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to the Interests of the  
Socialist and Labor Movement

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## TIMELY TOPICS

WHILE the city of New York is so busy with the election of Mayor Baker, it is not possible to treat the city as a whole. The city is a vast and complex organism, and its problems are many and varied. The city is a vast and complex organism, and its problems are many and varied. The city is a vast and complex organism, and its problems are many and varied.

Turn to the matter of housing. August Hecksher's latest plan seems to have been adopted by Mayor Walker and Tammany though they did nothing at all to help work it out. That plan calls for a long lease by the city of land which it acquires in excess condemnation proceedings to housing corporations which in Manhattan are to be used to supply housing at a rate of \$10 per month per room.

In other words, the best that can be said for the Hecksher plan is that it is better than the nothing policy of the rich and powerful under the miserable sop, the State Housing Law, which the Democratic and Republican politicians passed to divert the people from the terrible tragedy of New York slums. Under any decent system of government it would be outrageous that the city should rent land at a possible 4 percent return to private corporations that expect 10 percent. It would be outrageous that this whole plan of housing should not be related to the development of a beautiful and convenient city, such a city as it is entirely within our power to build.

The Stadium concerts by the Philharmonic Orchestra which has just closed are an illustration of what a little intelligence and co-operation can do to bring beauty to the collective life of our great city. A summer night at the Lewisohn Stadium is not merely a rich experience for the lover of music. It is an omen of the better world we may help create.

According to the New York Times, another clever move will be made in the next Congress to abolish the Federal inheritance tax. Nominally this demand will come from states which will claim that they want the inheritance taxes for themselves. Actually it will come from the rich who by one device or another have achieved in the various state legislatures even more power over taxation than they have in the Federal Congress. Five states have no inheritance tax. Florida, in a bid for the patronage of the rich, has a constitutional provision against it. A great many other states have a ludicrously small tax. For the Federal Government therefore to abolish the inheritance tax would simply

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## POLICE HEAD WHO ARRESTED LEWIS IS FIRED

Mayor Then Personally  
Introduces Socialist  
To Peabody Audience

By Helena Turitz  
(Special Correspondent of The New Leader)

BOSTON.—An illustration of what Socialists can do with even the small amount of political power involved in the office of the Mayor of a small Massachusetts city is vividly brought out by an incident that occurred during the agitation of the last few weeks for the release of Sacco and Vanzetti.

On the Friday before the execution of Alfred Baker Lewis, organizer and secretary for the New England District of the Socialist Party, was arrested in Peabody by the Chief of Police while attempting to hold an open-air meeting there in behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti.

The mayor of the city, Robert A. Bakeman, was recuperating from an illness, and was in New Hampshire. Immediately upon hearing of the incident the Mayor, who is an ardent Socialist, left his sick bed, came to Peabody, and fired the Chief of Police. He inserted an advertisement in all the papers to the effect that in Peabody the government authorities believed in free speech and intended to allow even a much-arrested radical to speak there on the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

On August 22 Mayor Bakeman personally escorted Lewis to a big truck provided by the city, where, under a large light especially set up for the occasion, the Mayor himself acted as chairman and introduced Lewis, who was a Socialist, to the people.

The incident of this little incident is obvious. A few more mayors of the type of Mayor Bakeman would in all probability have meant an opportunity to change the sentiment of this state so markedly that Governor Fuller would not have dared to take the action he did. His course then would have been the unpopular rather than the popular course in Massachusetts, and the two workers would have been alive today.

The Socialist Party has the distinction of being the only organization in Massachusetts that was able to hold open-air meetings on Monday, August 22, the eve of the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti.

In Pittsfield the influence of Albert Sprague Coolidge combined with the sturdy courage of Vincent G. Burns, who successfully defied a police order forbidding an open-air meeting in the Italian section of the city, made possible a rousing meeting with more than a thousand people in attendance. Burns is a new recruit to the Socialist Party, but has already made a name for himself in Pittsfield by his courage in standing up for what is in Massachusetts the unpopular cause of the two radical aliens condemned to death because of prejudice.

## Minnesota Farm-Labor Group to Meet Sept. 2

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

ST. PAUL.—The Farmer-Labor Association will meet here in state convention Friday, September 2. The call provides for representation from all subordinate organizations of the associations and also a special request that labor organizations and farmers' economic organizations send one representative to confer on matters of organization work.

The present method of representation through delegates from county organizations has deprived the farmer and labor economic groups from direct connection with the state movement and has resulted in a noticeable decline in the interest of these vital groups. The movement originally was developed on the basis of direct representation from the economic groups and the change was made to meet an objection that remote sections of the state suffered a disadvantage which resulted in giving the delegates from each county, regardless of their number, the right to vote the strength of the county based on the vote cast for the Farmer-Labor candidate for governor at the previous election.

The purpose of the convention is to get the Farmer-Labor forces organized so that a widespread interest may be awakened and preparations made for the campaign of 1928. Plans for making selections for nominations will doubtless be adopted so that the unfortunate strife of two years ago may be avoided.

## Socialist Party Summons Workers to Erase Shame Of Sacco-Vanzetti Murder

DECLARATION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

To our Members, Friends and Sympathizers:

Our hearts beat like muffled drums at a requiem for the dead. The electric current that coursed through the bodies of two Italian workmen, on August 23, not only killed them. It shocked the conscience of mankind all over the world. Never have appeals for compassion and mercy represented so many people all over the world; never has there been such a shocking disregard of the pleas of mankind. By this brutal and callous indifference on the part of high officials in Massachusetts the United States is today regarded as the pariah nation of the world.

Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were two obscure Italian workmen who now belong to the ages. With the stoic courage that has characterized the martyrs of every age and every struggle for human freedom, these two workmen have taught us how to live and how to die. Tried in a court before a biased judge and in an atmosphere charged with malice and abysmal upper class hysteria, these workmen were doomed to death for a crime which we have every reason to believe they did not commit. Not since the sad medieval period of Europe has there been such a terrible example of innocent men being sacrificed to the fears of a ruling class.

This is not the time to recall the overwhelming testimony proving Sacco and Vanzetti to be elsewhere at the hour when the crime at South Braintree was committed. It is not necessary to review the vulgar and shocking statements of the trial judge against the accused men, the revolting spectacle of that judge passing upon appeals that involved his own rulings and prejudices, his perversion and misrepresentation of the evidence in his instructions to the jury, the co-operation of the prosecutor in these shameful proceedings and the approval of this gruesome farce by the governor and the three members of his commission to review the trial proceedings. All this is known to those who have informed themselves of this hideous judicial murder.

What is important to us is what this "trial" means to the American people in general and the working class in particular. Over the shoulders of these two martyrs a blow is struck at those who strive for a nobler and more equitable social order. We do not share the social philosophy of Sacco and Vanzetti, but we would be apostates to the ideals of freedom and prepare the road to death for others if we did not solemnly register our protest against the hideous mockery of "justice" that sent those two idealists to their death. The same false yawns for idealists of other schools and movements that question the supremacy of the corporate capital which rules this republic as the feudal barons ruled in the middle ages.

Now that a humble cobbler and a fish necker are in the affections of many millions of people in all countries, it is for us to aid in pursuing the investigation that will forever pillory those who contributed to this ghastly "trial." It is for us to see that this infamy shall never again blacken the record of trial courts in this country.

Just as important is the need of the working class answering this terrible wrong through organization of its forces politically and in the trade unions to wrest

power from those who use it against us. The martyrdom of Sacco and Vanzetti would be a hopeless sacrifice if the working people and all others who vision a better world did not rededicate their lives to social, economic and political emancipation. The best tribute we can pay to these martyred dead is to take our place in the ranks of the working class movement.

In this hour of grief, and feeling an overwhelming sense of humiliation at our weakness, let us resolve to be strong. If you are not a member of a trade union and are eligible, join one. Find your place. Do your work. Enlighten, inspire your brothers with the crusading spirit, with a determination that the reactionary classes that seek mastery over all institutions shall give way to the toilers of America. Reaction controls the governing powers more completely here than in any other country. Properly organized, informed and inspired, we can break the grip of this menacing mastery and again breathe freely in the United States.

To the Socialist and sympathizer who have been shocked by this judicial crime we also appeal. Your place is in the ranks of the Socialist Party. Never was a Socialist movement more needed in this country than now. Slacking in Socialist duty is now unthinkable. The United States grows dark with menace to all that we hold dear for a growing and powerful movement of the working class. It is a time for noble service, inspiring loyalty, joyous work for liberation, and averting the damnation of a cynical oligarchy of capitalists power. What is your answer?

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,

SOCIALIST PARTY.  
Victor L. Berger, Wisconsin; Morris Hillquit, New York; William Van Essen, Pennsylvania; William Snow, Illinois; Joseph Sharts, Ohio; James D. Graham, Montana; James Oneal, New York.  
William H. Henry, National Executive Secretary.

## Overproduction and Bankruptcies Signs Of Business Decline

Curtailment of Operations  
Following in  
Wake of General De-  
pression, Survey  
Shows

By Louis Stanley

THAT we are headed towards overproduction and the inevitable consequence, curtailment of operations, is indicated by a study of the statistics now available for the first half of 1927. The expansion of business is beginning to produce signs of strain in our national industrial system, not very serious as yet, to be sure, but ominous, nevertheless.

Our clues fall under several headings: Production, stocks on hand, unfilled orders, sales, prices, labor conditions, new incorporations, the money market and lastly business failures. Ever since the slight depression of 1924 the production of manufactured goods has been steadily advancing. The index number of the Department of Commerce for sixty-four manufactured commodities shows, for example, that on the basis of the monthly average of 1918 as 100, the production of these goods was 113 in 1924, 126 in 1925 and 129 in 1926. This rise has continued through this year. Thus, for example, the first six months of 1927 compare as follows with the corresponding period of last year:

Manufactured Goods (Base year, 1918 = 100)	
	1927
January .....	125
February .....	129
March .....	132
April .....	132
May .....	130
June .....	131
Average .....	130

Electric power production, which has come to be considered a fair index of business activity, has also increased steadily.

It is significant to note that building which has been a mainstay of the present prosperity has, however, al-

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## POLICE HARASS VANZETTI'S MOURNERS

Services Are Held in  
Boston Despite Inter-  
ference of Authorities

By Blanche Watson

BOSTON.—"If you believe that human progress is a thing that cannot be stopped . . . it is not your verdict that will put a dam on this mighty onrush that goes forward—that will stop Socialism from being the next dominator of the earth . . ."

So spoke Arturo Giovannitti at the Salem Court House in 1912 and so seemed to speak the stolidly tramping feet of a mighty onrush that, Sunday afternoon, Aug. 28, made its way along Tremont Street, Boston, just beyond the Scenic Temple for a distance of about three miles.

Not all the marchers wore the brilliant red arm bands lettered "Justice Crucified, Aug. 23, 1927"; but the spirit of the red insignia was unmistakable throughout the throng.

It was not a military formation, but it was an orderly crowd that completely filled the street from curb to curb. . . . There were vague rumors that twice had the parade been stopped in the earlier part of the march. One heard the words "trampled on"—"struck down"—yes, the woman had a baby in her arms; but, here they were, approaching Forest Hills, the goal of the tedious jaunt over rough, uneven pavements.

"Where are the two hearsees?" . . . I cannot see the mounted policemen. . . . But there is Comrade Alfred Baker Lewis right in the front line. See his gray hat! . . . What are those unformed men, policemen? . . . No, just a bunch of conductors.

Someone called from our automobile, "Hello, fellow workers." There was no answering friendly word, but suddenly a commotion directly ahead, a surging forward and to one side, a sudden rush to the sidewalk, which left a considerable open space before the car—then, what one can describe but fragmentarily, so quickly did it happen. A confused picture of amazed faces,

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## FRENCH LABOR REFUSES TO AID LEGION RALLY

PARIS.—The Executive Committee of the French Confederation of Labor has announced that the Confederation will not participate in any celebrations with the American Legion convention which begins September 19.

"The Confederation, appreciating the protests made by the American people, does not hold it responsible for the act, but cannot associate itself with celebrations which might seem contrary to universal mourning," says the statement.

"By not appearing in processions and celebrations the French working class will show that it hates no people, but that it does not forget. Its silence will show the Americans that while it is unable to prevent the commission of atrocious injustices, it still feels its sacred duty toward the memory of the two martyrs, Sacco and Vanzetti."

