of the red flag and bolshevism are seeking to take advantage of our industrial unrest," he said in another speech, this time appealing for some means that would make it impossible for workers to strike. "We are facing a critical period," he added, the period being, he said, the "threatening of the industrial life with disorganization and paralysis by fanatical agitators."

His remarks in the Record in four years do not appear more than a half dozen times, and always in the same tenor. That was his only contribution to the solution of problems facing Congress. And that was the viewpoint, and judicial calm, of the man who had to determine whether two anarchists were given a fair trial by a judge who told the jury, when they retired, that they must do their duty as the soldier on the battlefield.

Civilized World Curses Name of United States

toiled day and night have been iarticulate as far as the general public knows.

No one knows clearly as yet what caused Governor Fuller, on the day set for the execution, to call in, first, the seven old men who had been former attorney generals of state, and then sit in conference for hours with his executive counsel, finally to grant a breathing spell until the lawyers for the defense could present their various motions.

It was thought at one time that Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, noted for his love for civil liberties, might step in at the last. But after a hurried trip to the justice's summer home at Beverly Hills, lawyer Hill returned dejected, for Justice Holmes said that he saw no reason for intervention. And then Federal Judge Anderson, renowned for his liberal tendencies, was tried with no better result and it looked as though everything were over.

In fact, Mr. Hill soon after noon of the tenth said that he saw no hope. But the long-conference with the old men was held and out of it emerged new hope.

New, but still small enough, if there is any wavering in the ranks of real Sacco sympathizers, it may very well be that when the Supreme Court of the State is called together to consider whether a new trial shall be granted, the judiciary may yet decide against the two Italians and once again they will go through the gruesome preparations over in Charlestown.

Stupid violence, the sudden turning of such public opinion as there is in favor of Sacco and Vanzetti, any hint of desertion on the part of their friends may turn the tide against them. More than anyone can realize who has not been on the spot is the influence of enlightened progressive opinion upon the judiciary and executive of Massachusetts in these twelve days to come.

HEYWOOD BROWN QUILTS WORLD ON SACCO

Columnist, Told to "Lay Off," Refuses and Is Through

(Continued from page 1)

Sorry, and I don't want to be a nuisance, but I really can't write about anything else just now. "Bill" Blazell, the apple of every World cub's eye, took the article. It dwelt wholly on the psychology of prejudice, with reference to the Sacco-Vanzetti case, of course.

Mr. Brown does not make carbon copies of his articles, much to the regret of his New Leader interviewer, so no copy of his article is available, but his main contention was, he said, that it was absurd for the persons sitting in judgment on the case to deny prejudice; that naturally if a person were prejudiced he would say he was not, since as soon as he admitted being prejudiced he would be in a fair way to being unprejudiced, or at least he would be in such a state of mind as would enable him to recognize any symptoms of prejudice that might manifest themselves.

It was, Mr. Brown had said, a matter for psychologists, he told the New Leader.

Out Again Tuesday

Tuesday and no article appeared. Again Mr. Brown asked why? It seems there had been an editorial conference and the supposedly liberal World had decreed that unless Brown toned down his stuff to conform to the general editorial policy, which by this time had tipped back to a gentle plea for commutation of sentence on humanitarian grounds, his articles on the Sacco-Vanzetti case would not appear. Mr. Brown thereupon decided he was through, and so notified the World.

"It seemed to me," said Mr. Brown, "that this was a most unfair and unjust business, and under the circumstances I simply could not go on."

At this point in the interview Mr. Brown was called to the telephone to be informed that Ruth Hale, who is his wife and a writer, and Dorothy Parker, author of "Enough Rope," had been arrested for picketing in Boston, where they had gone in protest against the verdict against Sacco-Vanzetti.

Mr. Brown then stated that he had had a controversy with Ralph Pulitzer about two years ago as to his rights when his opinions differed from those of the editorial page. Mr. Brown contended that since he was speaking for himself he was free to express what-

ever opinion he happened to hold. Mr. Pulitzer insisted that the paper must speak with one voice. A crisis now having occurred, in which his rights are in jeopardy, Mr. Brown says he will work for the paper no longer.

Brown is quite in the dark as to the legal aspects of the matter. His contract has another two and a half years to run. Under it he is constrained from writing for any other newspaper, magazine or periodical. So far as he can judge himself, the contract has been broken by him, since there is no clause specifying that The World must print anything and everything that Mr. Brown writes.

What will Mr. Brown do now? He does not know. Write a book, maybe. But he is quite positive that he is not going back to the World.

"I see nothing that will change the situation," said Mr. Brown. "It seems to me I'm through."

And so the "most distinguished page in American journalism" bids fair to become the most extinguished.

Wells' Socialism

W ORN boots, torn boots, weary, down-at-the-heels boots, unhappy, sad boots, reflecting the unhappiness and lives of their wearers. This misery of boots! What a feeling of heavy dreariness this phrase carries in its wake; what a vision of boots H. G. Wells evokes before your eyes. Not so the boots of the fortunate of the earth—there you have elegant boots, shiny boots, carefully sewn and immaculately clean boots. To H. G. Wells all the injustice, the miseries, and struggles of present-day life can be symbolized in boots, and through this homely comparison he succeeds in wringing your heart for the poor twisted boots which cry of the miserable distorted lives of their owners.

Wells is not an economist, strictly speaking—he doesn't concern himself much with abstruse, complicated details of social analysis and reconstruction, but the crying injustice of present day society is so obvious to him, so heart-rending, so patent, that he patiently again and again he describes, in simple and persuasive language, what he sees all around him, what he cannot understand that everyone doesn't see, and leaves you with the plea—Do something about it, please, this cannot go on.

In the essays collected in this volume ("Wells' Social Anticipations," Edited with an Introduction by Dr. Harry W. Laidler, Vanguard Press, New York City, 50 cents), you get Wells' views of society, his speculations about the future, his comments on the past, all leading to Socialism as the inevitable solution of present economic evils. His election addresses of 1922, as candidate for the University of London on the British Labor Party ticket, makes his position unquestionably clear.

WORLD HATRED LOOSE ON U. S.

Name of America Is Cursed, Flag Jeered in Turmoil Over Sacco

(Continued from page 1)

against the execution of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti. The City Central Committee of the Canadian Labor Defense League had arranged for the demonstration. Two halls were packed.

A long protest resolution was passed unanimously. Speeches were delivered in English, French, Russian, Italian, Ukrainian and Yiddish. All were to the effect that Vanzetti and Sacco are innocent and are martyrs of the communistic or anarchistic cause.

A police guard has been placed outside the American Legation here to prevent untoward incidents in connection with the Sacco-Vanzetti manifestations.

Several thousand persons at a labor meeting approved a resolution of protest against the execution of the two men which will be cabled to Governor Fuller.

Warsaw Holds Protests

Warsaw.—The police prevented a demonstration before the American Legation here. Mass meetings were called by the Jewish Labor Parties and other organizations, at which messages were drawn up asking President Coolidge to intercede in behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Arrests Made in Berlin

Berlin.—Twelve persons were arrested in front of the American Embassy this afternoon before the police were able to break up a Sacco-Vanzetti protest demonstration. The number of police was increased, but the groups continued to gather, shouting "Down with judicial murder, and free innocent men!"

Herr Breitscheid, the Socialist leader, published a protest emphasizing his belief in the abolishment of the death penalty.

Fridtjof Nansen, the Arctic explorer; President Masaryk of Czechoslovakia, and Professor Albert Einstein have sent telegrams to Governor Fuller in the name of the League for Human Freedom, and also have requested American correspondents in Berlin to bring to the attention of the proper authorities the opinions of Europe in the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

Denmark Tries To Phone Fuller

Copenhagen, Denmark.—Following a demonstration for Sacco and Vanzetti near the American Legation the police prohibited all traffic on the street in which the legation is situated. The Extrabladet tried to reach Governor Fuller by telephone relay, but his secretary said the Governor was out.

Amsterdam Demonstration

Amsterdam.—A number of youths attempted to stage a demonstration in favor of Sacco and Vanzetti on the occasion of the visit of a party of American journalists to the Colonial Institute here. The youths were dispersed by the police.

Clash in Brussels

Brussels.—Communists parading in favor of Sacco and Vanzetti clashed with a police force before the United States consulate. Police used their clubs to disperse the Communists after one of the demonstrators had been permitted to file a protest with the American consulate.

Britain Strong For Clemency

London.—With the approach of the day fixed for the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti agitation in favor of some form of clemency is gathering even greater force and volume, and the newspapers are joining in earnest appeals in favor of the condemned men.

Eleventh-hour meetings of protest have been called for every town of the British Isles where there is an American consulate. An automobile was paraded before the American Embassy, a man shouting from it repeatedly through a megaphone: "Sacco and Vanzetti must not die!"

The newspapers point out that not since the famous Dreyfus case in France and the case of Ferrer in Spain has the conscience of the world been aroused to such a passionate fervor of protest.

Most of the editorial writers readily admit that the outside world has no right to interfere with the course of justice in another country, and their remarks consequently are couched in moderate language. They leave no doubt, however, that strong feeling will be aroused should the executions be carried out.

The Liverpool Post in an editorial said:

"The original trial from start to finish was a travesty of judicial procedure. It was so understood among most of the European peoples, and we can readily believe it was so understood in America as a whole."

The Laborite Herald in an editorial in tomorrow's issue will make a mod-

erately worded last-minute appeal for "the voice of humanity, which we are convinced in this case is the voice of justice, to be heard in its pleading for a reprieve." The paper will suggest that whatever are the legal aspects of the President's relationship to the courts, an intimation from President Coolidge would have its effect.

A Reuter dispatch from Geneva, Switzerland, says the telegraph authorities refused to transmit to the United States Legation in Bern a resolution drafted by a committee working in the interests of Sacco and Vanzetti. The resolution, which demanded release of the prisoners was drafted at a public meeting last night attended by 2,500 persons. Speakers adversely criticized Governor Fuller of Massachusetts and the judge and prosecutor in the case.

Noted Parisians Send Protest

PARIS.—The Paris newspapers without exception are devoting their most prominent space to the Sacco-Vanzetti case. Several hundred persons gathered at a meeting called by a committee of Americans headed by Henry Dana and Rabbi Mitchell Fisher, at which several international orators condemned the projected execution of the two Italians. A cablegram sent by the meeting to Governor Fuller and President Coolidge said:

"We Americans gathered in great numbers in Paris send a final appeal for justice on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti."

Official apologies were tendered to the United States consulate at Casablanca in Morocco for the burning of the American flag by a mob of demonstrators on Sunday.

Petitions and telegrams of appeal and protest were dispatched in great number and threats were made in communist quarters. It was announced by communists at Cherbourg that hostile demonstrations would be organized when the American Legionnaires land in France if Sacco and Vanzetti were not spared.

A number of prominent persons, including Mme. Curie, the Marquis Guy de Lastoyre, a grandson of Lafayette, Alfred Dreyfus, the central figure in the famous Dreyfus case; former Minister of Commerce Louis Loucheur and former Minister of Finance Cailleur signed appeals to President Coolidge and Governor Fuller.

A number of longshoremen remained away from work at Havre, Bordeaux and in other ports and in some interior towns parades were held. In almost every city where there is an American consulate letters and petitions were presented, but with police on guard everywhere there was no violence.

Some cable messages were sent to Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh in the hope that he might be able to do something.

35,000 Filipinos Cable Protest

Manila.—The executive council of the Philippine Labor Congress, representing 35,000 workers, announced it was cabling Governor Fuller the following protest against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti:

"The Philippine Labor Congress energetically protests against the Sacco-Vanzetti executions. We join the millions of workers all over the world in demanding their immediate release."

Uruguay Asks Mercy

Montevideo, Uruguay.—The Chamber of Deputies sent a telegram to President Coolidge asking that Sacco and Vanzetti should not be executed. The Chamber previously had rejected a Communist motion not to hold a session today as a protest against the sentence passed on the two men.

Argentine Workers Strike

Buenos Aires.—While the workers of Buenos Aires have returned to their tasks after three days of partial strike, this is said to be only the lull before the storm. The principal labor unions have instructed the workers of the entire country to join in a general strike of twenty-four hours, beginning at 6 o'clock on the day of the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti.

In the provinces strikes are reported to be going on in the independent trades, and several cities have been without newspapers since last Friday because the printers did not resume work.

At Tucuman the cessation of work is said to be almost general. No cars were working and only a few street cars were running yesterday. The strikers are said to have paraded the streets and to have compelled business houses to shut their doors. Several windows were broken during this process.

Mexican Labor Pleads With Coolidge

Mexico City.—The central committee of the Mexican Federation of Labor Tuesday dispatched long cables to President Coolidge and Governor Alvan T. Fuller of Massachusetts on behalf of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, anarchists convicted of murder in Massachusetts. The messages express the opinion that the evidence adduced at the trial of the two men was not sufficient to prove their guilt. The organization calls upon all labor groups affiliated with the federation to stage manifestations of sympathy to insure the solidarity of the workers.

Reports received from Puebla, in the State of Puebla, say that the Syndicalist Confederation of Labor of that state, composed of 30,000 workers, effected a short strike at 10 o'clock this morning and another from 5 to 6

o'clock this afternoon in protest against the impending execution of Sacco and Vanzetti. The residence of William O. Jenkins, the American consul at Puebla, is heavily guarded by the police.

Cuban Labor Is Aroused

Havana, Cuba.—Representatives of trade bodies passed resolutions protesting against executing Sacco and Vanzetti. The resolutions were forwarded to Governor Fuller.

Santo Domingo In Ferment

Santo Domingo, Republic of Santo Domingo.—Armed forces were protecting the American legation as a precaution against demonstrations. The labor union has issued a protest, but this far there has been no disturbance.

Strike Halts Paraguay Traffic

Asuncion, Paraguay.—Street and port traffic was paralyzed for three hours as a consequence of a protest strike. The newspapers did not publish.

Strike in Copenhagen

Copenhagen.—The employees of the General Motors works here have decided to go on a twenty-four-hour strike on account of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Austrian Workers With Condemned

The Arbeiter Zeitung editorially addresses A. H. Washburn, the American Minister, whom it tells that the sympathy of Austrian labor is with the two condemned men.

Some newspapers point to the fact that the Europe-wide protests in the Sacco-Vanzetti case have been paralleled only by the same sort of action in the case of Francisco Ferrer, a Spanish revolutionary, who was executed in Barcelona in 1909. At that time people in all Europe united in protest, as they are doing at present.

In Belgrade the Central Executive Committee of the labor union has decided to hold a protest meeting.

MAURER SEES VICTORY IN READING

Old Party Administration in Reading Scandalous, Socialist Declares

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

READING, Pa.—"When we get into City Hall we expect to find such a mess as will surprise the people of Reading," declared James H. Maurer, Socialist and Labor candidate for City Council at the big Socialist-Labor picnic held at Keller's Park, Sinking Spring. Maurer's address, which was the feature attraction of the day, was cheered by fully 3,000 people who were present in the afternoon. Raymond S. Hofess, Socialist and Labor candidate for the School Board, acted as chairman and introduced J. Henry Stump, candidate for Mayor, who preceded Maurer with a short talk on local politics.

"The present assessment and tax middle is the climax of more than 30 years of mismanagement on the part of both old political parties," declared Maurer. "All that time the Socialists have been warning the people that the city was riding to a fall. We have protested in election after election against the policy of borrowing money for non-revenue-producing enterprises and have pointed to the fact that the money lenders benefited from such policies at the expense of the taxpayers of the city. But although the people voted with us whenever they had an opportunity, they would not vote for us. They defeated loan after loan, but elected the same old party borrowers. As a result the city's debts and interest charges have mounted—largely without the consent of the people."

"Of course there has been considerable dissatisfaction during all that time, but instead of electing workers who would represent the plain people the voters jumped from the Republican frying pan into the Democratic and back again. They kept the Socialists out, and as a result the borrowing and debt-making continued."

Maurer declared that the government's policy of interference in the affairs of smaller and weaker nations shows how thoroughly the old political parties are in the service of Wall Street. "In Nicaragua and in China our troops are waging what amounts to an undeclared war upon the natives of those countries. The reason is that powerful financial interests have invested their surplus dollars in foreign lands. Now public funds and national troops are used to safeguard private dollars."

"There is no longer any opposition party powerful enough to halt the activities of the money group of this nation, nor will there be until the workers join with the Socialists in forming a party of labor," he declared. "This year may mark the formation of a real party of American labor and the election in Reading may be the beginning of an intelligent protest against government for the classes and against the interests of the masses."

WIS. SOCIALISTS VICTORIOUS

Legislators Win Passage of Conservation Act—Ask for House Cleaning

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

MILWAUKEE.—Passage of the conservation law, credit for which is claimed by Socialist members of the state legislature, is the greatest accomplishment of the session just closed in the opinion of Socialist legislators who have returned to Milwaukee.

