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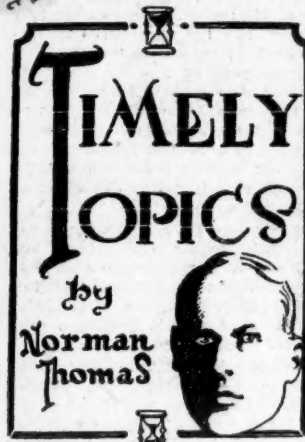
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THE CASE FOR MURDER!

THE EVIDENCE THAT CONDEMNED SACCO AND VANZETTI



THE criminal or crazy man who bombed the home of a juror in the Sacco case was a dreadful enemy to the man whom we are trying to save and to society in general. Terrorism from whatever source or for whatever reason can only strengthen reaction.

But the act of a mad terrorist cannot justify Governor Fuller or the court in refusing that justice which the conscience of mankind demands. Not very much, we fear, can be expected from the Massachusetts Supreme Court in view of the limitations on its power and its previously displayed sense of caste and class solidarity in support of Judge Thayer. Even, however, if the Supreme Court supports legalism rather than justice, Governor Fuller still has the power to save Sacco and Vanzetti. Commutation of sentence had as it would be, would at least make possible a further struggle to vindicate them completely as Dreyfus was vindicated.

Apparently there is little or no chance of getting the Sacco-Vanzetti case before the Federal Supreme Court. Justice Holmes was explicit in declaring that he could not pass on Judge Thayer's prejudice. In other words, the famous "due process of law" clause of the 14th Amendment is no protection at all against that criminal prostitution of justice to class prejudice which submits human lives to the power of one old judge with the soul of a witch hunter. Now if Sacco and Vanzetti were only a corporation threatened by state law with loss of profit—say a gas company ordered to reduce its rates—there would be no question that they would be heard by the Federal Court.

Once I thought that this subordination of human to property rights under an amendment avowedly intended to protect the interests of the newly freed slaves was a comparatively modern development under our courts. Professor Beard tells us that the men who wrote the due process clause knew exactly what they were doing and were putting over protection of corporations on a public thinking about men. What a commentary it is on the ethics of capitalism that corporation profits are so much better protected than human life by our most august court.

Before the judgment bar of history I should rather be Vanzetti the condemned fish peddler than A. Lawrence (Continued on page 3)

Pastor Who Was Jailed as Sacco Picket Denounces Critics in His Congregation

(By a News Leader Correspondent)
BUFFALO.—"Better men than I have been locked up in the Boston jail and have thereby served well the cause of humanity," declared the Rev. H. J. Hahn at the Sunday service of Salem Evangelical Church. The Rev. Mr. Hahn recently returned from Boston, where, as a representative of the Buffalo Sacco-Vanzetti defense committee, he was arrested and locked in a cell for picketing the State House in behalf of the condemned men.

Criticism directed at Mr. Hahn drew fire from his pulpit Sunday morning. He expressed surprise that church folks should be "shocked and indignant" over a preacher going to jail for pleading the cause of justice and human rights. "Why, practically all the great leaders and prophets in your Bible spent considerable time in prisons, and many were hanged for justice sake. If more preachers and church people would be willing to go to jail in defense of their professed principles of Christian humanitarianism, we would be much farther along the road to a decent world of

PULLMAN CO. IS ORDERED TO ARBITRATE

Railroad Board Accords Recognition to Pullman Employees Union

WORD that the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has been accorded official recognition by the United States Board of Mediation was received at the headquarters of the union, 2311 Seventh Avenue, in a telegram from A. Philip Randolph, general organizer of the Brotherhood. Mr. Randolph is now in Chicago, where he has been representing the union before the railroad board. The porters' union is the first labor organization of Negro workers on a national scale, and the disposition of its case by the federal board has been eagerly awaited in trade union as well as Negro circles.

The Pullman Company, it is understood, will refuse to arbitrate. Frank Crosswaith, organizer of the union, declared the decision of the board in sending the dispute with the Pullman Company to arbitration constitutes a great victory for his organization. Mr. Crosswaith said: "Arbitration means recognition of the brotherhood as a legitimate representative of the porters. The company fought such a step bitterly. However, we are happy to learn that the board has overruled the company and has sent the case to arbitration."

"All of the elaborate and extensive research made by the Labor Bureau, showing the actual conditions under which the porters work, the wages they receive, the amount of tips received monthly by the average porter, the total occupational expense of each porter, the number of hours and the total mileage covered by the porter during the 400-hour work month will come before the arbitrators. Also, the actual cost of living for the porter with and without a family, the actual wage increase granted the porters since their employment by the Pullman Company some fifty-nine years ago will be presented to the board of arbitration. A systematic comparison between the work and wages of the porters and the other railroad workers will also be submitted."

Mr. Crosswaith explained that during mediation the attorneys of the Brotherhood could not legally appear and argue the organization's case. Before the board of arbitration, however, the full legal battery of the Brotherhood will be called into action. The chief legal adviser of the Brotherhood is Donald R. Richberg, co-author of the Watson-Parker act which created the boards of mediation and arbitration.

Berger Urges Coolidge Act in Sacco Case, As Wilson in Mooney

Aug. 8, 1927.
"His Excellency Calvin Coolidge, President of the United States, Rapid City, S. D.
"President Wilson intervened in cases of Tom Mooney and Joe Hill, California and Utah. Department of Justice under Mitchell Palmer was very rotten, and its actions and accounts ought to be investigated; also its activity in connection with Sacco and Vanzetti. In view of the international excitement which this case has created I most respectfully suggest again that you intervene until it is made clear that these men were not framed. If the men are guilty the courts will still have them to punish, but if they are innocent a fearful crime may thus be prevented."
"VICTOR L. BERGER."

MINERS' RANKS SOLID

Hardships of Strike Fail to Dampen Spirit of the Men

(By a News Leader Correspondent)
CLEVELAND.—The strike of the miners is dragging out to a miserable stalemate, with the miners presenting the heroic front which has distinguished them in every class struggle in which the industry has been engaged. Never at any time having sufficient work to enable them to accumulate a personal reserve fund in the hour of struggle, they enter these strikes with a determination and dogged persistence that would compel an early surrender of the owners in any industry more stabilized than mining. In Indiana the association of coal operators has broken with the national association and is signing agreements with the United Mine Workers under the Jacksonville scale. These contracts show that the mines in the bituminous fields can be operated under that scale and the defection of the Indiana owners is a serious breach in the ranks of the opposition.

In Ohio, the Coal Operators' Association is calling upon Governor Donahey for aid in opening the mines and has announced that the association will not renew the conference with the miners' organization.

THAYER PROVEN PREJUDICED JUDGE

Attorney Hill in Brilliant Final Appeal Before Supreme Judicial Court

(By a News Leader Correspondent)
BOSTON.—In a brilliant legal argument before the State Supreme Judicial Court, Attorney Arthur Deshon Hill made his last legal effort to halt the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti. The address he made before four of the members of the court was not distinguished for any oratorical flights. But it was a remarkably able legal presentation of the charge that Judge Webster Thayer, who presided at the trial of the two anarchists, was prejudiced, and that, therefore, the conviction should not stand. Mr. Hill began his argument before the Supreme Court by saying that Chief Justice Walter Perley Hall of the Superior Court had refused to designate a Judge other than Judge Thayer to hear the petition, holding that sound practice and precedent permitted the trial Judge to act on the motion. Immediately on coming before Judge Thayer at Dedham on August 8, said Mr. Hill, he protested and urged on Judge Thayer the propriety of retiring from the case in exercise of sound judicial discretion. Judge Thayer refused and then denied motions for a new trial, for revocation of sentence and stay of execution.

Mr. Hill alleged there was ample evidence for a new trial. First, there was the new evidence that the hole in the cap that was said to belong to Sacco, alleged at the trial to have been made from the nail on which he hung it at the shoe factory where he was employed, had been made by a policeman after the cap was found on the scene of the murder. Then there was the affidavit of Captain Proctor, former head of the Massachusetts State Police, a prosecution witness, who swore he did not think the mortal bullet went through Sacco's pistol. At the trial he said it was "consistent" with having gone through the pistol, giving the jury the intimation that it did go through Sacco's pistol.

Thayer's Language Criticized
According to Mr. Hill, Judge Thayer charged the jury in such language as to lead them to believe that the mortal bullet had been fired through the Sacco pistol. The prejudice of Judge Thayer was sufficiently substantiated to warrant a new trial, continued Mr. Hill. He said that, in a case where the identification of the Boston Bar Association. In

(Continued on page 2)

The Chief Actors In the Tragedy Of Massachusetts

Fuller, Governor and Millionaire—Thompson—The Three Boston Brahmins—Frankfurter and Thayer—The Condemned Men

Governor Alvan Fuller

ALVAN TUFTS FULLER, Governor of Massachusetts, remained true to form. Those who were acquainted with his background must have hoped against hope that he would have risen to the occasion of the Sacco-Vanzetti case, but he could not conquer the prejudices that the years had ingrained in him. He was born in Boston, Mass., in 1878, the son, as he liked to point out, of a veteran of the Civil War. When he was one year old his family moved to Malden, and there, in a second-rate town, he rose to eminence. His political anchors are hooked in Malden and vicinity. Respectable New Englanders become lawyers, ministers or merchants. Fuller chose the latter path. He was a pioneer in the marketing of automobiles. A source of pride for him is the fact that in 1899 he brought from Europe the first two motor cars which ever entered the port of Boston. Today he is owner of the Packard Motor Car Company of Boston, with current assets in 1926 of three and three-quarter million dollars. And this man was supposed to be fair to such labor agitators as Sacco and Vanzetti! But there is more to his story. In 1915 he became a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, in 1916 a delegate to the Republican National Convention, and in 1917 a member of Congress. He began to serve in the latter capacity in April, just when the war with Germany broke out. He did very little in Congress during his two terms in office outside of attending to bills to provide for increasing pensions of voters in his district and striving to obtain a captured German cannon and a public building for his town. Straight pork-barrel legislation this! Yet what might be called his general or public services are significant. He introduced a bill to establish a "star of service" flag and emblems to be placed thereon for persons in the military or naval service of the United States during the late war. He baited radicals in the few addresses he delivered in Congress via the right of extending remarks in the Appendix to the Congressional Record. On one occasion, in 1919, in a speech on a trip through the war zone, he declared "that we are facing the gravest crisis in all our history. The fight is on between constitutional government—law and order—and Bolshevism." And again later: "The agents of the red flag and Bolshevism are seeking to take advantage of our industrial unrest. We are facing a critical period. Every true, patriotic American citizen—capitalist or workman—will stand firm as the rock of Gibraltar for the American principles and American institutions." In his speech explaining his vote to keep Victor Berger out of the House Fuller went the limit. "Attacking the Milwaukee Congressman as 'un-American' and 'guilty of disloyalty,' he continued: 'Therefore, it would seem to me that Berger does not merit the protection of the laws which he flouts. . . . This goes a long way in explaining the Governor's decision on Sacco and Vanzetti. Fuller was considered so highly by the politicians that he resigned to become Governor of Massachusetts in 1921, serving as such until he was elected Governor four years later. Finally, to prove conclusively Fuller's respectability, it might be added that he is a member of four leading fraternal orders and of an equal number of aristocratic clubs. Such is the man who was expected to see his way clear to set Sacco and Vanzetti free.

William G. Thompson

What manner of man is this William G. Thompson, who obeyed the call of conscience and leaped to the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti as their leading counsel? He was born in Vermont in 1864 and received his A. B., M. A. and LL.B. degrees from Harvard. He has been practicing law at Boston since 1891. Rising to the very top of his profession, he was elected to the council of the Boston Bar Association. In

1893-95 he was assistant United States attorney for the District of Massachusetts, but since then has held no public office. People are not aware of the fact that he was a lecturer at the Harvard Law School almost without interruption from 1912 to 1925. And his subjects? Brief-making, practice, and preparation of cases. Certainly if he lacked experience in his chosen fields before, the Sacco-Vanzetti case gave him sufficient opportunities to write briefs. He is one of those rare Americans with an old-fashioned feeling of justice in his bones, who cannot rest until he sees right triumph. The Sacco-Vanzetti case has left Thompson

(Continued on page 2)

"WHITEWASH" OF THE TRIAL BY PROBERS

A Detailed Examination of the Charges Against the Anarchists

By Louis Stanley

IT may be vulgar to say that the purpose of the inquiries of Governor Fuller and his Advisory Commission was to whitewash Judge Thayer, ex-District Attorney Katzmann and the whole administration of criminal law in Massachusetts, but it is certainly elegant enough to assert that the Governor and his wise men strove rather strenuously to discredit the arguments of the defense and leave the case of the prosecution as the only acceptable solution of the South Braintree murders of April 15, 1920. The reports of Fuller, Lowell, Grant and Stratton are based upon the supposition that Sacco and Vanzetti were guilty of the crime of which they have been accused, and that it was the task of the defendants to prove themselves innocent. Hence, the investigators spent most of their time in picking flaws in the testimony and affidavits presented by the defense. When they thought they had enough to be able to make a presentable public showing they rested their case. All that it was necessary for them to do was to assert, with saving qualifications, that the prosecution was correct in its position. That this attitude and procedure violated the principle or fiction of Anglo-Saxon law that the accused is innocent until he is proven guilty did not disturb the worthy Anglo-Saxons who were protecting the Anglo-Saxon law and institutions from the desecration and ravaging of worthless lies. It is therefore of much importance to review what the case against Sacco and Vanzetti is and to weigh its worth. We can take up the analysis under these headings:

1. The Bridgewater holdup.
2. "Consciousness of guilt."
3. Identification of Sacco and Vanzetti.
4. Bullet markings.
5. Hat found upon scene.
6. Was Vanzetti a Criminal?
7. The Bridgewater holdup—This event has been produced to prove that at least Vanzetti is not so incapable of committing a crime as his friends have claimed. The argument goes that on December 24, 1919, a pay-roll holdup had taken place at Bridgewater, similar in character though not in ferocity to that at South Braintree on April 15 following, and that Vanzetti had been found guilty of the deed even before the South Braintree case. Persons unacquainted with the data have even inquired as to how he happened to be running about free on April 15, 1920.

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Your Last Chance to Protest!

SACCO-VANZETTI MEETING

MONDAY, AUGUST 22, 8 P. M.

Speakers:

NORMAN THOMAS Cong. F. H. LA GUARDIA
JUDGE JACOB PANKEN JAMES ONEAL
ROBT. MORSS LOVETT A. DE WITT, Chairman

IN

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH

34th St. and Park Ave., New York City

AUSPICES, SOCIALIST PARTY

Judge and Jury Prejudiced in Sacco Trial, N. Y. Fed. of Women Declares

THE New York Federation of Progressive Women finds the most fundamental feature in the Sacco-Vanzetti case to have been in the unfairness of the trial, a phase of the case "which has not been at all dissipated by the opinions either of Governor Fuller or of his advisory committee." The Federation's views in this respect are emphasized. The Governor's committee, speaking of Judge Thayer, says:

"From all that has come to us we are forced to conclude that the judge was indiscreet in conversations with outsiders during the trial. . . . The committee also found that 'Judge Thayer has been in a distinctly nervous condition' and that he committed breaches of official decorum. 'It is true,' says a statement issued by the Federation, 'that they state that they do not think that these matters affected his conduct at the trial, but the suggestion is rather naive that

men can be fairly tried before a biased, prejudiced, nervous, revengeful judge. 'Turning from the judge to the jury, it appears from affidavits on one of the motions for a new trial that the foreman of the jury stated to a friend named Daly, 'Damn them—they ought to hang anyway.' Ripley is now dead and the commission says he did not live to contradict the statement, and we believe that Daly must have misunderstood him or that his recollection is at fault. 'Thus there is evidence that both judge and jury were prejudiced against these men. Without considering the question of guilt or innocence, about which opinion seems divided, it is inconceivable to us that men can be killed by the State where the record shows an unfair trial. 'Sacco and Vanzetti are individuals. Whether they die sooner or later is of little importance compared to the maintenance of the Anglo-Saxon ideal that no man should be adjudged without first having had a fair trial."

THE CASE OF Thayer Denounced in Court As Prejudiced Judge

MURDER OF SACCO

A Detailed Analysis of the Evidence Against the Two Anarchists

(Continued from page 1)

These are the facts: Sacco and Vanzetti were not arrested until May 5, 1920, and the ostensible reason—outside of their being hounded for radical activities—was that they were guilty of both the Bridgewater and the South Braintree crimes. Chief of Police Stewart of the former city was acting upon the theory that both "jobs" had been done by the same persons, and was tracing a car, the only one owned by an Italian in Cohasset, a town in the direction of the Bridgewater holdup. Sacco, Vanzetti, Orlandi and Boda called for the car of the latter at a garage, where it had been under repair. Boda disappeared soon afterward. Orlandi proved he had been at work both on December 24, 1919, and April 15, 1920, and was therefore released. Sacco could only show that he had been employed on the former date, and Vanzetti, being a fish peddler and in nobody's employ and had no employer to vouch for him. As a consequence Sacco and Vanzetti were both held for the murders at South Braintree on April 15, 1920, of Parmenter, a paymaster, and Berardelli, his guard, while Vanzetti, in addition, was accused of the Bridgewater holdup. The next important thing to note is that Sacco and Vanzetti were not indicted on the murder charges until September 14, 1920, and their trial did not open until May 31, 1921. Meanwhile Vanzetti, in June, 1920, had been tried, found guilty and sentenced to twelve to fifteen years' imprisonment for the Bridgewater crime. The judge in this case was the same Webster Thayer, and the district attorney none other than Katsmann himself. Vanzetti was not permitted by his lawyer to testify, supposedly to conceal his client's radical views and avoid the difficulty of Vanzetti's not speaking English. Neither did counsel appeal from the verdict of conviction. We know more about it now. The lawyer was Katsmann's law partner, and is now. The identification of Vanzetti was silly. A boy knew it was because he had recognized a foreigner at the scene "by the way he ran." Another witness from a certain vantage point had looked through two solid buildings and had seen the crime committed. Vanzetti, on the other hand, had a score of witnesses to prove that he had been selling fish to them on the day before Christmas. It might be mentioned, also, that the head of the State police never accepted the Sacco-Vanzetti theory. The Bridgewater affair was common knowledge when Sacco and Vanzetti were being tried for murder, and the papers played it up. Nevertheless, counsel for the defendants blundered by agreeing with District Attorney Katsmann not to produce members of the Plymouth police force as character witnesses for Vanzetti if Katsmann did not bring up the Bridgewater crime. As a matter of fact, Katsmann broke his promise in his summing up.