## PULLMAN LORDS REFUSE TO ARBITRATE

Porters Union Will In-  
voke Aid of an  
Emergency Board

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

CHICAGO.—A relationship of master and slave. This is the attitude of the Pullman Company to the porters in its service as disclosed in an official statement of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters regarding recent negotiations by the union and the corporation before the United States Mediation Board. The document also carries the correspondence between Edwin P. Morrow of the Board and L. B. Hungerford of the corporation and other documents.

From July 11 to August 1 the Board through Mr. Morrow endeavored to mediate the conflict between the union porters and the Pullman Company, but the latter has insisted on its "company union" as the organization representing the porters, claiming that 85 percent of the porters had voted for the company fraud in November, 1924. The Brotherhood produced no less than a thousand affidavits of porters to prove that the vote was cast through intimidation and coercion.

The company then insisted that it had a contract with the "company union," but this is obviously a contract with itself and a fraud on its face. The Brotherhood, through A. Philip Randolph, pointed out that the "company union" has no standing under the new Railway Labor Act, which provides for the "self-organization of employees and the selection and designation of representatives without coercion."

The Brotherhood came out of the conference with enhanced prestige and a moral advantage that promise victory for the union. All other railroad corporations have complied with the law and submitted controversies to arbitration when mediation failed. Moreover, the Pullman Company is even now arbitrating issues with the Pullman conductors and in so doing the corporation concedes the issue of arbitration to one union and not to the other.

The demands of the Brotherhood are for a minimum wage of \$150, as against the present wage of \$72 a month and the degrading tipping system; 240 hour work-month instead of nearly 400 hours of work monthly on the 11,000 mileage basis; and recognition as a bona fide union to negotiate agreements on wages and working conditions.

Pullman porters all over the country have shown no resentment to this master and slave relationship which the Pullman Company wants to maintain. They want to be self-respecting citizens, industrious, courteous, honest and efficient employees, but the Pullman Company wants them to remain beggars and serfs. The Pullman porters are determined that this shall not be and they feel that the American people are with them in their fight.

The Brotherhood will now invoke the third method under the Railway Act which will place the issues in dispute in the hands of an Emergency Board appointed by the President. Whatever its decision may be it will go to a Federal Court and the union porters have every reason to believe that the emergency board cannot be adverse to them without destroying every precedent that has piled up under the Railway Act.

## PANKEN REFUSES REPUBLICAN NOMINATION

Trade Union Confer-  
ence to Back Social-  
ist Judge to Meet  
September 14

POSSIBILITY of a Republican endorsement for Municipal Court Justice Jacob Panken, Socialist, in New York City, was shattered when Justice Panken indicated in an interview with The New Leader, that he would not accept the Republican nomination.

"I am a Socialist and can only be a candidate of the party which represents the workers," Justice Panken said. "I am serving the workmen and will live and die with them."

The following is the answer of Judge Jacob Panken to Nathan D. Perlman, Republican leader:

"Hon. Nathan D. Perlman, 'Your offer to me to become the Republican Party's candidate for re-election as justice of the Municipal Court in place of Mr. Greenwald who declined the designation; I most respectfully decline.'

"I am the candidate of the Socialist Party.

"My own convictions, and the policy of the Socialist Party do no permit my acceptance of the nomination from any other political party.

"While I appreciate the fact that your offer is a great compliment to me and an endorsement of my services on the bench by you personally and the Republican organization of the district, I must nevertheless decline.

"If my services to the people merits re-election, and the voters of the Second Municipal Court District want me to be re-elected, I want to be re-elected as a Socialist.

"With best wishes to you personally, and with my personal appreciation of your offer, I am

"Truly yours,

(Signed) "JACOB PANKEN."

The Socialist leaders expect to re-elect Justice Panken, running on the Socialist ticket alone, and are making preparations for a very active campaign. Headquarters have been opened at 107 Second Avenue, with Julius Gerber and A. N. Weinberg as campaign managers. A meeting of the Campaign Committee will be held tomorrow night at People's House, 7 East Fifteenth Street.

The Socialists also expect to elect a number of candidates for Assemblymen and Aldermen, who will run in Justice Panken's Municipal Court district, which is on the lower east side. The Assembly candidates included in this group are Morris Goldofsky in the First Assembly District, Dominick Cantino in the Second, Louis Reiff in the Fourth, Isidore Korn in the Sixth and Samuel Beardsley in the Eighth. Aldermanic candidates, who are believed by the Socialist leaders to have a chance of election are Henry Frucher in the First Aldermanic District, John Vaccaro in the Second, Samuel P. Ulanoff in the Fourth, August Claessens in the Sixth, and Norman Thomas in the Eighth.

A trade union conference in support of Judge Panken has been called for Beethoven Hall Wednesday, September 14. The call has been signed by 25 trade union leaders.

## Congratulate Governor For Withholding Troops In Iowa Coal Strike

Governor John Hammill's third refusal to send Iowa state troops into the mine fields of Appanoose County to help the coal operators "preserve order" was praised by the American Civil Liberties Union, a national organization with headquarters in New York City, in a message sent the governor today.

Governor Hammill denied the operators' request for troops on the ground that the strike situation in Appanoose County did not warrant such a course. He told both the operators and miners that they should settle their difficulties by "talking to each other instead of talking about each other."

The message of the Civil Liberties Union, which was signed by Harry F. Ward, national chairman of the organization, follows:

"The wisdom and justice of your policy in refusing the request of the coal operators for state troops in the mine fields of Appanoose County deserves the commendation of all citizens who believe in the principles of civil liberty."



## MASS. FORFEITS CLAIMS TO RESPECT

**Boston Defense Committee Says It Will Fight on to Vindicate the Dead**

BOSTON.—A proclamation of the Sacco-Vanzetti defense committee reads:

"Denying the appeal of reason and feeling throughout the world, the authorities of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, by deliberately putting to death Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, have forfeited all claim to the respect of humanity. Our two friends died as they lived—with high courage in their search for the meaning of life. Sacrificed to save the face of institutions manned by inferior characters, Sacco and Vanzetti looked the servants of those institutions unwaveringly in the eye and fulfilled the promise of their death triumph.

"Massachusetts and America will never be able to answer this crime committed through the agency of Governor Fuller, President Lowell of Harvard, President Stratton of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Judge Grant, Judge Thayer, Vahey, Katmann and the others. The appalling series of misrepresentations, perversions and omissions which served as their excuse for killing our two friends will be gradually revealed fully—revealed as the products of minds poisoned by prejudice.

Won't Relinquish Duty  
"This committee, laboring from the days of Sacco's and Vanzetti's arrest, more than seven years ago, to bring the light of reason to bear upon this case, will not relinquish the duty imposed upon us by our two friends and their ordeal. Their innocence, known to us and believed in by the fair-minded world, coupled with the shame of Massachusetts, must be symbols of a continuing fight that justice may not be prostituted by prejudice and self-interest into another such frame-up.

"The bodies of our two friends are now in the hands of the undertaker. They will lie in state for several days at a place to be announced later where their friends and friends of justice may come and view them. The funeral arrangements for Sacco and Vanzetti will be given in detail at another time.

In acknowledgment of sympathetic wires from organizations which have been conducting Sacco-Vanzetti demonstrations in London, Dublin, Johannesburg, South Africa, and Stockholm, the Boston Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee sent the following cable:

"Sacco and Vanzetti slain by Massachusetts living in us and millions throughout the world hand on to you the flag they so

## Military Camps Pervert Law Under Which They Operate; Farm Training Was Intended

**Land Grant Act Was Passed on Plea of Congressman Morrill for More Agricultural Education—Schools of Militarism Were Denounced by Him**

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
WASHINGTON.—The Women's International League is interested in developing a plan for civilian training in government summer camps. It is the League's conviction that if one department of government, the Department of War, can secure appropriations for military camps, that another branch of the government such as the Agricultural Department should also receive appropriations to provide for camps featuring some constructive training.

Military training in colleges and camps provided for in the National Defense Act is based on the old Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862. It is interesting that the only argument in Congress, made by Mr. Morrill, author of the Morrill Land Grant Act, on the merits of the bill, contained certain sentences which justify belief that the present military instruction has prostituted the underlying principle of the Morrill Bill. A few passages from Mr. Morrill's speech in Congress in 1862 are interesting:

"Young Americans should have a chance to study agriculture as a profession and become attached to it as a learned, liberal and intellectual pursuit.

"Our military 'crown jewels' are manufactured at West Point at government expense, and the exercise of holding the plow and swinging the scythe are every bit as noble, artistic and graceful as postures of the gymnasium drill.

"We have schools to teach the art of man-slaying and to make monsters of deep-throated engines of war, and shall we not have schools to teach men the way to feed, clothe, and enlighten the great brotherhood of man?"

The League believes the time has come when the government should offer civilian camps for farming, horticulture, forestry, first aid and emergency assistance, coast and life guard camps, etc.

Such a plan will meet with opposition from the militarists while "cabinet etiquette" would prevent the Secretary of Agriculture from initiating a move which would create rival camps to another department of the government. If such a campaign is to be successful, it is believed that pressure must be brought from the country itself.

The League is considering the advisability of organizing a delegation to approach the Secretary of Agriculture on this matter.

## 28,440 RECRUITS FOR VIENNA

**Socialist Party Makes Huge Gains in Membership**

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

VIENNA.—The report presented by the Secretariat of the Vienna Socialist Democratic organization to its annual conference provides an impressive survey of the development of the Social-Democracy in Vienna from July 1, 1926, to the end of 1926. The membership increased during this period by 28,440 (19,359 men and 9,081 women).

On September 1, 1926, the Vienna organization had a membership of 330,134 (237,171 men and 103,013 women). Thus the membership increased by 9.43 percent (men 9.32 percent and women 9.67 percent). It will be remembered that the Austrian Social Democrats carried out a grand recruiting campaign after the elections of 1927. It is noteworthy that the greatest increase in membership was

valiantly carried fighting against the legions of darkness. Heroes calm and fearless they die. They were few but brave. They send you their affection and gratitude. "SACCO-VANZETTI DEFENSE COMMITTEE."

## COMMUNISTS SUED FOR LIBEL

**Sigman Brings Criminal Action Against Two Publications**

A criminal libel action has been instituted by Morris Sigman, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, against two Communist publications printed in Yiddish, "The Freiheit" and "The Einigkeit." Eschek Epstein, one of the editors of "Freiheit," was hauled before Magistrate Gottlieb in the First Magistrate's Court. Counsel for President Sigman obtained an adjournment until September 8 in order to be able to serve six other named in the complaint as publishers and editors of the two publications.

Mr. Sigman, who has been the object of attack by the Communist publications because of his opposition to Communist activity in the local unions of which the International is the parent organization, declared that he has refrained thus far from proceeding against the publications until recently when they began to attack Mrs. Sigman, charging that she maintains a "house of ill fame" at Storm Lake, Iowa, where the Sigmans live. Other attacks against both Mr. and Mrs. Sigman, the president declared, included charges that they "operated a bootlegging establishment which had been padlocked by the authorities"; that they operated a resort at Storm Lake and possessed property there which could be maintained only through "questionable uses of the union treasury."

Explaining his step against the two publications, one of which, "Einigkeit," was recently established as a weekly by a group of Communists expelled from union office in the needle trades, Mr. Sigman said:

"For four years, as president of the International Union, having a membership of 100,000 men and women in the United States and Canada, I have been a target for persistent abuse, attack and character assassination at the hands of the Communists both inside and outside our union. Every vile epithet, every loose and wanton characterization, every manufactured libel that could occur to a disordered mind was employed to discredit the president of a great workers' organization, as a part of a campaign directed from Moscow for Communist propaganda purposes and in the hope of strengthening Communist influence within the union. This was done, despite an honorable record of 20 years' service to the cause of labor.

"Despite great provocation to act against these indecent assaults on many occasions during these four years I refrained from doing so. Intolerable often as were the libels against me, I proceeded on the theory that all democratic organizations must suffer criticism and those at the helm with them, though the form of blackguardism the criticism took would infuriate any man with red blood in his veins.

"Recently, however, the form and character of these unfounded attacks changed and took so exclusively a personal character, absolutely removed from my position as international president, that I felt I must act. Perceiving their inability up to then to alienate the masses of our union and the trades unions at large from me, as well as the boomerang effect their tactics had on sympathizers of labor who had only revulsion for their methods, they suddenly tried a new tack.