Lieut. Gov. Henry Huber and senators and assemblymen expressed themselves on the achievements of the past session.

Assemblyman William Coleman, Socialist, declared: "If we have done nothing else, as representatives of labor, we Socialists have successfully repelled and defeated the intended repeal of our most important labor laws, the repeal of which was advocated by the employers' council and allied employing interests."

"This is especially true of the attempt to reduce the age of boys employed as golf caddies, from the present standard of 16 to 12 years of age and which would permit the employment of these 12-year-old boys until 8 each night."

"It was largely due to the efforts of the Socialist group in the assembly that this bill was finally defeated, as the senate had passed this bill over the governor's veto."

"Another victory for the Socialist group was the defeat of a bill which would have increased the number of working hours for women."

"After taking into consideration all that was done during the session, labor has maintained its own against great odds. What is needed at Madison today is a general house cleaning from top to bottom, if the people of this state desire any relief whatever by way of legislation."

"We Socialists sincerely regret the defeat of the initiative and referendum joint resolution, which, if passed by the legislature, and adopted by the people, would have permitted the initiation of new laws and an opportunity for the people to vote upon measures passed by the legislature, if they so desired."

Assemblyman George Tews, Socialist: "We Socialists are chiefly responsible for the passage of the new conservation law which is the outstanding achievement of the legislative session just closed. This credit is conceded to us by the governor, the Isaac Walton

league and others interested in the passage.

"We Socialists were directly responsible, furthermore, for the defeat of four bills all directed against labor and fostered by the employers' council. I refer to the Unlawful Industrial Disputes bill; the Strikes and Lockouts bill; the Unlawful Strikes bill, and the Injunction Between Employees and Employers' bill."

Senator Alex Ruffing, Socialist:

"The high light of the past session was the passage of the conservation law which offers a nucleus upon which we can work to preserve the natural resources of Wisconsin for its citizens, and for which we Socialists were directly responsible."

"Due to Socialist effort, the normal schools of the state will for the first time since the war receive appropriations which approach sufficient funds for new buildings badly needed."

Is Called Long "If we did not accomplish a great many new labor laws, at least we were able to hold several very important ones that we were able to write into the law in preceding sessions and which were seriously threatened during the present session."

"Our opposition saved a reduction in the compulsory age limit for attendance at vocational schools and the strike and lockout law enacted two years ago."

Senator Walter Polakowski, Socialist:

"I have been able to add to the list of bills I introduced which subsequently were passed by the legislature, making a total of 16 since entering the legislature in 1921, without spoiling my record of never having one vetoed by a governor."

Cites Headlight Law

"Among those which I consider of greatest importance are those pertaining to automobile legislation which provide for drivers' licenses and headlight testing; that which increases the dependents' fund under the workman's compensation act from \$1,400 to \$1,500; those pertaining to prison labor including the appointment of an interim committee to make an investigation of prison labor with a view to eliminating prison labor contract, and the passage of the law providing for compensation for accidents occurring to prison laborers, and the fireworks bill."

Senator Polakowski was unable to take a place on the interim committee, which will investigate prison labor conditions, but accepted appointment by the lieutenant governor to the interim committee on the consolidation of county and city governments.

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400,000 N.Y. Workers Struck in Protest for Condemned

SOCIALISTS AIDED IN GREATEST WALKOUT

24,000 in Halls Forward
Last-Minute Pleas to
Coolidge

THE one-day strike called by the Sacco-Vanzetti Strike Committee, an amalgamation of trades unions and the Socialist party, succeeded Tuesday in bringing to a complete standstill all work in the garment and clothing industries of the city. Other industries swelled the number of strikers to well over the 400,000 mark, which the Strike Committee predicted would join in the walkout as a protest against the impending execution of the two Massachusetts radicals.

Proceeding from their shops, more than 24,000 of the striking men and women assembled in mass meetings in 12 halls in Manhattan and Brooklyn, where they listened to Socialist and Labor leaders' attacks on the Massachusetts courts, on Governor Fuller and on his Advisory Commission. Uniform appeals, one addressed to President Coolidge and the other to Governor Fuller, made desperate last-minute appeals for clemency for the men who are about to die.

Following the adjournment of the mass meetings, the Executive Council of the Strike Committee met in the People's House, 7 East 15th street, where the following statement was drawn up and made public:

"The nation has now had a demonstration of how the popular mind feels about the Sacco and Vanzetti case. The 400,000 and more men and women who joined in today's walkout represent only a portion of those who feel that a great injustice is being done Sacco and Vanzetti. Whatever the legal terminology and the red tape may be that condemns these two men to death, the workers are convinced of their innocence.

"Honor in the Balance"
"Massachusetts cannot permit the feelings of the great mass of American working men to be flouted in this matter. The well-being of the United States cannot permit these protesting workers to be forced to believe that there is no justice for men who are poor, foreigners and radicals. Yet that will be the lasting impression if Sacco and Vanzetti die. The common people of America will say, 'There is no justice for us, but only for the rich.' And as their greatest argument will cite this outrage which is about to be perpetrated in the death house at Charleston.

"American honor will hang in the balance for the next 24 hours. If Sacco and Vanzetti die in the chair, with it will die the faith of millions of Americans in the integrity of our country."

The statement was signed by Julius Hochman, manager, Joint Board, International Ladies' Garment Workers; Samuel Herschkowitz, manager, Joint Council of Capmakers; Abraham I. Shipplack, manager, International Pocketbook Workers' Union; August Claessens, Socialist party.

"Every machine in the great garment industry of the city was halted," Morris Feinstein, secretary of the United Hebrew Trades, declared, commenting on the success of the walkout. "Not a needle moved, not a stitch was sown. The workers, men and women, responded to the last one of them, in righteous wrath over the approaching execution of two of their brothers."

Forward Issues Extra

Abraham Miller, secretary of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, reported that their workers were out of the shops by 8:30 a. m. As was the case with thousands of other workers, many men's clothing workers stayed away from work all day, falling to report in the morning. Mr. Herschkowitz said: "There was no holding our people. The two hours they spent in the shops before the official hour for the strike they devoted to impromptu speeches and the singing of labor songs. Mr. Hochman reported that all the 45,000 men, women and girls in his union, had walked out. 'It is the most inspiring demonstration I have ever seen in my 25 years in the labor movement,' he added. 'A great injustice was to be done to two of their fellow workers, and they would not have it. It remains to be seen how much the voice of the common people counts

Lewis Is Arrested As Boston Socialists Fight for Vanzetti

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

BOSTON.—Braving the wrath of the police department, Boston Socialists kept up their work for Sacco and Vanzetti until the reprieve. Alfred Baker Lewis, Massachusetts secretary of the Socialist party, and a group of loyal comrades around him, have co-operated with the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee at every point, hoping against hope that their efforts would bring some results.

Sunday a meeting of 10,000 men and women was convened on the famous Boston Common, only to be broken up by the police who arrogated to themselves the roles of censors of what the speakers were to say. On order from Superintendent of Police Crowley, the police charged the meeting and broke it up. The crowd then moved to another part of the Common where the Communists held a permit for a meeting. Here another meeting was started. This meeting also was dispersed by the police. Picketing of the State House was resolved upon. In this Lewis and other Socialists joined.

Lewis, who was chairman of the meeting on Boston Common, states that the action of Superintendent of Police Crowley in breaking up the meeting will cause more bitterness and cast doubt on the good intentions of the officials of the Commonwealth than anything that could possibly have been said at the meeting.

Superintendent Crowley's arbitrary action was taken despite the fact that the meeting was orderly and peaceful in every way, and that nothing had been said that in any way was illegal. His action was absolutely arbitrary and far more calculated to inflame the supporters of Sacco and Vanzetti than anything that had been said or would have been said.

Lewis' statement of what occurred is as follows:

"I had been speaking a few minutes when Crowley came up and ordered the

with those in high places who have decreed that Sacco and Vanzetti must die."

Beginning at 8 a. m. squads of men and women combed the garment districts distributing the official orders. More than 300,000 of these, in English, Jewish and Italian, were distributed broadcast. In addition, the Jewish Daily Forward published a special strike edition of 500,000 copies. The paper appeared on the street several hours before its usual publication time. Much of the credit for reaching the strikers with the call for the cessation of work was given to the Forward by the Strike Committee.

Parade to Halls

A few minutes after 10 o'clock, the workers began to pour from their factories. Though there was a grim and determined atmosphere about the crowd, it was on the whole good-natured. The processions through the streets, as well as the crowded meetings afterward, passed off without the slightest untoward incident. Union Square, between 10 and 11 o'clock, was a study in mass movement, as the hundreds of thousands of workers converged on the square which lay directly between the working districts and the appointed strike halls. Many of the groups sang "The International" and other Socialist songs as they paraded to the halls.

By 10:30 a. m., eleven of the halls were filled to capacity. Two meetings had to be called off at the last moment. The management of Cooper Union, Astor Place, and Hennington Hall, 214 East 2nd street, at the last minute returned the deposits that had been given for hire of the halls, saying that the police had advised against renting the halls for the meetings. The Strike Committee could not but confirm these charges against the police department.

After receiving reports from the various unions affected, the strike committee estimated the following had joined in the strike:

United Hebrew Trades (affiliated unions), 225,000.
Amalgamated Clothing Workers, 55,000.
International Ladies' Garment Workers, 45,000.

meeting stopped. I asked him why, and he said he would not let us talk about the case or criticize the courts. He also charged me with saying that the officials of the Commonwealth were perjurers. As a matter of fact I had said nothing that had not been said at a peaceful meeting on the Common the previous week. I had told the crowd that if what Governor Fuller stated in his decision were true, then the alibi witnesses of Sacco and Vanzetti were perjurers, and that we had Beltrando Brini, an alibi witness for Vanzetti, and Prof. Guadagni, an alibi witness for Sacco, at the meeting, and they would speak to the crowd and they could judge for themselves if they were liars or honest men.

"We then moved peacefully over to the Communists' tree and started the meeting under their permit with Harry Cantor as chairman. The police revoked that permit, arrested the chairman and started to disperse the crowd. One man, Mr. James, said he had a right to stay and listen to a peaceful meeting, so the police hit him.

"It is plain that Superintendent Crowley was simply determined that no alibi witness for Sacco or Vanzetti would be allowed to speak to the crowd. He did not even charge that anything illegal had been said, he simply ordered the police, of whom there were several hundred, including the mounted police and plainclothesmen, to break up the meeting. The truth is that the authorities are afraid to have the Sacco-Vanzetti case discussed in open meetings, because it is a clear case of injustice done to foreign born radical workers by the capitalist class through their control over the courts and the whole machinery of government."

Mr. Lewis has sent the following letter to the New York Times:

"Editor, The New York Times:
"I see that your account of the breaking-up by the police of our Sacco-Vanzetti protest meeting on Boston Common on Sunday, refers to me as the secretary of the Workers' Party. 'I would be obliged if you would correct the statement; that I am secretary of the Socialist Party of Massachusetts, not of the Workers' Party. I do not want my friends to think I have gone crazy.'"
"ALFRED BAKER LEWIS."

International Pocketbook Workers, 7,000.
Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers, 12,000.
Butcher Workmen, 2,000.
Bakers and Confectioners, 7,000.
Brotherhood of Painters, 3,000.
Unaffiliated Socialist workers, 25,000.

Meetings Are Held

In addition, it was said, thousands of workers, members of other unions, joined in the walkout from individual shops. Some cases of clashes between workers and employers who joined in the walkout were reported, but union officials expected to iron these out tomorrow without any great difficulty.

The meetings were held in the following halls: Beethoven Hall, 210 East Fifth street; Stuyvesant Casino, 142 Second avenue; Arlington Hall, 19 St. Marks place; Clinton Hall, 151 Clinton street; Astoria Hall, 62 East Fourth street; Forward Hall, 175 East Broadway; Peoples House, 7 East 15th street; Church of All Nations, 9 Second avenue; Harlem Socialist Center, 62 East 16th street; Amalgamated Temple, 11 Arion place, Brooklyn; Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, Brooklyn. At all of these meetings, thousands could not gain entrance. They stood in front of the halls all during the meetings, discussing the case and exchanging views. At Beethoven Hall and in the Peoples House, extra halls were pressed into service.

The speakers included Norman Thomas, who spoke at six meetings, and was to speak at four more during the evening; Judge Panken, William Karlin, Algernon Lee, Abraham Miller, Morris Sigman, Julius Hochman, Louis Waldman, S. Herschkowitz, Abraham I. Shipplack, Samuel A. De Witt, and a score of others.

Resolutions Adopted

The resolutions, adopted by rising votes and by right hands extended upward, were in the form of resolutions. The telegram to Governor Fuller said: "His Excellency Alvan T. Fuller, State House, Boston Mass.
"Excellency:—

"Two thousand organized workers assembled at Beethoven Hall on Tuesday, August ninth, energetically protest against your decision which is an offense to the conscience of mankind. 'All the evidence and established facts regarding the innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti were completely ignored by you. Rather than concede that an error was made by the judiciary of Massachusetts, you have by your decision committed a great wrong.

"Your decision will lead many respectful and law abiding citizens to look upon the justice of Massachusetts as a tragical farce. The execution of Sacco and Vanzetti would be the greatest calamity of our age, a disgrace to the State of Massachusetts, and an everlasting shame to the entire nation. 'In the name of justice and humanity, we appeal to you to reverse your cruel decision and to grant them a new trial.

Respectfully yours,
S. Herschkowitz,
"Chairman."

SOCIALISTS REACH 25,000 IN FINAL PLEA

Fifteen Last-Minute
Rallies Held in New
York City

HUGE crowds gathered at the 15 Sacco and Vanzetti last hour protest meetings held under the auspices of the Socialist Party last Tuesday night in New York City.

The meeting at Rutgers Square had one of the largest demonstrations held there since 1917. About 3,000 to 4,000 people gathered and listened to speeches delivered by Judge Panken, L. Corn, Mrs. Weintraub, Henry Frucher and others. In the conservative neighborhood of Greenwich Village, at Sheridan Square, an audience of some 300 to 400 listened attentively to Comrades S. E. Beardsley, Tim Murphy and A. Pepperberg. The meetings at 6th Street and Avenue C, 10th Street and 2nd Avenue, were enormous. Thousands of people gathered at these two places. The crowd got beyond the range of the human voice. In Yorkville, although the comrades of the branch in that territory failed to do their duty, Comrades Nathan Fine and William Karlin nevertheless held a meeting, obtained an auto, bought a flag and spoke to a crowd of some 1,500 people gathered there to await a Sacco and Vanzetti protest meeting.

The meetings in Harlem were the largest seen in that section of the city since the famous ouster of 1920. A great demonstration was held at 10th Street and 5th Avenue, at which Comrades Dobson, Leonard Kaye, Warren E. Fitzgerald, Hyman Nemeser and William Karlin spoke, and at 137th Street and Seventh Avenue, one of the largest audiences ever gathered at an open air meeting in the Negro district faced two of our speakers, Comrades Frank Crosswath and Ethelred Brown. The meetings in the Bronx held at 138th Street and Brook Avenue, Longwood and Prospect Avenues, Wilkins and Intervale Avenue, and Bathgate and Tremont Avenues were of an immense proportion. Conservative estimates placed the combined crowds at over 5,000. Comrade Norman Thomas, Samuel Orr, Sidney Hirsberg, Emanuel Deutsch and several other Yipsels and Party speakers addressed these meetings. A large meeting was held at corner Tompkins Avenue and Hart Street in Brooklyn, and three huge demonstrations in Brownsville and East New York, at corners Bristol and Pitkin Avenue, Pennsylvania and Sutter Avenue, Hinesdale and Sutter Avenue, Comrades Morris Glnet, Moses Plotkin, Isidore Ostrowsky, Bessie Adler, Jack Altman and other Party and Yipsel speakers did heroic work at these impressive demonstrations. All in all, over 25,000 people gathered at these 15 Socialist Party demonstrations.

FARM POVERTY REACTS ON POLITICS

Politicians Maneuver to
Capitalize Economic
Disaster in West

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

MINNEAPOLIS.—Economic bankruptcy throughout the farming region of the Northwest is being watched with considerable interest here because of its political complications. The Democratic Party is as bankrupt of any future as the farmers are of funds. It has no future in Minnesota and most of the other Northwest States. The Socialist Party has a splendid opportunity, but it lacks funds to take advantage of it.