Did the Accused Act Guiltily?
2. "Consciousness of Guilt"—The prosecution claimed that Sacco and Vanzetti at the time of their arrest were acting with "consciousness of guilt" as murderers. What was the evidence? First, on the evening of May 5 when Sacco and Vanzetti and two others called for Boda's car at Johnson's garage the first two seemed to be suspicious of Mrs. Johnson and followed her when she went across the street to telephone to the police, and the four shortly afterward left supposedly because they had no 1920 automobile license plate, but probably because of "consciousness of guilt." Secondly, Sacco and Vanzetti when arrested upon a Brockton street car later in the evening carried guns and threatened resistance. Thirdly, both men tried to explain their movements. The answer of the defense is that Sacco and Vanzetti were not "conscious of guilt" as murderers but as radicals. This was the period of the deportation-delirium, brought poignantly home to the men by the news on May 4 that Salvo, an anarchist friend of theirs, had been found dead on the sidewalk outside of the offices of the United States Department of Justice in New York, where he had been held a prisoner incommunicado. Sacco and Vanzetti were carrying guns just as many other peaceful persons do in this country, and had good reason in the tense days in which they were living. Sacco had acquired the habit of carrying a pistol as a night watchman and Vanzetti because of self-defense, since he carried upon his person for business purposes what to him were large sums of money. Both men gave the lie to the charge of resisting arrest. That Sacco and Vanzetti had good reason to think they had been arrested for their radical activities is proved not only by the anti-red raids at the time and the death of Salvo, but also by the questioning to which they were subjected by the authorities upon their arrest and in subsequent proceedings as well as by the collusion of the Massachusetts officials with the Department of Justice agents, shown in affidavits of two of the latter, now in civil employ, and by the persistent refusal of the department to open its files.

What's to a Bullet?
4. Bullet Markings—There were two principal experts for each side, Hamilton and Turner for the defense and Proctor and Van Amburgh. Hamilton was the acknowledged leader in his field. Proctor was head of the State police and had been in the Department of Public Safety for twenty-three years. His testimony would, therefore, have much weight. There were six fatal bullets. The prosecution claimed that one of them had come from Sacco's pistol. The others it could not account for. Captain Proctor had concluded otherwise and had repeatedly said so to the district attorney. By pre-arrangement with the latter's assistant, Williams, Proctor was asked on the witness stand: "Have you an opinion as to whether the bullet No. 3 was fired from the Colt automatic which is in evidence (Sacco's pistol)?" He answered, "I have." "And what is your opinion?" "My opinion is that it is consistent with being fired from that pistol." Later Judge Thayer in his charge to the jury stated that not one but both experts for the prosecution had testified that Sacco's pistol had fired one of the fatal bullets. Proctor, now dead, subsequently signed an affidavit for the defense and two friends with whom he discussed the case supporting him. Since then another expert has been discovered by Fuller and his Commission, Major C. H. Goddard. Thompson of the defense has shown that Goddard is an upstart, admittedly seeking publicity, that his "method" is merely a stunt to enable him to enter the class of arms experts and that his tests are not impressive. Incidentally it is worth mentioning that defense counsel has reason to believe that the bullet exhibits are not genuine. It has also been claimed that Vanzetti's pistol was snatched from Berardelli at the time of the crime. Lincoln-Wadsworth, who repaired Berardelli's pistol, testified that this was highly improbable. In this connection it may be noted that the foreman of the jury had sample bullets with him in the jury room—a serious irregularity.

Just a Hat!
5. Sacco's Hat—A nondescript cap was found at the scene of the crime which is supposed to be Sacco's. It was identified by gents in the lining.

Chief Actors in the Mass. Tragedy
(Continued from page 1)
With a broken career and shattered nerves. Had it not been for his brilliant resourcefulness the matter would long ago have been settled. Even Fuller had to acknowledge this while condemning what he called the lawyer's "dilatory tactics." But then Fuller is not capable of understanding the motives that move a man such as Thompson.

A. Lawrence Lowell
After all Abbott Lawrence Lowell, member of the Governor's advisory commission, is president of Harvard, and as such he understands fully whence the endowments come. He is a worthy successor to Elliot, his immediate predecessor, who once gloried the scab as a national hero. Probably Fuller, in Lowell's estimation, will become one of the patron saints of America. Our Harvard president was born in Boston as long ago as 1858. He comes of old New England stock that cannot forgive the Italians for swarming to Boston and squatting down around the Old North Church, Paul Revere's House, Faneuil Hall and other sacred landmarks of the Repub-

lition. Lowell did not become a millionaire or a merchant like other good New Englanders. He chose the third respectable career, not selling oils or making shoes, but law. He practiced for seventeen years, when in 1897 he was appointed to teach government at Harvard. In 1909 he became president. Naturally he has more degrees than a thermometer. His books on political science have given him quite a reputation as an academic politician. He has described the governments of Europe and America; he has shown the influence of parties upon legislation; he has set himself forth as an authority on public opinion. In 1913 he published "Public Opinion and Popular Government" and ten years later "Public Opinion in War and Peace." Evidently he has yet to learn a lot about public opinion and popular government.

Robert Grant
Robert Grant is the member of the Governor's commission that Vanzetti publicly accused of open prejudice. He is Boston born and, hence, respectable. Moreover, he is an old man, seventy-five years of age, a pillar of the aristocracy that has survived the inroad of the aliens. He is a lawyer by training and a writer by profession. He must have had good political connections, for in 1888 he became a water commissioner of Boston and after five years (four as chairman) he was appointed judge of the Probate Court and Court of Insolvency for Suffolk county. He, therefore, learned something about wills and bankruptcies, but little of criminal law. He held his position for thirty years, until 1923. But Grant's

main interest in life has been writing. He has more than a score of books to his name, dating back to "The Little Tin Gods on Wheels" of 1879 and "The Confessions of a Frivolous Girl" of 1890. Most of his scribbles consist of cheap popular novels, a judgment which is unaffected by the Sacco-Vanzetti case. A number of volumes of platitudinous essays have also come from his pen. He is a preacher of a safe, bourgeois, smug, righteous existence. Comfort and morals and, above all, Americanism! An American must do all and an American must do that for the sake of America. His decision in the Sacco-Vanzetti case must have been "American." It certainly agrees with his slur upon Italians in his "Confessions of a Grandfather," 1912, where he practically accuses those countrymen of congenital thievery.

Felix Frankfurter
It was Felix Frankfurter, professor of law at the Harvard Law School, who turned journalist to spread the Sacco-Vanzetti case before the eyes of the American public. His articles in the "Atlantic Monthly" and his book, "The Case of Sacco and Vanzetti" lent his good name to the cause of the condemned men. He was brought to the United States from Austria in 1894 at the age of twelve. He graduated from the College of the City of New York and the Harvard Law School. Between 1908 and 1910 he was assistant United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York and from 1911 to 1914 law officer of the Bureau of Insular Affairs at the War Department. In September of the latter year he entered upon his present position at the law school. The respectability of his record was further enhanced by his serving as major and judge advocate of the O. R. C. U. S. A.; assistant to the secretary of war, and assistant to the secretary of labor. But 1905 Americans have discerned a bluish liberalism in him—they probably call it radicalism and anarchism by this time. An secretary and counsel to President Wilson's commission to investigate the Mooney case, he played his part in exposing the crude frame-up involved, which led Wilson to ask and obtain a commutation of sentence to life imprisonment for Mooney. Then, too, he was chairman of the War Labor Policies Board and showed distinctly friendly leanings towards labor. Of course, his defense before the United States Supreme Court of the Oregon hours of labor law and more recently of the District of Columbia minimum wage statute, showed exactly where he stood on these social questions. It is his sheer genius for piercing through the conservative hide that has so stunned the reactionaries that they have not yet taken any action against him.

of law some remedy ought to exist in favor of the defendants. If our criminal law fails to afford such a remedy, it is plainly inadequate and we stand self-condemned in the eyes of the world. Our contention is that no such inadequacy exists."

Mr. Hill pointed out that Judge Sanderson was not on the bench with his associates because his own decision of last week in the case was under review and wise practice prevented him from joining his fellow judges.

Passing on to a discussion of the remedies, Mr. Hill held that the Supreme Court was empowered to issue a writ of error, contrary to Judge Sanderson's ruling last week. He held that the statute could not be interpreted so drastically that the defendant was robbed of his right at common law, "to say that he is worse off today than if he lived in England in the time of King John."

Mr. Hill argued that the law could not intend that a writ of error should be denied by the Supreme Court until that court had examined all the facts, and no such opportunity had as yet been offered.

Criticizes Commission
"I know that the Governor had a committee pass on the case, but no committee, however conscientious, can take the place of the courts of the Commonwealth," he continued. "To our courts these individuals have a right to appeal for protection of their rights. No committee, no matter how eminent, has the experience, the intellectual equipment, and the knowledge acquired at first hand of how criminal trials shall be held. That lies in the jurisdiction of the courts. Neither the president of a university, a teacher in a technical school nor even a former probate judge can be adequate to pass in review the action of a criminal court."

At this point the court indicated that the appeal to Judge Sanderson last week was an appeal, not to a member of the Supreme Judicial Court, but to a county judge, and that a county judge lacked jurisdiction in hearing a petition for a writ of error.

Immediately Mr. Hill redeclared that, if the full bench ruled that the petition for a writ had to be filed before it, and not before a single judge, he would file such a writ. He formally asked for permission to file the writ.

Mr. Hill then requested the court to rule that exceptions to the denial of the writ by Judge Sanderson be allowed or that he be allowed to file a petition for a writ of error before the full bench and that the writ be issued as a matter of common law.

"That No Man May Fear"
As to the petition for revocation of sentence, denied by Judge Thayer last week, Mr. Hill argued that the revocation application should have been granted so as to allow him to file a motion for a new trial. He said that Judge Thayer was of the opinion that motions for a new trial were banned one year after conviction and that such motion could not be made after sentence had been imposed. He held that the statute relied upon was permissive and not mandatory and that the power of the court to order a new trial on the basis of newly discovered evidence should not be cut off.

"I should not be candid with the court if I did not recognize that there were serious technical difficulties and doubts to be overcome before we can succeed in this case," he said in conclusion. "I ask the court to deal with the case more deeply than to chop logic about technical difficulties."

"We have here a case which goes to the very foundation of our whole system of criminal law. The case in importance transcends even the issue of the life and death of these defendants. It is true that, unless they can obtain some legal remedy, they must die next week upon the scaffold, and death is a bitter thing to any man and doubly bitter if it is proved that the man is innocent. But every man, every one of us in this room, sits under sure and certain sentence of death, though we do not know the precise date when it may come to us."

"There is something more important than life and death, and that something is the honor of our commonwealth. It is not only Sacco and Vanzetti who are on trial here today. It is each of us who is engaged about this case. It is the bench and bar of Massachusetts. It is our entire system of criminal law that is on trial."

"It is for us to prove that that system is worthy of the great traditions of our commonwealth, that in our hands no man, no matter how hostile to our institutions he may be, no matter how little we sympathize with his social, economic and political views, no matter how shocked we may be by his conduct and outraged by the mad, senseless clamor and insane violence of some of his friends, that no man need fear that under our Constitution and our laws he does not get justice."

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Sacco and Vanzetti
Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti! How these names have stirred the world! Two poor workers cherishing in their breasts the ideal of anarchism, the dream of a world free from oppression, the vision of a humanity unconcerned about property because private property would be gone. They confided their yearnings, their aspirations to those they knew, meanwhile eking out a difficult existence. Sacco was born in Italy in 1890 and came to the United States in 1908. There he learned the shoe-making trade. His employers always thought him a diligent worker. Vanzetti is two years older. He started life as a baker, when he emigrated to the United States the same year that Sacco did. In this country he went from one job to another. First, it was dishwashing, then brick tur-

that, not only did he commit a grave breach of judicial decorum, but he indicated a state of mind which made it impossible for him to weigh impartially the questions which came before him.

"The human mind is a strange and wonderful thing, and what people can persuade themselves to do never ceases to astonish us. Judge Thayer may believe now that it is right and proper for him to pass on the question as to whether he is qualified to sit as a judge on his own prejudice. There is no prejudice which is more insidious than that of a man who is not conscious of being prejudiced."

"The less conscious Judge Thayer is that he is unfit to sit in this case, the greater the danger for our unfortunate clients. The more he succeeds in arguing with himself against the suggestion that he step aside from the path of good sense the more extreme is our danger. Such a state of mind invalidates the whole procedure before Judge Thayer."

"It is not necessary to show actual misconduct upon the bench, nor that any or all of Judge Thayer's decisions were the result of prejudice. To require this would be to impose an impossible burden upon us. Even if it be a fact that, on the face of the proceedings, the effect of Judge Thayer's state of mind nowhere directly appears, it is enough that the result may have been affected by prejudice. The fact that the state of mind of the presiding justice did not result in erroneous rulings is nothing to the point."

Hostility Toward Counsel
"Suppose the day before a trial the judge should say, 'I'm going to try Hill tomorrow. I believe he is a damned rascal and should be convicted.' Is there any doubt of his prejudice? Or if the judge should say, 'I hate all Harvard men and so far as I can do it, all Harvard men before me will have a hard row to hoe.'"

"What is material here is Judge Thayer's state of mind during the trial. Seldom can a state of mind be proved in such an action. Such prejudice as Judge Thayer showed in his talks with Professor Richardson and Mr. Crocker are not things that change over night. Moreover, much of the testimony does relate to what took place in court."

"The testimony of Thompson, a lawyer of long experience, shows a marked attitude of hostility of the Court toward the defendants' counsel openly manifested in the presence of the jury."

"The affidavit of Mrs. Rantoul in regard to her conversation with Judge Thayer establishes the fact that Judge Thayer arrived at his bias and prejudice, in part at least, from remarks he heard outside the court room."

This reference was to Mrs. Rantoul's statement that Judge Thayer sought her out and questioned her as to her impression of the way the trial was going. She said she had not heard

of law some remedy ought to exist in favor of the defendants. If our criminal law fails to afford such a remedy, it is plainly inadequate and we stand self-condemned in the eyes of the world. Our contention is that no such inadequacy exists."

Mr. Hill pointed out that Judge Sanderson was not on the bench with his associates because his own decision of last week in the case was under review and wise practice prevented him from joining his fellow judges.

Passing on to a discussion of the remedies, Mr. Hill held that the Supreme Court was empowered to issue a writ of error, contrary to Judge Sanderson's ruling last week. He held that the statute could not be interpreted so drastically that the defendant was robbed of his right at common law, "to say that he is worse off today than if he lived in England in the time of King John."

Mr. Hill argued that the law could not intend that a writ of error should be denied by the Supreme Court until that court had examined all the facts, and no such opportunity had as yet been offered.

Criticizes Commission
"I know that the Governor had a committee pass on the case, but no committee, however conscientious, can take the place of the courts of the Commonwealth," he continued. "To our courts these individuals have a right to appeal for protection of their rights. No committee, no matter how eminent, has the experience, the intellectual equipment, and the knowledge acquired at first hand of how criminal trials shall be held. That lies in the jurisdiction of the courts. Neither the president of a university, a teacher in a technical school nor even a former probate judge can be adequate to pass in review the action of a criminal court."

At this point the court indicated that the appeal to Judge Sanderson last week was an appeal, not to a member of the Supreme Judicial Court, but to a county judge, and that a county judge lacked jurisdiction in hearing a petition for a writ of error.

Immediately Mr. Hill redeclared that, if the full bench ruled that the petition for a writ had to be filed before it, and not before a single judge, he would file such a writ. He formally asked for permission to file the writ.

Mr. Hill then requested the court to rule that exceptions to the denial of the writ by Judge Sanderson be allowed or that he be allowed to file a petition for a writ of error before the full bench and that the writ be issued as a matter of common law.

"That No Man May Fear"

As to the petition for revocation of sentence, denied by Judge Thayer last week, Mr. Hill argued that the revocation application should have been granted so as to allow him to file a motion for a new trial. He said that Judge Thayer was of the opinion that motions for a new trial were banned one year after conviction and that such motion could not be made after sentence had been imposed. He held that the statute relied upon was permissive and not mandatory and that the power of the court to order a new trial on the basis of newly discovered evidence should not be cut off.

"I should not be candid with the court if I did not recognize that there were serious technical difficulties and doubts to be overcome before we can succeed in this case," he said in conclusion. "I ask the court to deal with the case more deeply than to chop logic about technical difficulties."

"We have here a case which goes to the very foundation of our whole system of criminal law. The case in importance transcends even the issue of the life and death of these defendants. It is true that, unless they can obtain some legal remedy, they must die next week upon the scaffold, and death is a bitter thing to any man and doubly bitter if it is proved that the man is innocent. But every man, every one of us in this room, sits under sure and certain sentence of death, though we do not know the precise date when it may come to us."

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BANKER SEES PROSPERITY GOING

Col. Ayres Reports the Workers Are Facing Unemployment

"OUR prosperity seems to be getting tired. It is showing symptoms of fatigue," This is the view of Col. Leonard P. Ayres, vice-president of the Cleveland Trust Company, expressed in the current issue of that institution's publication, the "Business Bulletin." This is but one of many signals that are being raised warning of an industrial depression in the United States. Ayres continued:

"Workers are seeking employment, not so very many of them, but enough so that while the workman who has a job is likely to be able to hold it, the unfortunate one who is laid off is almost sure to have difficulty in finding a new place. The turnover of labor forces is now lower than it has been for a long time, showing that employed workers are holding on to their jobs with tenacity.

"Merchants and manufacturers in almost all lines report that they have no trouble in securing goods, but that they are put to it to find purchasers. Building owners all over the country have excess space to let and are seeking tenants, as is proved by the steadily declining cost of rents.

"Some hundreds of corporations have now published their second quarter reports of earnings, and the figures showed that, with the exception of a few conspicuous leaders, many of them are making profits that average a little lower than those earned in the same periods last year. It does not seem probable that this situation will change much during the third and fourth quarters.

"In the stock market security quotations advanced during July with a sustained vigor that carried the average prices up as they have seldom risen in the past. During the first part of the month most of the issues shared in the forward movement, but in the last week a majority of the stocks traded in showed declines, while the leaders continued to surge upward.

Other evidence shows that American capitalism is approaching another one of its absurdities—distress for millions of workers who have produced millions of values. Before the miners' strike was called this year thousands of miners and their families had for more than a year been receiving charity in Indiana and other sections of the central field.

In the industrial cities of this region, like Terre Haute, for example, unemployment has been chronic for at least two years. Outside a few of the skilled trades, which are organized, wages are frightfully low. There are thousands of families in distress and the standard of living has been materially lowered in recent years.

The economic suffering throughout the countryside of the Northwest is still desperate, and no relief is in sight. Were it not for the foodstuffs farmers are able to raise for themselves conditions would be unendurable. On the other hand, the thousands of farmers who have been compelled to abandon their farms because of debts have moved into the towns and cities. Their children manage to get odd jobs while the fathers compete for jobs, which has tended to depress wages.