"In their organs, 'The Freiheit' and 'The Einigkeit,' they began a new and frenzied campaign of filth and lies that has had no equal in yellow journalism. First, they charged Mrs. Sigman with operating a house of ill-fame on our property in Storm Lake, Iowa. Second, they charged that I operated a bootlegging establishment and road house on the premises that was padlocked by the authorities. Third, they charged that I operated a 'Coney Island' on the premises at huge operating costs, which could be met only by questionable uses I must have made of the union treasury, since I had no other

## TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

mean that a great many estates would go scot free. Yet the inheritance tax is far and away the most equitable tax that can be levied. It cannot be passed by the rich to the poor or by the owners to the workers. It corresponds with justice. There is reason under our present system why men should be allowed to provide for widows and orphans during a certain period of dependency. In justice there is little more reason why the abled-bodied heirs of a rich man should expect as a matter of right to inherit his fortune than that in the future descendants of Bobby Jones should expect to inherit the margin by which he usually wins his golf games to apply to the reduction of their own scores. We shall need to watch the tax policy in the next Congress.

Lord Robert Cecil has always seemed to be a perfect representative of a type of liberal who is rather contemptible and decidedly dangerous. I thought the Wilson Peace Prize Committee gave us its own measure when it awarded to him a prize for his services against war. Those services heretofore have consisted in pious speeches when nothing much was at stake. The honorable gentleman was Minister of the Blockade in Great Britain and as such shares in the guilt of a policy the continuance of which after the Armistice meant death to thousands of German children. He appeared at Geneva some years ago as an apologist for his country's opium policy. Still more recently he vigorously pressed the British point of view at the Conference on Disarmament which resulted disastrously to Japan, England and America. For this he has made some amends by resigning from the Cabinet. Why he was so slow in taking this step, it is hard to see. His action does show, however, that outside the Labor Party there are Englishmen who might co-operate with like-minded Americans to fight a race in armaments.

The news that Japan is withdrawing its troops in Shantung in China is decidedly good. It shows the power of the Chinese boycott. General Chiang's sudden withdrawal from power at Nanking a few weeks ago was also most encouraging. It seems temporarily to have weakened the Nationalist armies against the Northern generals. But that is a small price to pay for the better opportunity the Chinese Nationalists now have to reunite their divided ranks and to assert the supremacy of civilian over military control. On the whole the Chinese outlook is brighter than it was. By sending so good a man as Admiral Bristol proved himself to be in Turkey to have command over our Asiatic fleet our own American administration is making a small contribution to the improved outlook. Meanwhile don't forget that even the Northern militarists have repeated their demand for freedom from the old treaties.

The Sacco-Vanzetti case illumined in its lurid light the weakness of civil liberties in America. This was abundantly proved by the conduct of the police in many cities. But to read that Sacco and Vanzetti may be canonized in Russia is strong medicine even for those of us who are most aware of our own country's crime. For one reason or another anarchists in Russia have been imprisoned, exiled and executed after trials that fell far short of what is required by justice. The Soviet government not only named no airplanes after them but certainly it did not permit the public display of their ashes nor great demonstrations in their honor. Communists are entitled to credit for whatever sincere efforts they made for Sacco and Vanzetti and the thanks for whatever funds they raised. At the least they seem to have been guilty of gross exaggeration on the last point. But Communists do not make many converts among half-way intelligent people when they presume to speak in behalf of civil liberties! Nevertheless, however great may be the inconsistency of the Communists, Socialists and trade unionists have little right to criticize them and little hope to prevail against them unless they themselves give proof of a more consistent and effective struggle for liberty and justice.

We New York Socialists may well be proud of our Judge's declination of the Republican nomination. Whatever the political motives, it was a real tribute even if it could not possibly be accepted. It ought to put new life in our campaign for him and the party.

source of income. Fourth, they fabricated figures magnifying my real estate possessions to an extravagant degree, again inferring that my legitimate means of income could not have brought me such a 'fortune.'

"I submit that no man, worthy of the name, could stand for such a base and murderous attack upon a defenseless woman who single-handed cares for our property while union affairs keep me in New York. Of a similar stamp are the other contemptible accusations and since they involve questions of my financial integrity, I am determined to bring the accusers before the courts of law to see whether they can substantiate their charges.

"I am determined, once for all, to give these gentry a chance to swallow what they have bitten off."

## Cameramen Pump Pep Into Crowds 'Greeting' President

**Montana "Welcomers" as Silent as Coolidge Himself—Farm Outlook Poor**

Livingston, Mont.—You will be interested to know of the reception President Coolidge had in Montana en route to the Yellowstone National Park. He was here Monday and his train remained at the depot about half an hour.

Presidents are handled differently here than in the East. Possibly fifteen hundred people were at the depot to greet him. The sheriff and three deputies, the chief of police and four policemen handled the crowd easily and they had nothing to do.

The people gathered all around the rear of the train, the President and family standing on the platform. It was a very cool reception he received. There was no waving of flags or cheering. The crowd was silent, and so was Cal.

Moving picture men were on hand with their machines, but were dissatisfied with the conduct of the crowd. They acted more like they were at a funeral than at a "welcoming" to the President. One moving picture man called for three good rousing cheers and counted one, two, three. A very weak response was received—less than fifty cheered and waved their hats, and it was only one cheer, not three.

Then as the train prepared to pull out of the station, two moving picture machines were placed on the rear platform of the train in front of President Coolidge. The machine operators after adjusting their machines instructed the crowd to wave their hats, arms or handkerchiefs vigorously and cheer as the train moved away. The crowd did not respond. The operators kept calling to the crowd to wave their hats, "put pep into it, give us some action," but the crowd remained mute.

After the train left and the crowd was dispersing the remarks heard were very interesting. "Not much to him," "It is a wonder he did not say something, just stood like a dummy," "He has to do as he is told," were the general remarks.

The newspaper reports are to the effect that over three thousand people were at the depot to meet the President. There were less than half of that number present.

Have heard from railroad men that the reception Cal received at Billings was of the same nature, that he received here. Very chilly indeed.

The Crown Prince and Princess of Sweden stopped here en route to the Yellowstone National Park. What a reception they were given! A big, jolly crowd greeted them; a parade of 200 cowboys and cowgirls was organized for the benefit of the royal couple; a reviewing stand had been erected; the royal couple were escorted to the stand and the cowboys marched past, then wheeled and passed again at the gal-

lop. Honorary citizenships of Montana were conferred on them, and when they left here for the Park it was a noisy send-off they received, and as the crowd dispersed the remarks heard were: "The big Swede is not a bad fellow," "They are both good scouts," "Just as common as us folks," "As democratic as hell."

Before closing let me assure you that all the stories in the press about great crops in the northwest are bunk. It is true that it has been a great growing season for hay, and July and June were both fine months for wheat. Things look very nice to the eye—green and growing. Winter wheat ripened fine and cut before hail came, but the acreage is very small, both of winter and spring wheat. The farmers, bankers and merchants are now worrying about the spring wheat. It is not ripening. It will take three weeks of hot weather to ripen it and it is cold at night, almost to freezing. There is little hope for millions of bushels of wheat ripening. Then in the past ten days in both Montana and North Dakota hail has ruined crops in many sections. The hail is a month late this year in making its appearance. Even if spring wheat does ripen, the acreage is small.

The Montana lamb crop this year is one and a quarter million below last year and last year was 600,000 below the previous year and that some 400,000 before the year before. All western states show a decrease like Montana. The principal cause of this shrinkage is due to banks forcing the wool growers to liquidate and therefore the wool grower had to dispose of large numbers of breeding ewes.

The birth rate of pigs shows a big drop all over the northwest this year; in fact the production of pork is gradually decreasing.

## FRED PAULITSCH DIES; SOCIALIST PARTY AND UNION PAY RESPECTS

Funeral services for the late Fred Paulitsch, prominent member of the Socialist Party, Bronx County, were held Thursday evening, September 1, at 8 p. m., at the Dockrell Funeral Parlor, 310 Willis avenue. It was expected that Leon R. Land would officiate at the services at which relatives, friends and comrades of Fred Paulitsch gathered. Immediately following these services the Masonic Order, of which Comrade Paulitsch was a member, conducted its services. Paulitsch was buried at Woodlawn Cemetery.

The last respects were paid to him by members of the Socialist Party and the Sheet Metals Union at 10 a. m. Friday morning at the above mentioned funeral parlor.

The Socialists of the Bronx will gather at a memorial meeting on Tuesday evening, September 6, at the headquarters, 1167 Boston Road, at 8:30.

## OFFICIAL NOTICE

### New Leader Publishing Assoc'n

### MEMBERSHIP MEETING

FRIDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 16th

IN THE

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## African Negro Labor Leader Coming Here As Guest of Porters

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a national union of over 7,000 Pullman porters and maids, headed by A. Philip Randolph, is bringing to the United States as its guest Mr. Clements Kadalie, national secretary of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa and editor of the Workers' Herald, Johannesburg, South Africa. Mr. Kadalie will arrive the latter part of August. During the months of September, October and November he will tour the United States under the auspices of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. He will lecture on the present status of the natives in South Africa and adjacent colonies.

Clements Kadalie, a native of British Nyasaland, heads an organization of almost 100,000 Negro, colored and Indian workers in South Africa, and has become internationally known because of his courageous fight for better economic and social conditions for the African natives. The union which he heads was founded by him in 1919, and has since grown very rapidly until it has become an important factor in South Africa. Recently it became affiliated with the Amsterdam Trade Union International, and through an understanding with white labor in South Africa was able to have the pernicious segregation bills aimed at the South African blacks indefinitely shelved by Parliament. For the past three or four months he has been in England and in Europe lecturing in the interest of black labor in Africa.

LABOR DAY

1927

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## SACCO'S DEATH IS KEPT FROM MOTHER JONES

## Flight of Turati From Fascist Italy Related in Letter

### Famous Battler for Labor Seriously Ill in Washington Hospital

(By International Labor News Service)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—"Mother" Jones, veteran of half a century of industrial conflicts and idol of the coal miners, whose cause she championed again and again, is seriously ill in Garfield Hospital here. According to "Mother" Jones's autobiography, she is 98 years old.

Recently "Mother" Jones made a trip from Washington to Pasadena, Cal. There she became ill and wanted to return to the home of her friend, Mrs. T. V. Powderly, widow of the famous Knights of Labor leader. She was at the home of Mrs. Powderly several weeks earlier this year.

Physicians urged that a nurse should accompany her, but she insisted on traveling alone. When she reached Washington her condition was serious and she was sent to the hospital. Writing in the Washington Daily News the day after Sacco and Vanzetti were executed, Martha Strayer gave a vivid pen-picture of the aged strike leader as she lay in the hospital. The article follows:

"They'll never dare kill them!" says an old, white-haired, partly deaf and almost sightless woman, lying helpless in a bed at Garfield Hospital.

She raises a withered right hand. Her voice booms out so it can be heard halfway down the hospital corridor.

It is "Mother" Jones, famous woman labor leader, now 98 years old. Sacco and Vanzetti died last night at midnight, but "Mother" Jones has not been told of the executions and won't be. Newspapers are kept from her falling eyes. People calling are warned that she has been told the two men were given an indefinite reprieve.

"They'll never dare!" says the snow-haired leader of a hundred strikes. "If they did it would stir up the whole world."

Lying there, her big voice that has kept up the courage of thousands of striking laborers, declares that the Sacco-Vanzetti affair was a frame-up. "Don't I know?" she says. "Didn't I get fifty-nine men out of prison without paying a single lawyer or witness fee?"

"There was a young man once, in one of the strikes . . . they sent him to prison for life. His wife was left to work like a slave for their four children."

"I got hold of a letter, testifying that a witness had been paid to swear he committed the crime . . . I came to Washington with the letter . . . he was paroled."

Her old voice dies away. She is 98, and her mind slips a little now and then, and her voice wavers.

But she comes back. "It's the judges," she booms. "Our judges are narrow-minded. They're too narrow-minded."

Thus "Mother" Jones, who was born in Ireland in 1830, came to Canada, taught school, married, lost her husband and four children in one week from yellow fever, for sixty years fought the fight of sweated children, striking miners, striking mill men, striking factory workers.

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### Veteran Socialist Leader Placed on "Trial" in Mussolini Court

Paris, August, 1927.

EDITOR, The New Leader:

On August 19th the trial will take place at the Court of Savona for my escape from Italy, which was effected on December 11th last.

My escape, which was followed shortly after by that of Signori Cianca, Giannini, Bocconi, Labriola, and other well-known men, exasperated the Fascist Government. It was in contravention of the harsh and absurd law which threatens with imprisonment up to six years (in the original text, up to 24 years!) and a fine without limit, all persons leaving the country without passports, or rather, all non-Fascists, since, as is well-known, those who are not Fascists can not now obtain passports; in addition, there is the death penalty, which authorizes the shooting at sight of any person attempting to cross the frontier clandestinely. If a man like myself, 70 years old, and ill, was forced to escape from Italy in defiance of such a law, it proves how impossible life is now made to all in Italy who do not submit to the dictatorship perinde ac cadaver.