So far the chief center of interest is the maneuvers of various factions of Republicans to fall heir to the political discontent of the farmers. Without exception each faction counts upon the farmers to stay within the party which, since the Civil War, has formulated government policy in relation to agriculture and which is responsible for the economic bankruptcy of the farmers today. These factions regard the farmers as their hereditary voters. Being sure of retaining these voters within the fold of the Republican Party, each of the faction leaders offers a mild program that skirts the surface but which does not touch the fundamentals of control of agriculture by the great banks, railroads, gamblers in farm products and big industrial magnates in general.

Lowden's Ambitions
Ex-Governor Lowden of Illinois leads one section of the farmers. He has for years had ambitions to be President. Having married into the Pullman family, with its huge stake in transportation, and a possessor of millions, Lowden is the representative of the capitalism that has brought desolation to the countryside. Naturally, Lowden is opposed to the renomination of Coolidge and counts upon the elimination of the latter for any chances he may have to ride into office on the backs of the bankrupt farmers.

Little need be said of Coolidge. The reason for his vacation in the Black Hills is obvious. But his presence in the distressed region does not help to pay any mortgages or prevent the sales of farms because of inability to pay taxes. The economic blight that has come to the tillers of the soil continues to take its toll of victims, while Coolidge plays cowboy and shakes hands with the Indians. If anything, Coolidge's presence only mocks the misery of the farmers. He is recognized as the representative of the urban capitalism which, through control of the Federal Government, has sucked the economic substance of the farmers into the money vats of the city exploiters.

Then there is the LaFollette faction, which lacks the punch of the elder LaFollette and which has become very timid and extremely opportunistic in its desire to hold the offices it has. This faction is more interested in this than it is in fundamental farm relief. It would go a long way toward helping the farmers out of their predicament, but the political game and its necessities are always kept in mind as a first consideration. Young LaFollette comes up for election again next year, and his timid course in Wisconsin since the death of his father shows an inclination to put the soft pedal on any thorough program that promises complete reconstruction of agriculture.

Conference Mooted
There is also talk of a national conference in Washington some time in September to bring the LaFollette forces together. At the same time, Senator Norris of Nebraska is being considered as a Presidential candidate of these forces, while Senator Wheeler of Montana also has backers. Gifford Pinchot of Pennsylvania has been suggested for second place with Wheeler.

Pinchot is typical of the "progressive" politician who talks big but never acts. He has a record in Pennsylvania of more magnificent promises and of less real action than any politician in the past two decades. High officials of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor have expressed disgust over the barren record of Pinchot in office. On the other hand, it is reported that some trade unions in that state are satisfied with so little that they have accepted Pinchot as a "progressive." In this respect they follow the course of some farmers who regard Lowden as a farmer statesman.

How the situation will shape up in the Northwest next year is a matter of great interest to advanced workers in the cities and rural sections. Out of the marked changes in the Northwest may eventually come a political alignment with a distinct Labor stamp, but the Republican factions will contribute nothing to this unless it be some blunders.

Secretary Merrill Makes Appeal

The New York State Committee of the Socialist Party sent this letter to Alvin T. Fuller, Governor of Massachusetts:

On behalf of the Socialist Party, a legally recognized political party of the State of New York, and a party that seeks to realize its aims by constitutional methods, having no sympathy for the philosophy of Anarchism or the tactics of Communists, I am appealing to you to stay the hand of the executioner in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti.

The fact that the investigation conducted by Your Excellency was closed to the public has added to the dissatisfaction created by your conclusions, and honest citizens in every part of the world are still contending that these men are being executed for their opinions and not for the commission of murder.

So long as certain phases of your investigation are left in obscurity, and particularly your apparent disregard of the most expert pistol testimony, it will be held by thousands and millions of people that a judicial murder was committed in the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, and that Judge Thayer has been whitewashed at the expense of justice.

The very least Your Excellency should do is to commute the death sentences of these men. Millions demand their freedom.

HUBERT M. MERRILL,
State Secretary.

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Abject Poverty Among Farmers in Montana

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

LIVINGSTON, Mont.—An incident that has come to the knowledge of Socialists in Montana graphically reveals the terrible distress that faces hundreds of thousands of workers in the Northwest. Conditions are more favorable for the Socialist movement than they have been for decades, yet it is almost impossible for them to get the message to those who would respond to it. Most of the Socialists themselves are almost helpless to undertake the work that could be done.

Recently James D. Graham, member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, shipped several packages of literature to reliable Socialists for distribution. One of the men who received a package is a rancher, has been a Socialist for many years and is retained as a party member, although he has been unable to pay dues for many months.

For more than two months Graham did not hear from this Socialist. Finally on July 7 he received a letter from the rancher dated May 2 and written on the brown wrapper which had enclosed the literature sent to him. This man was not only unable to purchase writing paper; he was unable to afford a postage stamp for two months to mail his letter!

This Socialist is anxious to give time to party work and to help route Socialist organizers in the state, but, like many others, he is isolated in an area of economic distress that ties the hands of workers. He has land, but is "land poor," and it is almost impossible to obtain credit so that he can get a start in life again.

These conditions prevail all over the Northwest, and every speech of Coolidge regarding "prosperity" leaves the masses enraged at the heartless politicians who are indifferent to the distress of the working class. Northwest Socialists are doing their best to meet a situation where sentiment is favorable, but where educational and organization work is difficult for lack of funds.

A Chinese Primer

For those who are terrified by names other than Smith or Chernowicz and to whom the vast heavings and groanings in China are a deep problem, Paul Hutchins' slim book, "What and Why in China," should be a great help. This is no profound study of the Chinese revolutions, but it is a help for those with no Chinese background who are trying to glean information from the obtuse and indecent reports returning to this country by way of American correspondents. It should do much to end the confusion of nationalism with Bolshevism and to explain just what each Chang, Chen or Feng is doing there and why. B. M.

Textile Workers Hold International

The General Council of the International Textile Workers' Federation met at Stockholm on the 27th and 28th of June. Tom Shaw, international secretary, submitted the report on activities and further described the interesting experiences he had had during his visit to India, undertaken in accordance with instructions from the International to study the position of Indian textile workers.

His report on this subject led to a lively discussion on the expediency of sending such delegations, chiefly in connection with the question of the despatch of a delegation to the United States to study the situation of the American textile industry, and to effect, if possible, the affiliation of American textile unions with the International. As this delegation would have to be a large one, the General Council decided to refer the matter to the next international textile workers' congress, which is to be held in Belgium on May 23, 1928.

The General Council further considered the agenda of the forthcoming congress, as proposed by the secretary. It includes the following items: the International Situation in the Textile Industry, Working Hours, Family Wages, Methods of Negotiation with Employers, Works' Councils, and Shift Work.

The very least Your Excellency should do is to commute the death sentences of these men. Millions demand their freedom.

HUBERT M. MERRILL,
State Secretary.

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Crucifixion of Sacco and Vanzetti Only Latest Atrocity In Long List of Frame-ups Against Labor Leaders

The Haymarket and Idaho Cases Cloud Integrity of America

By James Oneal

THIS is written before the date set for the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti. Whether they go to their death or whether their torture is prolonged a few more months it is time that we consider the long story of labor persecutions in the courts and the "frame-ups" that have often accompanied these cases. It would require a book to do justice to this theme but in this article there is room only for a bare reference to the more notorious cases.

It is necessary to take stock of the present status of the labor movement in this country in the light of these cases. The writer is one who believes that the whole labor movement is likely to face a brutal oligarchy in the coming years, an oligarchy that will attempt to strangle labor papers, eventually suppress the trade unions, and do openly on the grand scale what it now does on a local scale where its supremacy is questioned by organized workers.

The Sacco-Vanzetti case is not the only sign post, although it is the most significant one. The cocky and self-confident attitude of our militarists; their impudent invasion of educational institutions; their open attack on citizens and organizations who fall to howl to the dicta of these popinjays; our dictatorships maintained in Haiti, the Virgin Islands, Nicaragua and elsewhere; the rise of a religion of State worship with its flag ceremonies and goosestep ritual; the sweeping injunctions against miners and railroad workers by Palmer and Daugherty; the eating away of the freedom of trade unions by court decisions—all are phases of a regime forecasted more than twenty years ago when Professor Small of Chicago University started the press with the following statement: "We are getting into the thralls of one of the most relentless systems of economic oligarchy that the world has ever known. The march of human progress is being reduced to marking time in the lockstep of capital's chain gang."

Our Rulers' Deeds of Violence

The history of these labor cases reveal two types, each type being determined as a rule by the environment in which the case or the struggle appears. One type consists of those struggles that occur outside the zone of the large cities and generally in mountain regions where absentee ownership prevails. These struggles generally relate to the lumber or the mining industry. In these regions press facilities are few, censorship is easily enforced, social, educational and political life centers around one industry, and the psychology of feudal mastery results. The other type is the case or struggle in a dense population where the above conditions are absent.

In the first environment the anarch soul of the exploiting class finds expression chiefly in deeds of violence that have shocked the nation. It may use the courts and serve judges for its own ends, but more often it has swept them aside as nuisances. Statute law is succeeded by an extra-legal organization, a Citizens' Alliance, composed exclusively of capitalists and bankers and those lawyers, clergymen and other professional men who will keep the oligarchy or, at least, will keep their mouths shut.

In the centers of population, as a rule, this dictatorship by an oligarchy of capitalists and its allies is more difficult. Here the environment compels the ruling clique to invest its domination with the sanction of courts and judges. However, its will is made law just as effectively as in the regions where the employing clique forces sheriffs out of office, seizes the civil and police powers, and rules by sheer force. The judge may not be able to conceal his contempt for the accused as in the case of Judge Thayer. Nevertheless, the proceedings in court in sending the victim to prison, to the gallows or the chair, are just as effective.

The "Citizens' Alliance" Groups

A mere mention of the struggles of the first kind identifies them with the Citizens' Alliance physical force type. These include the numerous miners strikes in Colorado, especially Cripple Creek in 1894 and 1904; in Idaho, Coeur d'Alene strike in 1899; West Virginia, miners strikes for twenty years; Nevada, Goldfield strike of 1907; Michigan, miners in 1913; Washington, the Armistice Day tragedy in 1919; Arkansas, Missouri and North Arkansas Railroad strike, 1921-23, and others. In practically all these terrible struggles the "operatives" of private detective agencies, armed gunmen, and generally, the militia or Federal troops, played an effective role. Often neither court nor judge was used as a shirt front for concealing the class rule of the employing class.

Struggles staged in the more densely populated sections of the country have paid more respect for the forms of legality and a judicial poodle has generally been found available to adjust the noose or throw the switch. C. H. Salmon, in his history of "The Burlington Strike," in 1888, tells a tragic story of Pinkertons who played alternate roles of scabs, spies, informers and provocateurs, who snared a number of strikers and brought them prison sentences. The Federal Report on the American Railway Union Strike of 1894 is filled with testimony of detectives in the employment of the railroads firing cars and inciting riots which were to be charged to

among organized workers, but some of the "frame-ups" are not so well known. The Irish miners of Pennsylvania, in the '70's, known as the "Molly Maguires" were the first in the labor army to be victims of the capitalist crime agent. The criminal who induced these miners to commit crimes which brought some of them to the scaffold was James McPartland, who in later years turned up in the Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone case and the McNamara case. The "Molly Maguires" were a secret ring in the Ancient Order of Hibernians, a fraternal order of Catholics. McPartland was also a Catholic, and while some of these Catholic miners undoubtedly had committed terrorist acts, what are we to say of the scoundrel who sold his services to the exploiters, joined an organization of men of his own religious faith, induced them to commit more crimes, and then appear in court with testimony which sent ten of his fellow Catholics to the gallows? What is to be said of an employing class and its "morality" that will purchase the services of such a scoundrel?

Altgeld and Fuller

Governor Altgeld's pardon of the surviving victims in 1893 is a terrible indictment of the judge and the prosecution for judicial murder. Thousands of men in all walks of life, including business men who felt remorse, joined in signing petitions for pardon. Altgeld knew that his act would mean the end of his political career and that the malice of the uncompromising sections of the capitalist class would pursue him to the grave. But Altgeld was a man and willingly paid the price. He went to his grave with a clear conscience and the affection of the working class and honest people in general. Governor Fuller faced the same issue, faltered, and—let him answer if he can.

The Chicago Anarchists Die

The next notorious "frame-up" was that of the Chicago Anarchists who were executed for the Haymarket affair. In this case the judge, the prosecutor and the newspapers were allied in the "frame-up." It is true that Parsons and his colleagues had written some foolish articles urging physical force, but this had been going on for years and they had not been molested by the authorities. No overt acts were committed which alone would make them liable before the law.

On the other hand, the police department had for several years been guilty of overt acts against the law. Trade union meetings had been invaded time after time by police under orders of high officials. Without warning they entered union halls, brutally clubbed workmen, and made a mockery of civil rights. Protest meetings against these acts were treated in the same way. The Haymarket meeting was a gathering of this kind. Again the police appeared to do what they had often done before. Mayor Harrison had just left the meeting and later testified that the meeting was peaceful and orderly, and that the speeches were moderate. The police appeared, some one to this day unknown threw a bomb, and the ruling classes of Chicago clamored for living sacrifices.

The trial proved to be a lynching. The jury was packed. No evidence was produced that any one of the accused threw the bomb. The judge admitted that the case was without precedent and that no example in the law

books could be found to sustain his theory of "conspiracy." Governor Altgeld later said that "no judge in a civilized country had ever laid down such a rule before." Most of the jurors were accepted after the defense had exhausted its challenges. A number of them candidly admitted that they were so prejudiced against the accused that they could not try the case fairly. It was Judge Gary who wrung from them reluctant statements of willingness to try in spite of admitted prejudice.

Altgeld and Fuller

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Before passing to the next case it is important to state that Captain Schaack of the Police Department was the leading provocateur. In the Chicago "Daily News" of May 10, 1889, Captain Ebersold declared that after the Haymarket tragedy Captain Schaack "wanted to keep things stirring. He wanted bombs to be found here, there, all around, everywhere. After we got the Anarchist societies broken up, Schaack wanted to send men out to again organize new societies right away." Comment is unnecessary.

A "frame-up" case that has been almost forgotten is the Smith-Preston case of Goldfield, Nevada, in 1907. On a charge of murder, Morris R. Preston, business agent of the Goldfield Miners' Union, received a sentence of twenty-five years' imprisonment, and Joseph W. Smith, assistant business agent, was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment as an accessory. The Goldfield union was affiliated with the Western Federation of Miners.

Preston while picketing a restaurant shot and killed John Silva, the proprietor. Smith was at home when the killing occurred. The men were convicted chiefly upon the testimony of three witnesses, each of whom, it later turned out, had criminal records. W. L. Claiborne, the chief witness, was wanted in Arkansas on a charge of embezzlement. After the conviction of Preston and Smith, Claiborne went to

While the Trial Was On

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It is our understanding that the entire equipment will probably be operated through from Indianapolis to Fort Leavenworth. While we have no definite advice, it is understood in a general way that the business will come to us at St. Louis, late in the evening and it is desired, if practicable to leave St. Louis, about 11:15 P. M. same date and arrive Fort Leavenworth by 6:30 following morning. It has also been requested that the trains be not operated through the Union Station at St. Louis, or Union Depot at Kansas City, and it is especially desired that the matter be given no more publicity than is necessary.

This movement will in all probability take place within the next few days and the foregoing is given you as advance information so that you can handle accordingly should it be necessary to arrange on telegraphic advice.

Parties will of course, hold regular ticket transportation and when I receive definite advice as to when the train will reach us at St. Louis, I will wire you referring to this letter.

Yours truly,

W. L. Claiborne
Sup't. Terminals.

Copy to Mr. J. J. Oakley,
Sup't. TRRA, City.

Official order for a special train to transport 40 indicted labor men, in the Indianapolis Ironworkers' Union, to prison. This order was issued 40 days before the jury rendered a verdict.

California, where he became involved in a number of thefts and finally received a prison sentence.

John Davis had been convicted of the murder of two shepherders in Idaho and had been sentenced to death. Through the influence of wealthy cattlemen whom he had served his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment and through the same influence he was finally pardoned.

C. L. Maxwell, the third witness, had a record as a thief and gunman and some years later was killed by a Utah sheriff while trying to arrest him for participation in a payroll robbery. Maxwell and Claiborne were known to be in the pay of the Mine Owners' Association and a Citizens' Alliance.

An Early Judge Thayer

The testimony of these men was intended to show that the miners had

met a few nights before the killing and had "conspired" to kill a number of their opponents and that Preston had killed Silva without provocation. On cross examination two of the witnesses, in attempting to identify individuals attending the alleged meeting, identified Jardine as Willis, Sexton as Jardine, and so on. The judge played the part of Thayer in the Sacco-Vanzetti trial. Witnesses with good character swore that Silva had deliberately seized a gun in his restaurant, ran outside, aimed at Preston but the gun missed fire. Preston in self-defense fired and killed Silva.