In New York city unemployment among printers has so increased in the past few months that the number of unemployed in this trade has become a considerable problem. Business men are retrenching on advertising and printing in general, so that the workers in the industry are feeling the pinch of an acute unemployed problem.

One rumor has it that Coolidge has thrust aside the temptation to accept another nomination because he senses the industrial depression that is slowly setting in. The stagnation may be at full tide in the first half of the next year, and the Democrats hope to catch shoals of voters in their dragnet. Wide streets, stores, schools, social centers, electricity and other improvements. About 500 feet above sea level; dry. Fine place to live. Gorgeous scenery. Crystal-clear spring water. Good automobile roads. Easy commuting.

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SEBASTIEN LIBERTY

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Milwaukee Unions Send Funds to Boston To Aid Sacco Defense

Milwaukee, Aug. 19.—Governor Alvan T. Fuller, Massachusetts, was urged to "save the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti for the best interests of the world" in a telegram which the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Milwaukee County at Brisbane Hall last night instructed its secretary, Edmund T. Melms, to send. More than \$225 has been received from Milwaukee labor unions and other organizations during the past week by the Sacco and Vanzetti Conference of Milwaukee to aid in the defense of the persecuted prisoners.

This sum is in addition to the \$255 contributed by individuals at a mass meeting in Courthouse Park and the donations made by Socialist organizations.

The largest amounts received were: \$100, Terrazza Helpers' Union, No. 51; \$50, Sannio Salvini Society, and \$20, Societa Santa Croce, according to Miss Cora Meyer, secretary of the conference.

BOX MAKERS IN A. F. OF L.

New York Organization Becomes a Federal Local—Drive Is On

TO end the isolation of the New York paper box makers from the official labor movement has long been the determination of the officials, executive board and members at large of that organization. This resolved the union applied to the A. F. of L. for a charter which was granted without delay. Now the Paper Box Makers' Union of Greater New York has become a federal local No. 17962 of the A. F. of L.

An important conference took place July 18 at the office of the union, with representatives present of the A. F. of L., United Hebrew Trades and several other important organizations, representing employees who work on commodities for which paper boxes are extensively used. Norman Thomas and the union's attorney, William Karlin also attended.

The conferees, pledging the full support of their membership to the paper box makers, unanimously agreed on a wide plan of organization work. A letter signed by the committee was drafted which the union will send out to the entire membership. A mass meeting will also be arranged for the near future. It is hoped that this unqualified support of the entire labor movement and with the busy season approaching in the box trade that the union will succeed in its efforts to organize the trade.

The conditions of the industry are such that another strike may shatter it completely. The union knows it and will certainly try to avoid as much as possible a strike in these days. Many employers also understand this situation and it is doubtless much to their interest to avoid a strike. The industry needs a rest and it can be attained if the employers will finally agree to deal with the union on the basis of collective bargaining.

The union has been carrying on a campaign to organize the trade. Two successful mass meetings were held and were well attended despite the threats of the employers to discharge their workers for going to the meetings.

LABOR DEPT. DENIES ANTI-ALIEN THREATS

Denial that the Department of Labor issued a statement warning aliens not to participate in Sacco-Vanzetti protest meetings on risk of deportation was made in a message received by the American Civil Liberties Union Monday from Arthur E. Cook, assistant to the Secretary of Labor. Stories purporting to have emanated from the department warning aliens that they might be deported if they participated in such meetings were quoted widely in the press on August 8 and 9.

THAYER'S RULING ON HIMSELF ILLEGAL

Judge Panken Cited to Prove Mass. Judge Should Not Have Heard Appeal

THE Sacco-Vanzetti Committee, formed by the trade unions and the Socialist Party, of New York, has sent the following telegram to Arthur D. Hill, counsel for Sacco and Vanzetti:

"Justice Jacob Panken in an opinion published in the New York Law Journal of September 3, 1926, in the case of Hyman vs. Federal Dole, affirmed in the Appellate Division, among other things says:

"When the qualification of a justice to preside in a cause is questioned, it is the height of iniquity for the justice attacked to pass upon the objection to his qualification. The courts of this state have had occasion to pass upon this proposition and held that the proper course where a judge is charged with being disqualified to sit in a cause, is to submit the question to another judge." (Citing No. 144, Appellate Division p. 493, People vs. Whitridge).

"In Darling vs. Pierce cited by Judge Panken, 15 Hun. 542, the following appears:

"That a judge must necessarily be free from all bias and partiality in order to be qualified to sit. Judge Panken added that not only had this principle been approved but in his judgment should be jealously guarded.

"In the Whitridge case the court held that where the qualifications of a judge are questioned, an application, made to another judge for relief, is the proper course to pursue."

Commenting on its wire, the Sacco-Vanzetti Committee said:

"It is evident from these citations that proper judicial procedure, as well as ordinary justice—the two, much to our sorrow, do not always go together—would call for nullification of the trial that was held before Judge Thayer. Massachusetts' honor hangs in the balance in these last legal efforts to save Sacco and Vanzetti from an elaborate judicial murder."

PHILADELPHIA HOLDS HUGE PROTEST MEETING FOR SACCO-VANZETTI

The Philadelphia labor movement held a protest demonstration Thursday afternoon in behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti. The meeting was held in the Arch Street Theatre, Sixth and Arch streets, beginning at 5 p. m.

The organizations co-operating in support of the meeting are many trade unions, the Socialist Party, the Workmen's Circle branches and the Philadelphia Jewish Daily Forward.

The chief speakers at this demonstration were Louis Waldman and William Morris Feigenbaum of New York.

LABORITES AND EDITORS, JAILED IN HAITI, FREED

On August 3 an Associated Press dispatch from Port-au-Prince told how President Borno had seized upon the visit of President Vasquez of Santo Domingo as the occasion for a "general amnesty" which set at liberty the ten newspaper men and laborites who had been imprisoned on June 24 because of having sent a "seditious" cablegram to a newspaper in Havana denouncing an interview given out in that city by the Apostolic Delegate, Mr. Caruana, supporting the administration of President Borno and the North American occupation.

Mr. Caruana is the American priest who was expelled from Mexico last year when he went there presumably to help the clerical opposition to the administration of President Calles. That he would approve North American occupation of Haiti, or almost any other Ibero-American country, is hardly surprising.

DAVIS DEPLORES POVERTY OF COMMON LABORERS

WASHINGTON.—That large numbers of common laborers exist in this country whose earnings under the best of conditions are not consonant with the requirements of "healthful living, and good citizenship" is the substance of an article in the current issue of the Monthly Labor Review. The article states that the frequent comments heard about "the relatively high level of wages" should not cause the true facts to be disregarded.

Secretary of Labor Davis is quoted as saying in an address recently given in Washington that "there are several millions of unskilled laborers in the United States whose wages are so low as to constitute a moral and economic peril," and that these low paid workers exist "not only in a few scattered instances" but that some ten to twenty millions of them actually make up the backbone of American industry—to use his words, "the whole of American industry is shot through with these unfortunates." He stated that "morally and economically and on the ground of simple humanity" the condition is wrong.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)
Lowell, descendant of distinguished ancestors and President of Harvard, with mind so twisted by pride and prejudice that he cannot fairly pass on the plain question: Did these two radicals have a fair trial? Not often is a respectable citizen given a chance to do so grave an injury even to his own class as Lowell and his companions have done. If it were only to his own class the workers might have little cause to complain but, alas, he has betrayed that sense of decency and justice which matters to us all. The workers need power not for vengeance but to abolish classes and class prejudice and to establish justice and peace. History will record that in a solemn hour it was men of culture and position whose blindness failed to see truth and do justice made it harder for the rising working class to believe in justice and to forget vengeance. Yet all our hope lies in the ability of the workers to make justice and freedom real.

The only time I ever saw or heard Judge Gary he cut a rather inglorious figure under Samuel Untermyer's cross examination. His public statements made him sound like a glorified Babbitt. It is hard, therefore, to see what qualities he contributed to the corporation of which the Morgan interests made him the head. Labor has cause to remember him as one who behind a paternalistic mask barely hid a ruthless enmity. This was proved not only in the great steel strike but in the judge's long opposition to so elemental an act of decency as ending the twelve hour day.

General Wood was a hard worker and able administrator with more real achievements to his credit, especially in Cuba. But however honest he was a militarist and imperialist in a world which needs a different order of leadership. By all means his successor in the Philippines should be a civilian. But the difficult Philippine problem requires a national policy of cooperation in place of imperialism and no one official, military or civilian, can supply that.

Reluctantly we are becoming convinced that the American people are for the present wedded to the tariff and subsidy idea. If so the farmers must be let in on it. But the cost to the public ought to be as little as possible and the benefit to the farmer as great. From that point of view the Administration's relief bill is as bad or worse as the McNary-Haugen bill. Both would stimulate reckless overproduction.

No tariff or subsidy direct or indirect can really remedy the situation any more than such temporary relief in price as are operating now to help the growers of corn, cotton and wheat. The cure demands an education in cooperative action among farmers to manage physical machinery and markets. It demands that the farmer think of himself as an underpaid worker, not an unlucky capitalist.

It is a tragedy of the situation that we can have overproduction of food in a world as hungry as ours. The true remedy in public policy lies in a reduction of tariffs and trade barriers, public control of credit and natural monopolies for the common good, higher incomes to the industrial wage workers so that they can buy what the farmers produce. That is a sound labor program for agriculture. It would be good if organized labor and organized farmers could get together to talk it over.

ORGANIZATION DRIVE OF JEWELERS TO OPEN WITH BIG MASS MEET

A mass meeting for all jewelers, diamond setters, engravers, polishers, toolmakers, press hands and all other mechanics working in the platinum and gold jewelry shops of this city will be held by Local No. 1, International Jewelry Workers' Union, on or about September 15, 1927. The name and location of the hall will be announced within the next two weeks. Speakers prominent in the labor movement will address the meeting. Every effort is being made to have William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, as the principal speaker. All workers in the trade are urged to help make this the largest gathering of jewelry workers held in this city for many years.

Conditions in the jewelry trade during the past eight months have been very bad. A large number of the workers in the trade have been unemployed for many months and the others are working short time. This condition, together with the fact that the majority of the workers are unorganized, has brought about an almost complete breakdown in the standards that once prevailed in the trade. Piece work, home work, instability of wages and bad treatment are fast becoming the rule instead of the exception in the trade. Discontent is growing everywhere, and the indications are that the workers in the trade will again turn their faces toward their union for relief.

With the local once more reaffiliated with the international union, and all differences eliminated, the officers of the local feel that this mass meeting will be the turning point for the union and that the hall will be packed to its capacity. All workers in the trade are urged to watch for further announcements of this mass meeting.

MOSCOW ORDERED PAN-AMERICAN SPLIT

Detailed Instructions Were Given Communists on Labor Parley

WASHINGTON.—An interesting document in the hands of the Pan-American Federation of Labor is a translation from "El Pais," a Cuban paper published in Havana, bearing date of July 12. This document consists of detailed instructions from Moscow to Communists in the Western Hemisphere regarding the course they are to follow in relation to the Pan-American Federation of Labor conference.

It charges that the federation is a tool of American imperialism and is in reply to a suggestion that the conference should be boycotted by Communists. Moscow advises against this course and urges its followers to go to the conference and "unmask" it and adds that the "invitation of the conference of Washington is a monument of Jesuitism."

The Mexican Federation of Labor also comes in for denunciation, as it is regarded as a decoy to bring in the labor organizations of Central America. By this means, the document declares, the A. F. of L. "would succeed in organizing the conference and present it with its habitual hypocrisy. Only our participation would reduce to nothing such an imposture and cause the whole world to hear the voice of the proletariat of Latin America against imperialism and the attempts to lull to sleep the labor class exploited by it."

A series of resolutions are suggested for introduction at the conference by Communists and item number 6 of the document orders that the conference should be split. This item reads:

"The consequence of such participation should be the rupture of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, denouncing it as an organ of penetration by Yankee imperialism and the formation of syndicate organizations of Latin-America against Yankee imperialism and its exploitation."

Other instructions of Moscow are to carry on a propaganda in Latin-America against the Pan-American Federation, "devote special attention to the Mexican Regional Federation of Labor" and to "the organizations of Central America to drag them to the only anti-imperialistic front."

The whole document is couched in the pompous language for which the saints of the Kremlin are noted and which always accomplishes just the reverse of what these gentlemen desire.

MRS. GORDON NORRIE DIES; WAS LEADER OF PROGRESSIVE WOMEN

Her many friends and admirers in the liberal movement were shocked early this week to learn of the death of Mrs. A. Gordon Norrie, whose name has been associated for years with many progressive movements. Mrs. Norrie's last official act as Chairman of the New York Federation of Progressive Women was to prepare for publication the protest against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti which appears in another column of The New Leader.

Mrs. Norrie was particularly active during the La Follette-Wheeler campaign of 1924. She was chairman of the New York Council for the Prevention of War, member of the National Committee for Law Enforcement, a member of the board of directors of The Nation and a member of the Colony Club. She was also well known in society circles, being the former Miss Margaret Lewis Morgan, a daughter of William D. and Angelica Hoyt Morgan of New York City.

Services were held Wednesday in St. James Church, Hyde Park, Dutchess County.

ALBANY "BOMBING" PROVES A FAKE; COP IS FIRED AS RESULT

Albany.—The alleged "bomb" planted by some "Sacco-Vanzetti sympathizer" on the Albany property of the Standard Oil Company turns out to be a fake, and a policeman has just lost his job on account of it.

This cop, inspired by the desire for fame and promotion, took an automobile part that a garage employee gave him and which looked superficially much like a bomb up to police headquarters. The newspapers gave it a scare head and front page space, and the police force became alert for more evidence of the presence of dangerous radicals. Then came the revelation that the contents of the bomb were harmless—some mixture of oil and waste—and the dismissal of the fame-seeking officer from the force concluded the incident.

One asks the question if other of the alleged bombs planted by Sacco-Vanzetti alleged sympathizers were not of similar character? Some years ago when a "Red" scare was on some zealous radical hunter is said to have brought in a bomb charged with horse manure.

Women Demand Rights To Voice in the Unions

Unionists Who Snub Interested Wives Come in for Criticism at Brookwood

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

Katonah, N. Y.—Women who don't take an interest in their husband's unions, and men who snub their wives if they do, both came in for their share of criticism at the Women's Auxiliary Institute held at Brookwood Labor College here recently.

"We know that sometimes a wife is jealous of her husband's outside interests, particularly if she has to stay at home with the children and so cannot share them. But on the other hand, there are lots of men who shut up like clams when they come home and don't give their wives a chance to know what's going on in the labor world," the women said. "What we need is a union home, not just a union man. When a strike comes on, the men have at least the inspiration of meetings and marches. The women stay at home and wonder how they are going to pay the grocery bill. Small wonder that they are often not enthusiastic about the strike, when they don't know what it's about."

Women's auxiliaries can help the cause of unionism by studying labor problems and bringing the labor viewpoint to their other clubs and societies. Mrs. Grace E. Klueg of the Machinists' Auxiliary pointed out. "If we devoted less energy to floor work and seeing which committee could serve the most elaborate luncheons, and more energy to finding out what the labor move-

ment is up against it, we would be rendering a real service," she said.

Company unionism, labor legislation, wages, women in industry, household budgets, and public school education were among the subjects suggested for group study. Problems of housing and rents were considered and pictures shown of co-operative and municipal housing schemes in this country and Europe. The increasing use of electricity in the home and the consequent interest of the housewife in utilizing coal and water power for giant power systems to circumvent the enormous profits now being made by private utilities companies were also discussed.

Cleveland, Chicago, Newport News, and Norfolk, Va., Montreal, Ontario, and New Brunswick, New York, New Jersey, Washington, and Detroit sent delegates to the institute, which was the first of its kind to be held in the United States. About 30 women were present—wives of machinists in railway shops, automobile factories and shipyards, and of lithographers, carpenters, and postal clerks. The institute was sponsored jointly by Brookwood Labor College and the educational department of the Ladies' Auxiliary of the International Association of Machinists.

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The Day That Sacco and Vanzetti Were To Die

By Jeannette Marks
Author of "Genius and Disaster"

THERE in the newspapers on that morning of August 9th was the appeal from the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee to the "rank and file" of artists, authors, teachers (including college professors) and other kinds of professional men and women to come to headquarters in Boston. How many of the rank and file of professors and authors like myself would be there? For me, behind, lay seven years of a working friendship with the committee.

Certainly I was not an anarchist! And with equal certainty I was not a Communist! Anarchy I looked upon as folly—when it was not worse! And Communism I distrusted as much as any Socialist could. On that noon of August ninth on the shore of Lake Champlain the budge-budge-not struggle went on for more than an hour. If I went, what could I do? Would I not be merely one more person under foot? At such moments were there not always many to go? Had I not—as had so many others with more influence—done all I could over the seven long years to help the Committee in its great work of educating the public to see that the issue was justice to these two Italians, one a leather worker, the other a fish pedler! And now that the work seemed, one way or another, really over, why go?

But would there be many of my kind? Had not the report of President Lowell, President Stratton and Judge Grant "sandbagged" the educational world? At least if I did go, there would be nothing left undone to be regretted some day. And this was the ultimate and perhaps the last thing any of us could do for them, for Sacco and Vanzetti were to be executed some time after midnight on the tenth. So a telegram was sent to Mary Donovan saying I was coming on the midnight train.

Visitors Are Watched

On arrival in Boston the next morning, I found that a taxi taken from any station, any public stand or any hotel brought a man up to book your destination and the number of your taxi. Only from my club was this ceremony omitted. And on that day in that city where once I had prepared for college while I dreamed about Emerson and Margaret Fuller and met such great liberals as Colonel Higginson and Professor John Fluke, I was amused at the anxiety my destinations must, over some eighteen hours, have caused those booking men employed by "protected" Boston, for I came and went steadily morning, afternoon and night among the very places which were taboo and under guard.

I thoroughly enjoyed the Boston police on that day. They were such nice-looking, well-dressed men who but looked in interest by the fact that so many of them seemed frightened. The officers on guard at the door of Defense Headquarters regarded me with a suspicious eye. Perhaps there lingered about me some atmosphere of having been to school in Boston—a branding iron of a sort. In their minds probably the very activity of such an one in such a neighborhood as 256 Hanover Street on such a day could mean nothing but mischief.