All those who frequented my house in Milan, my most intimate friends, my doctors, were immediately arrested. Most of them had later to be released. But several were imprisoned or interned on the islands.

The accused now awaiting trial are, including myself, eleven: Professor Ferruccio Parri, formerly on the staff of the "Corriere della Sera," and Professor Carlo Rosselli, who both accompanied me; Signor Ettore Albin, charged with having sheltered me in his house, and six other persons.

**A Defense by Mail**  
I have sent a memorandum drawn up by myself to the President of the Court, not in my own defense, but simply stating the truth in respect of the persons unjustly accused. Although Italian legal procedure makes it obligatory for the Court to take into consideration documents of this kind, I doubt whether the President will not be forced to suppress my memorandum. Italian judges can be dismissed if they "put themselves in opposition to the policy of the Government."

I must therefore beg the free newspapers of free countries to make known the contents of my memorandum. In doing this I am not under the illusion that I can help the accused. I only desire that the unjust sentence which my friends can not in any case escape, may be appreciated by free and honest men at its true worth.

Last October I was in an extremely bad state of health. On the advice of my doctors, I requested the Prefect of Milan to provide me with a passport for abroad, since it was evident that whatever health resort I might visit in the country I should be exposed to trouble from the Fascists, whereas a period of absolute quiet was necessary to me. I presented my doctor's certificate and a radiographic report stating that I was suffering from serious cardiac and circulatory trouble, with a tendency to angina pectoris.

The Prefect agreed to forward this request to Rome, promising me an early answer. The only answer which I obtained was that the following day a numerous guard of police was posted at the entrance of my house, where it remained night and day, constituting for me actual imprisonment. The police were under orders to keep me always in sight, even accompanying me in my carriage if I left the house. This meant complete isolation for me, since none of my friends dared visit me, nor could I go to see them, on account of the alarm occasioned by

the enquiries of the police agents in the houses I frequented.

**Vain Protests Made**  
I protested in vain to the Prefect against this treatment. I asked that if any charge existed against me I might be sent to prison. Life, as far as my quiet and my dignity was concerned, became quite insupportable. In addition, I was under continual threat of assault and invasion of my house. On the occasion of the last attempt on the "Duce's" life at Bologna, the commissioner of police forced me, in spite of my protests, to leave my house by night, accompanied by police, to take refuge elsewhere as "he was unable to guarantee my immunity from aggression and invasion by the Fascists."

To find a little quiet, I decided to leave my home, and to go incognito to stay with friends outside Milan. One evening in November I left my house by way of a back staircase and a courtyard leading to a neighboring house, from where I was able to depart unobserved in the semi-darkness, while my guards remained talking together.

I was received in his small house in the province of Varese by my old friend Signor Ettore Albin. I remained there until December 2, when, realizing that I was being searched for assiduously, and not wishing to be the cause of persecution for my hosts, I left this refuge. The next day the Prefect of Milan himself, accompanied by an Inspector of Police, sent expressly from Rome, descended on the Albini's house.

It was only then that, finding myself followed and threatened wherever I sought shelter, that I began to feel the absolute necessity of considering flight abroad. I would not have wished to leave the country, but I was literally hunted from Italy by persecution as unworthy as it was illegal. My real accomplices are the Fascists, who forced me to it against my will. It was only when, perceiving that my persecution became every day more persistent and insolent, and that, wherever I took refuge, I only brought trouble on my hosts, that I resolved—as my last possible defense—to escape by sea.

**The Escape**  
My departure took place on the night of December 11, near Savona. With a very rough sea and under a starless sky, we navigated our little motor boat for a long time, quite uncertain of the route. Finally, on the morning of the 12th, we saw ahead of us Corsica, though the wind and waves had carried us to the opposite coast from that which we had intended to strike. We disembarked at Calvi. The following day, with Signor Albin,

who had accompanied me to escape internment, I took the boat for Nice and from thence we left at once for Paris.

Parri, Rosselli, and some others accompanied me from Savona to Calvi. I had begged them not to come. They insisted on doing so, not because their presence was necessary, but simply as an act of devoted friendship. When we landed in Corsica we were received in a most friendly manner by the authorities, but naturally we had to declare our identities, for which reason I again begged Rosselli and Parri not to return at once to Italy. They wished to do so at all costs.

My statement that I had no need of accomplices may seem in contradiction to the declaration of Parri and Rosselli, who claim to have organized my flight. Each nobly takes upon himself the greater responsibility, in order to shield his comrades. The truth is that the decision was made by myself alone, at the last moment, in the humiliation and exasperation of finding myself, without any legitimate cause, spied upon and watched like a criminal. This abuse of power, and the refusal to issue me a passport was contrary to the custom of any civilized country, and to the law of Italy itself. My act was one of legitimate reaction to illegal treatment.

It is intolerable that to every free spirit his native land should become a prison, in which it is both a crime to remain with dignity and to leave with liberty.

I fervently hope that Italy may soon emerge from the present political situation. Its continuance for long will lead her to a civil war of hate and reprisals, a war which already potentially exists. It can not and must not last, or it will mean in the end the economic and moral ruin of Italy.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,  
Filippo Turati.

### WEST VIRGINIA LABOR VOTES ORGANIZING DRIVE

Parkersburg, W. Va.—The West Virginia State Federation of Labor closed its twentieth annual convention with an appeal for the seven thousand voluntary organizers who will join in making a state-wide campaign to unite labor's forces and organize the unorganized, to rally their forces and get into the drive at once.

Plans and policies were outlined for a most aggressive organizing and educational campaign under the personal direction of President Easton, who will be ably assisted by Secretary-Treasurer Jarrett and the five vice-presidents, and with 7,000 voluntary organizers covering the State, success of the plan is assured.

President John B. Easton, Williams-town flint glass worker, and C. L. Jarrett, Charleston sheet metal worker, in recognition of their valiant service, were re-elected without opposition.

## Socialists of Three Nations Hold Stirring Reunion

### 10,000 Gather on Swiss Shore of Beautiful Lake Constance—Ad- ler Speaks

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

VIENNA.—The 14th of August witnessed the continuance of the tradition dating back three decades, when the Socialist parties on the shores of Lake Constance who belong to three different states, Germany, Austria and Switzerland, united in a vast mass demonstration. These gatherings are held in turn in one of the three countries, and in pre-war days the leaders of the labor movement were glad to use the opportunity of voicing in them the ideal of international solidarity.

This year the event was to be celebrated at Bregenz, on the lake. The clerical governor of the little province of Vorarlberg, seizing the opportunity to commit a petty act of malice, placed his ban on the demonstration, in consideration of the "excitement caused of July in Vienna." The Chancellor Selpel confirmed this piece of chicanery, but it need not be said that the Bregenz comrades did not let themselves be intimidated. The international gathering was transferred to Arbon, on the Swiss shore of the lake, while at Bregenz a mass demonstration was summoned for the evening of August

13, in which the speakers who originally were to have delivered brief addresses in the open air, now enjoyed the opportunity of shedding full light, in a three-hour meeting, on the events of Vienna and the action of the governor. At this meeting Friedrich Adler spoke for the Labor and Socialist International, for Austria, Deputy Ellenbogen, and the President of the Reichstag, Loh, on behalf of Germany.

On the following morning a special steamer equipped with red flags and a band carried over a thousand Austrians across to Arbon, where other special boats from Friedrichshafen and Konstanz arrived at the same time. An audience of 10,000 people drawn from all three countries assembled in the festival square near the shore for an extremely successful event which does great credit to the organizing ability of the Arbon comrades. Against a background of music and labor choirs, Albert (Arbon), Deputy Ellenbogen (Austria), Loh (Germany), Deputy Huber (Switzerland), the Secretary of the S. S. I. Adler, and the Italian Armutz in his native tongue, delivered addresses which evoked the keenest response from the gathering. In the afternoon was held a procession of demonstrators through the town combined with further events in the square, at which addresses were given by Federal Councillor Winter (Vienna), Deputy Domes (Vienna) and the well-known working-class writers Karl Henckell and Anderson Nexø, who also live on the shores of Lake Constance.

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THE Rand School of Social Science has awarded eighty-five free scholarships for the Workers' Training Course to members of trade unions. Among these are fourteen awarded to members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, ten to members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, six to members of the Furriers' Union, six to the Millinery Workers' Union, six to the Pocketbook Workers' Union, six to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, five to Local 2 of the Electrical Workers, four to the Cloth, Hat and Capmakers' Union, three to the American Association of Plumbers' Helpers, three to the Bronze and Iron Workers' Union, three to the United Neckwear Cutters' Union, and two to the Suitcase and Bagmakers' Union. Thirty more scholarships are available to members of labor organizations. Application should be made at once to The Rand School, 7 East 15th Street. The school term begins on September 12.

Scholarships have been awarded the following:  
Miss Sorrell Balazowsky, 1170 South Gerard Avenue, New York City, Unity House; Giarrizzo Baldassare, 129 First Avenue, New York City, Shoe Workers' Union; Tillie Bilgore, 279 Division Avenue, Brooklyn, Dressmakers' Local 22; Abraham Blecher, Stetson, N. J. A. C. W. A.; Helen Bregman, 1625 43d Street, Brooklyn; Abraham Cohen, 63 Downing Street, Brooklyn, Y. P. S. L. C. 8; Alex Cohen, 415 East 83d Street, New York City; Mrs. Naomi Des Verney, 150 West 131st Street, New York City, S. L. C. Porters' Union; Thomas M. Cole, 461 West 140th Street, Leather Goods Union; H. Diamond, 1049 Forest Avenue, New York City, Y. P. S. L. C. 1; Gerald Duffy, 189 81st Street, Brooklyn, I. B. of Elec. Workers, Local 3; Edna Essex, 1972 62d Street, Brooklyn, Ind. Club, Y. W. C. A.; I. Feinstein, 130 East 25th Street, New York City, Joint Board Clock and Suit Makers; Jacob Feld, 55 Jefferson Street, New York City, International Pocketbook Workers' Union; Morris Finkelstein, 890 Clifton Avenue, New York City, I. L. G. W. U. Local 2.

G. A. Ford, 227 West 139th Street, New York City, Sleeping Car Porters; Benj. Gelernter, 102 East Houston Street, New York City, International Pocketbook Workers; Mary Glifitz, 279 Division Avenue, Brooklyn, Local 62, I. L. G. W. U.; Tessie Glasser, 1864 55th Street, Brooklyn; Morris Goldowsky, 622 East 152d Street, New York City, Local 55, I. L. G. W. U.; Bernard Goliger, 1712 West Sixth Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. Suitcase and Bag Makers; Harry Rosen, 946 East 181st Street, Local 5, Furriers; Murray Gross, Y. P. S. L. C. Max Helfand, 68 East 97th Street, New York City, Plumbers' Helpers (American Association); Richard James Henry, 181 West 135th Street, New York City, Helping Car Porters' Union; Henry Hesse, 53 St. Nicholas Place, New York City, Local 22, I. L. G. W. U.; Minnie Hoffman, 1816 58th Street, Brooklyn, Local 22, I. L. G. W. U.; Harry Jackler, 708 Saratoga Avenue, Brooklyn, International Pocketbook Workers.

Millie Ranov, 321 East Sixth Street, New York City, Local 42, Millinery Union; Helen Karp, 201 East 96th Street, New York City, 60 Columbia Street, New York City, International Pocketbook Workers; Helen Kessler, 1581 Macombs Road, Bronx, Y. P. S. L. C. 1; S. Klein, 1107 Neptune Avenue, Brooklyn, Local 66, I. L. G. W. U.; Rebecca Koenig, 33 Second Street, New York City, Local 22, I. L. G. W. U.; Jos. G. Kreindler, 57 Pitt Street, New York City, Local 4, A. C. W. A.; Max Krubitz, 474 Sackman Street, Local 50, Millinery Workers; Lillian Leinweber, 6104 20th Avenue, Brooklyn, Local 22, I. L. G. W. U.; David Levick, 860 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, Y. P. S. L. C. 2, Brooklyn; Molly Lewis, 1640 Fulton Street, Brooklyn, Member of Fellowship; Nat. Mansdorf, 1557 Fulton Avenue, Bronx, Local 22, I. L. G. W. U.; Miss L. T. Martin, 109 West 129th Street, New York City, Sleeping Car Porters; Louis Mazzacane, 52 Carmine Street, New York City, Pressers, Local Shirt Makers; Jack Merritt, 640 Broadway, Paper Box Makers' Union; Edward Messam, 3787 Third Avenue, Local 128, Thermometer Union; Sylvia Nemeroff, 1011 Simpson Street, Local 45, Upholsterers' Union; Ph. Pasik, 85 Stebbins Avenue, Bronx, Y. P. S. L. C. 1; Robert Pitcoff, 2078 Belmont Avenue, Bronx, Int. Br'd Elec. Workers, Local 3.