After a number of years in prison Smith was released on parole. The friends of Preston worked for years to obtain his release, which was finally obtained. In 1914 J. P. Douglas, one of the two special prosecutors, then living in California, wrote to the parole board of Nevada, urging the re-

lease of Preston. In that letter he made the following amazing statement:

"Relative to my opinion of the testimony given by Claiborne and Bliss at the trial of M. R. Preston, I have no hesitancy in saying that I became convinced at the time of the trial and from information which came to me subsequently thereto, that both the above-named witnesses perjured themselves at that trial." (Bliss was an alias for Maxwell.)

Here we may put a question. If a respected member of the bar with very conservative views will under his own signature admit that at the time of the trial he believed that two of his own witnesses were perjurers; that as a result of this perjury an innocent man was serving twenty-five years in the penitentiary; that seven years of the imprisonment were served before the lawyer could be induced to call the truth, are we not justified in concluding that it is possible that conservative men in Massachusetts, including the Governor, prosecutors, judge and members of the Governor's commission, may have so acted in the Sacco-Vanzetti case?

Parole Board Castigates Court

It may be added that the recommendation of the Parole Board for the parole of Preston is a blistering document, showing the prostitution of justice in the trial court, convincing the reader that "justice" for workingmen in court is too often a matter of stacked cards and loaded dice.

The Mooney and Billings case in California is just as shocking as the Preston case and these two men are still serving life sentences. Their story is too well known to warrant any reference to the details of protracted and perjured at the trial. A special investigator of the Federal Department of Labor reported to Secretary of Labor Wilson in 1913 and he in turn reported the investigation to Congress. That investigation justifies every protest made by organized workers in behalf of Mooney and Billings, but these two men still rot in a California prison.

The Armistice Day tragedy in Centerville, Wash., was a bloody piece of savagery in 1919 that was followed by a "trial" perhaps the most shocking ever held in an American court. There is no doubt that it was a case of judicial lynching, but the victims are still serving long terms of imprisonment and they are almost forgotten. The fact that they were members of the I. W. O. placed them beyond the pale and insured their conviction before trial. I may add that practically all the jurors have made affidavit that they brought in a verdict of guilty because they feared for their lives, not because they believed that the accused men were guilty of murder. This substantiates the verdict of a trade union jury which watched the proceedings of the trial and which protested against the official verdict.

An Amazing Aftermath

An amazing instance of the "frame-up" which has practically escaped the notice of the labor movement itself concerns the trial and conviction of

(Continued on page 6)

Why They Must Live!

By Norman Thomas
(AN ADDRESS DELIVERED OVER WSOM)

"IT is poignantly appropriate that the first speech under our auspices from this station, which, after October 1, we expect to operate regularly as a memorial to Gene Debs, should be in behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti. His last act before his fatal illness was to send a money order to the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee. If he were alive to-day he would plead their cause with an eloquence of voice and life which we lesser men cannot match. But remembering him we can be stronger in that struggle for justice to which he gave his life.

"To some of us, to some of you who hear my voice, the tragedy of Sacco and Vanzetti is neither unprecedented nor inexplicable. We remember the Haymarket martyrs and Tom Mooney; we recall the ragged victims of American imperialism in Haiti and Nicaragua; we live over again the hysteria of the war and its aftermath; we look about us at the daily betrayals of justice in the market place and the courts, and we say:

"Sacco and Vanzetti, ideal Italian anarchists, are only the latest and most conspicuous victims of the injustice inherent in our system, with its racial, national, and, above all, its class divisions. They die that the sanctity of property and prejudice may be preserved. What is unique in their case is that the prejudice and respectability of Boston's ruling class have called forth such eminent citizens as their priests and spokesmen. As Heywood Brown has said, 'It is not every prisoner who has a president of Harvard University throw on the switch for him.' Yet the real executioner will not be old Judge Thayer, with his obscenely expressed hate for the prisoners before him; not the blundering Babbitt who is Governor of Massachusetts; not the aged Brahmins whom he called to advise him. Rather it will be a whole class and its dupes. If it be true that some of the actors in this judicial murder by which the law will crown seven years of torture are honest in their opinions, so much the worse for the monstrous social system that makes prejudice so pervasive and so brutal that it can have such results in the minds of conscientious men.

To the Doubters
"But some of you who hear my voice may say: 'It can't be true. The decision was upheld because it was just.' Let us look at the facts. The conscience of the world demanded a new

Execution Would Shatter Faith in Progress

trial and evidence—including a confession of guilt by another man—uncovered after its conclusion. This request was denied by the very judge whose conduct was under attack. The Supreme Court of the State upheld his discretion and disclaimed power to review the evidence. Then an appeal was made to the Governor to use his pardoning power to remedy this breakdown of the legal process by granting a hearing as nearly as possible equivalent to a new trial. Affidavits not put before the Supreme Court were put before him from men of the highest standing showing Judge Thayer's openly expressed prejudice. What did the Governor do?

"1. He himself held a chaotically managed secret hearing from which he excluded the defendants and usually their attorneys. We know from witnesses that he failed to understand the points at issue and often spent the whole time discussing with them points irrelevant to their testimony. He did not cover at all the discrepancies in the testimony of witnesses for the prosecution between their stories to the investigating police and to the trial court.

"2. He appointed a commission of Boston Brahmins to help him. These men were drawn from a social class without understanding of the psychology of these foreign radicals, a class some members of which openly demanded their blood without reference to their guilt. One of this commission, and perhaps another, was on record before his appointment as accepting the guilt of the men on whose case he later passed. No worker, no liberal, no man with special knowledge of Italian life or psychology was appointed. This commission held its own hearings. It heard only new witnesses; the alleged criminals were not confronted by these witnesses; the public was barred; even the defense attorneys were barred in several most important instances.

Fuller's Sins
"As a result of all this what do we get? Simply a lengthy assertion by the Governor that the men had a fair trial and are guilty. He said his commission agreed with him. His statement, which some cowardly papers like the Boston Herald, that once espoused fair play, now hail as vindicating justice, is childish in its weak-

ness. Consider only a few of its sins of omission and commission.

1. The Governor wholly ignored some of the most important points for the defense. These include: (a) The affidavit of the gun expert, Procter, now dead, which shows that his testimony on Sacco's gun was deliberately misrepresented to the jury by prearrangement with the District Attorney, (b) the shocking evidence of collusion of agents of the Federal Department of Justice with local officials to frame up Sacco and Vanzetti simply because they were radicals, (c) circumstantial evidence supporting the confession of Madeiros, which confession the Governor throws out on inadequate analysis.

2. The Governor, with childish naivete and complete ignorance of psychology, said that the jurors could not have been prejudiced because they told him so. 3. Still worse, the Governor found no evidence of prejudice in Judge Thayer. This is to ignore the affidavits of men of the standing of Robert Benchley, of "Life"; George Crocker, a conservative Boston attorney; Professor Richardson, of Dartmouth, and responsible reporters, to the effect that all through the long proceedings, while motions were still before him, Judge Thayer expressed in obscene language his opinion of the defendants.

A False Implication

4. Governor Fuller confused and mislabeled the connection between the Bridgewater and South Braintree crimes. The defense charges that the two trials were part of one frame-up proceeding against Vanzetti.

5. The Governor implied, contrary to the facts, that the charges of anarchy were dragged in by the defendants' own attorney. They were brought in by the police at the very beginning and were used by the defense only to explain the "consciousness of guilt" of which Judge Thayer made so much.

6. The Governor spoke of "clear-eyed witnesses unafraid to tell the truth." Hear the Defense Committee's comment:

"Who are these clear-eyed witnesses over whom Governor Fuller waxes lyrical? A few of them are: Lola Andrews, who repudiated her testimony after the trial, and who was later forced by the government to recant for fear of suffering because of her past conduct; Mary Spaine, a 'clear-eyed' wit-

ness who four days after the hold-up definitely accused two fellow office employees of plotting the South Braintree holdup, who 'positively' identified the photograph of a holdup man who was later found by the State police to be in Buffalo on the day of the crime; who was branded by the superintendent of the shoe factory where she was employed as 'irresponsible,' who refused to identify Sacco at the hearing held three weeks after his arrest, but who was a 'clear-eyed' one year and two months later that she could tell the color of his eyelashes, although she was standing at a second-story window watching the bandit car go by."

I challenge any supporter of this decision, I challenge the editor of the Boston Herald, the winner of the Pulitzer Prize for the best editorial of the year—an editorial in behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti—to answer these charges and to explain why any paper which once had doubts of the fairness of the trial should change its mind on the basis of the Governor's action.

The answer to the latter question, alas! is all too plain. The Boston Herald and others have been convinced, not by argument but by force, economic, social and psychological, of a dominant class.

I might urge in Sacco's and Vanzetti's behalf their extraordinary bearing during these seven years, their

eloquence, their sincerity in protesting innocence. Governor Fuller speaks of their lies. Such lies were consistent with their fear as Reds in a time of anti-Red hysteria. But none of their conduct is consistent with guilt of a sordid kind of banditry.

Retribution Will Come
But enough! The time for legal argument is over. Were these men guilty it would be a crime to burn them to death in an electric chair after so many years have passed. Were they guilty the honest doubts of a large part of the world would make it socially inexpedient to execute them. They are not guilty. They are innocent. They never had a fair trial. Because they were poor men, aliens and radicals, they have suffered this long torturous trial.

(Continued on page 6)

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It Ain't Right

A HOARD of escaped infants from a foundling asylum, armed with rubber nipples, rattlers and ivory rings, recently attacked Jack Dempsey, and although the latter had no other means of defense than a baseball bat, he succeeded in killing three hundred of the attackers and escaped with only a few scratches on his legs.

Gosh, what a mess! What I'm trying to get at, if the heat lets me, is that recently General Candino, of Nicaragua, attacked a detachment of our marines, with the result that 300 of his followers bit the dust and are now bitten by the buzzards, while our casualties in this battle amounted to only one dead and one wounded.

The Pan-American Labor Federation meeting in Washington passed resolutions urging the government to withdraw the marines from Nicaragua and thereby avoid further butcheries. President Green supported the resolution and now some of the Plute papers are raking him over the coals for having butted into something which they say is none of his business.

Oh, ain't it? Well, if it isn't Billy Green's business, then it's my business. Last year this government and its sundry sub-divisions abstracted 300 bucks from my jeans which I had earned in the agony of my brain. Those three hundred iron men represent only my direct taxes. They say nothing about the other three hundred that were jiggered out of me through indirect taxation. For every time I buy a can of tobacco or a bottle of pre-war Scotch, or a tariff-protected article of commerce, the invisible government puts its hand in my pocket with evil intent and result.

Now, I have no objection to the killing of those 300 Nicaraguans. If any one wants to act as his brother's keeper by filling him with machine gun bullets in the name of brotherly love, self determination and law and order, let him bang away, but not at my expense.

Get that, my expense. I'm not interested in Nicaraguans, nor have I any interest in Nicaragua, and neither has Brother Green or the four million organized workers he represents, nor the other hundred and ten odd millions of ordinary Americans who ought to be organized but ain't, which explains why they have so little to say.

If the whole truth were known it would show that, all told, there are not more than a dozen bankers and business buccaneers who have financial interests in Nicaragua. Well, then, why should I and the rest of us poor fools shake out our shekels to make Nicaragua safe for their blood? Why should we spend our hard-earned dough for bullets and doughnuts when we need it so badly for buns and doughnuts?

I'm getting sick and tired of "our interests" in Nicaragua. All I get out of them is a receipt from the tax gatherer that my money was spent to collect interest for Kuhn, Cohn & Kahn or their uncircumcised brothers of the House of Morgan, Lamont & Co.

Isn't it enough that this government of mine charges me with the cost of catching my bootlegger and makes me pay for the poison he puts in his booze? Must I also pony up for the bullets and poison gas it presents to those Nicaraguans?

No, I'm not one of those slobbering pacifists who whine about wholesale killing, but I believe in self-determination and self preservation, and how can I preserve myself and my interests if the International Brotherhood of Bankers, Boodlers and Bandits carry on their piracies at my expense? Such doings ain't right morally; they ain't right ethically, and they ain't right financially.

So, if the Pan-American conference and Brother Green can do anything toward stopping the killing of folks who are total strangers to me at my expense, I'd be much obliged to them as a citizen, Christian and taxpayer.

Doing Things

Somehow I just can't help liking Herb Hoover. Whereas other politicians earn their pay by pointing with pride to something they didn't do or viewing with alarm something they would have done had they been in office, Hoover does things.

For instance, when Belgium was invaded and the Huns starved all hands on deck except those they had doctored off, Herb went over there with his commissary and fed the poor Belgians as they never have been fed before or since. So that when the rumpus was over it turned out that, between Herb Hoover and the sanitary policy of the Huns, the mortality rate among Belgian children was lower during the invasion than at any time during the history of that brave little country.

After rescuing Belgium from starvation, Hoover went into the Balkans and fed Servians, Montenegrins, Anatolians, Assyrians and Armenians until they increased and multiplied to such an alarming extent that we had to pass laws to keep these undesirable from overflowing into the United States.

Next he went into Russia on account of the big drought and famine brought about by the introduction of the Soviet form of government and fed the Russians until they were safe for Bolshevism.

Then the next thing we knew the Mississippi River, which flows mostly through dry territory, turns wet all of a sudden, goes on a spree and drives some 700,000 Americans out of their homes without paying the slightest attention to their race, color, religion, politics or previous condition of servitude. And why folks call that kind of a river the Father of Waters is more than I can save unless it's because the Mississippi has no more control over his children than most modern dads have over their flapper daughters!

But what I'm trying to say is that when death and devastation stalked through the Mississippi valley with the ruthlessness of civilized warfare, Herb Hoover hops on a train and goes down there with a car load of organizing ability and a corresponding number of correspondents and what he did to that flood was aplenty.

When Hoover landed in Memphis four months ago there were only a few church steeples visible between Cairo and New Orleans. Now the water is all gone except in a few low spots, no bigger than New Jersey. And if you ask me who did it I say it was Herb Hoover, aided a little perhaps by gravity, and topography, and maybe by the fact that the Gulf of Mexico is a little below the land above it. But I won't be too certain about the latter. Anyhow, all that tremendous amount of flood water is now in the Gulf where it can do no more harm because the Gulf is already as wet as it ever will be, and if you don't be-

VICTIMS TO DIE BECAUSE OF ANARCHISM

—Berger

Congressman Berger Analyzes Case of Sacco and Vanzetti

By Victor L. Berger
(Socialist member of Congress from Milwaukee)

SACCO and Vanzetti must die. Gov. Allan T. Fuller of Massachusetts has sealed their fate. He says that he believes with the jury that Sacco and Vanzetti were guilty and had a fair trial. Now let's see what was the case.

The paymaster and guard whom Sacco and Vanzetti are accused of having robbed and murdered were Frederick A. Parmenter and Alexander Berardelli. These two at the time they were shot were carrying the payroll of the shoe factory of Slater & Morill, amounting to nearly \$16,000. According to the state's contention at the trial, the attack on Parmenter and Berardelli was made with the money in an automobile with three other men waiting close by.

Ask Some Questions

Of Gov. Allan Fuller and those who think that Sacco and Vanzetti had a fair trial in the courts of Massachusetts and that the prosecuting attorney, the judge and the jury were biased by passion and prejudice, we want to ask the following questions:

1. Where are the other three men that were in the holdup car? Did the prosecution ever locate the driver? The fact that neither Sacco nor Vanzetti is able to drive a car has been established beyond doubt. Where is the light-haired man who, according to the testimony of certain witnesses, did the shooting?

2. What has become of the large sum of money the murders got away with? Thus far, not a penny has been traced to either Sacco or Vanzetti, their relatives or their friends.

What About Witnesses?

3. How is it that some of the chief state witnesses happened to be recruited from among the lowest moral and criminal types? Even the official interpreter of the court was serving a jail term for larceny soon after the Sacco-Vanzetti trial. Why did state witnesses become cocksure of the identification of the accused at the second hearing, when a year previously they had sworn that they could not make positive identifications?

4. Why were the witnesses who established alibi for both Sacco and Vanzetti disregarded?

5. Is it not ridiculous to imagine that Sacco would have carried about with him for three weeks—the interval between the murder and his arrest—the pistol with which he has committed murder?

6. Is it not preposterous to suppose that Vanzetti would cling to the murdered Berardelli's pistol and carry about with him this utterly damning evidence of his guilt if he, Vanzetti, were guilty?

7. Is it possible to believe that men who committed murder in broad daylight would go about distributing circulars in a neighborhood town, calling a meeting of protest in relation to the violent death of their friend Salsedo, at which meeting Vanzetti was to be the speaker?