And then, climbing two flights of narrow stairs, passing through a group of people too large for the narrow passageway and the spare, bare outer office, I found myself in the midst of "Headquarters." On the walls was one poster often repeated: JUSTICE IS THE ISSUE! Side by side with this quiet statement were some of the "un-guarded" remarks made out of court by Judge Webster Thayer. As I stood there, a stranger among strangers, I saw many men and a few women. Among the women was one who was elderly. She was dressed in gray and the face was good to look at. This—as I discovered later—was Mrs. Glendower Evans. There were a number of younger women, and they were as well-clad and as well set up as the Boston police. What more could one woman say of another woman than that? Some of the men were tall and fair. But of the exploded Lombroso criminal type who, in popular opinion throw bombs, I saw not one—not in the whole day long.

Mary Donovan

Then one of the tall, fair men, having a name known to all the art world, asked if there were anything he could do for me. When I inquired for Mary Donovan he said she was in the inner office and he would tell her I was there. I said no, not to call her; I would wait till she came out. Almost immediately Miss Donovan came out, a fine-looking dark Celt, whose pale face had in it not only strength but also all the warmth of a great heart and the flame of a great cause. When, a few minutes later, I told her my name, Mary Donovan grasped my hand, saying, "I am so glad you have come," and sent me into the inner office to wait for her.

In that inner office were four people—two men and two women—who received me politely. One of the men gave me a chair. But, except for the sending and answering of telephone calls and the coming and going of telegraph and other messengers, the quiet that reigned in the office when I entered continued. The man who had given me a seat—his seat—sat down on an unopened bale of pamphlets, and I noticed the slender, rather large, scrupulously clean hands resting quietly on his knees; the wide, dark, loving eyes; the head becoming bald; the brow criss-crossed with suffering and with care; the strangely delicate, firm lips and chin. Where had I seen that look of pure, childlike spirituality before? Ah, yes; ridiculous, but a fact: in Italian painting on many a celebrated bambino face. The other man, who went on steadily writing at the centre desk, around which we were,

represented a type more familiar to me. The homely, significant face, the massive head, the thick, abundant hair, the look of concentration as he worked. Young still, already he resembled the highest type of responsible American journalist. Who was he?

At the stenographic desk before the one window of that inner office sat a pretty "child" working silently and rapidly addressing envelope after envelope, for the new Bulletin of the Committee was just off the press, containing, among other articles, reprints of noble editorials from the Springfield Republican, together with a passionate article by Heywood Brown in the New York World. The "child's" hair was a halo about her head and her features were cameo cut. She paused in her rapid work only to take or give a telephone call. The other woman, beside whom I was sitting, was older than the "child," but still young. Except for the "Bambino" and myself, the grave beings in that little office were all young. And the quiet woman beside me, with her lovely uncropped auburn hair, the somewhat oval features, had in her face not only the still look of suffering, but also the only indestructible youth—that of goodness. As about that inner office so about her was an atmosphere of stillness and of waiting. Except that she crumpled paper occasionally and that she had a dry cough from time to time, she made no motions and no sound. Who were they all?

Rosa Sacco

From beginning to end of that day at Headquarters, whose passing was noted the world over and on which more newspapers were sold than on any other day in history; in that spare, shabby centre of the Defense struggle, it was plain from the instant those offices were entered that every dollar

had been spent on the building up of public opinion and on fees for defense, and that not a penny had been wasted.

Up there in the State House on Beacon Hill there were "banks" of telephone and telegraph wires installed to send Sacco-Vanzetti news over the whole world; and at Charlestown was another "bank" of wires, which were to flash the Death House scene from end to end of this best of all possible worlds. Here in the dingy office in the very centre of this fight for justice, an office from which would come the legal fees to pay for success or failure, there was but one wire which whistled or faded as calls were received or sent. Why this interference in such a place on such a day?

And then Mary Donovan came back, and I met those with whom I had been sitting in the little office. He of the "Bambino" eyes and pure, childlike lips was Aldo Feliciani, the devoted personal friend of the two condemned men and the treasurer of the Committee. The young man with the shaggy hair and massive head, who was still steadily writing, was Gardner Jackson. And the woman with the lovely uncropped auburn hair and the intelligent, good face was Rosa Sacco. . . . Old Testament-wise, apparently the seven years I had "served" in obscure, if faithful, work for the Committee had won me a right of friendship which I did not, I know, deserve. And it became my privilege to spend in intimate association the most momentous day in the Committee's history.

The Halls Are Closed

As the day "wore on"—never was phrase more descriptive of the fixation of tragedy there symbolized and apparent—groups came and went in the outer office. The defense committee had done everything possible to secure

a hall where these groups from New York City, Philadelphia and from towns in many near-by States could meet. But not a landlord in Boston would rent a hall to the defense committee. Finally a church was secured. Immediately police and patrol wagon were posted there. Groups came and went at defense headquarters, asking what to do, asking for instructions. Defense headquarters had no place to offer them for meeting except the church or Socialist headquarters.

The day before thirty-nine men and women had been arrested, among them Alfred Lewis, the Massachusetts State secretary for the Socialist party, while engaged in silent picketing outside the State House. The groups now coming in also wished to picket. In their numbers were men and women distinguished in art and in letters: Lola Ridge, whose Ghetto had marked a new era in American poetry; Art Shields; Ruth Hale, the wife of Heywood Brown; Isaac Don Levine, whose articles on Soviet Russia published in the New Republic, had been the first to tell the American public about the new Russia; a nephew of William James, John Dos Passos and many others.

For a reply to the question as to when and where they should picket, defense headquarters sent them on to Alfred Lewis at Socialist headquarters. It was apparent that defense headquarters felt that their work lay in the hour to hour messenger service and telephone battle over that single "tapped" wire, which they still waged in arousing public opinion. From the beginning education for justice and not revolutionary agitation had been their work. And under Alfred Lewis's leadership any group that wished to picket would have good advice and sane control.

At Socialist Headquarters

I went over to Socialist headquarters to get advice with the rest, a group of girls called to me eagerly: "Are you going out with us?"

I answered: "I don't know; I'm going to do what Alfred Lewis tells me to do."

There he sat, young still, although his hair is turning gray, clear cut of feature, with the look of a boy who has just had a cool, long swim and would like to have it all over again.

He studied me and said: "That's a Communist crowd going out to picket. I'm not going myself, and I wouldn't ask you to do what I myself am not going to do. Wait! We may be much more needed later."

That settled it, and I went back to defense headquarters, where in a little thing here and a lesser thing there I might be of some use. But the crown went out. Forty-four brave men and women were arrested. One courageous little woman, Dorothy Parker, was roughly handled by officers, who bruised her neck and arms, marching her in the middle of the street up three cobblestone blocks, while the mob which had been watching the picketers, undisturbed and unarrested for "loitering," backed off in front of Mrs. Parker, shouting: "Hang her! Hang them all! Hang the anarchist!"

Dorothy Parker's Tears

Later, after she had been bailed, I saw her crying, not because she had been so badly bruised, but because she could not forget that cry of the mob: "Hang her!" She was not an anarchist; she was not a Communist; she was not, so far as I knew, even that constitutional radical known as Socialist. She was, like Heywood Brown and Mr. Teeple, just one more American doing her duty for justice's sake.

Still the afternoon "wore" on. Once Mary Donovan went into the outer office to send away a noisily excited group.

"Think," she said on her return, "of their daring to come here on a day like this to enjoy themselves!"

Rosa Sacco said nothing. She seemed to drift further and further away from those unfailing friends of hers as she waited to know whether a respite would be granted and she might see her husband many times again, or whether she must see him for the last time. The cough was drier, a few more pieces of paper were crumpled but she neither sighed nor spoke nor wept.

The Governor's Council was to meet at noon. Surely by three or half-past there would be some word. But the Council did not meet and there was no word. It was half-past five before the Governor entered his office and the Council did meet. Then they adjourned for dinner and it was half after eight before they were in session again. Attorney Arthur D. Hill with them, make one more last plea for the defense. But the little woman who waited and Mary Donovan, her friend, and these good men? They adjourned for no food—they had eaten nothing all day.

At Meal-Time

Saying I would return, I went out, passing the handsome bluecoats, and turning the corner to an Italian fruit stand. There I bought big, rosy clingstone peaches, plums and pears, golden from sunlight and from air. And back I went, past the handsome bluecoats once more, these "bombs"—many of them!—in three bags. And at the sight of food that is more beautiful than any other, as fruit is, eyes brightened. I coaxed Mrs. Sacco. Rubbing off the fuzz carefully, she ate

a peach. Then Mr. Feliciani's hand reached into one of the bags, and he, too, rubbed the fuzz from a peach and ate it gratefully.

"Oh, I'm so glad when they eat," exclaimed Mary Donovan. "I cannot make them take any food at all."

And she took no fruit. Of herself she hardly spoke or thought. It was plain that even her great endowment of strength could not stand the strain much longer. And as for her career as a State Factory Inspector that was over, for the State had dismissed her the day the court's decision was made known.

Off and on throughout that interminable afternoon and early evening a man's hand would reach into a bag and take plum or pear or peach. And from time to time in one way or another during the late afternoon the tension was relaxed. Gardner Jackson, jostling with Feliciani, said he could not answer a certain telephone call, "for he could not speak Italian—not yet!" Or Mrs. Sacco, persuaded by me into something like listening to bird and dog stories, told about her little daughter's pet kitten.

"Sometimes," added Mrs. Sacco, with a smile that was a gleam from a storm-tossed sea-gull's wing, "when I am not nervous, I like to pet it, too." Or the quiet entrance of Professor Felix Frankfurter, compact, human, modest, brilliant friend of justice and of these breaking hearts. Or the coming and going of Joseph Moro and Clayton Hill of the committee, alert, always busy, attentive to a thousand details.

The Executioner

Out in Charlestown they were getting ready. The official executioner for three States, among them Massachusetts, had arrived. That death's head of his; that mouth, with its twisted fixed smile; how did he fare as he looked forward to the night's work? He was not to be at the banquet after the death house scene, to which many official guests at the execution had been invited, for he was to return to New York on a dawn train. How would dawn feel to him? And the arms of his wife and the kiss of his little child? To the Brooklyn

(Continued on page 5)

:-: Loud Lamentations in Park Row :-:

Steering by the Profit, Sheet the World Makes Liberalism Walk the Plank

THERE have been loud cries of indignation from the right-thinkers and forward-looking among the readers of The World ever since Heywood Brown went on his one-man strike for freedom. To them, no doubt, this row between the columnist and the editors was something inconceivable, like Jehovah tossing Jesus out of heaven, or Henry Ford firing that bright young lad Edsel.

But in the city rooms of New York, where Brown's walkout or lockout—the newspaper men have not quite decided which it is—this "stoppage" at any rate, has occasioned only mild surprise and nothing like the shock which travels through that group which only reads Brown and does not know of the inner strife which has been tearing the very vitals out of The World.

Ever since Frank I. Cobb died in December of 1923 The World has been without a real skipper to steer a steady course on the sea of liberalism between the rocks of sentiment and the reefs of reaction. It takes an iron hand and a clear head to guide a liberal course, for liberalism, in essence, is only an instinct for fair play—the sporting instinct—and is based on a sort of fuzzy idealism, not on the hard realities of life. Unless that skipper be an intelligent and tolerant fellow, unfettered by any strong economic bonds and unblinded by any class prejudice, he must see red at times and pile up on some hazard.

Such a strong man was Cobb, and to a lesser extent Joseph Pulitzer. When Cobb bossed The World it had a unity of tone which made it a newspaper man's paper. Cobb was the last link between Joseph Pulitzer and his sons. He gave to The World a vigor which reached even to the real estate page. Incredible as that may seem, its news columns were bright and enterprising; its editorials uniformly fair and penetrating; its criticism sound and sprightly; its features interesting. But Cobb was the last of that brilliant group of young men Joseph Pulitzer gathered around him to make The World, and with his death the sad but inevitable disintegration of another liberal lance began.

Brown's strike, therefore, appears to be just another false step in the tottering path of The World. The immediate cause of that walkout was amply described last week by Gertrude Well Klein in this newspaper and needs little repetition here. It was prompted by the refusal of Brown to stop writing about the Sacco-Vanzetti case on orders, first from William P. Beazell, assistant managing editor, and then from the editorial board, consisting of Ralph Pulitzer, the editor; Herbert Bayard Swope, the executive editor; Walter Lippman, the chief editorial writer, and Beazell.

The outcome of that strike is difficult to predict. A year or more ago Brown had another such row with the editorial board when he differed sharply with them over their bloway campaign to clean up the theatres. That one was settled by Brown dropping his work as dramatic critic and writer of fancy short stories and sticking closely to his corral in "It Seems to Me," promising at the same time not to differ with the general editorial policy of the paper.

The World seems determined to make Brown live up to his contract, as Ralph Pulitzer plainly shows in the two public bulls he has issued on the subject, but the conditions under which they want him back make it

difficult for Brown to accept. For to do so would be to lose face, and that is virtually the only possession those fellows who write for the newspapers will not barter away. His contract may not barter away. His contract may not barter away. His contract may not barter away.

The Old-Timers Go

The Brown incident, however, is only a picture of what happens to liberal organizations when the real liberals are gone and their heirs and assigns try to go ahead on formulas which they do not understand. Just how far the World has gone on the path toward innocuous desuetude isn't at all hard to determine. Just read yesterday's edition and then go back to the World of pre-war days or post-war days after the hysteria had passed and Cobb still was in control.

Any newspaper man will tell you, and you don't have to press him very hard, either—that the city staff has been about to pieces. One by one since the death of Cobb the able writers have left for other parts or been fired because of a difference with Cobb's successors. There remain only a few who can be classed as among the best in town. Dudley Nichols, now abroad, is one of them. John J. Leary, Jr., is another. Within the last month or two the backbone of the staff has left. The staff now consists of some youngsters and a few hired hands too bored to be bothered with the antics of their editors.

Just how far the city staff has slipped can be seen by this incident: For many years the New York correspondent of the Baltimore Sun made his base in the Pulitzer Building. For those who do not know the esoteric activities of correspondents it may be explained that they take carbon copies of the stories written by the city staff of the paper with which they are working, edit them and then send them back to their own paper. Within the last year the Baltimore Sun's correspondent has been taken out of the World office and now is operating from the Herald-Tribune Building.

The Foreign News Staff

This change was made, it is said, through the persuasion of H. L. Mencken, an astute appraiser of newspapers and their products. It probably was after much fasting and prayer on his part that he finally chose to favor the local products of an arch enemy, and although he still carries on his jihad against the policies of the Herald-Tribune editorial staff, he has expressed his opinion that its local news is the brightest in town.

It is not only that the pieceworkers have melted away from that paper which once was the goal of every reporter in town, but no new men are willing to man the typewriters in its city room unless they can find jobs elsewhere. Those above the rank of reporter are still pegging along, but the inspiration from above has been so little that you will rarely find a story in the World which every other paper in town has not; and virtually every day its two greatest rivals, the New York Times and the Herald-Tribune beat it on important stories.

The foreign service is in an even more deplorable condition. There, where the brilliant Tuohy brothers once gathered real foreign news in

their own precincts and booted the rest of the service into productive activities, it is a rare day that an exclusive dispatch of any importance comes from abroad. Albin Johnson, at Geneva, and sometimes John Balderston, in London, are all that are left of what once was the most penetrating group of foreign correspondents working for an American paper.

Even In Sports

For a long time The World held the exclusive rights to the dispatches of the Manchester Guardian and made frequent and effective use of them. But now even these are gone, the Baltimore Sun having acquired them. The circumstances of this shift have never been explained, so nothing more can be said of it than that the new management probably thought it could do without the Guardian service.

As a whole, the critics stack up favorably with those of any other paper in town. Woolcott probably is as entertaining a reporter of the drama as there is in New York, but along with the mass of reports sitting out of that gilt-domed building on Park Row is one that he, too, is dissatisfied and is seeking a place either as a dramatic director or a lecturer at some university on the drama. Quinn Martin appears to be adequate for his movie job. Chotzinoff, after Deems Taylor, is hard to place.

It is in the realm of books, however, that The World flops badly. While Hansen is an able man, he has not welded a Sunday review section worthy of mention. The New York Times and the Herald-Tribune both have pages far and away ahead of what The World presents as its mature judgment on the current literature.

Sports, while they cannot reflect any editorial policy, still constitute one of the biggest reasons why a majority of men buy a morning paper. It is generally conceded that the Herald-Tribune has the best sporting page in New York. There W. O. McGeehan and Grantland Rice form an incomparable team of commentators, the former the cynical McGeehan seeing only the pot of gold at the end of Rice's gaudy rainbow. The World has no outstanding sports writer and falls even to cover adequately at times.

Lippman In Hot Water

Real estate, fashions, finance, radio—in brief, all the attending feature sections of The World, cannot compare with those of its rivals. In these fields, it is quite mediocre reflecting, it seems, an inability on the part of the management to realize that a first class newspaper must be first class throughout.

Walter Lippman has made a brave struggle to maintain the pace on the editorial page set by that thoroughbred, Cobb. That was a swift pace and one which only a sure-footed man could follow without stumbling. Lippman has kept to it pretty well and the frequent faltering is due, according to all reports, to the jerking of the jockey.

In connection with Brown's demonstration, it now can be said that Lippman, too, burned his fingers on the Sacco-Vanzetti case. At least twice the board toned down his editorials because they thought he was not quite nice in the way he dealt with the af-

fair. Lippman did nothing but try to argue it out with the other members of the board.

To accuse The World of disintegrating merely by showing how the rest of its staff aside from the editorial staff has gone to pot would be unfair, for Joseph Pulitzer lavished most of his attention on the editorial page and made that his pet. But starting with the death of Cobb, we find that The World has been liberal only when it didn't matter.

After Cobb—

Of course Cobb made one great mistake, and that was his support of Wilson during the war. The war, however, blinded even stronger men than Cobb, and he showed signs before his death that Wilson and his League of Nations were not so close to his heart as they had been.

But after Cobb came a veritable flood of editorial slashes at liberalism. Each time the economic interests of the country were clearly aligned against each other The World was found piddling around, somewhat shame-facedly, on the side of wealth and might.

Debs was repeatedly the object of vicious attacks. La Follette, in his brave fight against Coolidge and Davis, was assailed even more bitterly. Coolidge did not receive one-half the blows from the able pens of The World that La Follette did.

The soldiers' bonus, the Mellon plan, the McNary-Haugen bill—all these The World was on the side of the wealthy. Its crusades have been against what? The Klan, a safe organization to attack here. Lynching, something even more safe. Prohibition, an easy cause to support in New York. Among its other major jihads were the theatres, smutty magazines and crooked taxicabs, and, well, what have you?

The Local Problems

Here, crying out for attention, are several very local problems. Mayor Walker has just signed a franchise with the Equitable Bus Corporation and under very tricky circumstances, too. The World shakes a reproving finger and says Jimmy should explain. When the trail of milk graft pointed to some real criminals, The World shadow-boxed and didn't quite know what to do about it. Its editorials on transit have uniformly been querulous over every plan presented, but the only alternative, municipal operation and consolidation, it finds impractical.