Miss Leonor Price, 1848 Loring Place, Brooklyn, Y. P. S. L. C. George Rix, 534 East 18th Street, New York City, S. P. member; Jack C. Rosenfeld, 2029 Avenue Y, Brooklyn, Pioneer Youth; Morris Rothenberg, 56 Bay 34th Street, Local 3.

(Continued on page 6)

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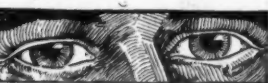
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# While Boston Put Sacco and Vanzetti to Death

By Jeannette Marks  
(Author of *Genius and Disaster*, etc.)

PAST flashed the crowded roads of Vermont, then New Hampshire and finally Massachusetts; ponds, lakes, mountains, little villages, larch and hemlock, spruce and birch, fireweed, and mullen in bloom, golden rod and button bush, brook and bridge, and the old farmhouses of a day gone by—all the beauty and comfort and wealth that lie between the Adirondack region where John Brown is buried yet still lives, into the outskirts of Boston where some seventy-five years ago, Ralph Waldo Emerson lived and wrote those famous essays which still form part of the reading of all thoughtful men and women.

The land of "promise" for so many over so many scores of years! Beside the road into an old Vermont farmhouse with a lean-to roof stood a woman, shawl about her shoulders, gazing off into the trees and up to the hills. How many generations had it been since for her people, too, America had been the land of "promise?" The drape of shawl and angle of the unmistakable New England back said that it had been a long long time.

Then we were pulling into a "marble" city where a young married couple took the chairs opposite mine. As the wife was seating herself she saw a package which had been dropped hastily into that chair by the porter as he went forward.

"What's that—a bomb?" said the wife looking at it with suspicion.  
"Yes," answered her husband, facetiously, "a Sacco-Vanzetti bomb."  
Derided, and so reassured, the wife sat down and the husband opened his Sunday paper.

"Justice Holmes won't act," said the husband.  
"What'll they do now?" asked the wife.

"Get somebody else," answered the husband, a young Uncle Sam, lean and muscular and plain.

Comfort everywhere and abundance! Then the smell of the sea at night, somehow with its suggestion of vast fresh spaces of dark water and sky curiously out of place as we drew into the electric-lighted yet dingy north end of Boston. I was on my way back to be with the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee as the night of respite or death approached. "There is Judge Brandeis," ran my thought as I walked swiftly down the North Station platform, "he is really the hope."

Stepping through the door to take a taxi over to Hanover Street, in that semi-circle of electric lights, men were shouting and waving a small pink "extra" at the top of which stood two words in big headlines: "BRANDEIS WON'T."

After that nothing was "visible" except the panorama of thought that passed, a vague sense of going through the "gray" of Scollay Square, and the knowledge that the taxi had turned around at the end of one of the cross streets and that we were in front of "256" and the steep stairs, two flights up, to the offices.

Miss Vanzetti  
Gardner Jackson and Mary Donovan were not there. But Joseph More was—always there, always attentive. It was his voice asking, "Have you met Miss Vanzetti?"

The memory of another voice was in my ears, that of a woman of letters who has worked and lived in Italy more or less for thirty years and whose books on Italy are familiar to all who love that land. Again she was saying, "I understand that the Signorina Vanzetti has behaved herself like a perfect lady from beginning to end of her stay in Boston."

But the "end" was not yet. Beside Miss Vanzetti sat Rosa Sacco. From the glow on those sensitive faces it looked even as if a happier end might be in sight. And then it occurred to me that both had just come from the Scenic Theatre meeting where they had been given so kind a greeting from the loyal thousands gathered there. Friendship in such an hour casts no common light. Perhaps it was the re-

## The Last Day of Life for the Two Anarchists; "That Italian Case" Comes to an End

fection of that welcome which was still upon their faces.

And the night passed, even as those winding, hill-cupped roads of Vermont and New Hampshire had passed. Only the panorama of dreaming and waking was not of pond and lake, of mountain, of village and of tree, of flower, brook, bridge, and ancient house. The panorama was of brave men and women who, in the seven years struggle they had made for justice, had shown the principle of selflessness in all things: those two noble prisoners back in the Death House again, already from their hands the touch and scent of strong and fragrant weather, the silvery coolness of fish and the smell of the sea gone forever; the Defense Committee and its counsel, without hope, fighting on to the end; the friends who for justice sake—doctors, lawyers, merchants, priests—rallied about them, giving beyond their means, working beyond their strength, and these two loving women before me who spoke precisely and with quiet.

And somehow in those passing human pictures were all the strength, intensity, beauty of life itself, crowning dream and waking with more wonder than hill or valley—that valley of the shadow of death towards which, a symbol, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were on their way.

### A Last Minute Committee

Defeat? Yes, of a kind, there at the Bellevue headquarters, where the Citizens' National Committee, an eleventh hour organization, worked gallantly up to the end, and will there, and elsewhere continue to work on. True, here was an organization manned by men and women of acknowledged power, already a list of 505 names, many of which are known for public service throughout whatever parts of the earth are still socially-minded: John R. Commons, Henry Walcott Farnham, William Ernest Hooper, Mary E. Woolley, Mary E. McDowell, Graham Taylor, J. McKen Cattell, John S. Codman, John Howard Lawson, Mary Austin, Oswald Garrison Villard, Judge Amidon of North Dakota, Mrs. J. Malcolm Forbes, John T. Vance, law librarian of Congress, and some five hundred more representing conspicuous achievements. Nevertheless, it was a committee which in the very process of organizing suffered from disorganization, attacked from all sides by the

consciousness of the mythology of fear which a World War had built up and which now had struck into, as cancer strikes, the social body—money-symbolism, greed, class-consciousness, class hatred, covering themselves with the garments of respectability, law and patriotism, even as by whatsoever means it can this Fear was crushing ideal and progress.

And defeat at Defense Headquarters, too? Yes, of a sort—the kind whose very terms have in them ideas which find symbolic immortality equally upon the Cross or in the Death House. That noon Felix Frankfurter said in the dingy corridor of Defense Headquarters, out of the hearing of Rosa Sacco: "She must not be made conscious of the larger issues of this thing, for now how can she think of anything but that it is her loved one who suffers?" Yet somehow, no matter what happens tonight, I am too healthy—or something—to give up hope. I cannot believe it is the end."

Aldino Feliciani  
And the spent figure of Aldino Feliciani, bending to Destiny, but not broken. And the arrow-flight of Arthur Hill rushing now southward towards the sea to ask legal intervention from one who, showing neither hospitality nor the quality of mercy, missed that early morning the great opportunity of his career. Then another arrow-flight northward, desperate, the last chance, in an open boat upon the sea, to an island whose shore line is a rocky temple of beauty upon which the Defense was to meet its last shipwreck.

The day was passing. With it the hours of the two who were to be executed were spilling swiftly from one glass to another, from life to death. A curious sense of whirling figures grew upon one and of futility. It was not unlike dust in sunlight. In the offices telephones rang incessantly, telegraph messengers came and went, men and women moved swiftly to and fro, typewriters clicked. A few figures stood out as somehow expressive in their difference, in their united struggle of conscience against injustice. John Dos Passos flitting about cheerful, charming; Paul Kellogg frayed with years of battle for social welfare, pale, determined; Dr. Alice Hamilton of Harvard, strong in reserve; Waldo Cook, cool-headed, re-

sponsible, ready at any cost, but never by any means except the use of reason to maintain the editorial position of the Republican; Mrs. Glendower Evans, in gray, white-haired, seated a Quaker-like figure in the midst of the Woman's Club, waiting, talking with the friends who came to her. And throughout the day it seemed clearer and clearer, where much was confused, that already as individuals Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were being lost sight of, that already they were gone from our midst—though they had still a few hours to live—and had become symbolic of issues more important than any human being can ever be.

### Lewis Seeks Bail

And then another figure in the midst of many: Alfred Baker Lewis coming swiftly through the hotel lobby.

Catching sight of me, he called, "A lot of them have been arrested and we haven't any money left to bail them. Have you any?"

"Yes," I answered, "I'll take over what I have and get more. Where shall I go?"

"They're in the Joy Street Police Station. Mary Donovan's there." And he was gone.

So was I in a quick shift from the Bellevue to the lock-up and a greeting with Mary Donovan standing by her "people" in and out of jail.

In the flight to and fro in which, through Amy Woods and Mrs. Glendower Evans and some other generous friends, more than enough money was collected to bail out a group of over one hundred and fifty men and women, certain fragments of pictures stood out: a young man, stunted in growth, with pure child-like face, being hustled down Joy Street between two officers twice his size; Professor Ellen Hayes being taken to the patrol wagon on the arm of a young Irish bluecoat—untroubled, serene, "one grand soul," as Mary Donovan said of her later that day; some groups of garment workers cheering their comrades at the risk of being themselves arrested; Edna St. Vincent Millay seated in the ball room, her grave dark husband standing beside her; Clara Michelson, with energy undiminished by the Passaic strike, cheerful, kindly, being bailed; Lola Ridge coming out of the inner guard room, her prophetic

face solemn in the solemn hours that were passing.

### Joy in Jail

Nevertheless, that jail will remain in my memory as the only gay place which I saw in those thirteen days. From one nice-looking group being herded in, a voice called blithely, "Here come some more of these jail birds!"

They looked it, America's youth, best and bravest! And within that station were being deposited the many placards which many had been carrying, among them one which had in it the meaning of all the others—Paul Halliday's *SAVE SACCO AND VANZETTI! IS JUSTICE DEAD?* Here were none of those who, to quote a line from Laura Simmons' sonnet, kept their "prudent way within the crowd." While I waited in the balling room where, in addition to the bail asked, the bailer collected two dollars for each arrest—his way of earning a living!—a man, pointing to a suit case, asked me to sit down. It was kindness and in such a place it was well to cultivate kindness.

For a while all the windows were shut tight. Within a space adequate for two-score there were packed over several hours almost ten times that number. The windows were closed, for some fifty garment workers were chanting the Internationale, their triumphant, militant song of brotherhood. From the guard room Helen Todd, Lola Ridge, Clara Michelson, Mary Donovan and others were being let out. Mary Donovan seemed anxious about some who should be bailed at once, among them Powers Haggood. She turned to look for him, but, strangely, he was gone. And with him the day was going, too.

### The Last Night Comes

The last night had come. At the Defense Headquarters, Mr. Bernheimer was sending and receiving messages. Powerful, cynically courageous, betraying his emotion by not a conscious sign. Unconsciously, however, he revealed the strain under which he worked, for every once in a while he whispered to himself. The wire he handled kept efficient touch with all who belonged in that office and yet were not there. The editor of an Italian paper was taking notes, now asking how to spell "monument," then checking against some other unfamiliar

word. Mary Donovan, a lawyer with her, had hurried out to the psychiatric hospital, to which the State Police had been taking Powers Haggood, even as she had turned to find him somehow mysteriously vanished. Gardner Jackson and his sister, Dr. Edith Jackson, were on their way with Mrs. Sacco and Signorina Vanzetti to the State House to make one last appeal to a cast-iron executive; Michael Angelo Musmanno and Aldino Feliciani were on their way back from their farewell in the Death House, Mr. Musmanno to act as interpreter for Vanzetti's sister; Aldino Feliciani to return to the Defense office.

What was there for two women to do, for Ruth Hale and for me, waiting with Mr. Bernheimer and Joseph Moro? An age-old prerogative of women: feed hungry men. Others would be coming in, and they, too, whether they knew it or not would need food. And no food except a bag of peanuts was on that table banked with telegrams, letters and carbons. We went out after coffee and sandwiches and milk. Waiting, we, too, had coffee on the clean table by the cool window of that little Italian restaurant one flight up. We read these words from a letter which had come from a young editor:

"It seems so inextricably intertwined with the most inert and selfish of human motives, the desire to be comfortable, not to be bothered, to maintain the status quo, to keep things as they've always been, to defend institutions from attack, to get rid of men of that type: Reason is no longer in evidence. And I have yielded momentarily, more than once, to the weak wish that it was all over and fled away neatly."