8. Why was it that the identification methods generally employed were changed in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti? That the police authorities, instead of making witnesses pick suspects from among others of the same race and class, displayed Sacco and Vanzetti singly and even compelled them to simulate the behavior of the Braintree bandits?

9. Is the consciousness of radicalism synonymous with the consciousness of guilt of murder?

10. Why is it that neither Katman nor Judge Thayer nor anyone else in this farcical trial took pains to tell the jury that Sacco and Vanzetti were not

Heve that Herb did it you can look at the Gulf and be convinced.

Besides telling Deluge No. 2 where to get off, Herb also gave his moral support to the big money drive for the rescue and rehabilitation of the 700,000 flood victims. Almost 16 million dollars were raised in that marvelous campaign, amounting to nearly, but not quite, \$26 per capita flood victim, or more than enough to restore each and every one of them to his accustomed state of prosperity. Which shows that when Herb Hoover makes up his mind to do a thing he can even surpass the celebrated feat of feeding 5,000 people on four loaves and two fishes.

Now Herb has gone to South Dakota, to break the news of the Mississippi flood to his boss, who, on account of the Snyder trial, the sundry Atlantic and Pacific non-stop flights, the Dempsey fight and other matters of national importance, hasn't heard of it yet. So if Cal isn't too busy having his picture taken in chape, spurs and ten gallon hats, and digging worms for bait for trout and those other fish whose names I've forgotten, but of which I've told one is born every minute, a special session of congress may yet be called in time to order an investigation of the next flood.

Adam Coidigger.

The Decline of Massachusetts

The State That Once Boasted of Senator Sumner and Brooks Adams Must Now Content Itself With Governor Fuller and Judge Thayer

To Governor Fuller, Judge Thayer, the prosecutors of Sacco and Vanzetti and the members of the Governor's investigation commission:

The time was when Massachusetts courts were prostituted by the slave power. The revolutionary Republican Party had as its foremost leader Senator Charles Sumner. He did not crawl before judges nor think courts beyond control of a ruling class. Following is part of the speech of Sumner before the Republican State convention at Worcester, September 7, 1854, the home of Judge Thayer:

"I am too familiar with the history of judicial proceedings to regard them with any superstitious reverence. Judges are but men, and in all ages have shown a full share of human frailty. Alas! alas! the worst crimes of history have been perpetrated under their sanction. The blood of martyrs and of patriots, crying from the ground, summon them to judgment.

"It was a judicial tribunal which condemned Socrates to drink the fatal hemlock, and which pushed the Saviour barefoot over the pavements of Jerusalem, bending beneath his cross. It was a judicial tribunal which, against the testimony and entreaties of his father, surrendered the fair Virginia as a slave; which arrested the teachings of the great Apostle to the Gentiles, and sent him in bonds from Judea to Rome; which, in the name of the Old Religion, adjudged the saints and fathers of the Christian Church to death, in all its most dreadful forms; and which afterwards, in the name of the New Religion, enforced the tortures of the Inquisition, amidst the shrieks and agonies of its victims, while it compelled Galileo to declare—in solemn denial of the great truth he had disclosed—that the earth did not move around the sun.

"It was a judicial tribunal which, in France, during the reign of her monarchs, lent itself to be the instrument of every tyranny, as during the brief reign of terror it did not hesitate to stand forth the unquitting accessory of the unquitting guillotine. Aye, sir, it was a judicial tribunal in England, surrounded by all the forms of law, which sanctioned every despotic caprice of Henry the Eighth, from the unjust divorce of his queen to the beheading of Sir Thomas More; which lighted the fires of persecution that glowed at Oxford and Smithfield over the cinders of Latimer, Ridley and John Rogers; which, after elaborate argument, upheld the fatal tyranny of ship money against the patriot resistance of Hampden; which, in defiance of justice and humanity, sent Sidney and Russell to the block; which persistently enforced the laws of conformity that our Puritan fathers refused to obey; and which, afterwards, with Jeffries on the bench, crimsoned the pages of English history with massacre and murder—even with the blood of innocent women.

"Aye, sir, and it was a judicial tribunal in our own country, surrounded by all the forms of law, which hung witches at Salem; which affirmed the constitutionality of the Stamp Act, while it admonished 'jurors and the people' to obey, and which now, in our day, has lent its sanction to the unutterable atrocity of the Fugitive Slave Bill."

Brooks Adams, son of Charles Adams and descendant of the most brilliant family in Massachusetts, scholar, historian, essayist and one of the most distinguished members of the Massachusetts bar, declared in his book, "The Theory of Social Revolutions," that courts throughout all history became the special refuge of ruling classes and generally brought about the overthrow of these classes. Governor Fuller, Judge Thayer, Judge Grant and the heads of Harvard and the Massachusetts Tech are invited to read:

"Why should a type of mind which has developed the highest prescience when advancing along the curve which has led it to ascendancy, be stricken with vacuity when the summit of the curve is passed, and when a miscalculation touching the velocity of the descent must be destruction?"

"The modern capitalist not only thinks in terms of money, but he thinks in terms of money more exclusively than the French aristocrat or lawyer ever thought in terms of caste. The modern capitalist looks upon life as a financial combat of a very specialized kind, regulated by a code which he understands and has indeed himself concocted, but which is recognized by no one else in the world.

"Quite honestly the American lawyer has come to believe that a sheet of paper soiled with printers' ink and interpreted by half a dozen

citizens of this country? Why was this modern Torquemada permitted to play ad nauseam upon the juryman's inflamed patriotism and prejudice again and over again, making Sacco and Vanzetti appear as shirkers and traitors to this country? Sacco and Vanzetti admitted that, fearing the draft, they, together with a number of other Italian aliens, went to Mexico during our conscription period. Why were they called draft-dodgers when they were not eligible for the draft at all? The very fact that they ran to Mexico shows what a reign of terror had been inaugurated by Mitchell Palmer and other super-patriots.

Peaceful Aliens Arrested

11. Is it not a fact that thousands of peaceful aliens, as well as citizens, were arrested en masse by government spies all over the country, without even as much as a warrant?

12. Why has the testimony of the Portuguese, Celestino Madeiros, self-confessed murderer of a Wrentham bank cashier, been swept aside by Judge Thayer? Why have the clues he offered not been followed up? Is there no importance in his confession that he took part in the Braintree murder and that Sacco and Vanzetti did not?

13. Was there ever a more glaring scandal in a so-called court of justice than that involving the testimony of Captain Charles A. Van Amburgh, ballistic engineer of the Remington Arms Works, and the testimony of Captain William H. Proctor, the government's expert of twenty years' standing? Captain Proctor, when asked whether in his opinion a bullet fired from Berardelli's pistol had been fired from Sacco's pistol, replied: "My opinion is that it is consistent with being fired from that pistol."

14. Is it not a fact, sworn to by

elderly gentlemen snugly dozing in armchairs, has some inherent and marvelous virtue by which it can arrest the march of omnipotent Nature. And capital gladly accepts this view of American civilization, since hitherto capitalists have usually been able to select the magistrates who decide their causes.

"In the United States capital has long owned the leading universities by right of purchase, as it has owned the highways, the currency, and the press, and capital has used the universities, in a general way, to develop capitalistic ideas. This, however, is of no great moment. What is of moment is that capital has commercialized education. We see an universal contempt for law incarnated in the capitalistic class itself."

agents of the department of justice themselves, that the case against Sacco and Vanzetti for murder was part of a collusive effort between District Attorney Katzmann and agents of the Department of Justice to railroad the two men to death because they were marked by the department for their "Red" activities?

Where Roots of Case Are

15. Do we want to get to the very roots of the Sacco-Vanzetti case? We shall find them in Mitchell Palmer, a pet of Woodrow Wilson, a Quaker lawyer and politician who yelled louder than all the war dogs and got the fattest of all war jobs for his pains, namely, the custodianship of hundreds of millions of dollars of alien property. You know what happened. Compared with him, Harding, Fall, Jess Smith, Daugherty and Miller were like newborn babes.

How comes it that Mitchell Palmer it still at large? Fearing exposure, Palmer naturally sought and secured the position of Attorney General. And then it was that he sought the favor and good will of all profiteers and of the "patriots" of the country by a campaign against the "Reds"—against Socialists, Anarchists and Pacifists. His department made up a list of 60,000 names—many of them eminent in all spheres of life. His spies and agents arranged anti-government meetings under cover, in order to be able to get victims wholesale.

This case, involving nearly six years of court proceedings, has become one of the most celebrated in history.

The trial of Sacco and Vanzetti is as iniquitous as that of Alfred Dreyfus, the French captain, who was held for years on Devil's Island on charges that were later proved to be absolutely false.

"HAD VANZETTI KNOWN HIS PLACE—"

He Would Never Have Appealed to Massachusetts Justice, Karlin Says

By William Karlin

THE issue in the Sacco-Vanzetti case is infinitely greater than the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. When the Supreme Court of that State declared that it could not grant Sacco and Vanzetti a new trial, the whole world shuddered at the acts of those who forget they are men when they become judges, remember only the petrified rules laid down by judges of past generations and forget the rights of the people of their own time. From the shock administered to it by the judges the public turned in the direction of Governor Fuller to solve the problem of injustice in Massachusetts, but the Governor and his advisory committee failed as miserably as the courts.

Governor Fuller and his committee of full-dress gentlemen met separately and secretly and chose to disturb the peace of the world by outraging the common people's sense of justice, thus proving to the man on the street that industrial autocrats and their political tools conspire against the lives and liberties of the humble citizens.

It took years to awaken humanity's conscience against the frame-up in the Sacco-Vanzetti case, so that by the second of August the public press, in its exposure of the facts in light of public opinion, touched the heart of the American people, and every one looked for a pardon; but instead, like a thunderbolt from a blue sky, came the brutal decision of Governor Fuller, the spokesman for the Massachusetts aristocracy. A similar group, led by the Attorney-General of that State in 1830, attempted to hang William Lloyd Garrison, the great emancipator.

Errors Not Sought

The Governor's report and that of his advisory committee in this case show conclusively that they did not look for the errors in the case against Sacco and Vanzetti. While admitting that Judge Thayer acted indiscreetly in conversing with outsiders during the trial, and while branding the acts of the judge as constituting a breach of official decorum, the Governor's advisors hypocritically state that the judge's indiscretion at the time of the trial did not affect the jury.

From my experience as an attorney in the conduct of many criminal cases, I wish to brand this claim of the Governor's commission as false. The fact is that, like Judge Thayer and the jury which he dominated, the Governor and his advisors chose to believe all the witnesses for the prosecution said and nothing that the witnesses for the defense told them.

The conviction having been obtained against Sacco and Vanzetti only upon circumstantial evidence, the question of identification of the defendants is the uppermost in the case. This question, the committee's report cleverly evades. The chief witness for the State in the matter of identification, one Mary E. Spaine, claimed to have seen Sacco from the second story of a shoe factory, eighty feet from the automobile employed in the murder. She claims to have kept them under observation as the car traveled 35 feet at a rapid rate of speed during an interval of one to three seconds. Thirteen months before the trial, however, at a hearing in a police court, Miss Spaine testified three times that she could not identify Sacco. At first she denied having failed to identify him, and on the following day, in the course of the trial, she changed her testimony and admitted that she had previously failed to identify him, but asserted that upon "reflection" she became certain of Sacco's identity. So, several other witnesses who had previously been unable to identify Sacco at the time of his arrest were able to identify him over a year later, during the conduct of the trial. A very large number of witnesses swore that Vanzetti was not in the murder car, but presumably in the eyes of the committee they are not regarded as human beings.

"Eccentric" Is Believed
While the Governor's commission brands one of the identifying witnesses as an "eccentric woman and not unimpeachable in conduct," nevertheless, they go on to say, "the committee believes that in this case her testimony is well worth consideration."

The state introduced pistol experts to prove that the bullet that killed one of the victims of the crime was from Sacco's gun. Similar experts, for the defense, contradicted this testimony. One of the state's own experts, a state police captain, thereafter stated that he had changed his mind in the matter, but this fact was brushed aside by the committee. Of course, the Governor's commission would not believe a state witness if he said anything in behalf of the defense.

The Governor's commission, that one Gould, who was shot through his coat lapel at the scene of the commission of the crime, thereafter made an affidavit for the defense, upon the motion for a new trial, that the men who committed the crime were not Sacco and Vanzetti. While the report admits that Gould had an unusually good position to observe the men in the car, the blue-blooded commissioners (Continued on page 6)

The Chatterbox

Sonnet in an Old Mood

THIS be the penance for exalted sinning;
A cool hand to a colder arm entwined,
A balanced sequel to a mad beginning,
The calm and sexless conquest in the mind.

Those who find peace, having tossed in passion,
Will not as lightly, settle to her ways;
Nor will they shed the tumult like a fashion
And closet it for use on other days.

The brand is on them who have lit the senses,
And love, so alien to any creed
Will never bear the sanctified pretenses,
Or smile upon their penance for the deed.

Yet all of us have known it wiser far
To do and be the pagan things we are.

This week end we have been making conversation with a trout brook up in Sullivan County. It seems to us that the hills, the trees, the birds, the brook and ourselves are the only sane things left in America. And heaven knows we are hovering right on the brink of madness. The events of the past ten years, culminating with the brutal force in Massachusetts, just leaves us sickened and faithless. Unless we just fling ourselves into a sewer hole, we know of no bearable way out. To offset the impending despair, we have sought solace with the brook.

All day long and far into the evening we walked barefooted over its pebbled bed. The cool water trickled, bubbled and rushed. The trees rustled now and again. It hardly mattered whether a trout snatched at the fly, whether we landed him, or lost him. We were trying to make small talk with the brook. And it was so difficult to get things started. We had so little in common to make words over. What was Sacco or Vanzetti, or Thayer, or Fuller or Lowell to a brook? Could one commence a harangue on the woeful weakness of labor in the United States with a bustling little playboy of a stream? Could one ask a mite of a river such problems as churned and turmoiled within our brain? Anyway, we got started, and hardly allowed the brook a word of interruption.

"Behold, little babbling," we addressed him, "a broken dreamer of broken dreams." The pole dropped in the water and the line and leader flustered in an eddy. "I have come to you in a moment of great distress and indecision. I have given all of my youth and these years of my manhood to teach a sad world the need of a newer and happier existence. I thought happiness was the easiest thing to teach. Surely to unhappy people. Instead of listening to me these same pitifully poor and luckless folk have laughed at me and called me fool. Instead they were even ready to stone and imprison me. Instead of matters becoming more hopeful and brighter with the world, the longer I spoke and sang and pleaded, the more faithless and lightless things became.

"At first there were many, many more dreamers like myself. We made a fine and inspired chorus when we sang together.

"Yes, when we spoke at times the people came in great numbers and carried away our song and thought, and they seemed to understand. There was a promise of a new day in their eyes. Then came disaster over the entire world. For four horrible years machines and chemicals and men made a bloody shambles and a graveyard out of Europe. After the holocaust came a mad orgy of fear and recklessness. The masters feared for their gains. The slaves were careless of death, having braved it so long. In the struggle that ensued—in the war after the war, our army of dreamers was broken up and dispersed. Some were beaten out of belief, others left in fear. The few who remained started to quarrel among themselves out of sheer grief. And now we are so few. And no one wants to listen to our music, or give credence to our faith. And the people are so unhappy. Their liberties are so insecure. They are still so enslaved, and own nothing but their power to labor when the masters will have them in their galleys ships and mine pits.

Oh, brook, tell me, shall I go on dreaming and singing and reasoning with these hapless and unheeding folk? Shall I continue putting my manhood, my strength, and my loved ones on the altar of their unresponsiveness? Or were it better that I ceased this tilting with windmills, and moon-bogging? That I went out into the mad world and made merry, and used my sharper wit for enslaving the dull ones, so that they might keep me in idle indulgence until my days are done? Tell me, oh, brook, of what use be this sad and ineffectual dreaming for dulleards who will not turn from their own dull doom?"

I picked up my pole, reeled up the line, and waited for an answer. And presently it came. Out of a pool below the pebbled fall a voice said quite musically: "Bide with me another day, and then go back to your dreams. I would be sad indeed being the Mississippi. I find my happiness in being a brook. Every living thing envies me my life of babbling laughter. You find your happiness being a dreamer of a newer and better world. Secretly, perhaps, but surely the rest of the world envies you your clear vision and your perfect dream. Go back to your dreaming, though it all end in evanescent mist. Someone must remain to pass on from age to age the beauty that you sense, the happiness that you plan, no matter if the earth of living things turns to a waste of desolation and death, before your dreams dare come into being. Stay with me another day, and then go back, oh wearied dreamer, and mend your broken dream..."

To Governor Fuller and His Advisory Council

America is dead; her heart is stricken.