There are some among the more philosophically minded of the critics of The World, those who attribute its recent change in policy to the natural conservatism of those who inherit their wealth. Joseph Pulitzer made his fortune more or less by himself, and his biographers say that while he was a good business man he always had sense enough to know that money spent properly on newspapers always came back several times over, and the piling up of gold in his coffers did not seem to affect his liberalism. At any rate, liberalism paid for the founder of The World; and whether he was a liberal at heart or a good business man who knew a good product makes little difference. The World was liberal through all sorts of storms. His sons, however, seem to be di-

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

Beans, Bacon, Bullets and Brains

OHIO Coal Operators Install Machine Guns Preparatory to Opening Mines on Non-Union Basis." Thus a recent headline.

Well, boys, I wouldn't do that. It don't look just right to persuade American miners to accept an un-American standard of living by machine gun arguments. Besides, miners are so used to getting killed by rotten tops and gassy mines that a little extra killing won't dampen their ardor for beans and bacon.

You see, miners just have to have beans and bacon in order to live and mine your coal. Their wages are already far below what all authorities agree is necessary to maintain a living standard, to say nothing about a decent living standard, and by filling their bellies with machine gun bullets instead of beans and bacon you can't increase their efficiency nor improve their disposition.

Of course, I realize that you soft coal operators are having a hard time, but that is all your fault, if you'll excuse me for saying so. During the World War you made more money than was really good for you. Then instead of spending that money on wine, women and song or renovating your seedy company shacks, you increased the capacity of the mines, or still worse, opened new ones until we now have twice as many mines as the country has need for.

But the itch for surplus value, as my friend Marx calls it, was so strong that you opposed every attempt of the miners to relieve you of those cursed war profits. Just remember the holy hallelaloo you raised about those silk shirts and velvet-lined limousines you said the miners purchased during the happy days when the world was too busy depopulating itself to pay any attention to prices.

It is true the miners finally did get a wage raise almost big enough to catch up with the daily established altitude records of the cost of living, but that raise was still insufficient to prevent you from committing harl karl, which is Japanese for home-made hanging. As a result of this particular form of suicide, there are now too many mines, too many miners, too much coal and too much cut-throat competition and the longer this insane policy is kept up the worse it will be for everybody concerned.

Well, then, what you operators need is not less Unionism but more Unionism. Add the United Soft Coal Operators of America to the U. M. W. of A., and quit scabbing on yourself. If you do that there will be some yawning in the press about the Soft Coal Octopus just as there always has been a devil of an amount of yawning about the Anthracite Coal Trust. But, if I remember right, that hard coal octopus is still octopusing at the same old stand and is doing right well—thank you.

Besides, the American people believe in private ownership, private initiative and private profits and there are no other people on earth willing to pay more for this sort of privacy than they are.

By a thorough trustification of the Bituminous Coal industry, you can save it from nationalization, which is but another noise for socialism. You know as well as I that the great American public would rather give you its last dollar than indulge in such untried innovations as public roads, schools, postoffices and coal mines. So, always give to the public what it wants and you'll wear diamonds yet.

On the other hand, if you refuse to put an end to the anarchy in the soft coal industry, the day will come before very long when you yourself will be forced to look toward nationalization as the only hope of saving something out of the wreck. And just think what it would mean to your standing as bulwarks of the present order if such headlines appeared in the newspapers of this great and intelligent country as:

"SOFT COAL OPERATORS JOIN SOCIALIST PARTY; DEMAND EXPROPRIATION TO SAVE PROPERTIES"

"FOSTER GOES TO RUSSIA FOR FUNDS TO AID AMERICAN COAL OPERATORS IN STRUGGLE FOR NATIONALIZATION OF MINES"

"RED RAID ON RUMBLE-TUMBLE COAL OFFICE UNCOVERS RAFTS OF RUSSIAN RUBLES AND BALES OF BOLSEVIKI BULBS"

"INDIANA COAL OPERATOR INDICTED FOR INCITING SOVIET FORM OF GOVERNMENT IN U. S. A."

"ILLINOIS COAL BARON ILL FROM BEATING ADMINISTERED BY ROTARIANS WHILE RUSTLING FOR RED REVOLUTION"

"PEN COAL COMPANY IN PEN"
"Discovered Red Handed Distributing Disturbing Documents Paid for With Trotsky Dough and Kalin Kopeks"

Now please don't think that I am joshing you or that I'm trying to scare you into doing something rash and radical. But in the situation the bituminous coal industry is in, it seems to be only a choice between trustification, nationalization or hellendation. One thing is dead sure, bullets will not take the place of beans and bacon. Neither is bull and bullying a likely substitute for brains, and if this coal anarchy is to be solved at all, it will have to be done by a lot of straight thinking.

So you coal barons put your heads together and organize your end of the industry, as we have done ours, thereby putting an end to that cut-throat competition which is but another term for scabbing among God's chosen people.

If I thought that monopolization, trustification or whatever you call it, would be harder on the consumers than the present coal kikkenny fight, or that the dear public had any objections to trusts, I wouldn't advocate the course outlined above. But the fact is that the cost of competition and the continued wrangling between capital and labor in the coal industry will cost the country more in the long run than any profits our new trust magnates may be able to squeeze out of it. When all is said and done it is only a question of wasting wealth or saving wealth—and then trust to God and the miners' union for a fair division of the savings.

As far as I am concerned, I am for the nationalization of the bituminous coal industry right here and now. But being in a hopeless minority and seeing how much the American people love their trusts and how they hate anyone who advocates that they should own them, I'm willing to bow to vox boobely.

Anyhow, competition is "ousengepielt," played out and exploded, so hoist the slogan "Trust Or Bust." Then bust the birds who say nay, and if the supreme court should so far forget itself as to call your action a conspiracy in restraint of trade, which is not very likely seeing that a trust is not a labor union, then just ask that distinguished tribunal for the legal formula under which the sundry Standard Oil Trusts, the Steel Trust and all the other good trusts are doing so well under the shadow of the Sherman Anti-Trust law.

Adam Coaldigger.

::: Governor Fuller's Commission :::

By Margaret Shipman

IF one did not know the origin of the report of Gov. Fuller's advisory committee on the Sacco-Vanzetti case, its contents would show it to be the work of a mind skilled in legal sophistry and set to justify Judge Thayer and to discredit the Sacco-Vanzetti defense. In this connection it is interesting to note the statement of the advisory committee that Judge Thayer's testimony was given to it in private, counsel for the defense not being allowed to be present; and that, according to newspaper reports, Judge Thayer was closeted with Gov. Fuller for three hours on August 1, several days after the advisory committee had handed its report to the governor.

The report from beginning to end amounts to:

- (1) Omission or very slight mention of important evidence for the defense.
 - (2) Bias in accepting evidence for the prosecution and rejecting that for the defense.
 - (3) Misleading references prejudicial to the defense.
 - (4) False and twisted reasoning.
- Let me point out a few examples of each:

(1) Omission or Very Slight Mention of Important Evidence for the Defense

(a) The fact that, according to police records, the well-known Morelli gang of criminals was at the time of the South Braintree murder at large in the vicinity, under indictment for several freight car robberies and in need of money for defense. Five of these robberies were of consignments of goods from the factories in South Braintree near which the murder was committed. Their method of robbery involved placing a confederate in South Braintree to spot shipments of goods. The Governor's advisory committee makes no mention of these authentic facts.

(b) The descriptions of five of the members of the Morelli gang correspond very closely to those of the five persons who were seen in the murder car when the crime was committed. The prosecution has never produced or located the three men claimed to be confederates of Sacco and Vanzetti in this crime. In fact, it seems to have made little, if any, effort to do so. Joe Morelli, the leader of the gang, is admitted by all to bear quite a striking general resemblance to Sacco and police records show that he owned a pistol of the same make and size (32 Colt) as the one which Sacco was carrying when arrested.

(c) The man who is conceded by both the prosecution and the defense to have been driving the murder car corresponded in appearance precisely to one of the Morelli gang, "Steve, the Pole," and to Madeiros' description of the fellow who drove the car. He was light complexioned and sickly looking, of north European stock, and was identified by two women working in a South Braintree mill, as the man they saw outside their window, standing beside a car for a half an hour on the day of the murder; (e) Of the six bullets which were taken from the bodies of the murdered men, only one was of a kind that could have been fired from Sacco's pistol and none of them were of a kind that could have been fired from the revolver of Vanzetti; the one could have as well been fired from the pistol of Joe Morelli, which was of the same make and size as Sacco's, while the other five bullets were of a kind that could have been fired from a pistol which, according to police records, was carried by Mancini, another member of the Correlli gang.

(f) Sacco and Vanzetti, according to all testimony, continued, up to the time of their arrest, to live in the same places and to follow industriously the same employment as before the date of the South Braintree murder. No evidence has ever been produced to show that either one of them came into the possession of an unusual sum of money, while large sums are known to have been in possession of certain members of the Morelli gang.

(g) The Morelli gang was at once suspected of the South Braintree

Pastor Raps Sacco Critics

(Continued from page 1)

tored, twisted, stupid and irrational public opinion might be and usually is. There is no room for your superficial respectability that makes cowards and fawning knaves of you all, no room for it in the company of the iconoclastic Carpenter of Nazareth, who cheered His followers on with the shout, "Good for you, blessed be you, if men persecute and revile you; who predicted that if they follow His lead, 'men will give you up to their courts and have you flogged, etc.'"

"But you won't be delivered to any court or flogged for these principles. Not you—you play it safe, watch your step and live in childish terror of the ignorant gossip and old wives' tales and of what people will say. Jesus launched His religion as the most radically progressive movement in history. You modern Christians with your timidity and time-serving tactics have made the church an instrument of reaction, a sardonic caricature of Christianity, a farce and travesty."

The Rev. Mr. Hahn declared that intelligent, fair-minded and informed folk all over the world were vigorously interceding for Sacco and Vanzetti because they were so obviously innocent of the crime of murder. "They are prisoners of war, of the class war now raging throughout the world, guilty only of having fought on the side of man against mammon."

The Report That Doomed Sacco and Vanzetti

crime by the police of New Bedford, who were watching the gang, but the matter was dropped after the arrest of Sacco and Vanzetti. The head of the Massachusetts state police maintained from the first that the crime was the work of professionals.

(2) Examples of Bias in Acceptance of Evidence

(a) The alibi of Sacco is rejected by the advisory committee on the bare ground, unexplained, that they do not believe the evidence of the witnesses. These witnesses are five reputable men, whose statements are consistent and, if true, prove that Sacco was in Boston on the day of the murder and could not have been in South Braintree at the hour when it was committed. Two of these witnesses, according to a statement of the Defense Committee published in the New York Times of Aug. 6, 1927, were called by the advisory committee late in its investigation and charged by Lowell of Harvard with falsifying, after he had conceded that their story, if true, presented a strong alibi. They succeeded by means of newspaper files in establishing the truth of their statement which he had challenged and received his apology.

(c) The alibi of Vanzetti is rejected by the advisory committee as very weak, though it is based upon the testimony of several witnesses who claim to have dealt with him in Plymouth, where he was selling fish on the day of the murder. No serious inconsistency in their testimony is charged and no good reason for rejecting it given. Most of these witnesses were humble working people, probably quite beneath the notice of august gentlemen. As a demonstration of their truthfulness, a group of these alibi witnesses is now petitioning the Massachusetts authorities to try them on the serious charge of perjury.

In striking contrast to this wholesale rejection of strong evidence for the defense, is the easy credence given by the committee to identification testimony for the state, which is so inconsistent, self-contradictory, and in several instances, given by witnesses of such unreliable and disreputable character, that even Judge Thayer abandoned it as unimportant and fell back upon "consciousness of guilt" as the basis of his case against Sacco and Vanzetti.

(d) The matter of Capt. Proctor's testimony about the bullet which fitted Sacco's pistol and Judge Thayer's misleading statement about it. His charge to the jury, is handled by the committee with adroit sophistry which wholly misrepresents the facts of the matter. It would take too long to explain it all in this letter. Anyone who cares to can compare the statement in Felix Frankfurter's book, "The Case of Sacco and Vanzetti," with its accurate references to the court records with that of the committee and draw his own conclusions.

(3) Examples of Misleading References Prejudicial to the Defense

(a) The committee states that when arrested the defendants were "armed to the teeth." As a matter of fact, each had one weapon with cartridges, some distance below his teeth.

(b) The committee speaks disparagingly of the defense counsel, citing

testimony that it obtained an affidavit from Lola Andrews by pressure, but makes no mention of evidence which shows that the prosecution had previously obtained its testimony from the same person by pressure, and that this testimony was almost certainly false.

(c) Speaking of the admitted cooperation of the federal department of justice and the Massachusetts State authorities in spying upon Sacco and Vanzetti, and the refusal of the federal department to allow the defense to examine the records relating thereto, the advisory committee says, "For the government to suppress evidence of innocence would be monstrous and to make such a charge without evidence to support it is wrong." Is it wrong to inquire why the government refuses to show its records? Is it necessary for the government to conceal the acts of the Palmer administration under which the Salsedo outrage and other "monstrous" acts were committed? The government's secrecy concerning this case justifies suspicion of its motives.

(4) Examples of False and Twisted Reasoning

(a) The committee rejects the confession of Madeiros on the ground that, if true, it would not lay him open to indictment for murder in the first degree, as he does not claim to have been a principal in the murder. What has that to do with it? The Madeiros confession, if true (much corroborative evidence, not even mentioned by the committee, goes to show it is), proves beyond a doubt that neither Sacco nor Vanzetti had anything to do with the crime. It was committed by someone else. The committee also discredits the Madeiros confession on the ground that he has a poor recollection of the streets and buildings near which the crime was committed. Is it reasonable to suppose that a young defective, subject to epilepsy, after the lapse of seven years, could clearly remember the streets and buildings in a town unfamiliar to him? He was charged with no responsibility in guiding the car, but was stationed in the back part of it to shoot possible pursuers. Probably all the mind that he had was absorbed in watching the swift and awful drama that was taking place, not in taking notes on streets and buildings.

(b) Gould, a bystander, through the lap of whose coat passed a bullet fired by the man alleged by the prosecution to have been Sacco, was questioned by the police and was known to the prosecution but not called as a witness at the trial. Later the defense learned of Gould and filed his affidavit that the man who fired at him was neither Sacco nor Vanzetti, as ground for a new trial. The committee concedes that this witness was in an unusually good position to see the man in the car but concludes that "there seems to be no reason to think that his statement would have any effect in changing the minds of the jury" as "his evidence is merely cumulative, the defendants having produced a large number of witnesses to swear to the same thing." In other words, the defense already had so many eyewitnesses to swear that neither Sacco nor Vanzetti

were the men who did the firing, that another strong witness to the same effect would not change their minds. By the same process of reasoning, no amount of evidence to the same effect would have changed their minds. Surely, here is something wrong, either with the jury or with the reasoning.

(c) In regard to the claim of the defense, that the jury was prejudiced by the radical ideas of the defendants, as set forth in their broken English in response to questions by the prosecution, the committee says, "Judge Thayer suggested, out of the presence of the jury, that the counsel should think seriously before introducing evidence of radicalism which was liable to prejudice the jury." The committee then justifies the prosecution in its grueling cross-examination of the accused men in regard to their political beliefs, on the ground that the accused men might otherwise have falsely persuaded the jury of their radicalism, since "at that time of abnormal fear and credulity on the subject, little evidence was required to prove that anyone was a dangerous radical," and winds up with the conclusion that the jury was entirely unaffected by the fact that the accused men were foreigners and radicals. Are we coming or going? Could anything but a lawyer of high degree tie its mind into a double bowknot like that? The affidavit of Daly that Jurymen Ripley said to him outside the court— "Damn them, they ought to hang anyway," is ridiculed and dismissed by the committee on the ground that Ripley would have found it very easy to escape serving on the jury by merely stating his prejudice. Why assume that he wished to escape serving on the jury? Apparently he greatly desired to do so in order to help convict the hated radicals.

(d) The committee, though finding Judge Thayer indiscreet in his conversation about the case to outsiders, is certain that his bias against the defendants was not manifested in the courtroom so as to affect the jury, "indeed, the jury so stated." Are people under such circumstances likely to be good judges of their own prejudices? Many people who attended the trial certainly do not share the committee's opinion in regard to the judge's conduct in the courtroom, nor does it seem reasonable to assume that a judge expressing outside the courtroom such a spirit of animosity toward the defense should entirely conceal that spirit inside the courtroom.

(d) And, finally, our honorable committee rejects the idea that the crime was committed by professional criminals, or, as such professionals themselves express it, "Two nuts like Sacco and Vanzetti couldn't do a job like that," by simply stating that to them this crime does "not seem to bear the marks of professionals, but of men inexperienced in such crimes." Let us recall the circumstances. In broad daylight, with plenty of people on the main street of the town, a paymaster and his guard are carrying two boxes containing over \$15,000, from the company's office to the factory. Two men suddenly appear, commit the murder, throw the two boxes and themselves into an automobile that dashes up, bearing three confederates, and away. Only two men are arrested for the crime, and they not until two or three weeks afterwards. The other three men are never located by the prosecution. None of the money is recovered. To me it looks as if a job could hardly have been done more professionally, even by Governor Fuller's advisory committee.

THE DAY SACCO AND VANZETTI WERE TO DIE

(Continued from page 4)

Eagle reporter word had been sent by Warden Hendry that if he wanted to cover the night he would better come on out to Charlestown. But still no official word had been received at headquarters, and now the evening was "wearing" on. And then Rosa Sacco fainted as quietly as she had spent the day. A nurse was called, who, with Mary Donovan, took Mrs. Sacco, half conscious, in a taxi to a friend's house. And now the night "wore on," and stories of respite or execution were given out and "killed" and given out and "killed."

Mary Donovan returned. "What," she said, with her finger pointing upward and her face passionate with faith, "if the finger of God should stay this execution tonight!"

Gardner Jackson went to the State House, asking to see the Governor. And the Governor's secretary, inquiring whether Mr. Jackson had come to see the Governor "for humane or legal reasons," Jackson replied, "Humane. What else is left?" And he was asked to leave the State House. Here was a man who was no politician, sacrificing openly, as Mr. Jackson was doing, any possible future in the State, just as certainly as years before he had sacrificed his university career to take up work for the defense committee. Now he was back; it was eleven and the midnight hour was on its way. Still no message! Several calls came from "the friend's house" saying Rosa Sacco wanted Mary Donovan, and still they waited, hoping and despairing.