### Lola Ridge's Poem

Quickly now—after seven years of delay—one sort of "filing" would soon be done and over. And then that letter which had come straight out of the heart of youth leaped into a flame: "One is removed from life and death, from all emotion and suspended in a desperate abyss, where calmness and self-control are the things most needed. Events happen, and are seen in crystalline stillness. But the mind, the soul continue the hopeless struggle, for all is not lost, as long as the desire for justice persists."

For all is not lost as long as the desire for justice persists! Around the

corner from Headquarters over in Salem street in the rooms of the Hod Carriers' Union the desire was most certainly persisting. Mother Bloor had come all the way from California to speak for justice for Sacco and Vanzetti. Lola Ridge and John Howard Lawson had passed through Headquarters and gone over to Salem street. As we sat on, quiet in the tense office, messages coming and going, now and then a cup of coffee being poured or a sandwich eaten, in my thoughts were lines from Lola Ridge's "Two in the Death House" repeated to me the week before, and which, now, she was chanting over in Salem street:

"You have endured those moments, you

Close to the rough nap of earth, and knowing her perennial ways.

And when, on some one of your counted mornings, light

That pulls at the caught roots of things

Has pierced you with a touch, or leavened air,

You, too, have hoped—with the ardor of young shoots, resolute under concrete,

And with them have gone down to defeat again."

### Bailed and Out Again

Dos Passos, flitting into the office, called: "It's more cheerful over there! Come on over!" Then suddenly, when Miss Hale and I were already halfway down the stairs, from the street came an uproar, and the rush of many feet and the sound of hundreds of voices in clamor. Mother Bloor had been arrested for speaking out the window of the Hod Carriers' Union to some five hundred people who had been unable to get inside. Putting my hand on Ruth Hale's arm, I held her, against her will, where she was. Heywood Brown, her husband, had credited a fortune of loyalty and unforgettable words to Sacco and Vanzetti and the issues of justice. Now was not the time for any one to "strike" again. Dos Passos had disappeared, and we went back up through the outer office and on into the office where messages came and went and there was more alliance than speech.

The outer office filled up and emptied intermittently, rich and poor alike coming and going. Mrs. J. Borden Harriman was there, from a brave mission to plead with the Governor. From that outer office, too, came the sound of a woman's voice, curiously deep, speaking with a slight accent: "They wanted us to come over and now they don't want us. We have worked hard and made sacrifices. They want all the power. We want some power, too, and we are going to have it. During the war, thinking my name was German, the dirty dogs framed me. And then they found I wasn't German and had to let me go. They think they hold a first mortgage on us, do they? But they—"

Who were "they"? Was that the government, political wealth, or what was it? Were those the terms in which our foreign born now thought of this land of promise?

Mother Bloor, quickly bailed by Mary Donovan, and quickly back, was seated there. Mary Donovan, too, was back in the inner office. She and the lawyer had seen Powers Haggood. Now we made her drink a cup of coffee and eat a sandwich.

(Continued on page 6)

## It Is Difficult to Disarm :-:

By H. N. Brailsford

London.  
IT IS evidently a difficult thing to disarm. One must suppose so, for in one short half-year no less than two disarmament conferences have failed. The odd thing about it is that at these conferences we were all friends. It was the French and British who failed in the first meeting in the spring at the palace of glass at Geneva. It was the Americans and British who failed this month. Both pairs of Allies are profuse in their professions of devotion to each other and to peace. For it was not enemies or ex-enemies who failed to disarm, but three Powers which had stood shoulder to shoulder in the trenches of France. When one has clad oneself in the Brenplate of Righteousness, it is evidently difficult to tear it off.

Why They Failed  
Let us inquire why it was that the Naval Conference failed. I think we may find deeper reasons than the delegations at Geneva were aware of; but let us begin by considering the reasons, which to them seemed decisive. The Japanese standpoint we may dismiss very briefly. Japan was for stab-

## Twice Within Six Months Parleys Fall Through

ilizing existing programs of naval building. That would have led to no reduction, but also it would have meant no increase. In retrospect we may have reason to regret the failure of this modest Power. The British Admiralty was evidently conscious of considerable virtue. For though the Conference was called to consider the regulation of those types of ship which escaped control at Washington, it proposed also a reduction in the tonnage of capital ships. Unfortunately, the unselfishness of this suggestion did not commend itself to the American mind. For in the first place it happens that Britain is already better provided than America with super-battleships of the maximum size, and these British should have retained. In the second place Britain is so well furnished with coal stations and oiling stations up and down the world that a ship of relatively small displacement is of more use to us than to other Powers. If an American or a Japanese ship sails out to batter down the world, it must carry oil enough for the whole voyage, and oil needs ship's room. That unfortunate disparity reappeared again and again, as the argument proceeded.

The real dispute, since America was unwilling to talk about capital ships, came over cruisers. Cruisers are of two kinds, and can serve the cause of peace (which alone we have at heart) in one of two ways. The larger type are of 10,000 tons or thereabouts, and carry a formidable armament of 8-inch guns. They are the cavalry of a battle fleet, fit to take part in the charge, and they have a further use of which both disputants were keenly aware. They can sink any merchant-cruiser by merely sighting her, for merchant-cruisers have no defensive armour, and carry only the much less powerful 6-inch gun. Now it happens that the British Empire is in a position to equip a very large number of these guerrillas of the sea, whose function would be to prey on the merchant-shipping of the enemy, to enforce a blockade, and to teach neutral commerce that we are Mistress of the Seas. America, on the other hand, has few ocean-going liners which she could arm for these purposes. It seems then to her of the first importance that she should possess a large number of these larger cruisers, though hitherto she has been curiously remiss in building them. We, on the other hand, thanks to the foresight of the Labor Government, are very well provided, and require few, if any more.

The smaller type of cruisers may range from 6,000 to 3,000 tons, but carries only 6-inch guns. Its functions are similar to those of an armed merchantman—to prey on commerce and to enforce a blockade—but also (and on this the well-disposed prefer to lay stress) it would be used to convoy cargoes of merchantmen and to protect them from raiders like the Emden or from submarines. The United States is so nearly a self-sufficing economic unit that it has little interest in cruisers of this class. It professes, moreover, a most moderate doctrine of the rights of belligerents to enforce a blockade. The British Admiralty, on the other hand, dwelt on the necessary length of our communications with the Dominions, and pointed out that the stoppage of the food supplies (to say nothing of raw materials), which we draw from these distant sources, would expose us in six weeks to literal starvation. If, then, in the next war, the food supplies of the civilian population are fair game for the enemy, it is obvious that we need many of these handy little cruisers, and the Admiralty estimated our requirements at 70.

### The Final Breakdown

There was hard bargaining and some little attempt at compromise before the final breakdown was reached. One may summarize the final position as follows: America proposed that a total figure of tonnage should be fixed for all types of cruisers. Within this total each should be free to build according to its needs. With the figure fixed at 400,000 tons, America might build 30 to 50 cruisers of 10,000 tons. If we really require 70 of the smaller type, it is obvious that we could keep within the total only by scrapping most of the larger type.

We resisted all through the method of fixing a single "global" total for cruisers. We proposed that the 10,000-ton type, including a few intermediate ships, should be limited for Britain to a 272,000 total, and for America to 255,000 tons, while we should be free to build the smaller type at discretion up to a total, including destroyers of 317,000 tons, allowing at the same time 205,000 tons to America.

This proposal the Americans rejected, firstly because it would have meant an increase and not a reduction in the world's navies; and secondly, because it would not have meant parity in every type between the British and American fleets.

### Parity in Incompetence

No one who recollects what followed the failure to stop competition between the British and German navies can view this breakdown with indifference. Twice, in one year, by a stiff adherence to an insular standpoint, the Baldwin Government must bear its share of responsibility for the breakdown of disarmament conferences. Abroad, no less than at home, it is a force for reaction. The blame must certainly be distributed, and perhaps the comment of the "New York World," that we have attained parity "in incompetence if not in cruisers," is a fair summary of the result. The first of two mules that all of

us must draw is, that we flatter and delude ourselves when we go on repeating that war between the Americans and British is "unthinkable." For plainly each Admiralty does manage to think it. All the calculations of both sides were plainly designed to ensure that the two should start equal, if ever it came to war. If we thought of each other as friends, would we grudge a probable ally a little extra strength in one class of ship or the other? If that were really our relationship, the solution would have been easy. We should have accepted the American estimate of her needs in 10,000-ton cruisers, and she would have assented to our case for a bigger ratio of the smaller type. And not only do the Admiralties think in terms of war. The Cabinets endorse their reckonings. We must frankly add this peril to our outlook on the world which the Great Powers made at Versailles. With half her population and a quarter of her wealth, we have allowed it to come to naval competition with America.

The other moral is no less important. None of the three plans, at any stage of this Conference, would have meant even a modest reduction in armaments. Disarmament is not to be reached by these methods, and never will be reached while we leave the Admiralties to search for it. It can be reached only by political reconstruction. One sees no prospect of any reduction that would deserve the name of disarmament, whether on land, sea or air, until we ensure universal arbitration. But that is only a begin-

ning. So long as one race can deny cultural autonomy to another, and so long as one state may injure itself and its neighbors by economic nationalism, so long will frontiers matter, and so long will they have to be defended. So long as every state must protect and promote the operations of private capital beyond its frontiers, so long shall we need cruisers and expeditionary forces. Add to these the need for providing peaceably for necessary changes in the world, and the preliminary to arbitration would seem to be the development of the League into a World Government. But the special case about cruisers is simpler. Under this dispute lies the bigger question, who shall have the right to declare and enforce a blockade? If that is to remain (as the British doctrine will have it) the right of any single naval power, in the pursuit of its own quarrels, then the big navy men are right, in Washington as in London. One can hardly have too many cruisers. But why not recur to Mr. Wilson's notion, and lay it down that only the League can blockade, and only they against an aggressor? Say that, and the need for cruisers all but vanishes.

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# A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

## Lo, the Poor Pyknic!

JUST as we seem to be getting along all right and in our personal breaks are dragging down an average of 250 out of 1,000, which is a good high percentage for us, we come to bat and find a psychological southpaw in the box who fans us without so much as working up a healthy sweat.

We are writing this in Nantucket, an island which had the good sense to separate itself from the Massachusetts mainland by about forty miles of Atlantic ocean. We came across those forty miles in the midst of the worst storm that has raged around these parts for many years. Never in our seagoing experience have we seen so many semi-circular canals go out of commission at once. Of course, all you bright boys and girls know that seasickness is nothing but a disturbance in your semi-circular canals. When these go sooty, you lose your balance and everything else you have on board and lie down on the floor of the boat in the arms of anyone who happens to be around, deciding quite vehemently that Neptune is not your favorite character in Greek mythology. One thing about it, it's like the newspaper business, you do get to meet a lot of interesting people, and on the most intimate terms.

Now, to our vast satisfaction we discovered that our semi-circular canals are in swell shape. They never even quivered when the bow of the boat sunk itself in a green smother and the newsstand in the upper cabin fell over, scattering copies of "Photoplay" and "Sea Stories" along the prostrate forms of the excursionists who had paid three dollars for the privilege of getting up before dawn in Boston and being publicly sick all morning. And those good old canals of ours lay level as an Illinois prairie while time the desks on which you write postcards saying, "Having a lovely trip. Wish you was with us," capsize, discharging ink and fuzzy pen points from port to starboard. Even the sight of the catsy young thing who had been smoking cigarettes and making wisecracks that she swiped from the current issue of The New Yorker, even the sight of her bobbed head deep in a fire-bucket failed to upset the unruffled tenor of our canals. So we just hung onto the lines with a couple of other hardy sea-dogs and laughed with superior hoarseness whenever some poor green thing tottered past us to pay tribute to the antic Atlantic.

So naturally we were stepping high when we got off the boat and we became quite offensive about the outstanding excellence of our semi-circular canals. It certainly is grand when you are plumb in the middle age with an inherited conviction of sin shooting holes in your basal metabolism to find that there are still unexplored areas of your interior that are intact.

Then came the fall that is the inevitable accompaniment of pride. Our genial host, Morris Ernst, who had evidently heard enough about our semi-circulars, took us over to "Sconset," across the island where Fred Howe runs his School of Opinion. There was a very bright young man indeed who was lecturing on psychology and who knew almost as many long words as Ben Stolberg.

When we arrived he was busy classifying people according to their psychophysical set-ups. We hadn't listened to him for five minutes before we distinctly understood that though we may have the best little semi-circular canals in all Nantucket, psychophysically we are a flop.