The state that bore her now has brought her death. At your amug deed not only live men sicken;

Our patriot dead draw one hurt shuddering breath.

How will the future hold you slaves whose lust
Led you to rape your land, bring scorn upon her?
She yet may grow, reborn, from martyrs' dust.
But she lies dead. No land outlives its honor.

Ralph Cheney.

Last week Comrade William Closson Emory, poet and welcome contrib, happened into town and helped dispel for a few short hours the moodiness that has been clouding these days for us. One of the brightest ideas he left behind him is contained in a chance remark he dropped by the way. "I am working hard right now to make money enough for a trip and a permanent vacation from the white man's world. Out in the South Sea—in Tahiti one can live like a robber baron on fifty dollars a month. No one is a Red or Conservative there. There are no lefts and rights, no A. F. of L. and Amalgamated, no night clubs and no Massachusetts justice." And he went on in like manner to our lifting spirits and reviving hopes. Who knows, but Comrade Emory may be joined by your weary columnist. Sadder things than that have surely been said.

—S. A. DeWitt.

KILLING OF SACCO AND VANZETTI WOULD BE LATEST OF MANY FRAME-UPS AGAINST LABOR

(Continued from page 4)

officials of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, forty defendants in all. All but two were declared guilty and the sentences of five were suspended during good behavior. The case grew out of the blowing up of the Los Angeles "Times" building by the two McNamara brothers, officials of the organization, who confessed their guilt in court.

The trial of the forty accused occurred in Indianapolis in 1912 before Federal Judge Anderson and a jury. The sentences imposed by Judge Anderson ranged from seven years in the case of Frank M. Ryan, president of the union, to one year and a day for others. In 1914 the attorneys for the accused men presented a petition to President Wilson for a pardon for the twenty-one men who still remained in prison and this petition was accompanied with documents, excerpts from the trial record, and photographs of the most astonishing in the history of labor trials. At the time of the trial the readers who followed the press reports were amazed at the remarks attributed to Judge Anderson, his bullying of witnesses for the defense, and his cruel treatment of attorneys for the defense.

The writer has a copy of the petition before him and a few quotations will give some idea of the trial. The men were tried in a batch and jointly convicted. Judge Anderson in an arrogant tone refused a number of times to accept exceptions to his rulings. The following incidents are typical: "Mr. Kern: Then we take an exception, your Honor. The Court: You will not take any exception to that. Mr. Kern: We take an exception to the ruling. The Court: This trial will proceed. We will have no more trouble about that."

Further excerpts show that Judge Anderson refused Attorney Hovey the right to address him; that he told Attorney Gray to "behave," that he rebuked the latter for addressing him as "Sir"; that he denounced defense attorneys as "a lot of school boys"; that he wrangled with counsel for the defense like a sour fish-wife; that he deprived Twissome, one of the accused, the right to sit with his counsel; that he intimidated witnesses for the defense; that he openly discredited testimony of some witnesses before the jury; that he ordered two witnesses of the defense arrested although nothing was done to these witnesses after the trial. The petition is filled with quotations of this character taken from the record, showing a judge who served more in the role of prosecutor than that of a judicial officer jealous of the good name of his profession.

Socialist Makes Exposure

The accused men were doomed in this atmosphere of bias and unfairness. But the most revolting fact brought out in this application for a pardon shows that it is possible for a court to decide weeks in advance of the trial just what the verdict will be, actually prepare for it, and arrange

with railroad companies for a special train to transport the prisoners to the penitentiary!

This actually happened in this case. It was a Socialist and trade union publication, "St. Louis Labor," in its issue of January 11, 1913, that revealed the fact that orders had been issued forty days before the end of the trial for a special train to transport these and other Federal prisoners to Leavenworth penitentiary. G. A. Hoehn, the editor, performed this service for the labor movement and the defense. The attorneys for the defense obtained the original order which was dated November 19, 1912, and inserted a photograph of it in their petition. This train was ordered to be ready on December 28 but it was three days later before it left Indianapolis for Leavenworth. Moreover, sentence was passed upon the condemned men at noon and one hour later they were aboard the prison special!

The defendants and their counsel had also presented a petition for a change of venue on the ground that Judge Anderson was prejudiced. From the petition for a pardon we quote the following statement of what happened:

"When Judge Anderson read the petition he flew in a rage, threatened Attorney Hovey with contempt, threatened to have every one who signed the petition indicted for perjury, etc. In the afternoon of the same day Judge Anderson sent for Attorney Harding and assured him that he had no prejudice against organized labor or the defendants; that he would be fair at the trial and urged him to withdraw the petition for change of venue. Thus by intimidation and false promises Judge Anderson retained jurisdiction of the case."

A paragraph from the petition to President Wilson regarding the conduct of this learned judge will give some idea of the terror and intimidation that faced the accused, the witnesses and counsel for the defense:

An Appeal To Wilson

"That the facial expressions of Judge Anderson during his frequent outbursts of passion, when attacking the attorneys, defendants, and witnesses, before the jury cannot be reproduced; that the incidents are too numerous to be mentioned. That it is desirable that a written statement be obtained by the Department of Justice from each of the attorneys in the case, as some of them who are charged to practice before Judge Anderson may be too timid to give such a statement to the present counsel of the convicted men. That the threats and intimidation on the part of Judge Anderson had such an effect on counsel for the defendants during the trial that oftentimes they did not dare even to rise to take an exception."

And so we close this chapter on a few incidents in the story of "justice" in American courts. Labor men who are not sobered by mere fragments in the history of Labor before the Courts, and by the latest chapter written in Massachusetts, might as well prepare the Labor Movement for its crucifixion. It cannot endure in the face of such a menace. More victims will be sacri-

ficed in the coming years. Unless we organize our political might, use it intelligently, without anger but with determination, we might as well drape our charters in black, close the records, nail the doors of our union halls, suspend our labor publications, and place ourselves at the mercy of courts and judges who are just as supine in their service to King Capital as they once served King Cotton in the days of slavery.

"During all these years of the 'frame-up' in judicial history we have had no effective political power. Mourning over the fate of Sacco and Vanzetti, shall we proceed to the solemn and imperative task of winning this political power so that no other victims shall walk the path to their Gethsemane? It is for the readers of this to answer."

"Had Vanzetti Known His Place"

(Continued from page 5)

brushed aside Gould's uncontradicted statement, saying: "There seems to be no reason to think that the statement of Gould would have any effect in changing the minds of the jury."

It has been seriously contended that the Department of Justice's files contained evidence tending to prove the innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti. To ascertain the truth of that statement, the committee inquired of no other than Katzmann, the prosecuting attorney in this case, and Mr. Katzmann, of course, told them that it was not true, and Mr. Katzmann is a gentleman, as are the members of the committee. And when Governor Fuller wanted to know whether the conviction of the defendants by the jury was arrived at by a prejudiced jury that was charged by a prejudiced judge, all he had to do was to ask the gentlemen of the jury if they affected at their verdict fairly and squarely, and he was immediately told by them that it was surely so. And even the judge told the Governor that everything was fair and square to the defendants, and so the judge, the jury, the Governor and his advisors, gentlemen, all of them, believed one another.

Under such circumstances, what chance have a couple of poor, simple and humble Italian workers? The fact is that if Sacco and Vanzetti knew their place they should never have questioned the "justice" of the great Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Toledo Unionists Give Up Plan For Labor Temple

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

Toledo, Ohio.—At a meeting of stock and bondholders of the Toledo Labor Building company, dissolution of the company was effected. The company was organized and incorporated for the purpose of buying the Toledo Labor Temple building, corner of Jefferson and Michigan street and was known as the holding company of the home of labor in Toledo.

METAL WORKERS' HEAD DENIES AMALGAMATION WITH MACHINISTS

Editor The New Leader:

We wish to call to your attention that the news item in your issue of August 6 to the effect that "the Amalgamated Metal Workers of America have decided to join forces with the International Association of Machinists" have no basis of fact.

No doubt you published this statement in all good faith on the basis of information given to you. We trust you will strive to correct the erroneous impression created by the misstatement.

The actuality is that a small group of Workers Party members and a few others whom they influenced in District No. 1 (New York), after failing to induce the Amalgamated to merge with the I. A. of M. in order to "capture" it for the Workers Party, have now severed their connections with the Amalgamated and are joining the International (maybe). It is purely a disruptive move on the part of the W. P. industrial caucus which is seeking new fields for its demoralizing activities.

There has been no amalgamated convention, the 1927 convention being on the calendar for September. The "convention" mentioned no doubt refers to a caucus convened by the W. P. nuclei. Likewise the so-called "membership meeting" which was boycotted by all but the immediate following of the Workers Party.

The general executive committee of the Amalgamated was careful not to place any obstacles in the way of this meeting carrying out its predetermined purpose, in order to enable the troublemaker to eliminate themselves, which they did. The Amalgamated considers itself well rid of them, considering what it has cost some other organizations to weed out its destroyers.

The general executive committee of the Amalgamated having heretofore considered the five-year-old struggle with the "borers" a purely internal affair, has not sought newspaper publicity. The false reports given to the press by the Workers' Party, acting behind a false front of non-members, making the action of a small minority in one district appear as that of the entire organization, prompted the G. E. C. at its meeting of August 2 to authorize the issuance of a statement of the situation for the press. This was deemed necessary in order to protect the interests of the membership of the Amalgamated as a whole.

A more complete outline of the situation, stating the causes leading up to as well as the real significance of recent events in this district, will be forwarded if you so desire.

Confident that you will give sufficient space to our correction and presentation of the facts in this case, so as not to mislead readers of The New Leader, we are,

JOSEPH E. KUCHER,
General Secretary-Treasurer Amalgamated Metal Workers of America.

WHY SACCO AND VANZETTI MUST LIVE; EXECUTION WOULD BE A BLOW TO PROGRESS

(Continued from page 4)

ture. They have been shut off from those who love them. They meet the shameful death of criminals.

They do not die alone. Like John Brown, their souls will go marching on. The real victims of that dreadful day, August 10, will be Justice, Humanity and the honor of American courts in the eyes of the world.

The day of their death will be a day of mourning for workers all over the world. It will be a day of new dedication to struggle for emancipation from a system which works such horror. Yet the workers need not the blood of these comrades to seal their devotion to a great cause. Rather they need some evidence of mercy and justice to temper the bitterness and hate of the social struggle.

Therefore do we love peace for ourselves and our children appeal to you, lords and masters of men. Today you are strong in your special privileges. The might of the state is yours. You clothe your lurking fear in pride and dress your cruelty in garments of respectability. You prate of judicial discretion and the majesty of the law which you put above justice and mercy. But other classes have been strong and proud for whom there came a day of vengeance. The cruelty and the stupidity of the strong were turned against them in the hour of their weakness. So the terrible drama of social crime and retribution has gone its tragic way. Will it be otherwise for us and our children?

I am no prophet of times and seasons. But this I know. For every such act of class oppression as the judicial murder of Sacco and Vanzetti there will be a time of bitter reckoning. You who are deaf to mercy and justice, heed the voice of warning. With Sacco and Vanzetti die one more hope that the inevitable road of social change will not wholly lie through jungles of hate and vengeance. Justice to Sacco and Vanzetti, even at this last hour, might be a little guarantee that reason and some sense of fairness will light our paths. Must we say on August 10 the fateful words—"too late!"

Inquiry Called Star-Chamber

(Continued from page 1)

The accused have been denied access to documents in Washington alleged to prove this charge. Perjury of witnesses stalks in the record. Witnesses of unsavory character have been employed against the accused. New and important evidence warrants a new trial which has been denied. Eminent men of high legal training and education have pronounced the trial a shame and a farce.

Having exhausted every expedient in behalf of the condemned

men, having been compelled to submit to the prejudiced judge passing upon his own acts in every appeal, the case went up to the Governor for investigation. That official appointed three men to assist him in the investigation, three men with intimate association in the upper circles of the conservative and reactionary life of Massachusetts and one of whom is a member of the bar, most of whose members are ranged against the accused. The trade unions of the State were entitled to at least one reliable and conscientious member of the commission. Instead, the commission was packed with three men whose occupations, training and associations stamped them with that upper class opinion which since the arrest of Sacco and Vanzetti, with a few honorable exceptions, has assumed the guilt of the accused.

"A Heartless Document"

The decision of the Governor, supported by this commission, is a heartless document of evasions, perversions of fact, avoidance of the most glaring issues raised by the trial and supported by tortuous reasoning that plainly exhibits a mind determined from the beginning to conceal all knowledge of how the investigation was made. Star-chamber proceedings should be unknown among free men. Where they have appeared justice has always been exiled. The personnel of the commission and the secrecy in which its members worked cast further suspicion on their integrity and the death warrant they have signed was to be expected.

Thursday, August 11, is the day chosen for the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti. Two more martyrs are to walk the weary road to an untimely death. Charged with murder, they are convicted of their opinions. Blood of innocent men is again to be the price paid in the age old struggle of mankind to be free. They go to the chair while the Labor movement of this country and of the world, while eminent men and women of all nations who have read the story of this amazing trial, raise their voices in supplication against the execution of the accused.

Friends, Comrades, Brothers! This is a dark hour in the history

of the United States. Thinking men and women of the whole world have been moved to tears and compassion, but to no avail. It is time for sober reflection. Our country has become notorious for what is called the "frame-up," and the victims have always been drawn from the humble folk who feed, house and clothe the upper classes, who, in turn, have made Justice an exile and equity a matter of upper class power.

"Shall Not Die Alone"

What shall we do? Sacco and Vanzetti should not go to their death alone. We must be with them in spirit and register a determination that Black Thursday will forever be remembered as a day of sorrow, of protest, and of consecration to the cause of liberation from social, economic, political and judicial tyranny.

We urge our members and the friends of the condemned men wherever they are organized in unions to join in such strikes and meetings as are called by the unions to protest against the execution. Messages of protest should be immediately sent to Governor Fuller. Resolutions of protest should be sent to the press. Buildings and headquarters in any way related to political and economic organizations of the masses should be draped in black for thirty days. Our mourning for these martyrs and our resentment of their high executioners should be visible to all.

Friends, Comrades, Brothers! These are days of solemn grief for the working class in the fields, factories, shops and everywhere that men and women labor. If we were more powerful this tragedy could not be. Even courts, judges, governors and prosecutors respect a growing and powerful labor movement. Black Thursday is a terrible defeat and a warning to us. The execution is evidence of our weakness. Let us resolve to be strong and by our strength make courts, legislatures and Congress safe for the tolling millions.

Therefore, as a beginning, strike if called, attend your mass meetings, protest to Governor Fuller, drape your buildings in black and, above all, never forget—always remember—that this thing could not be if we were strong!

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OFFICE: 501 EAST 181ST STREET. Telephone Melrose 5674
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THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

ROCKY MOUNTAIN DISTRICT

C. A. Kennedy, secretary of the District, has informed members in his district, which includes Arizona, Wyoming and Utah, that hereafter dues of members at large will be 25 cents per month. Comrade Kennedy feels quite confident that a good healthy membership can be built up. The State convention of Utah held in Salt Lake City on July 24 reduced dues from 35 cents to 25 cents a month, or three dollars a year. This, of course, leaves locals to fix their own dues.

PENNSYLVANIA

State Secretary Hoopes writes that the July financial statement shows that many comrades took a vacation from party activities during the month, with the result that our deficit is materially increased. Several branches that have been sending regular donations fell behind during July and others whose membership have directed their treasurer to send regular monthly payments have not yet made any payments. If your branch made such a resolution, please check up and see whether or not the money has been sent as we need it badly.

Reading
The treasurer of Local Berks writes that the prospects for their municipal campaign are very bright indeed; so bright it now appears that the Republicans and Democrats will fuse against the Socialists. This shows what steady Socialist propaganda will do. In the same mail we received a letter from a member of the central and western county asking for one and a half years' due stamps, saying that he believes that now is the time to spread the teaching of Socialism in the county. We must build for the future. Anything that the State Office can do to co-operate with you will be gladly done.

NEW YORK STATE

Up-State Locals

State Secretary Merrill has returned from a trip to the central and western parts of the State. He stopped in Schenectady, Syracuse, Rochester, Niagara Falls and Buffalo. A street corner meeting was held in Rochester, but in the other cities attention was paid solely to organization problems. Local Niagara Falls reorganized and arranged to publish a paper in the field. The State Secretary attended a picnic of Local Buffalo members at Alden, Erie County. Buffalo comrades were consulted in regard to improving the prestige of the party in Erie County and coping with a complicated political situation. Industry, reports the State Secretary, is slowly coming down everywhere in the State. Comrade Wiley of Schenectady was in charge of the State Office during the absence of the Secretary.