The Death Hour Near

Word was sent from the Defense office that Mrs. Sacco must be got ready for the worst. The strength of even Mary Donovan was beginning to show a break here and a break there. She not only thought of the torture to those innocent men and women, but,

like the levee holding back a great river, occasionally a torrent of spoken anger swirled through. Several times she promised to go to the friend's house, but always she waited for another telephone call, and still no message came. Finally she took up the telephone, calling Mr. Thompson to ask what steps should be taken to claim the bodies of Sacco and Vanzetti. Her voice broke and she sobbed. Strange, I thought, that she should still believe in the kindness of the law. Should she not know that the State would never give back the bodies of Sacco and Vanzetti to the Defense Committee? This last belief in the possible kindness of the law was but one more evidence of her own generous heart.

The offices were filling up. Nobody knew what to do. Nobody knew what to think. Messages came, messages were sent; there was nothing authoritative. It was five minutes before twelve. And the sensitive face of Fellicani was ghastly. And then came word that could be trusted. It was not sent by the Governor or any one connected with him: A RESPITE OF TWELVE DAYS HAD BEEN GRANTED TO NICOLA SACCO AND BARTELOMEO VANZETTI. The crowded office became more still. A member of the Committee picked up the telephone and sent the message to the "friend's house" that without a moment's delay Rosa Sacco might know. No voices were raised. There was no excited speaking. Gradually those friends who were unofficial faded away. The Committee could be seen gathering itself together to battle on for justice. To one another they kept repeating: "We have until the twenty-second. Well, that is something."

As she left the office Mary Donovan turned to me and said: "I'm going to Rosa. Mr. Fellicani is coming later,

You come with him!" And she was gone.

Before we could leave there were odds and ends of business needing attention. Then I found myself out on Hanover Street, walking with Mr. Fellicani up cool, moonlit, deserted city streets toward Beacon Hill.

Were not these men and women fighting for—not against—law and order? Was not Justice the issue? And was not Justice the issue which touched off every revolution there ever was or ever will be? What revolt, what destruction of law and order could there be if there were no injustice in commerce, in government, in education?

On Boston Common

We were on our way toward Boston Common, where once Emerson had pastured his cow, and then up onto Beacon Hill, on which Margaret Fuller Ossoli, after her Italian marriage, had dreamed of Italy. Where was that "fund of nobleness" of which Margaret Fuller wrote? Was it within the State House, which we were passing, or within the minds and hearts of these men and women who believed that a living law has in it, like life, elements of growth and progress; that commerce is creative only when it benefits the community as a whole as well as individual wealth, and that that education alone is really humane which is democratic and without fear?

Down a hill, then up a hill to the friend's house where Rosa Sacco was. We were talking now of the education of public opinion and of the safety and the hope which lies in education, and education alone. Just before we entered the friend's house Aldo Fellicani spoke of what the Defense Committee had to do in the days that now remained. Of Sacco and Vanzetti he added wistfully: "Ah, these are the very best men I must ever hope to know!"

The Case of Heywood Broun

YEARS ago when we were working on the old New York "Sun," we ran into a portly, pleasant person named Heywood Broun, who was reporting fires and murders and the like for "The Tribune." Reporting anything for "The Tribune" in those days was not an exacting occupation. The circulation department of the Greeley relic was receiving letters announcing, "Grandpapa is dead. Please cancel our subscription to 'The Tribune.'" When we had a news beat on "The Sun," as often as not, out of sheer pity we would call up "The Tribune" and give it to them, confident that it would be kept a secret among the antiques who took their Republicanism straight from "The Tribune's" columns. It was soon evident that Mr. Broun's considerable talents were being cabin'd, cribb'd, confin'd amid such hoary surroundings, and when he went over to "The World" some years later, we rejoiced over the fact that at last there would be one column in town worth reading.

Broun amply justified the faith of his more liberal friends and maintained year in and year out a column that for genial tolerance, rich humor and a civilized outlook on life has probably not been surpassed in the history of old-line journalism. To be sure there were those who expressed chagrin over the fact that the Brounian outlook did not have a redder tinge. They wanted him to become an Oscar Ameringer overnight and bawl out the capitalist system as only Oscar can. There were others who held that Broun was smart-alecky and spent his time sitting around the Algonquin Hotel log-rolling for a little clique of writer friends. And there were others who complained that Broun was wasting his fine energies in his pursuit of Dr. Straton, the Anti-Saloon League, Methodists and such vermin.

On the whole, however, Broun was gradually premeating a goodly cross-section of his readers with his liberal philosophy and as that was all that he evidently intended doing, his friends were content to let him amble along his appointed ways (pleasant ways, for the most part), thankful that there was some antidote on the page opposite "The World's" editorials for the overdose of applause daily dished up by F. P. A.

Then, I think it was about a year ago, Broun's ample feet trod upon the hooves of some sacred cows. He got into a fuss with the powers that be on his sheet over the matter of stage censorship. Any sort of censorship is as palatable to Broun as is Karl Marx's "Kapital" to Cal Coolidge, so in his column, called, by the way, "It Seems to Me," Broun said what he thought about "The World's" attitude towards the galety sagers. Right away he heard from this. There was much thundering on the editorial right and Broun was told that he mustn't be a naughty boy and write any more stuff about censorship. He looked up his contract and found that he was tied to the galley-car for some years to come and that short of jumping overboard and drowning himself, he had better stick to the boat. So he stuck around, though in no happy frame of mind, sending his copy by messenger to the office and generally avoiding mention of topics that might offend the sensitive ears of Ralph Pulitzer, Herbert Bayard Swope, and other exotics that flourish in the rarified atmosphere of "The World's" editorial rooms.

And in the meantime, there were several "palace revolutions" in the city room of "The World." Quite a number of young men read the famous statement of the founder which appears daily on "The World's" masthead, to wit:

"An institution that should always fight for progress and reform, never tolerate injustice or corruption, always fight demagogues of all parties, never belong to any party, always oppose privileged classes and public plunderers, never lack sympathy with the poor, always remain devoted to the public welfare, never be satisfied with merely printing news, always be drastically independent, never be afraid to attack wrong, whether by predatory plutocracy or predatory poverty."

They made the big mistake of thinking that the present management of "The World" still took old Joe Pulitzer's platform seriously and they suffered for that mistake by finding themselves looking for jobs on other papers with less fancy principles. Broun, long since an institution of great profit to his bosses, watched these happenings uneasily, but there didn't seem to be anything he could do about it. He went on writing about fish in Hale Lake and kidded Queen Marie, to everybody's delight, and had a piece or two about Lindbergh until—

Until the publication of Governor Fuller's Special Commission condemning Sacco and Vanzetti broke bomb-like into his rather sprawling and confused world and out of it there came a new Broun. Those who knew him were certain that he would make some outcry against this infamy; but even his closest friends must have been astonished at the ferocity of the jungle-call that boomed from the lair of Broun. No paper, radical or conservative, has in recent years printed anything to equal in strength and eloquence the Broun invective against the Boston brahmins and I venture to doubt whether even that other Harvard graduate and master of invective against injustice, Wendell Phillips, said anything as well or as bitingly as did Heywood in his two magnificent columns.

What a fluttering of editorial dove-cotes these columns caused! What tremors must have agitated the impeccably fronted becom of Herbert Bayard Swope! Ralph Pulitzer, shrieking for a stenographer, dictated an alibi to the effect that while "The World" always stood for freedom of expression and all that sort of thing, this would never, never do.

So, as this is being written, Heywood Broun is on "permanent strike." And for our part, we are proud to take off our hat to so intrepid a striker. If there is ever a need for a Heywood Broun Strike Defense Committee we hope to have the honor of serving on it. Should he decide to picket "The World" we might even help in the ball arrangements what time he is pinched for "loitering."

As a matter of fact these two columns should win the Pulitzer journalism prize, hands down. If he never writes another line for a newspaper or magazine, Broun can rest happy in the thought that he has put down for all time, black on white, what hundreds of thousands of Americans are thinking about the Sacco-Vanzetti tragedy today but what they had to wait for a Broun to express for them.

It may be that Broun and his bosses will come to terms. No doubt the editors of "The World" would be glad enough to get him back on almost any terms. If he goes back, that is his business. But I hope that he will withstand the tremendous pressure that will be brought to bear on him from all conservative sides and stick to the guns he has manned so ably. By so doing he would give heart to the few journalists left who are not afraid to speak out their opinions and he would serve as a gorgeous rallying-point for the youngsters coming up into that precarious profession.

Stop the presses! As this goes to press we are proud to announce that our black cat Isabel has given birth to two lovely male kittens. (Editor's note: We are thinking of keeping this type permanently set.) We are going to call one S. A. de Witt and the other Edward Levinson, and we expect not only that their sponsors in baptism and namesakes will care for their spiritual and lay educations, but will also present them with appropriate and costly gifts.

McAlister Coleman

Massachusetts—The State of Pious Piracy

By James O'Neal

"HAVE Faith in Massachusetts,"—Calvin Coolidge. This is the title of a collection of addresses published in book form which can now be purchased in second hand book stores at five cents a pound. It is the modern equivalent of Daniel Webster's "Massachusetts, There She Stands."

What is this Massachusetts that has become so notorious all over the world? A consideration of some of the high spots in her history will enable us to understand the Massachusetts of Fuller, Thayer, Grant, Stratton and Lowell. She has a noble and ignoble history, the noble phase being an occasional flash only to be smothered by long periods of rule by an aristocracy of class domination.

Founded by middle class Puritans who translated their religion into terms of usurious profits and protesting against persecution by the established church of England, these Puritan merchants and priests set up a medieval oligarchy in New England. Church and State became a restricted corporation. Laws were enacted only with the consent of the Puritan priests and the secular arm enforced the privileges of the priests. Fleeing from persecution abroad, this church clique maintained its own domination by terror, torture and banishment of political and religious dissenters.

The Slave Trade

As population increased a commercial and mercantile class and lawyers to serve this class were added to Puritan class rule. Laborers were bound to service to employers and "free" laborers had their wages fixed by law. Winthrop and other Puritan masters asked and received Indian captives for slaves as freely as any robber gathered loot or plunder, while Boston merchants demanded Negroes, like any other merchandise quoted by their correspondents. Whenever their interests required it labor was conscripted for the ruling class.

Harvard was founded as a seminary of piety and profits interpreted in terms of the Puritan priests who directed its management and formulated its instruction. The Puritan conception of God was a successful business man or slave trader whose ledger showed a proper balance of profits. As commerce and shipping developed it became impossible to tell where business ended and piracy began. The modern historians have never been able to distinguish between the honest merchant shipper and the pirate, privateer, slave trader and smuggler, with their allies in Boston merchants who closed their eyes while they purchased plunder of a pirate raid. In those days 2,000 per cent. profit was not unusual.

Boston's first merchant, John Hull, is typical of the others. Weeden, one historian of New England, draws the following portrait of him, "A spiritual camera could not render a more complete picture of his mind as it works back and forth through pine-tree shillings and selected codfish three feet long; pure wisdom and thrifty silver; the dross of earth mingling with the gold of heaven. The temporal and the eternal touch and vibrate, and always

"An Occasional Noble Flash Smothered by Long Periods of Rule by An Aristocracy of Wealth"

to the advantage of the God-fearing man."

Piety and Profits

Before cheating their customers these merchants were careful to say their prayers. A practice that was common is contained in this advice of a merchant to his agent: "Water ye rum as much as possible and sell as much by the short measure as you can." Peter Faneuil, the merchant saint of modern Back Bay, pious bachelor with pious sister, walked on Sundays with velvet bound prayer book in hand, giving thanks to God that his ships engaged in the slave trade had arrived from Africa with little loss of the human cargo.

Contemplating these slaves and hypocrites, Weeden was compelled to record the following judgment of these Puritan merchants:

"They rolled the whites of their eyes and uttered pious ejaculations as they scanned their ledgers and wrote instructions for turning rum into 'shops' or human souls immaterially. After attending to such matters these 'respectable' men take leave of their captain, and conclude with committing you to the almighty Disposer of all events. The profanity of sailors is grateful music to ears compelled to listen to the prayers of such damnable hypocrites."

The Puritan priests and merchants always dreaded the menace of the French in Canada and welcomed the arms of England as a protection. When the war between England and France began for the possession of French Canada these merchants carried on an illicit trade with the enemy and later objected to paying part of the expenses of England in removing the French menace. Gratitude was a word not in their vocabulary.

All the horrors of religious persecution were repeated in this oligarchy of Puritan saints, headed by the notorious Mathers, upon whose heads modern historians are heaping execrations. These Puritan priests could condemn the dissenters, men and women alike, to cruel whippings with a whip specially constructed to cut deep gashes in quivering backs. They could stand by and gloat over the agony of two women thus treated, and when their babies were born dead, accept it as a judgment of God.

Religious Tolerance

British legislation prohibited the death penalty in cases of religious dissent, but these brutes satisfied their blood lust by clever evasion, murdering their opponents without technical violation of the law and increasing the torture into the bargain. The condemned were ordered to receive lashes while being driven from one town to another. By the time the victim had arrived at the last town before being sent into the wilderness his or her body was a hideous mass of bleeding pulp. In the cold winters the wounds

froze in the death march from one town to another, the torture being beyond words to describe when the frozen flesh was again flogged. What life was left in these miserable bodies soon expired by exposure in the wilderness or by the scalping knife of the Indian. Through these deeds the ruling classes had "faith in Massachusetts."

When the revolutionary period arrived this Puritan band still ruled church and state. Its members paid homage to "liberty" and yelled that England looked forward to the establishment of the Church of England in Massachusetts. This may have been the British intention, but it is also true that the Puritan priests were more concerned about maintaining their own monopoly of power than they were in establishing political and religious freedom in Massachusetts. As a matter of fact, it was not till the year 1833 that the last of their state graft was torn from their hands and people could breathe free in that state.

It should be observed that the Church of England was the established church in the slave colony of Virginia and yet throughout all the history of the latter colony, aristocratic as it was, there were no tortures and murders of dissenters. The comparison shows that if England Massachusetts, life would have been tolerable for dissenters and her colonial history would not have been spattered with blood. The Puritan hypocrites were monsters in comparison with the Anglican clergy of a slave state ruled by plantation magnates.

Merchants and Pirates

Before passing from the colonial era of Massachusetts another glance must be taken at the Puritan merchants with their record of piracy, slave trading and smuggling. In the year 1717 the pirate, Bellamy, captured a Boston sloop in southern waters, commanded by Captain Beer. Little wonder that Bellamy said to this Puritan slave and profiteer:

"Damn ye, you are a Sneaking Puppy, and so are all those who will submit to be governed by laws which rich men have made for their own security. They rob the poor under cover of law, forsooth, and we plunder the rich under the protection of our own courts."

We have profound respect for the pirate, Bellamy. He confined his profession to robbing the robbers. So far as Massachusetts was concerned the American Revolution was a revolt of smugglers, merchant profiteers and Puritan priests intent on retaining their power. Fisher Ames, aristocratic lawyer, is typical of many of his type. He watched the progress of the revolution with "patriotic concern," but did not enlist in the ranks. He remained home, studying law and reading poetry. This representative of the clerical and merchant ruling class

could refer to Daniel Shays and the revolting farmers and mechanics against the ruling class following the peace with England, as "bankrupts and sots, who have gambled or slept away their estates."

As a matter of fact, these revolting farmers and mechanics had served in the war only to be thrust into debtors' prisons for debts which had accumulated against them while fighting. Shays himself was one of the first men to respond at Lexington. He was also at Bunker Hill, in the expedition against Ticonderoga, and fought at Saratoga and Stony Point while Ames was safely at home reading poetry. The Shays rebellion was a startling display of class consciousness against the ruling upstarts.

A Profitable War

Boston merchants made handsome profits out of war contracts and no doubt they also appreciated poetry while they supped Madras wine. Indeed, the fortunes made out of piracy, the slave trade, smuggling and, later, war contracts, form the basis of the aristocratic families that ruled Massachusetts in the nineteenth century. They have been added to the profits sweated out of the women and children of the early textile mills. The village cemeteries of Lowell, Lawrence, Fall River and New Bedford contain the graves of women and children who died before their time in order to produce leisure for the ruling class of Massachusetts.

It was this ruling class of Puritan priests, merchants and lawyers who, when the War of 1812 touched their pockets, plotted a reunion of all New England with the British empire. Here again the solidarity of merchants, "religion," and education emerged in behalf of the ruling interests. Samuel Eliot Morison, a Harvard historian and now lecturer on American History at Oxford, has written that

"Timothy Pickens was the kept politician of New England Federalism, Harrison Gray Otis its spellbinder, Boston its political capital, Harvard and Yale the seminaries of its priesthood."

Consider Pickens. In 1793 he inspired the Logan Act in Congress, which provided fine and imprisonment for citizens corresponding with foreign governments "with an intent to influence the measures or conduct of any foreign government" in relation to disputes with the United States. This was aimed at the Jeffersonians with their French sympathies. In 1803 Pickens was secretly violating this act and conducting an intrigue with the British Government. Henry Adams, another New England historian, declares that "The Federalists of 1803 were a British faction in league with George Canning," the British Foreign Minister.

About Fisher Ames

Another word regarding Ames. He had written much on politics and his-

tory. Like others of his class he regarded the workers as the "mob" and government as an agency for maintaining the supremacy of a ruling class. In the year 1838 selections from his writings were published in England by politicians of the landed squirearchy in a book bearing the title, "The Influence of Democracy." The circulation of this book by Tory leaders in England with an appreciative introduction shows that there was no difference between the philosophy of Ames, Otis, Pickering and Company and the views of the aristocratic ruling class in England.

Massachusetts continued her ruling class traditions in the last decade before the Civil War on the issue of slavery. There were corporations in New England that owned plantations and slaves in the south. Bank loans to southern magnates also provided an affectionate bond between Boston bankers and slave owners. Owners of textile mills wanted cheap cotton of the slave plantations. Ruling families in New England also married into the families of southern aristocrats, thus providing another bond of sympathy between Massachusetts capitalism and the southern slave regime.

Need it be surprising that Massa-

chusetts officials in office for many years represented this alliance of two forms of property in the north and south? It was the Attorney General of the Commonwealth who, in 1837, appeared in Faneuil Hall to justify the murderers of Lovejoy at Alton, and it was that speech that brought Wendell Phillips to the front with a speech that pilloried the Thayers and Fullers of the period with blistering invectives.

A Moment of Conscience

But Massachusetts also had its flash of noble conscience when Phillips and others braved the ruling classes. The last twenty years before the election of Lincoln was a notable flowering of the best intellect of Massachusetts. William Ellery Channing, Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Theodore Parker, Margaret Fuller, Henry D. Thoreau and Phillips Brooks are only a few of the noble men and women who placed Massachusetts "civilization" under the microscope and bared its cowardice, its servility and its evil.

Thoreau, the gentle anarchist, refused to vote, refused to pay taxes to the ruling class, refused allegiance to the clique in power and was jailed.