In the first place we are a pyknic. When the bright young man began talking about pyknics, we had visions of red ants and bananas in shoe boxes. But this ain't that kind of a pic-nic. A pyknic is a bird who just moseys along through life without any very definite object and without knowing a whole lot about anything. He is the poor fish who has no snappy comeback when young ladies with pop-eyes ask him what he thinks about T. S. Eliot's "Waste Land." The feller they have pictures of riding home in the cab while his wife bawls him out for not crasading into the conversation about Nietzsche.

As if this wasn't bad enough we are also a bit hypothyroid. The young man said you could tell this if your skin lifted easily off the back of your hand. At least we think that was the test. Of course it may have been the test for a cretin. Anyhow our skin is quite loose. Ever since we heard the lecture we have had the most depressing time lifting up the skin on the backs of our hands. Because a hypothyroid is no great shucks. You can sell him almost anything from patent cigarette-lighters to Republican prosperity. Another expression for hypothyroid is the ultimate consumer. And our entire surface existence is a walking advertisement for the effectiveness of modern salesmanship. We never yet won an argument with a salesman. How do those smarties know that the skin is loose on the backs of our hands?

Then again we are schizoid. Gosh! and we never even suspected it all these years. This means that psychophysically we are as hopelessly divided as a conference on labor solidarity. Every time we assemble our thoughts it looks like a meeting of the Dail Eirann. Our right wing does not know what our left wing doeth and it's no wonder that our flight is wobbly.

By this time we were so hopelessly sunk that we just gathered up our semi-circular canals and went away from there before the lecturer started to do his extrovert-introvert stuff. We had been through that before. It is the greatest little fifty-fifty game in all modern science. It goes like this: If you portray the slightest interest in things that are going on, things like Socialism, strikes, the labor movement, football, liquor, etc., you are a low-down extrovert and naturally can't have any emotions higher than those of the average city editor. But to this rule there is always a convenient out. It may be that really you are an introvert in disguise and you are just simulating an interest in current affairs to fool everybody. Beneath that extroverted front lurks a mystic whose secret soul is in communion with the darkest and most obscure of all that the life of the spirit has to offer. So the extrovert-introvert is simply transferring his ecstasy over sheer aesthetic experience into a feigned interest in the home-run record of Lou Gehrig. Like most of the findings of modern psychology, it is interesting but doesn't mean anything.

That is to say way down deep inside of you something is hollering "hokum" while all this stuff is being pulled. But all the same it does take a lot of fun out of having such beautiful semi-circular canals.

McAlister Coleman.

## Creeds

Friend, you are grieved that I should go Unhoused, unsheltered, gaunt, and free, My cloak for armor—for my tent The roadside tree.

And I—I know not how you bear A roof betwixt you and the blue; Brother, the creed would stifle me That shelters you. Yet, that same light that floods at dawn Your cloistered room, your cryptic stair, Wakes me, too—sleeping by the hedge—To morning prayer!

—Karl Wilson Baker.

## Scanning The New Books

### Sin, Salvation and Reform

By Henry Miller

PROBABLY we could find no happier example of what H. G. Wells has called the adolescent stage of civilization than the Salvation Army. With its bright uniforms, trumpets, flags and songs, it is irresistibly seductive to the emotional child in man. Now a dwindling organization confined chiefly to sheltering homeless men, it has significance as possibly the last great attempt at social reform through the gospel of salvation. Some faint conception of this may be gathered from the loose, ineffectual biography, "The Life of General William Booth," by Harold Begbie (Macmillan & Co., 2 vols., \$10.50).

General William Booth, the founder of the Army, was a composite of St. Augustine, Henry Ford and P. T. Barnum. His early years were passed in Nottingham, the heart of the region which the industrial revolution changed from "green" to "black" England. As a boy, he stood with hungry mobs and listened to the fervid orations of the Chartist agitators and the passionate exhortations of the Evangelical preachers. On the one hand he was impressed by the earthly misery of the poor and on the other by the necessity of saving their souls. He experienced a youthful conversion and retained the sense of sin then acquired to the end of his days.

Booth had become an enormously popular preacher in the slums of London and gradually created a huge world-wide organization, with his children as the ruling oligarchy and himself as a patriarchal benevolent despot. Coupled with great business and organizing capacity, General Booth had the publicity sense of a great showman, to which the rituals and regalia of the Army are witness. On one occasion when members of the Army had been stoned by hoodlums and their clothes were muddy and spattered with blood, he exclaimed, "Boys, now is the time to be photographed."

During a large part of the Victorian era the Salvation Army and its work were continuous subjects of controversy in England. It was charged that often its tense emotional revivals ended in promiscuous debauchery. Numbers of people were scandalized by its disclosures concerning prostitution which went as far as the actual purchase of a woman in the white slave traffic. General Booth's "In Darkest England," a lurid picture of the miseries of the unemployed, was one of the most widely discussed books of its day. It proposed schemes of large-scale colonization as a remedy, some of which were attempted with fair success by the Army. Public men took sides and Booth was befriended by Cardinal Manning, Cecil Rhodes and Gladstone and mercilessly derided by

Huxley for his "corybantic Christianity."

The biographer likes to think that the Salvation Army was instrumental in creating the "social conscience" which is supposedly a distinguishing mark of our own times. If so, it is chiefly related to the philanthropic social work of our day. As for the lower classes, the poor and oppressed, to whom Booth made his special appeal, there is hope that they are emerging from their adolescence and are less ready to be dissuaded by the doctrine of their unfitness for heaven from claiming a share of the earth.

### Shaw on Socialism

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW, the iconoclast, despite his every effort to the contrary, has become, like Hardy and the late Anatole France, a "grand old man" of literature. And, though his works are almost regarded as classics, Mr. Shaw, at the dinner given in celebration of his reaching the biblical allotment of years, was refused the privilege of broadcasting his birthday speech unless he would guarantee the government "not to speak controversially on any public matter." One must surely give the English government credit for an imagination of great scope, for who else could imagine Shaw speaking one word, having foregone that right. And so, although the "dreadful fate of being treated as a great man" has overtaken him, Shaw at three score and ten is still a feared iconoclast; and one thinks that perhaps he was more "in poking fun when he remarked that the Nobel Prize for 1925 was awarded him for not having written a book—that is, that it was like giving one's mischievous child a sugared candy for having behaved well and been seen but not heard."

Everyone who reads any of Shaw's work wonders a little about the man, and learns that he has been dramatic critic and music critic, that he is an anti-violenceist, a vegetarian, an Irishman, . . . and above all a Socialist. Although the other facts are characteristic of the man, it is Socialism that has colored his life and everything he has written—even so far as his interpretation of Wagner. He says so himself, and in every play there is some character who speaks for him and puts over his propaganda.

In this volume (The Socialism of Shaw, edited with an introduction by James Fuchs, Vanguard Press, N. Y. C., 50 cents), some of Shaw's purely Socialist writing has been gathered together for the first time. In "The Case for Equality" (Mr. Shaw's part in the National Liberal Club debate of 1913), equality of income is argued as an economic, political and biological necessity for an improved society; one



Drawing by Paul Edmunds for his new book, "To the Land of the Eagle" (Dutton, N. Y.)

in which man "makes a claim for a handsome and dignified existence and subsistence; and he makes that as a primary thing. . . . He says in effect, 'I want to be a cultured human being; I want to live in the fullest sense; and I expect my country to organize itself in such a way as to secure me that. . . . In return for that I am willing to give the best service of which I am capable. . . . My ideal shall be . . . that, no matter how much I have demanded from my country, or how much my country has given me, I hope and I shall strive to give . . . more than it has given to me; so that . . . it shall be the richer for my life.'"

A. B. C.

### As the Spark Leaps

Joseph Kling is noted for his editorship of The Pagan and The International Arts Month, two short-lived magazines whose standard of inclusion was so much higher, from the standpoint of literature, than the accepted popularity-seeking magazines, that it is a difficult leap to mention all in one sentence. Kling has now written a novel (Dream Tapestry, by Joseph Kling, New York: The Unicorn Press, 5 East 57th St., New York City) or novelette in the form often called prose poetry, which is packed with fresh beauty, memorable phrasing and shrewd insight and observation.

The easiest proof is random quotation: "Time changes human nature no faster than it changes mountains. But convictions have a curious way of becoming doubts the moment they're uttered. We fashion philosophies to accord with our temperaments. And, of today: One may with a clear conscience part with a lover, then lie down happily beside one's lawful spouse. These are, however, only accidental ornamenting a worthy theme. There is a tense love story, with the chief character pulled between two rival loves. He discards the former "lovely red-lipped daughter of morning" for

the pallid Undine; and when she, uninterested in the fleshly aspects of the love relationship, pushes him away, there is harsh realism in his violence. The girl is not seriously injured, but the man leaves for Europe; and there he encounters the discarded girl, now touring Europe with a Babbitt of an admirer. The sugar papa is discarded, the old lover restored to favor. Then, with inevitable realism, the author shows how lack of money parts the reunited lovers—he to return dejected to the States, she to look further for her easy path toward death.

It is no book aimed toward best sellerdom, but it contains an excellent story, well told, and surprisingly marked with flashes of splendid wording.

—Clement Wood.

### UNITY HOUSE ARRANGES BEAUTIFUL PROGRAM FOR LABOR WEEK-END

An extraordinary program has been arranged to entertain the guests at Unity House Labor Day week-end. About 100 persons will participate in the various performances. On Friday evening "The Mystic Trumpeter" by Walt Whitman will be staged under the direction of that well-known artist, James Phillips. This will be a most picturesque and delightful pageant.

The concert Sunday evening will be given by Miss Ray Porter Miller, coloratura soprano, James Phillips, basso, and Abe Burg, violinist, all favorites of the Unity guests, and prominent Yiddish actors, members of the Hebrew actors' union. The Mardi Gras costume ball will exceed all previous costume affairs. Guests should bring with them anything they have to make attractive costumes for this evening.

"The Secretary of the Navy" is preparing his entire "fleet" in expectation of the many guests who will want to take advantage of the wonderful mile and half lake. The lifeguard, too, will be on hand to direct the swimmers, in the lake and in the pool. The tennis courts, of course, and the basketball fields and bowling alley are also ready and waiting for Unity's athletic friends. Those who will wish to take a hike in the surrounding country or to Bushkill Falls, one of nature's wonders, will have at their service a competent leader.

Labor Day at Unity House makes one think of I. L. G. W. U. conventions. We find there officers and rank and file members from their various unions not only in New York and vicinity but also from other cities. It is a reunion. All those who expect to spend Labor Day week-end at Unity are advised to register in advance with the Educational Department of the I. L. G. W. U., 3 West 16th Street.

## The Problems of Education

By Joseph T. Shipley.

"O PARVENU AMERICA, land of amiable charlatans and sleek optimists, where wealth accumulates while minds decay, shining examples of the virtues of force, fraud and fakery, incomparable asylum for perverted puritans, humorless hypocrites, religious quacks, friend of humanity and enemy of man, noble celebrant of Rights in theory, ignoble assailant of Rights in practice, generous-hearted in charity, provincial-braggart in justice, the braggart of braggarts, physically a giant, intellectually an adolescent smart-Aleck, emotionally a child, spiritually an infant in swaddling clothes, vacant-souled America, superstitious, intolerant, self-adoring, immanely conceited, governed by the suave swindlers, push and pull, illiterate land of humbuggery, of thee I sing!"

"Morality, as we know it, would collapse like a toy balloon if men and women acquired the habit of cultivating intellectual poise. Moral people are full of venom. That venom they humorously refer to as righteous indignation."

### The Errors Sighted

Putting aside by side these two passages from Samuel D. Schmalhausen's book, "Humanizing Education," (The New Education Publishing Co., \$2.50) reveals at once the author's insight, his power—and his fault. There is no doubt that this series of essays has the vehemence and the intelligent application of exhortant phrases that mark the vigorous champion of unpopular causes. Schmalhausen feels—and intelligent thinkers, accustomed to radically seeking below the surface of life, will on the whole agree with him—that are the evils of education today. His career in the New York City high schools (from which he was one of the expelled, victims of the war hysteria) gave him first hand knowledge of the needs in that field. His denunciations of the false claims of psychoanalysis, his outcry against the magic power of words ("and with a slogan we shall rule the world") is equally pointed and dynamic. He recalls Mark Twain's words: "First God made idiots. That was for practice. Then He made Boards of Education." He reaffirms Ruskin's dictum: "There never were creatures of prey so mischievous, never diplomats so cunning, as

### A Criticism That Suffers From Its Verbosity

never poisoners so deadly as these masked words; they are the unjust stewards of all men's ideas; whatever fancy or favorite instinct a man most cherishes he gives to his favorite masked word to take care of for him. The word at last comes to have an infinite power for him. You cannot get him by its ministry." He quotes Dewey and Veblen ("There is little inspiration or wisdom in the higher learning in America, especially in the human sciences, because there is only one Veblen"); he gives paragraphs from Edwin Muir and Mrs. Bertrand Russell; he piles upon his quotations from almost every living thinker the power of his personal damnation—and he has written a useless book.