Filing Petitions
Locals and committee chairmen are again notified that the first day for filing designation petitions will be Aug. 16, and the last day Aug. 23. Petitions must be filed with the Municipal Election Board in the City of New York and with County Election Boards up-State.

The State Secretary has filed a protest in behalf of the Socialist Party of New York with Governor Fuller of Massachusetts. Sentence should be commuted at the end of the term, thereby giving justice an opportunity to finally triumph.

NEW YORK CITY

Primary Petitions

The primary petitions now being circulated for signatures must be in the City Office, 7 East 15th Street, by Aug. 16. Some of this work has been delayed due to the many activities in connection with the Sacco and Vanzetti case. Every active comrade must volunteer to help complete this job.

Second Judicial District

The following campaign committee was elected: 1st-2d A. D. Joseph Leventhal, L. Zatz, I. Corn, S. Drucker; 4th A. D. J. Ahtsam, J. Green, Harry Ulanoff, William Young; Jewish Downtown, Frank Epstein, G. Schulman, B. Adler, M. Edelstein; 1st-12th A. D. Louis Reiff, Joe Beckerman, R. Goldstein, N. Goldberg. It held its first meeting at the East Side Socialist Center on Monday, Aug. 7. A. N. Weinberg was elected temporary campaign manager; Adolph Held was elected treasurer and the committee is to have a special meeting Monday night, Aug. 15, at the headquarters of the 6th-8th-12th A. D., 96 Avenue C. All members are urged to be present without fail at 8:30 p. m.

BROOKLYN

A joint meeting of the Bronx campaign and county committee was held on Thursday. Plans were perfected to raise a Sustaining Fund to help the Bronx County Organization through its financial difficulty and organization methods for the campaign in the Bronx were decided upon.

All the branches in Brooklyn are busily engaged in the circulation of primary petitions. Every active comrade must volunteer for this work, as the job must be completed by Aug. 16.

YIPSELOM

Circle 9, Juniors

Circle 9, Juniors, has been reorganized. They have a growing membership and good attendance. They meet at 1336 Lincoln place, Brooklyn, on Thursday evenings at 8 p. m. Circle 12, Juniors, Dramatic Group, rendered a play at the last meeting of Circle 9 which was attended by over 40 comrades. William Gomborg is organizer, Mac Gilgoff general secretary, and Arthur Pogran is general activities director.

Circle 12, Juniors

The Dramatic Group of Circle 12, recently formed, gave a play, called "Retribution," before their Circle last Wednesday evening, which was quite a success. The Circle Dramatic Group intends to learn a few plays and go to other Yip Circle and entertain them. Circle 12 Fencing Group is making rapid headway. There are already six or seven skilled fencers, and therefore the Socialist party is assured of able defenders for its barricades! The Circle Debating Team and Squad is holding its third debate this summer on the question, "Resolved, That the United States is Not Justified in Interfering with Nicaragua." The Circle has over fifty members and meets Wednesday evening, at 8:15 p. m., at 1336 Lincoln place, Brooklyn.

"BLACKLEG" BILL ON BRITISH AGENDA

Trade Union Congress to Plan Method to Fight Anti-Labor Act

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

LONDON.—This year's Trades Union Congress, which will meet in Edinburgh on September 5, will be held under circumstances which lend special importance to its deliberations, and the preliminary agenda, just issued, will be closely scanned for indications of the trend of thought in the movement.

As was to be expected, the Blackleg's Charter figures prominently in the agenda.

The General Council has tabled a resolution embodying the workers' protest against the introduction of the bill, expressing appreciation of the Labor party's work in fighting the measure, and affirming

determination to maintain in their entirety the rights and liberties which the past efforts of the organized workers have secured, including the full right of combination of all workers, and the application of the strike, to be used as and when and in what manner may be found necessary, whether to secure improvements in their working conditions, to establish a rightful status of labor in the economic life of the country, or to resist any attempt to depress the workers' economic conditions.

The resolution proceeds to pledge Congress itself to work steadfastly for the repeal of the Iniquitous measure, and to call upon the working class to exercise its fullest political power to remove the present government from office.

Protecting Funds

Five unions have sent in resolutions bearing on the subject, and two of these include proposals relating to methods to be adopted.

The National Federation of Insurance Workers propose that the General Council

shall, upon the passage of the bill, issue full instruction to all unions affiliated as to amendments of rules involved, and give directions as to how best to protect the funds of the unions from the injunction of the courts, and what steps should be taken to improve the political fund of the unions.

The Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draughtsmen suggests that the General Council should set up a standing committee to advise unions

on the effect of the act on any contemplated dispute or other trade union activities.

Organization is the subject of a number of important resolutions. The National Union of General and Municipal Workers asks Congress to approve a policy having as its ultimate objective the formation of "one big union."

Reorganization

A special reorganization commission, to be appointed from the delegates to Congress, is demanded by the National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association, while the Amalgamated Engineering Union asks for reorganization to be dealt with by a Committee of Inquiry, one-half of the committee to be selected from the rank and file delegates, with a view to arriving at some definite scheme for the reduction of the number of unions to one for each industry.

The Tailors and Garment Workers' Union and the National Union of Shop Assistants urge the intensification of efforts to strengthen the organization of women workers. The Shop Assistants also ask the General Council to initiate a campaign for the organization of young workers in their respective unions.

Miners' Proposals

Emphatic condemnation of the attitude of the Government with regard to unemployment is contained in a resolution put forward by the Miners' Federation, which declares that the problem can be satisfactorily dealt with only by drastic economic changes on the lines laid down by the Labor Movement, and demands full recognition of the principle of work or maintenance of trade union rates of wages pending a satisfactory solution of the problem.

The Miners' Federation also asks Congress to take every possible means to secure the repeal of the Coal Mines act of 1926 at the earliest possible moment.

A complete overhaul of existing factory legislation is demanded in a series of resolutions on the subject.

SHEET METAL WORKERS PLAN HUGE PENSION FUND

Atlantic City, N. J.—Tentative plans for a \$2,000,000 pension fund were made at the closing session of the twenty-second triennial convention of the Sheet Metal Workers' International Association in the Royal Palace Hotel here. The fund would be based on an assessment plan, each of the 25,000 members being taxed between \$40 and \$65. The executive board of the association was authorized to formulate working plans and to submit to the members a referendum on the proposal.

John J. Hynes of Boston was re-elected president. Other officers, with the exception of three vice-presidents and the secretary-treasurer, were also re-elected. The new vice-presidents are Fred Hock of Cincinnati, Roy B. James of Dallas and Jacob C. Baer of Newark. The secretary-treasurer is William M. O'Brien of Cleveland, succeeding William L. Sullivan of Washington, D. C., who refused renomination.

German Socialist Women's Conference Meets

The women organized in the Social-Democratic Party of Germany held their annual conference at Kiel on the 27th and 28th of May. There were 127 delegates present, in addition to representatives of the party executive, of party committees, of the administrative committee of the party and members of parliament. The president of the meeting was Comrade Kurfurst of Kiel. After the address of greeting Marie Juchacz presented the annual report.

In her eloquent speech to the conference she outlined the main sphere of Socialist women's activities and showed that the women in the party were steadily augmenting their numbers. A specially important field is the occupational activities of women. From the latest census of occupations definite conclusions can be drawn with

GUILT UNPROVED, SAYS LIBERTIES UNION

No Certainty That Would Permit Execution Exists, Charge

(Continued from page 1)

testify to this effect. They admit that his testimony on this point was cumulative; that is, supported by other witnesses. But they gratuitously assume that it would make no difference with the jury. They seek to discredit the testimony of Captain Proctor, ignoring the fact that while Captain Proctor lived Judge Thayer refused to hear his story from his own lips. They accept the word of the jurors that they were not prejudiced. Did they expect them to come forward and recant? They believe the word of the district attorney that there was no improper collusion with federal agents. On the latter point they did not seek to examine the files of the department of justice. They attach great weight to the charge that a certain cap fitted Sacco, but say that the new evidence which proves that the identifying prints in the cap were made by the police has no weight and would have had no weight with the jury. On the face of it their rejection of the Madeiros confession shows singularly little understanding of the psychology of a gangster which would lead him to act precisely as Madeiros acted.

"None of these things nor any of the others that might be cited is so serious as the way the commission treated the evidence of unfairness on the part of Judge Thayer. Here they had testimony from men of the highest standing alleging specific obscene language used by the judge. They are forced to admit his indiscretion, but think there is 'exaggeration' in the affidavits. Why do they think so, unless they were subconsciously determined to admit no new trial? Even if some of the affidavits were exaggerated they related to conversations which took place while the judge was still hearing various motions and arguments. Affidavits of half the strength against the judge would have got a new trial for the worst gunman were no issue of social prejudice involved.

"We repeat that we are not arguing at the moment for the innocence of the men. We are arguing that the strongest statement yet made of their possible guilt is on its face and in the light of admitted facts far too weak to send two men to the electric chair seven years after the crime of which they are charged in contempt of the serious social consequences of such an act. When on top of such a report the Massachusetts courts refer the further application of Sacco and Vanzetti for a new trial on the basis of new evidence to the same 'indiscreet' Judge Thayer, the conviction is inevitable that consciously or unconsciously the authorities of Massachusetts seek not justice and wise social policy, but justification for an act which they are already determined to commit. Would not even President Lowell and his colleagues agree that in the face of Judge Thayer's admitted indiscretions his sitting today is to add insult to injury? "Once more we urge that there is still time to save the honor of our country."

regard to the increased employment of women. With the permanent growth of economic life there will arise an even stronger participation of women in the public life and the administration of the state. "We must approach the millions of factory women and girls, the shop assistants and clerks more than ever before so as to win them for our struggle."

MORRIS WOLFMAN

LAWYER
26 COURT ST.
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THE LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY

A Co-operative Organization of Labor Unions to Protect the Legal Rights of the Unions and Their Members in Various Matters in which They Should Have the Advice and Other Services of a Lawyer.
S. JOHN BLOCK, Attorney and Counsel
Labor organizations can obtain full information regarding cost of membership, etc., from the office, 225 Broadway, Rooms 2709-10, New York. Board of Delegates meets on last Saturday of every month at 8 P. M. at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Avenue, Brooklyn.
CHAS. CAMP, President. ALEX ECKERT, Financial Sec'y.
Carpenters' Union No. 452 German Technicians & Draftsmen
ALBERT HELB, Secretary.
Fur Dressers' Union No. 2

UNION DIRECTORY

N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL

CAP MAKERS

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.
OFFICE: 210 EAST 5th STREET
Phone Orchard 9890-1-4
The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.

JACOB ROBERTS, Sec'y-Organizer.
A. REISBERG, M. GELER, Organizers.

OPERATORS, LOCAL 1
Regular Meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday.
Executive Board meets every Monday.

CUTTERS, LOCAL 2
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Thursday.
Executive Board meets every Monday.

All Meetings are held in the Headgear Workers' Lyceum (Seethoven Hall)
210 East 5th Street.

HEBREW BUTCHERS UNION

Local 524, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A. 175 E. 1st St.
Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday.
AL GRABER, President.
L. KORN, Sec'y.
J. BELSKY, Secretary.

BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS'

UNION, LOCAL 66, I. L. G. W. U.

7 East 16th Street. Tel. SUYVENANT 5657
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union.
GEO. TRIESTMAN, President.
NATHAN RIEBEL, Secretary-Treasurer.

NECKWEAR CUTTERS'

Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.

7 East 15th Street. Tel. SUYVENANT 7678
Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of Every Month at 162 East 23rd Street.
Fred Fasselband, N. Ullman, President, Sec'y.
A. Weitzer, J. Rosenzweig, Vice-Pres. Fin. Sec. & Treas.
Wm. B. Chisling, Business Agent.

HEBREW ACTORS' UNION

Office, 31 Seventh St., N. Y.

Phone Dry Dock 3360
REUBEN GUSKIN, Manager.

Joint Executive Committee of THE VEST MAKERS' UNION,

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Office: 175 East Broadway.

Phone: Orchard 6639

Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening.

M. GREENBERG, Sec. Treas.

PETER MONAT, Manager.

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Local 584, I. U. of T.

OFFICE: 308 W. 14th St., City

Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at BEETHOVEN HALL, 210 East Fifth Street.

Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at

BEETHOVEN HALL, 210 East Fifth Street.

JOE HERMAN, Pres. & Business Agent.

M. LIEBLER, Sec'y-Treas.

GLAZIERS' UNION

Local 1087, B. P. D. & P. A.

Office and Headquarters at Astoria Hall, 43 East 4th St. Phone Dry Dock 10174. Regular meetings every Tuesday at 8 P. M.

ABE LEMONICK, PETE KOPP, Pres. Sec'y.

BARRY BRIDGE, J. GREEN, Sec'y.

JACOB RAPPAPORT, AARON RAPPAPORT, Sec. Agent. Treasurer.

German Painters' Union

LOCAL 499, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS

Regular Meetings Every Wednesday 8 P. M. at the Labor Temple, 248 East 14th St.

ALVIN BOETTNER, Sec'y.

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The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

3 West 16th Street, New York City

Telephone Chelsea 2148

MORRIS SHUMAN, President. ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union

Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U.

Office 231 East 14th Street. Telephone Ashland 2600

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DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers

Union Local 46, I. L. G. W. U.

Office, 211 E. 14th Street.

Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.

SECTION MEETINGS

Downtown—211 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 8 P. M.

Brooklyn—211 E. 14th St. & 3rd Friday at 8 P. M.

Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 13 A. M.

Manhattan—101 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—18 Montross St.

SALVATORE RINGO, Manager-Secretary.

EMBROIDERY WORKERS'

UNION, Local 6, I. L. G. W. U.

Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 121 E. 18th St.

Malrose 1699

CARL GRABER, President.

M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

United Hebrew Trades

175 EAST BROADWAY

Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M. Executive Board same day, 8:30 P. M.

The Labor Movement In the Balance

What Sacco's and Vanzetti's Deaths Mean

HERE comes a time in the history of nations when various phases of their development come to a focus and signify the need of change. The old order changeth and the new order issues out of the old. The old faiths, old views, old war cries that once served mankind no longer serve. They harden into prejudice and become the handmaids of reaction and despotism. They become imbedded in law, are sanctioned by courts, and become fetters on human progress. Eventually the fetters are broken, we enter a new epoch, mankind rejoices, progress continues until a new crisis is brought because new faiths, views and war cries have again become old.

Since the end of the World War the United States has witnessed a change as sinister as that which eventually brought Lincoln out of the West to put an end to an old epoch that had become intolerable. For two decades before the change many people only dimly sensed the numerous forces that doomed the old ways of thinking and action that characterized the statesmanship of Webster, Clay and Calhoun. In their old age they wrung the compromise of 1850 from a reluctant and puzzled Congress and within two years the statesmen of the old order were in their graves.

But the forces of social evolution could not be checked by a paper statute. Citizens of the North refused to become slave-catchers under the Fugitive Slave Law and defied its penalties. The Underground Railroad which transported fugitives from the South across the Northern States into Canada did more business in the last decade of the old system than in all the years before. Douglas, with his Nebraska Bill in 1854, opened the dikes for the flow of slavery into Kansas and the old statesmanship was again defeated.

THE FORTRESS OF REACTION

Meantime the Federal Courts were the final fortress of the old ways of thinking. Learned men in the highest judicial tribunal of the republic solemnly affirmed that the people of this country were helpless to stay the flow of slavery into every state and an unknown slave, Dredd Scott, became famous in American history. The answer was John Brown and Abraham Lincoln and a reconstruction of the Supreme Court of the United States. The laws in the South against Abolition literature, the censorship of the press, the legal, clerical, economic, political and literary philosophy of the old order, became a monument to the stupidity and intolerance of men who believed that society could be arrested at one stage in its development and kept there for all time.

The fetters were broken by the revolutionary Republicans who had gathered in the workers of the trade unions and the early Labor Parties, the anti-slavery extension parties, the anti-slavery Whigs and Democrats, into the new political party. The writings and addresses of Lincoln, Seward, Sumner, Giddings, Birney, Chase and others were inspired by profound faith in their movement, contempt and defiance for censorship and intolerance, a ringing challenge to judges and courts, a passionate assertion of the right of all ideas to be heard in the arena of debate, and a denunciation of the financial, commercial and business cliques and servile lawyers who supported the hated system of human bondage.

Years passed before the passions of this struggle cooled. For several decades men were free to speak, to write, to organize and to act. The threat of an oligarchy of slave owners ruling the republic forever had been averted and memory of the peril lingered in the minds of young men and women for a generation. These young men grew old and only a few stragglers remain. Another generation has come on the scene. A new order grew out of the ruins of the old. New issues, new faiths and new ideas began to recede into the background. Lincoln and his army of liberators were venerated as saints, but their words and their philosophy were forgotten. Giant corporations of capital appeared on the scene and the new generation of Republican and Democratic professionals enlisted in the service of the new Monarch. Before the end

of the century corporation lawyers were serving this new Monarch in legislatures and Congress. As old members of the reconstructed Federal Courts died the corporations promoted their lawyers to the Federal bench.