PATRIOTIC SOCIETY URGED TO UPHOLD CONSTITUTION

A suggestion to members of "The United States Patriotic Society, Inc." that they "Join the American Civil Liberties Union and fight for the basic principles of free speech, free press and free assembly." If I am not mistaken, many of our members regard us as radicals, indicating that they have not read the Constitution of the United States. Since, however, you have gotten it out in such simple form, perhaps they will read it now. I hope so.

Reaction to Fuller

Editor, The New Leader:
When I read the unjust decision of Gov. Fuller for Sacco and Vanzetti, I drove 30 miles to join the Socialist Party at Los Angeles, and subscribe for The New Leader. We Socialists have work to do.

Alice Booth

Anaheim, Calif.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

NATIONAL

The Debs Book
The big Debs book, "Walls and Bars," has taken to the mails. Orders are increasing daily. We feel sure that the locals and branches as well as individuals will order one or more copies. Locals should order them in large quantities and sell them. Locals can realize 50 cents profit on each book by ordering in quantities. Individuals out of employment should order a quantity and make good wages. Now is the time to push the book. In every city Socialist should encourage book stores to handle the book. In cities where newspapers have not mentioned it copies should be handed to editors and ask them to write a review. We can put over 100,000 of the first of the year if the comrades will all get busy.

TEXAS

The national office is receiving an increased number of communications from Texas. The circulation of the official organ, the American Appeal, is increasing in that State. We urge Socialists to write members to write immediately to the State secretary, G. W. M. Taylor, 2442 Catherine street, Dallas, Texas. Comrades who are members at large should pay their dues direct to the State secretary. All along the line the Texas Socialists should be building the organization and increasing the circulation of our press.

MARYLAND

A Socialist Revival
New life has entered the Maryland movement. On August 11 the State Committee resolved itself into a reorganizing committee and appointed William A. Toole special organizer, with full power to reorganize the State, to raise funds and to call a State convention to revise the constitution and elect a new State Committee, or to transact other business that may properly come before it.

Baltimore
Local Baltimore on the night Sacco and Vanzetti were to die held a mass meeting in protest against the conviction of the men. The meeting was surrounded by police and was the biggest protest meeting held by any group. William A. Toole, Dr. M. M. Neistadt were the speakers. It was a thrilling scene, indeed, when towards the close of the meeting Comrade Toole read the English translation of the Vanzetti case. The 1,000 men and women present broke into loud and tumultuous cheering.

Amalgamated Protests
Comrades Neistadt and Toole were also the English speakers at the protest meeting of the Amalgamated on August 9, both speakers being introduced as being from the Socialist Party. The meeting was held at the meeting also spoke of the speakers as officers of the Socialist Party. Those who say that the party is dead here—the wish being false to the thought—have received a very distinct shock. Maryland Socialists are requested to cooperate with Organizer Toole in his work of reorganization. His address is 2134 North Fulton Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland.

ILLINOIS

Socialist Picnic
The Socialist Party of Cook county (Chicago) will hold the second annual picnic of the season at Riverview Park Sunday, Aug. 28, James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, had promised to speak, but was asked to accompany the Labor Commission to Russia. He will give Chicago a late after his return. William Coleman, Milwaukee member of the Wisconsin State Senate and State secretary of the Socialist Party of Wisconsin, will speak. Other speakers will be George Kirkpatrick, author of "War What For," and William H. Henry, national executive secretary, and other speakers will be on the program. There will be music by Hemke's band, also dancing and other amusements. The Socialists of Cook county will combine with their friends and help make this event a big success.

WISCONSIN

Berger to Coolidge
Socialist Congressman Victor L. Berger wired President Coolidge urging him to intervene in the Sacco-Vanzetti case and pointed out that President Wilson had intervened in the cases of Tom Mooney in California and Joe Hill in Utah. (See story on another page.)

PENNSYLVANIA

Reading
Socialists of Reading and vicinity will leave for the State picnic at Riverview Park on Sunday, August 28, for another happy day in the open. All the features which made the first picnic such an enjoyable success will be present with no exception of the speech by Jim Maurer. Jim will still

NEW YORK STATE

Filing Petitions

State Secretary Merrill has issued a final warning to locals in regard to the filing of primary designation petitions for candidates for public office and official party position. The last day for filing is Tuesday, Aug. 23. In the same communication the State Secretary urges locals and individual members to do their utmost to promote the sale of Debs' book, "Walls and Bars." Locals can make substantial amount for their own resources by handling this book. Theresa B. Wiley of Schenectady will act as State Secretary while State Secretary Merrill is on a temporary leave of absence.

Albany

An unofficial county convention of the Socialist Party of Albany County was held at State headquarters last Tuesday evening, and county and Assembly candidates were endorsed. James C. Sheehan was endorsed for Sheriff and Allen Depew for Coroner. John Carmichael was endorsed for Assembly from the 1st district and Elizabeth Jacobson for Member of Assembly from the Second Assembly district. It was voted to endorse the local ticket of 3 candidates for the Third Assembly district to the comrades of Cohoes. Albany will not elect a Mayor this year.

NEW YORK CITY

City Central Committee

The City Central Committee met Wednesday evening, Aug. 3, Joseph A. Well was chairman, Raphael Goldstein, vice-chairman, and N. A. Weinberg, secretary. The minutes of the executive committee meetings of July 13 and July 27 were acted upon and the information that the Central Committee activity by the committee and the city office, Sacco and Vanzetti protest meetings and organization work related to the information that the Central Committee was carrying on a campaign. A vote of thanks was given to Comrades Lee and Volk for their excellent work in raising funds to liquidate the local debt. Upon hearing the sad news of the passing of our late comrade, Harris Karp, the Central Committee rose to pay its respects and a committee was selected to draw up resolutions to be sent to the family. Matters pertaining to the campaigns in the various parts of the city, the 2nd Judicial District, Brownsville, Williamsburg, Borough Park and Harlem, were discussed at length. Organization and propaganda work among the Porto Rican population of Harlem was also considered.

In reference to the proposed national referendum being initiated by the Local Livingstone Committee, the Central Committee discussed this matter at length. Julius Gerber explained the reasons for the referendum and the committee chose Jan. 14 as the date of the national convention. Facts were brought out showing that the early date was necessary because of the primary laws in some of the States and that unless nominations were made early it would be difficult to place our candidates in the ballot and that because of technical and legal difficulties it is imperative that our national convention meet in January. A motion was carried that the Central Committee recommend that the branches refrain from seconding the proposed referendum.

Campaign Dances and Reunion
Saturday evening, Sept. 24, is the date set for the first of a number of city-wide social affairs. A dance and reunion at the commencement of the big campaign of 1927 will be held in the Debs Auditorium, People's House, 7 East 17th street. All branches and members of the party are asked to take note of this date. More details will be published later.

2nd Judicial District
The third meeting of the campaign committee, consisting of delegates from the branches, was held last Monday evening. Considerable progress has been made in the organization and preliminary work. In the absence of Julius Gerber, campaign manager, who is on a much-needed vacation, N. A. Weinberg, assistant manager, is busily engaged in the detail work. The plan of organization adopted at the last meeting was to divide the work into various departments, such as finance, the campaign committee, canvassing, among women voters, organization of young people's committee and publicity. The campaign committee is engaged in finding suitable comrades as heads of these departments. Several are already in action. The next meeting will be held in Room 805, People's House, on Monday, Aug. 22, at 7:30 p. m. sharp.

Harlem
A general party meeting of all Harlem branches will be called immediately after Labor Day. At this meeting the candidates will be present and work will be commended for an effective campaign. Street meetings during the July and August were unusually large and the audience responsive. Fine work has been done in Harlem this year, thanks to the combined action of the 17th, 18th and 20th A. D. and the Harlem Jewish Branch, and particularly excellent work was done by Sophie Segaloff. This comrade has done heroic work the last few months in bringing the organization forces together and keeping them actively engaged in the campaign.

3rd, 5th and 10th A. D.
This branch is to be congratulated for remarkable success in propaganda

work and street meetings. The meetings held at Sheridan Square since the early part of Spring have attracted considerable attention and the audiences are growing in size from week to week. It is the first time in several years that the Social message has been carried into that part of the West Side. Special mention should be made of the persistent and excellent work of Abraham Pepperberg and Ernest K. S. Harren, who are in charge of the meetings.

19th and 21st A. D.

The outdoor meetings held since May from various corners in the Negro section of Harlem, in the territory of the 19th and 21st Assembly Districts, have had considerable success. The crowds that have gathered on speakers, especially Comrades Crosswath and Brown, have been the best in years and considerable interest is manifest among our Negro workers.

BROOKLYN

The Central Branch and Branch No. 7 are holding meetings twice a month. The Campaign and County Committees have had their joint session, and plans relative to the campaign were worked out in detail. Irving Knobloch was selected as campaign manager. Maurice Gross, assistant manager, and two general party meetings have been decided upon, one immediately after Labor Day and the other in October. Plans will be made for a series of campaign drives, and an increasing number of outdoor meetings will be arranged in September.

2nd A. D.

This branch meets Friday evenings. On Friday, August 26, a joint meeting will be held in the Y. P. S. L. of the Y. P. S. L. Senior and Junior Branches. Plans will be proposed for carrying on an effective campaign. Campaign manager is Louis Kluhoffer.

4-14th A. D.

This branch meets Monday evenings at its clubrooms, 345 South 3rd Street. On August 22, at a Committee meeting, a series of outdoor lectures every Saturday evening at Grand and Havemeyer Streets.

5-4th A. D.

Branch meetings are held Tuesday evenings at the clubrooms, 167 Tompkins Avenue.

Boro Park

The campaign in the 9th-16th Assembly Districts is fully under way, and the campaign committee, consisting of delegates from the four branches, is meeting regularly and drawing up plans for effective work. The English-Speaking Branch will meet Tuesday evening, August 22, at the Park Labor Lyceum. The first street meeting will be held this Saturday evening at 42nd Street and 13th Avenue.

22nd A. D.

Branch meetings are held Friday evenings at the Workmen's Circle Center, 213 Van Sicken Avenue. Street meetings Saturday evenings at Pennsylvania and Sutter Avenues are a continued success.

23rd A. D.

An important meeting will be held Monday evening, August 22, at the Labor Lyceum, 213 Sackman Street, at 8:30 p. m. It is urged that every member be present, as a very serious matter must be acted upon without delay. No active member of the Brownsville Branch should fail to attend.

YIPSELDOM

The Y. P. S. L. of New York received the praise of the Y. P. S. L. of New York for the splendid co-operation given by Yipsels in the recent Sacco-Vanzetti demonstrations. A motion was carried that the Central Committee recommend that the branches refrain from seconding the proposed referendum.

Field Day

The third attempt at a Yipsel field day will be made on Sunday, Sept. 11, at Pelham Bay Park. Comrades are urged to come and help make the day and to start making arrangements immediately. Entry blanks can be procured at the City Office either by mail or personal call.

Bertrand Russell

Great news! The Hon. Bertrand Russell will be the guest of the Yipsels on Friday, Oct. 14, at the Community Church, Thirty-fourth street and Park Avenue. No further information can be given. The City Office, however, urges every circle not to make any conflicting arrangements.

Over forty Vanguard books have been sold by the League within the past three weeks. The response has been fine. But still more work must be done to bring this splendid offer.

Another open-air meeting was held last Wednesday by the Yipsels.

With the usual result, a fine, healthy meeting. The enthusiasm and co-operation among the workers was well worth the praise of the City Office.

Circle 2

Circle 2, Brooklyn, held an outdoor meeting at Taiting and Sutter avenues, Monday, Aug. 15. The speakers were Joseph Friedman, Indore Ostrowsky, Lester Shulman and Henry Sapowitz. David Levit was chairman. This was the first attempt in that section of the city.

Sacco-Vanzetti Call

A call has been made to the New York Yipsels from the Sacco and Vanzetti Defense Committee of Boston asking as many Yipsels as can manage to come to Boston to take part in important work contemplated. The following have volunteered to hike or hitch up there if necessary on Saturday, Aug. 20: Lester Shulman, Ida Tawner, David Levit, Louis Shomer, Harry Diamond and Ben Goodman. Other Yipsels desiring to go must be

AT THE RAND SCHOOL AT 8 A. M. SHARP.

Drama
"Freedom," the latest dramatic attempt of Circle 2, is now under way and promises to be the best produced by the group. The cast consists of George Guss, Sidney (Barrymore) Rothenberg, George Jaffe, Bill Siedenber and Bill Turgeon.

The following are the results of the election in Circle 13: M. Weiss, organizer; S. Kriestman, educational director; L. Raschewsky, recording secretary; S. Dukoff, financial secretary; M. Hochberg, social and athletic director; B. Sapkovitz and L. Raschewsky were elected to the Executive Committee. The City Office believes that the new officers will build a bigger and better Circle 13.

A very fine open-air meeting under the joint supervision of the Juniors and Seniors was staged Aug. 13 at Rutland road and East Ninety-sixth street, Brooklyn, a section of the city that has not been tackled for many years. If a Socialist is elected in that district the Juniors must receive the credit for it.

STREET MEETINGS

MANHATTAN

Friday, Aug. 19, 8:30 p. m.—Ninety-fifth street and Broadway. Speakers, Frank Crosswath and others.

Saturday, Aug. 20, 8:30 p. m.—137th street and Seventh avenue. Speakers, Frank Crosswath and others.

Wednesday, Aug. 24, 8:30 p. m.—112th street and Lenox avenue. Speakers, Frank Crosswath and others.

Thursday, Aug. 25, 8:30 p. m.—Sheridan Square, Grove street and West 124th street. Speakers, William Karlin, Abraham Pepperberg.

Friday, Aug. 26, 8:30 p. m.—Ninety-fifth street and Broadway. Speakers, Samuel A. DeWitt, Pierre de Nio, A. Regalid.

Saturday, Aug. 27, 8:30 p. m.—137th street and Seventh avenue. Speakers, Frank Crosswath and others.

Thursday, Aug. 25, 8:30 p. m.—180th street and Daly avenue. Speakers, August Claessens, Harry Diamond.

Friday, Aug. 26, 8:30 p. m.—134th street and Prospect avenue. Speakers, Frank Crosswath and others.

BROOKLYN

Friday, Aug. 19, 8:30 p. m.—Bristol and Pitkin avenues. Speaker, August Claessens.

Saturday, Aug. 20, 8:30 p. m.—Pennsylvania and Sutter avenues. Speakers, Ethelred Brown, Samuel Block.

Thursday, Aug. 25, 8:30 p. m.—Pulaski and Hart streets. Speakers, Samuel Block, Joseph Tuvim, I. M. Chalcuff.

Friday, Aug. 26, 8:30 p. m.—Bristol street and Pitkin avenue. Speaker, August Claessens.

WORKMEN'S CIRCLE

Last Saturday the week-end trip of the Young Circle League to the Workmen's Circle Camp at Pawling, New York, finally came off. About thirty members, representing every club in the League, started the ride up the Hudson from the Franklin Street pier. The Flatbush group, which is one of the few meeting during the summer, was best represented. The members of the Williamsburg Club were next in number. The trip up the Hudson as well as the ride back was characterized by singing, dancing, shouting, laughing and general hilarity on the part of the young travelers.

Due to the painstaking efforts and care on the part of Mr. Gellester in arranging things in general from the office in New York and the kind and cheerful co-operation of Mr. Siegel and Mr. Berman at the camp, the week-end trip was a delight to all. At the camp there was rowing, swimming, dancing, baseball and tennis playing—and then some. A baseball game between the camp team and the visitors scheduled for Sunday afternoon had to be called off, however, on account of rain. But the time was pleasantly spent by playing indoor games and in dancing.

With the acquisition of the excellent baseball outfit, Hy Kaplan, League athletic director, is planning to wind up the season with a number of inter-club games. The first game will probably be between the Flatbush team and the Williamsburg team.

Marcus Mason and Joel Rheims are busy developing tennis champions, especially in the Flatbush group.

Arrangements are being completed for an entertainment and dance to be given by the League at the Debs Auditorium in the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street, on Saturday, October 1, 1927, at 8 p. m. This will be the first summer of League members after the vacation. A fine program of professional talent as well as an excellent band of musicians will be sure to furnish a fine time for all.

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INTERNATIONAL

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SATURDAY, AUGUST 20, 1927

MASSACHUSETTS—A WARNING AND A CALL TO INTELLIGENT ACTION

"NEPHEW," said Algernon Sidney in prison the night before his execution, "I value not my own life a chip; but what concerns me is, that the law which takes away my life may hang every one of you, whenever it is thought convenient to do so." That is what Massachusetts means to us today. Nor can we avoid our individual responsibility. "Indifference between right and wrong is nothing else than taking the wrong side," said Seward in the campaign to elect Lincoln.

Sacco and Vanzetti have served to dramatize our courts. Thirteen years ago President Hadley in his Ford lectures at Oxford told Englishmen that "the constitutional position of the property owner in the United States has been stronger than in any country in Europe. The whole American political and social system is based on industrial property right, far more completely than has ever been the case in any European country."

The fortress of property rights is the courts and the soldiers who guard those forts are the judges. Place property in the scales as against human welfare and the latter will hit the beam. Three-fourths of the education of judges relate to property and its protection. It is not feudal and not slave property. It is capitalist property that has become the sacred cow.

Who does not know that the average judge reads into the law his social, economic and political opinions of property? Who does not know that Judge Panken on the bench would give a different decision from that of Judge Taft in a matter of Property vs. Human Welfare? Indeed, the tendency of judges to read into the Constitution and the law their politics and economics induced Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes some years ago to protest that "the Fourteenth Amendment does not enact Mr. Herbert Spencer's Social Statics." Yet there are judges who do read Spencer's philosophy of capitalism into their decisions.

Sacco and Vanzetti are two Italians who have offended the sacred cow. Their opinions are in conflict with it. In addition to this they are foreigners and the alien has become a suspect. Moreover, they are working men, an added handicap because the workman usually owns no property and has little standing before its judicial guardians. The prejudice against foreigners has been mounting in Massachusetts for thirty years. Since the end of the World War it has become a brooding fear of the dwindling number of Yankees who constitute the ruling class of the state. That fear has been made the lament of a Yankee Jeremiah, Daniel Chauncey Brewer, in his book, "The Conquest of New England," published last year.

He who would understand the medieval fears of this ruling class whose ancestors have ruled since the days of the Mayflower may be enlightened by Brewer's work. To him it is shocking that there were in 1920 nearly a million persons "of foreign lineage, within a short distance of the gilded dome of the State House." (The italics are his.) He protests that "the Semitic elephant had gotten its trunk well into the Puritan stronghold and found no reason why he should not insinuate his body." Even Harvard "failed to find significance in an incursion of a culture inherently hostile to its own." The Yankees "will soon be only a memory." The Yankee "cherished his altars and traditions," but the "lust for gold" was his undoing. He admits that the child of foreign lineage "is seizing the honors in the higher schools of learning and is earning the right to shape the destinies of those they are outstripping."

What of it? If the Yankee refuses to think, if he is not intellectually alert, he deserves nothing but oblivion. But what a commentary upon the ruling class that turns upon the immigrants, those aliens who for nearly a hundred years have built New England turnpikes, railroads and canals, paved city streets, built docks, manned the textile and shoe machines, and performed the laborious labor that has fed, housed and clothed the Brewsters, Fullers, Lowells, Thayers and Grants. So eager were the granddads of the present Yankee masters that they even stimulated the immigration of Chinese coolies to break strikes in Massachusetts. Following the Civil War Massachusetts capitalists joined with other northern capitalists urging Congress to legalize importation of foreign workmen under indentures that would have reproduced the white bondage of the colonial period. These

workmen lured from Europe are now repaid by suspicion and hate which have enveloped two Italians and tortured them and their loved ones for seven years.

And who are these upstarts that talk of their "culture" and their "altars" in protest against those who have contributed to their ease and comfort? It was an Irishman, Montgomery, who fell at the gates of Quebec during the revolution. It was Eulaski, a Pole, who perished at Savannah. The Germans, Steuben and De Kalb, came to train raw American recruits. Kosciuszko, a Pole, and Lafayette, a Frenchman, gave their services. Paul Jones was a Scotchman and Hamilton came from the West Indies. Albert Gallatin came from Switzerland and contributed his ripe knowledge to the solution of financial problems.

And what of that grim struggle to throw off the menace of a planter oligarchy which sought to rule the republic for all time? Studying the record of immigration into Indiana, Illinois and Iowa in the decade before the election of Lincoln, Professor Dodd has shown that the votes of Germans and other naturalized immigrants into this territory insured the election of Lincoln by a narrow margin in 1860. "The selection of Lincoln," he wrote in the American Historical Review for July, 1911, "and the fate of the Union were thus determined not by native Americans, but by voters who knew least of American history and institutions."

Even the Declaration of Independence has its origin in foreign writers, essayists and philosophers. Were it not for the intellectual revolution brought about by the work of Locke, Rousseau, Voltaire, Descartes, Newton, Paine and Montesquieu the verbal thunderbolts of that historic document could not have been forged. When the task of drafting the Constitution faced the "fathers," Madison, Adams and others spent many months studying the republics of the Greek world and the city republics of the Renaissance to aid them in their work. At every crucial period of our history the experience and ideas and service of other peoples have been enlisted.

Not until the barbarians of Babbitt culture were hoisted into office in Massachusetts have we found a willingness to execute the alien because of fear that he will contaminate us.

Our readers should make no mistake about this case. Over the shoulders of Sacco and Vanzetti a blow is struck at every man and woman in this country who does not think in terms of the Fullers, Thayers, Lowells and Grants. They incarnate the spirit of the Mathers and Endicotts who in the colonial period pierced Quakers' tongues and brutally whipped dissenters at the cart tail. That this "trial" of two Italian workmen can be staged in Massachusetts is humiliating evidence that the suffrage wrung by the masses from the ruling classes in the thirties and forties has been wasted by us and that the workers of this nation have no political power today.

"Let the people be ignorant and suffrage universal," said Theodore Parker in 1850, "a very few men will control the State and laugh at the folly of the applauding multitude whose bread they waste, and on whose necks they ride in indolence and miserable fame."

What more striking could be said of our political weakness today and what is more true than the "miserable fame" which the rulers of Massachusetts have won all over the world? They "laugh at our folly" and ride on our necks, going through with a "trial" for seven years which makes the Dreyfus affair in France a model of equity in comparison. They have made us the most despised nation in the world.

It is time for a new faith, new methods, and a forward march of workingmen and women all over the nation. The apostate Democrats of Boston seek to silence the voice of protest and co-operate with the Republican masters of the state. John Randolph of Roanoke once spoke of the "union of the blackleg and the Puritan." Here it is, co-operation of two political wings of the same reactionary forces.

It is time to break our allegiance with those forces. The working people and their friends must constitute themselves an independent political power in the state and nation and wrest from the upper classes the power now perverted to serve barbaric hates and upper class aims. Time passes, the menace grows, action is urgent, and our future depends upon intelligent action now. What is your answer?

THE RACIAL PURISTS

RACIAL prejudice is the creed of morons and is fostered by ruling classes to keep the ruled in subjection. When cultivated for a century or more it becomes fixed in a new age no longer justified by the old reasons in which it had its origin. It becomes a compound of tradition, habit and inherited prejudice that serves a new ruling class and nobody else.

In Virginia a "racial integrity law" of 1924 attempted to define the percentage of Negro blood to warrant division of the population into sheep and goats. If the test was 100 per cent. pure white very few of the descendants of the upper class whites could qualify. The mixture of the blood of white masters with Negro slaves was notorious. In New Orleans young blades of slave owners of the lower South kept Octoroon women in special apartments and even married masters purchased this luxury. One complaint Harriet Martineau heard from married women throughout the South in 1837 was that as the head of their homes they presided over harems. Even to this day many whites who subscribe to the creed of "racial purity" pursue illicit relations with unfortunate Negro women.

With this background of past and present history, we may appreciate the problem of Virginia politicians in attempting to segregate those with Negro blood from the whites in the public schools. In Richmond fifty or more children of mixed white and Indian blood constitute a special problem for the racial "purists." They are compelled to establish a special school for these children but some will be sent to private schools in the North by their parents to avoid the stigma of segregation.

This racial prejudice has contributed much to delay the organization of a labor movement in the South. So long as the southern working class accept the racial dogmas of the upper classes the workers will continue to pay for it in a miserable standard of living because unity of action remains difficult.

Fuller and Altgeld

A Letter to Sacco and Vanzetti

Nicola Sacco and
Bartolomeo Vanzetti.

Dear Comrades:

I cannot refrain from writing to you brave and noble men to let you know that while the jail doors are closed upon you no one in America is free. Well-fed and comfortable men and women may applaud the decision of Governor Fuller; those who are unthinking may feel that your plight is not their concern; brutal and cruel reactionaries may say that no matter whether you are guilty or not, it is well to rid the country of foreign radicals; simple and foolish people may say that it is better that two innocent men may die than that the people lose confidence in their sacred courts.

All this they say, and more, and they go about their business happy and content. But they are not free. They cannot be happy. They have not waved aside the case of Sacco and Vanzetti. They have waved aside something bigger than they, bigger than you—they have tried to wave aside the thing you stand for, the stifled cry for justice in human hearts. And they cannot. And some day it will dawn upon them that you have been tried, not for a low, common, vulgar murder, but for your vision, and if even they are able to grasp the meaning of that vision they will wish they could do what Judas Iscariot did when he realized the enormity of his crime.

You are in jail, dear Comrades. Alvan T. Fuller is on Beacon Hill. You are poor; he is rich. You are felons and condemned to death. He is Chief Magistrate of the historic State of Massachusetts, the State of Adams and Webster; the State of Charles Sumner and Wendell Phillips; the State of Calvin Coolidge. But there are millions of people today in every country in the world who would not change places with Alvan T. Fuller with all his power and position and vast wealth. There are millions of people in the world today who gladly take their stand with you in jail, with you in the shadow of the chair, with you with the felon's brand placed upon you by the legal machinery of the State rather than with your jailers, your hangmen.

Another Governor
Once upon a time there was another Governor in a great commonwealth of this country who found three men in jail, serving a life sentence for holding opinions that the courts and judges of six years before did not like. Five men had been hanged and no one could recall them to life. The people were satisfied that the hanging and the falling had been just. No one wanted the three released. But the Governor had a sense of justice and he made a careful study of the trial proceedings and found that the men had been legally lynched. He pardoned the three and issued a statement scathingly condemning Judge, jury and public opinion for the crime of six years before.

The Governor took his political life in his hands for that act. He knew that when he did that act of elementary justice he was terminating a brilliant career. He didn't care. To him justice meant more than advancement. He was despised, persecuted, reviled. He was wounded to death, and the obituaries written over him were spasms of hatred.

Yet today there is a great monument in a Chicago park to John Peter Altgeld, one of the noblest men in American history; he is a hero to the generations growing up; we are taught to honor and revere him, and rightly so. But who can recall the name of the man who was Governor of Massachusetts when Altgeld was the reviled and hated Governor of Illinois?

Governor Fuller had his chance to take a stand beside Altgeld. He threw it away. The comfort of being at one with the mob lured him, and he will not stand lonely and persecuted as did the great Illinoisan. He may enjoy it for a while, but some day his name will fall oblivion only by obliquity.

I still hope you will live. I still hope that, by some twist of the law, you will get a stay and opportunity to argue for a decent and fair trial before an honest judge. But whatever your fate, permit me to thank you for what you have done in restoring faith and courage to those who have sought for justice, and who seemed to be getting a little tired. Beside such courage and meanness as yours, who dares relax one moment's time in the battle for the things we stand for?

With admiration and gratitude,
W. M. FEIGENBAUM.
Brooklyn, N. Y.

WEST VIRGINIA LABOR TO CONVENE AUG. 22

Parkersburg, W. Va.—The West Virginia State Federation of Labor will hold its Twentieth Annual Convention here during the week beginning August 22. From present indications the convention will be the largest ever held by the State Federation.

Plans and policies will be promulgated at this convention for an active and aggressive campaign of education and organization throughout the state for the coming twelve months' period that will arouse all the unions and their membership and draft them into the campaign among the unorganized workers and the public generally. Steps will be taken in this connection to provide for greater publicity of the aims and objects of organized labor.

Sacco, Vanzetti and the Poets

Golgotha in Massachusetts

NOT even two thieves to grace this slow murder. Instead, two innocent dreamers, in place of one, Tortured for seven years, a hell harder Than the crude spitting and flogging of Mary's song: And the end either the leaping, rending spark Or finger commuted torture . . . all to please Those who herd men into a fouler dark, Headless of the heaping agonies. For gain . . . for dividends . . . for prosperity. For a world where a Coolidge or a Harding prims, And iron rule and rigid authority Are in the dollar, and its plump pimps, Until that shrieking hour when a new sky Echoes their screams, as the people shout: Crucify! —CLEMENT WOOD.

To Sacco and Vanzetti

Wracked by the years' corroding grief. You gesture life away—a crumbling leaf. You gesture the blood drains through each martyred vein Trembling to brutal and unrelenting pain. Your fellow-men still go their trivial way Through each slow-handed, agonizing day. And while the flowers of your brave life wilt Smugly they speculate upon your guilt! Have your world trembles Lovers, glide through your mirrored halls, Or kill a while by your garden walls. Pink tea ladies with gold lorgnettes Expatriate on your red sunsets. Your way of life is any easy thing Where one may chuckle and choose and sing.

In another world is an iron door Two men stare at sullen floor. Watch from citadels of ease How your world trembles at men like these! —Lucia Trent.

On Removal of Sacco and Vanzetti to Charlestown Prison, July 1, 1927

What new and deeper infamy is this? And still what hideous and loathsome power Above defenseless heads could stoop and hiss Such vile command upon a dismal hour?

To Charlestown death-house, dark and comfortless, They go to wait the striking of their doom— A place whose horrors we can hardly guess, A dungeon hole of heavy air and gloom.

Vanzetti, knowing all the blackest hell Within such hearts, had said that this would be, A thing our wildest dreams did not foretell With all the world demanding they be free.

O Massachusetts! In our righteous scorn Our eyes are turned upon you! Spare the worst! Set free these guiltless men, lest those unborn Forever hold your name a thing accursed! —Henry Reich, Jr.

Tall Winds Shall Walk For Sacco and Vanzetti

TALL winds shall walk across your dungeon bars. And unseen trumpets on the darkness ride, Invisible hands shall turn a key within, Voice shall cry "Acquitted!" through the world.

Not easily shall this darkness be resolved, Light from the breath of finer ethers drawn; Yet shall it surely come, one with the suns and tides, The appointed hour of slow, inevitable dawn. Hour when the shining ones that now press heavily, Weeping for "Stupor Mundi," through seven-veiled bands of night Shall be as those who pass to some bright festival.

Where are the keys that shall unlock your doors? Whose is the hand shall smite to freedom's skies? Know this, O held of a dark that is deeper than darkness: By day and night they speed, the Unseen Messengers, Hourly the invisible Librators of the skies Toward the will of Light.

Daily they gather in the sacred groves, Burning the darkness—speaking a peace to men. Only wait out the sudden, bat-eyed moments, wait; High hearts, still bear the dungeon's stark indignity: Time is a fountain for you, leaving our air, Time is a sword, brandishing truth in our faces, Time is an army, driving the aliens out! —Mary Siegrist.

Jesus Also Sinned

Visions forever dwell within the souls of men, Forever pound upon Jehovah's land. Ideas forever wake the earth With re-echoing thunders.

When Jesus sinned against his fathers, Brothers crucified him; The bloody wound in his flesh Became a banner for marching men.

Men march forever Beating time To tomorrow's hymn.

Tomorrow men will be one With the earth and with heaven.

Men will lift Red horizons above their heads Replacing them with blue transparencies.

Trumpets Will blast open Forgotten graves.

And they will come forth Who have died on the crosses;

The valleys will forget The snow and the winters;

And the mountains will raise Their trees to the unconquered skies.

—Nicholas Moskowitz.

THE CHATTER BOX

Atlantic Ocean Anthology

Elbert H. Gary

For having hated you these twenty years, Forgive me, Judge. . . .

Death has an end to long emotion.

From now on I will only hate

Your mills. . . .

Alas, but you have delivered your last Prosperity pronouncement.

And you have clipped your last coupon From United States Steel Preferred.

And you have cracked your last whip Over the sweaty backs of hunkies. . . .

It would be sacrilege to the Baptist circles Of Wheaton, Ill. and Gary, Ind., to rumor That Paradise might profit from Your industrial experience.

It would be downright blasphemy to say, "Gary will sell U. S. Steel Common to the angels. . . ."

Yet who knows, if Jehovah Himself might not listen To a deal involving a steel bridge and a standard gauge

Double track railroad from Park Avenue to St. Peter's Gate. . . .

All material to be furnished by the U. S. Steel Corporation.

Of course. . . .

Yes, the great grief I find in your going Is in that you leave your mills behind. . . .

Those grim imperturbable monsters. Who gorge on a diet of iron ore And hunky flesh.

And because you never masked your brutal deeds I have an honest praise for you—

As open as the snarl you snapped At underdogs. . . .

When dirty daggers and hungry hunks Asked for puny rights to manhood, You never flowered their way

With fragrant promises. When blunt coercion failed, You promptly used some of your steel,

And a few pounds of borrowed lead. There always is a virtue to be seen

In bald brutality. The vice is theirs who strangle with a lie.

Oh! Righteous and appropriate Lord of Steel, A grief is also that you leave no heir

Immediate to your rule. They are a puffy and a pampered crew,

The barons and the lesser lords about. For even now I hear their testy din

And quarrel for the throne. You found a way of mixing steel

With what was left of heart and soul Within your frame.

The alchemy of it is buried now With you.

Perhaps you feared that leaving it behind The secret might be learned

By others far too human for its use. By chance the serfs of Steeltown might

Be transmuted into iron beasts. Imperious to bullet and the blade!

Then what would happen to the smoky hells, The bonds, the stocks, the coupons

And the soft-jowled, paunchy pals Who "vessed" you at Directors' Meetings. . . .?

And what would happen to "Law and Order," "Our Social Fabric," and "The Best System

Ever Designed for Man by God." . . .? That was perhaps the dread that made you keep

The chemic formula of what you were. Even into death. . . .

I wonder if your last reposing smile Will be a penance unto peace.

Or will it cast itself into the honest snarl You always twisted at the underdog.

Oh! righteous and appropriate King of Steel, Your death has ended all my hate for you. . . .

But always will I find words to curse The mills you left behind. . . .

A letter from a self-made detective agency boss to one of his field lieutenants:

Dear Frank:

Yours of the 19th to hand and contents duly noted. This Sacco-Vanzetti job isn't opening up as easily

as I thought after the two subway jobs you and Val pulled off. Business is still flat as a pancake. And

if it keeps up that way I'll simply have to lay you fellows off. The Federal boys are hanging on to their jobs by the last hair of their eyebrows. Ever since

the Red scare of the juicy Palmer days has passed out a decent detective agency can't make a living.

No big strikes going on either. How we miss the dear old after the war days. Still, I am not giving up hope.

We can still put this Sacco deal over. New York, I figure, isn't close enough to the moneybags

concerned over those two Wops. Boston is your next bet. I've arranged with D. P. C. about the T. N. T.

Enough has been shipped over to our Boston office to blow all of Commonwealth Avenue into Boston Harbor.

I figure the best time to pull a few blow-ups would be just when the Judges sit over the appeal for a new trial. Try one of the juror's houses

for a change. In some suburb. Pull it off at night, so no one gets little more than bunged up a little.

Ticklish, I know, but we can't afford to bump anyone off. Disinterested people might butt in and follow up too closely, although two of the big bugs in the "know" about our last two jobs. So it's either

do now or bust up our little business. I'd hate to go back trooping on booze boats, when this graft can come in so pretty. If the Boston stuff gets scared

enough I am promised at least fifty grand for the first three months. And all we'll have to do is patrol a little and snoop about the Red club rooms. And

they tell me them radical janes are not such bad lookers, either.

So go to it, old boy, and when you've done it, pretty, I'll always remain, Your Proud Pal and Boss.

P. S.: Remember, don't get the stuff too near the house. Make it a concussion job. No one has

croaked from one like that yet.

Of course, dear readers, the above is a highly imaginary concoction of our own diseased brain. Such things have never occurred, and will never occur in a country as highly civilized as ours. In Russia, and in darker Europe, such plots have been pulled under

cruel Czars and Kings, who were trying to keep their people enslaved. But here in America, the land of the free, there are no kings and czars, and so it follows that there would be no reason for such cruel

deception. Everybody knows, and whoever reads a newspaper has long learned that all bombs are set by long bearded anarchists who want to destroy our

institutions. It has been said that during the Lawrence strike, a certain high official of the Woolen Trust was accused of ordering a bomb to be set off

on his company's property so that the workers would be blamed and the public sympathy for the strikers destroyed. It has also been rumored that when dis-

interested investigators commenced to trail the bomb and suspicion fell upon this official, he killed himself. Well, we haven't ever been convinced that Mr. Wood, the official in question, really committed suicide. No one ever questioned the examining coroner

at the inquest. It might easily have been another of them Reds boring from within in the guise of a public servant. And who knows but that the bullet that killed Mr. Wood did not fit Sacco's revolver. No one

has ever looked at the case from that angle. We tell you that there are many ways of killing a cat. The thing is that you must only make up your mind to

kill it.

S. A. de Witt