ORGANIZED LABOR EMERGES

Before the century had closed organization of labor had reached a stable basis, but ominous struggles in industry had also cast a dark shadow over the scene. Corporations provided a market for professional gunmen who were hired and used like mercenaries in the Middle Ages. Statesmen maintained a supine indifference while these mercenaries clubbed, shot and killed, while they ousted elected public officials in strike areas and installed corporate agents in their place. The process of injunction was perverted into a weapon against labor. The "frame-up" of labor men in courts became frequent. Independent editors of the old era like Weed, Greeley and Raymond gave way to corporation newspapers as a business investment and organs of the new Monarch. Capital concentrated into the greatest combinations ever known, became tied in a network of intimate relations with great banks, politics, judges and courts.

Despite all this there was still some intellectual tolerance when suddenly Europe blew up and a few years later the United States was drawn into the terrible conflict. The first conscription was that of our ideas, beliefs and convictions. That conscription has not been repealed. Our lips were gagged, our writings censored, and prison yawned for those who disobeyed. The Department of Justice proceeded to index several hundred thousand men and women who still tried to think, recording their photographs when they could be obtained and checking their lives as police departments do known criminals. Its other crimes indicted by eminent members of the bar who refuse allegiance to the new Monarch are now matters of history.

Just as significant was the action of the corporate masters of industry towards the returning soldiers. A few hundred thousand were members of trade unions, and while the corporate masters were gathering a king's ransom out of the war they told these members of the unions that they must give up their trade unions and return to the "open shop" or a "company union." More than three years of exhausting struggle by the unions followed for the sheer preservation of organizations that are accepted as a matter of course in all other modern nations.

FEAR AND GUILT COMPLEXES

A fear-complex afflicted our ignorant politicians and a guilt-complex possessed our Grand Dukes of industry. They conjured spooks of weird shape, financed special organizations and propagandists who had no regard for truth, and broadcast alarmist stories of millions of revolutionists' organizing for the destruction of the republic in a welter of blood. Officials of the War Department and the Department of Justice co-operated in this malicious work, publicly attacking men and women of spotless reputation. This disgraceful debauch in which honor, decency, ethics and rectitude were thrown aside, still survives in occasional outbursts through editorial or platform utterance.

So the blackest forces in American life gained ascendancy in the republic. At Washington the transformation was just as significant. The nation that once sent a warship to transport Kossuth, the Hungarian Liberator, to the United States, admitted Karolyi, another Hungarian Liberator, with a proviso that he wear a gag upon his lips while he was being attacked by Hungarian magnates. A warship is placed at the service of Romanoff gentry to bring them from the Philippines to the United States, and two weeks ago we learn that an Italian was sentenced to prison in Italy as an anti-Fascist, the evidence being a letter written by the victim to the American Secretary of Labor. And these things are done by those who claim to inherit the spirit of the Lincoln epic. The despot, Mussolini, himself is favored with a debt settlement of American claims that has shocked all Europe, while returning American magnates insult us with praises of the man who has transformed all Italy into a prison in which liberty is outlawed.

THE DRIFT TO EMPIRE

Still more ominous for the future is our deeds in Latin-America. Weak peoples in the Caribbean Sea and in Central America fear us and hate us for the evil we have done. Their virgin resources are passing into the hands of our industrial and financial masters. We have sent armed bands into these little nations, ousted their governments, and installed our own instead. Within the past few months we have waged war on the soil of Nicaragua without a declaration of Congress and are now preparing to police elections so that they will be satisfactory to our investors. American oil magnates in Mexico have within the past ten years frequently brought us to the brink of war, while the State Department assumes the right of veto over the fundamental laws of Mexico.

Then the Sacco-Vanzetti affair, our Dreyfus case multiplied a hundred fold. Our ruling politicians have made us the most hated nation in the world. Only one other nation in the period since the Civil War won the reputation which we now have. Russia of the Romanoffs became a symbol of all that should be avoided. We have now taken the place

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

cution. It is simply impossible to believe that any mere deficiency in the Massachusetts judicial code would have condemned ordinary murderers to death in successive proceedings occupying seven years without once giving any other than the original judge the chance to pass on charges of his own prejudice, were it not for the rooted determination, conscious or subconscious, of the dominant class of Massachusetts to uphold its interests and passions at all cost. How does Mr. Hays explain the fact that the customary reaction of the middle class men in the street is: "Why the fuss? These dangerous radicals have had their day in court, now let them die." While the reaction even of relatively conservative workers is at least one of understanding of the case in behalf of these men. The presuppositions of the dominant class, even when it apparently gropes after fairness, are not the presuppositions of the workers. Witness the bemused editorials of the New York Times, in which men a little shocked by proceedings in Massachusetts nevertheless feel obliged to come to the aid of the dignity of the court and the respectability of President Lowell.

It is quite true, thank heaven, that some men can break away from this conscious or unconscious control of class interest. Fine spirited liberals have done so even in Boston. More of them have done so in New York. In Europe general sentiment, even outside class lines, favors Sacco and Vanzetti. In part distance clarifies the view. In part, especially as far as Europe is concerned, national and racial feeling serves as somewhat of a corrective of class feeling. Thus, even Fascist Italy sympathizes with fellow Italians, though it might deal with them roughly at home for their political opinions. But when all this is said and done, in a world without class divisions and therefore without class prejudice, Sacco and Vanzetti would not now face death.

It is not necessary to believe that class prejudice makes men consciously dishonest. Indeed, that is the terrible thing about it. One of the appalling facts about human psychology is that reason usually operates to justify our emotional desires and that often we are not conscious of the process. Most of the harm in the world has been done by hypocrites and cynics but by "good" men who, without conscious dishonesty, made reason serve their personal or group interest. Formal education is no sure defense against this process. It may only make men more expert in rationalizing their prejudices.

Take the case of the actors in the Massachusetts tragedy for illustration. Judge Thayer has revealed a weakened, twisted soul in his shriveled body. The discovery of Governor Fuller's hysterical tirade against radicals, made when he was a Congressman opposed the seating of Victor Berger, means that it was quite impossible for him to pass fair judgment on a case involving radicalism. Judge Grant had expressed his opinion of the guilt of Sacco and Vanzetti—an opinion which he recanted to pass on it officially. Lowell and Stratton are bound up in interests and social habits with the curious caste of Boston Brahmins. Much is made of their physical courage in deciding against Sacco and Vanzetti. It would have taken a far rarer psychological courage to decide for them. The result is their famous report which on its face in paragraph after paragraph proves reasonable doubt rather than the opposite. (Some of the more striking bits of evidence for this I have pointed out in an analysis that I prepared for the American Civil Liberties Union.)

What I am trying to say is that men do not have to be aware of their own prejudices arising from class feeling to be controlled by them. We sometimes make a mistake in assuming that class prejudice always involves personal and conscious dishonesty. How much such dishonesty is conscious in the mind of the principal actors in this affront to decency and to the conscience of mankind, I do not know nor much care. I am not God. I do know that it is a dreadful spectacle to see high placed, cultured men playing the roles of executioner of these Italian radical workers. I do know that Heywood Brown is justified in thinking that President Lowell makes of Harvard University a kind of hangman's house. Whatever his conscious motives, he and his colleagues are utterly unfit for public leadership, especially in the tasks of education. No physical punishment meted out to them by some mad terrorist who is the enemy of his own cause would mean so much as that ostracism which should be their portion from all those of whatever class who seek to bring our prejudices under control not only of our reason but of our love of justice and mercy. These respectable advisers to Governor Fuller have performed no public service. They have done a thing which will make it infinitely harder for our children and maybe our children's children to work out the issues of economic conflict with a minimum of cruelty and hate.

Sacco, Vanzetti and the Poets

Sacco and Vanzetti

TWO simple men who loved the sun
Were sentenced to oblivion
For the thing they had not done—

Two simple men whose martyrdom
Was to be stricken blind and dumb
Because they prayed, "Thy Kingdom come!"

Yet did not merely pray, but spoke
The future's gospel, till they woke
Perhaps a score of working folk.

They spoke for human brotherhood;
They would not call red murder good;
When others crouched in fear—they stood!

They hated force of steel or stealth;
Love was their sun to bring men health;
They saw the world one commonwealth.

Within the world (that wild beasts' den!)
They spoke to wolves as if to men,
That Eden might return again.

In fear of truth and innocence,
Men silenced them with the immense
Irony of a vile pretense.

Men shut them from the earth and air
And sun that were so free and fair;
Eight years their warden was despair.

Trapped within stone they had to walk—
Death like the shadow of a hawk
Above them—while the lawyers talk—

Eight years their house was stone and steel,
While sick hope in recurrent reel
Whirled them like men strapped to a wheel.

The tribal victims of blood-lust
And all the cobwebs and the dust
Of judges legal and not just.

Tombd for lost years they had to lie
While the white Spring eight times went by—
Poor dead men who could never die!

Yet though they could not move but lay
Inert, they knew that every day
They stumbled down a steeper way—

Away from which they could not turn
Till down far vistas they discern
The sullen bulk of chairs that burn.

There in the darkness clear they saw
Engines of anguish and of awe,
The fiery guillotines of law.

They felt the iron cap whose chill
Is but a dam of ice to spill
The floods of fire that roar and kill—

The cap that pours into the brain
The vivid needles of its pain
Till the blood boils within the vein.

They felt the fumbling trustees' look
The straps about them, while the clock
Beat the sick moments till the shock—

The moments that must have an end
When some white, unseen hand should send
The tides of fire to roar and rend—

Oceans of fire to stab and strain
Through ruptured channels of each vein
Till the skull bubbles with the brain.

O Jesus Christ, our Master, you
Died that our love might save these two;
And still we know not what we do!

E. MERRILL ROOT

To Sacco and Vanzetti

BEFORE such men as you I stand
With head hung low, abashed, ashamed,
Not only of my Judas land
But that I also should be blamed.

That courts are owned by wealth and terror
Is nothing new in history's pages;
And men who fight the armed White Terror
Must face their death while hatred rages.

But shame on folk of the printed word
Who raise no cry that rich men plunder!
Come, let our voices all be heard
In revolutionary thunder.

—Ralph Cheyney.

For the 10th of July

THESE two sad men! The day we let them die
A little more of that will pass away
That was our soul. Our heavy earth-bound clay
Will loom a little darker in the sky.
Oh, few faint voices bravely asking "Why?"
You pass like whispers in the roaring play
Of madmen marching to a holiday.
We know. We know, why bound to death they lie.

Who thinks of them? The millions do not know,
And if they did, their souls would still be lamed.
The pride that once on Boston Common flamed
These many years is burning very low.
Nearer and nearer, ominous and slow,
Marches the death by which we shall be shamed.
—David P. Berenberg.

The New Salome

SHALL we call her Justice who demands
No scale but vengeance for her bloody hands?

Who lewd and shameless strips to dance before
The tyrant Prejudice like her who bore

John's guiltless head triumphant on a platter?
A sweet dish for the law! Is it no matter

That innocence is slain to make a prize
On which Hate's Harpy stoops to gormandize?

Yet, if she be not Justice, rip the veil
From the impostor's face—but do not pale

With thwarted rage nor choke with frightened breath
To see that phantom men call Death.

Ernest Hartsock.

To President Lowell and His Commission

O H. LET us not be bitter against foes
Of right, too base to bear the name of men.
How blind and pitiful you are, God knows,
Herded like common swine within the pen
Of your class prejudices and coward fears.
Our bitterness would scar our tongues in vain
For now no lips of passion and no tears
Can heal two lives of this deep-throated pain.
Thank God, dark earth is mothering and kind,
Kinder than your low court and prison den.
You cannot kill the dream of those who find
A faith that shall restore the world to men.

—Lucia Trent.

Two in the Death House

SHALL we "make heroes" of you—when all you
ruminate,
Of songs, books, art, or the world's thought,
Hard-learned, meagerly fitting, like worker's clothes,
Askew upon you, might be talked out in one evening?
Of you—not having any bright possession, or good
hope of it,
Save what lies in two hands—hands cognizant
Of the cool feel of fish and of the grains of leathers,
Hands made stiff
In such plain service as men live by, yet despise the
servers.

We cannot see, for those used hands, you are about
to die . . .
Or we might find that in your eyes not to our liking
a dimmed
Opaque foreglimmering of a too imminent light
That may burn up, like some high-powered ray,
All that we have and are or may be, even . . . there
is a torsion in this thought. . . .

All our poor guerdons of posterity, I do not know
What you have given or withheld or hid deep from
marauding death—
What gleams of your balked vision, whose harsh fire
May make men blind or mad, but never quite
Leaves eyes that it has once illumined, or what mal-
feasant shapes

Conspire in the watched night, there cornered in your
prison house.
But this I know recurs:

old man with empty eyes,
eyes of an old doll
upon which the wax has melted,
out of the buzzing silence
blue-coated shapes,
well-filled and tight
as the bellies of blue flies,
staring out of their eye-places
at but into your warm men's eyes
as they lead you out . . .

Hour by sleuth hour, till the cropped gold head
Of morning, shut outside the corridors, had turned to
gray,
Their looks, infesting even the midnight, crept
Nimble, along the flashlight's ray
And battered on you while you slept.

Seven times, ice-bearing days have shaken their white
crops upon the world
And forward airs have rumored of the loam at heat,
downward, over the coldest hills.

slim tongues of flame
licking at the iceheads,
about the plumed peaks
out of consuming snow
an invisible smoke going up
in the crystal silences
a silvery crying
of little waters set at large.

You have endured those moments, you
Close to the rough nap of earth, and knowing her
perennial ways.
And when, on some one of your counted mornings,
light
That pulls at the caught roots of things
Has pierced you with a touch, or leavened air,
Too warm and softly mutinous for men to bear
Who know that which you know, blows in and on you,
You too have hoped—with the ardor of young shoots,
renascent under the concrete,
And with them have gone down to defeat again.

You, Vanzetti, with the marching blue in your eyes,
And your smile a lonesome thing in the shadow of the
death house,
I think you know, for children know sometimes and
child-like men,
There are two lights that, running parallel, may flame
Flame being one with flame and not with that it feeds
upon—

Into one dazzling circuit. And meeting thus destroy
All that which lies between. . . .
Did not once a keeper turn, he too smiling a little,
He like you isolate, from you forever separate,
Only your smile, like a split ray of light, identical,
That for a moment trembles together, traversing the
dark impasse.

Did he fumble, missing a beat in the implacable
rhythm, as he turned the key,
As one letting fall a vessel might pause before stooping
to see if the pattern be broken.
Old patterns are not easily broken, inspired fish-
monger,
Though "men about to die may be forgiven for plain
speaking"

And in your eyes that are intrepid without hate
And, unwavering before oncreeping death, you yet
hold your captaincy.

LOLA RIDGE.

Sacco and Vanzetti

(BY A REBEL OF ANGLO-SAXON DESCENT)
MY people sent you there to rot and die,
My people framed the laws you suffer by,
And I, who share their country and their name,
I bow my head in silence and in shame.
And yet my scornful heart is stirred to song.
A rebel's world is always young and strong.
How, in God's name, can we lose faith today
With men like you to forge a rebel's way!

—Lucia Trent.

Poems of Protest on the Sacco-Vanzetti Case

The above are to be printed in an anthology of poems against the murder by Massachusetts of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, of tribute to these heroes of the labor movement and of shame on Alvin T. Fuller and his fellow traitors to justice, edited by Lucia Trent and Ralph Cheyney, will be published in the near future under the auspices of the poetry magazine "Contemporary Verse."

The board of sponsors for this anthology consists of Forrest Bailey, Harry Elmer Barnes, Ralph Cheyney, S. A. DeWitt, Zona Gale, John Haynes Holmes, B. W. Huebsch, Gardner Jackson, John Dos Passos, Lucia Trent, Oswald Garrison Villard and Gremlin Zorn. The editors are solely responsible for the selection of the poems.

The editors have sent the poems to Governor Fuller with the following letter:—

"In the name of the foremost poets of America we are sending you part of the manuscript of an anthology of poems protesting against the conviction and punishment of Sacco and Vanzetti, which will be published in the event that these men are not set free. These poems are an indication of the attitude of our poets in regard to this case. If these innocent martyrs are sent to the chair or to prison as victims of war hysteria, and every prejudice and force opposed to civilization, this book will live to cry shame on the justice of Massachusetts.

"Yours for American fair play,
Ralph Cheyney,
Lucia Trent.

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Assistant Editor.....EDWARD LEVINSON

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