An Unfortunate Method Mr. Schmalhausen, wise enough to see the error of his enemies, has none the less fallen into their ways. Preaching the gospel of love, of calm, of dispassionate wisdom, of urgent action along the paths so found, he writes with violence, with dogmatism, with emotional bias. The fact that the ideas Mr. Schmalhausen so firmly holds are those with which most radicals will agree makes no defence for the manner of his holding; his method is, unfortunately, of no further help. Those that already believe as does the author of this volume will, if they are stirred favorably by the unquestioned power of his phrases, be moved to a righteous indignation of their own, and a wish that something could be done about the world; those that do not already accept the author's ideas will, if they read far enough to react to the book at all, be moved to an equally virtuous indignation at the thought of a writer's pouring out such unreasoned vehemence.

The preface of the volume, instead of outlining the path which the book is to pursue, announcing its aims and indicating its intentions, boldly proclaims conclusions already formed in the author's mind, about which he feels there is no need to argue, of which none needs to be convinced. He

begins: "The main thesis of this volume is simple and lucid, to wit, that critical-mindedness spells enlightenment while credulity spells superstition; that America, speaking educationally, is persuaded that critical-mindedness is a crime against good manners; that the capacity for self-delusion is the overshadowing defect of the human mind, nowhere more in evidence than in optimism-haunted America; that the gulf between education and enlightenment grows more vast; that the pursuit of knowledge somehow manages to ignore the pursuit of wisdom; that facts are mistaken for comprehension and information mistaken for insight; that, in short, our education stresses credulity, subtle superstition, make-believe, self-deception, and as valiantly evades and cunningly taboos critical-mindedness, skeptic enlightenment, disillusion (which is the beginning of wisdom), self-knowledge. For a people who make a fetish of education, how little enlightened we are!" This thesis, which is emphatically and clearly put, and with which most will find themselves in accord, is not, in the volume, supported with evidence, with facts drawn from the life around and from the school system; it is not documented in any way—save with the multitudinous quotations that merely repeat in other styles, from other personalities, the author's own restatements.

Mr. Schmalhausen must learn that, however self-evident his ideas may seem to him, those he is attacking are no less sure of theirs; he must come to recognize that emotion has subtle way of vitiating the strength of logic, that the process of education—even when as sane in its bases as he would have it be, must move by slow stages into the molds men have already formed, to break them for the plastic creations of the future.

In "Promiscuity" (Dutton's Today and Tomorrow Series, \$1) Mr. Pink questions more quietly the assumption underlying the hope of Mr. Schmalhausen, for this English thinker on education proceeds first to question

whether the system of public education is generally applicable. Are all children susceptible to education? Every teacher knows that they are, in greatly varying degrees, and with types of training suited to their natures. Mr. Pink indicates the tendency toward specialization in the high schools of today, the separation of trade and technical, of commercial and industrial, from the general, the college preparatory, high schools. This movement may be of promise in the grades, but when carried, as the tendency to specialization is, to a fetish in the colleges and universities, it results in a sterility that combines with the woodenness of the products of the lecture system to materialize in a graduate without spiritual depth or cultural breadth. Of lecture, "if university teaching meant no more than this, and if the lecture were its only channel, we should feel bound to urge that the present wasteful duplication of lectures in various university-centres be avoided by enlisting the aid of wireless, and that standard lectures should be broadcast to students. Batches of students are set to take imperfect notes of a probably imperfectly delivered lecture by a man who has either taken his material from books they ought to read themselves, or is dictating what is really an original text-book, which obviously, in the interests of economy in time and labor, to say nothing of accuracy, ought to be printed." . . . "When the cult of research"—the other pole of the higher educational sterility—"has thus reduced itself to absurdity the time will come when we shall perhaps turn to the conception of a university as a place where, by the study and discussion of problems of fundamental importance, the most intelligent young men and women are brought into contact with the best and most stimulating minds, where the balance is held true between intellect and emotion, between thought and action."

But that time is not yet."

Before it comes teachers as well as directors of educational policy must come to a fresh attitude toward the world, must achieve a point of view that accepts tolerance, calm examination of all things, and free expression of all opinions, as the basic principles of the system in which the generations to come shall find their early way.

## And He Left It All

JUDGE GARY is dead. The papers say he left twenty-five million dollars behind. How careless. Never would have thought that a man with the business acumen of Gary could be so reckless as to drop twenty-five million bucks in a minute!

So far I have not heard whether the Judge cheated his legal heirs by leaving his money to education or blessed education by bestowing the fortune on his heirs. Anyhow, all he left behind were those twenty-five millions and a name I would swap for a cancelled postage stamp.

As head miracle worker of the Steel Trust, Gary even surpassed Christ, for while the latter turned water into wine, Gary turned water into gold.

By water, I mean U. S. Steel common, baptised by the sweat of the steel workers' and crucified by the blood of the lambs.

Poor little lambs and sweaty little lambs they were! One particular flock I well remember. It toiled in a steel mill in central Ohio. The hours were more than the lambs could bear. Wages were so short they scarcely stretched from pay day until the ghost walked again. And conditions?—well, if the devil ever needs an efficiency expert, he'll find him in the super of that particular steel mill, provided he hasn't got him ready.

However, hope springs eternal from the human heart. It also sprang from the open hearth furnaces of that mill. U. S. Steel common was so common in those days that the bourgeoisie wouldn't even nod to it. But Carnegie had already gained fame and fortune by taking in his hundred partners. Following the illustrious example his successors took in their sweaty employees as partners. That is, they exchaned U. S. Steel common for the leavings of their pay envelopes.

Did these slaves have, actually have, a surplus to invest? Sure. By dispensing with wives, children, homes and other luxuries, by working twelve hours per day, twenty-four on Sunday and sleeping two in a bed in two shifts, making four per bed and day, some of them were too weak and tired to spend all their wages. The management generously offered U. S. Steel common in exchange. Thus, they became partners—

In the course of human events aforesaid, the steel mill closed down. The workers now idle recovered from their stupor. They gained strength and stayed long enough awake to spend money. Having no other currency than U. S. Steel common, they swapped the pretty paper tokens for coins of the realm. In fact, the Steel mill was kind enough to take back the securities it had sold for something like 26 cents at something around 9 cents. When the partners' stock was gathered in its father's house, the house pulled up stakes and moved to South Chicago, Gary, Indiana, or some other steel paradise. And this process, I am told, was duplicated in numerous places.

Well, why didn't those foolish partners hang on to their U. S. Steel common? They all might have been millionaires by now, for, in spite of violent fluctuation, the stock kept on rising until the blessed war to make the world safe for democracy sent it far above par. But that's the trouble with the proletariat—it's always too busy thinking about eating to anticipate such profitable blessings as world wars!

Sweat and blood, blood and sweat. The sweat of a generation of cruelly over-worked toilers straining to the limit of human endurance in the poisonous fumes and torrid heat of steel mills. The blood of thousands of mangled bodies. The tears of the widows and fatherless of the unknown soldiers of industry augmented by a world wide butchery made U. S. Steel what it is today and made Judge Gary what he was when he kissed those precious twenty-five million bucks farewell for keeps.

Poor Gary! And he was such an optimist to the very last. Always saw bigger and better earnings ahead. Never lost faith in the ability of the workers to produce more value on less pay. Never doubted the protective tariff in taxing his country rich. Never ceased thanking God for Coolidge, Harding, McKinley and all those other great men whom all wise Providence selected to enforce the divine injunction "To those who have shall be given."

And, Oh, how the good man must have suffered when he saw that cruel report of the Interchurch Council on the steel industry! These divines had so far forgotten their divinity as to place human life above dividends on U. S. Steel common. They had conspired to rob the widows and orphans of Park Avenue, Back Bay and Plute Hill of hard earned earnings on Steel plants their eyes had never seen in the interest of "Hunks," "Wops," "Dagos," "Polaks," of who's who even "Who's Who" knew nothing about! Worst of all, that Interchurch Council report raised such an ungodly row that the twelve hour day was abolished in the steel industry, and if that didn't break Gary's heart it was only because he didn't have one.

Defeated in his particular field of human endeavor, Gary sacrificed his mighty intellect on the altar of his country. He became the head of the open shop movement and the Babbitts heard him gladly. From every Chamber of Commerce capitol of this great nation rose the battle cry, "Down with Labor." "Deflation or damnation."

The great crusade for the degradation of American Labor did not succeed in the measure Father Gary had hoped. The country is simply too rich to permit the pauperization of the masses. But let no man say that the open-shop drive under Generalissimo Gary failed altogether. It did hurt organized labor. It is still hurting. And, thanks to the wounds inflicted upon organized labor, the shock troops of prosperity, there are now millions of children in factories, mines and shops who might be in school or at play. There are hundreds of thousands of families living in rented tenements and flats who might have had nice clad cottages of their own. There are tens of thousands of brave working men whom persecution and black list hurried into the abyss of poverty and crime. Civilization grows on the well being of the many. Art, science, health and happiness are the fruits of an ever rising standard of living, and if Judge Gary is to be judged by his fruits, the best that can be said of him is that he did his best to arrest the eternal progress toward a better, sweeter and richer life and succeeded only so-so.

Right here I hear someone say: "Speak kindly of the dead." Sorry, brother, but I simply can't learn the knack of throwing bouquets on the coffin of people with whom I exchanged brickbats all through life.

Besides, while speaking of the dead, I am really speaking of the living. I am offering an antidote against the eulogies which follow the demise of every so-called successful man, for I can think of no lower ideal than the amassing of a fortune of twenty-five million dollars at the expense of human dignity and happiness.

Adam Coaldigger.



# While Sacco Died

(Continued from page 4)

As she bit into the large sandwich, humor flashed over the pale face. "This is what I call strong bread!" she exclaimed. And while she ate, she was giving an account of Powers Hapgood. Before they were allowed to see him, they had been waiting two hours because the superintendent said he had "to have his little tea." Admitted, they had found Hapgood in bed and eager to tell his experiences. When the attendants had asked him why he was there, Powers Hapgood had replied, "For trying to help save Sacco and Vanzetti." Then the attendants had called the Italians "wops" and had told Powers Hapgood he was in the very bed in which Sacco had been. An attendant said supper was ready. Would he like some? What was it? Beef stew. And Powers Hapgood had told them, no, he didn't want any beef stew, he was a vegetarian. "And after that," said Mary Donovan, humor bubbling up, "they were sure he was psychopathic." But the attendants seemed to be a "gentle lot" and they had given Powers Hapgood an egg and some bread and butter.

Gardner Jackson and Dr. Edith Jackson came in. The strong, attractive face of Edith Jackson was quivering. Her brother sat down by the telephone. There was silence. They had come from the Governor's office on their return, leaving Rosa Sacco and Signorina Vanzetti at Hazel Wedgwood's.

Dr. Edith Jackson, her head between her hands, was saying in a voice that trembled, "Twice the Governor said, waving his hand toward Rosa Sacco and Signorina Vanzetti, 'It is these ladies that move me most.'"

And I wondered, "Was it?" Heard, too, over the Governor's telephone during the hour was the mighty voice of Attorney Thompson, who believed and still believes in the innocence of these two men.

In the Secretary's office, where he stayed while the others went in to the Governor with Michael Angelo Musmanno to act as interpreter—in the Secretary's office, Gardner Jackson was offered a cigar.

Ruth Hale sat now without speaking. Mary Donovan spoke less and less, answering an occasional inquiry which came from the "friend's house" where again Rosa Sacco was waiting for the end, but this time not only with faithful, fearless Hazel Wedgwood beside her, but also Signorina Vanzetti. And again at headquarters all were waiting, with hope, without hope. At the telephone the voice of Gardner Jackson became more and more quiet as the minutes passed: "Was the execution to go forward?" "No news?" "Bad!" "No, nothing—nothing at all!" So the brief inquiries and monosyllabic answers followed one another. Even when there was speech, there was yet stillness in that office. During the hour before midnight Debs was spoken of—the fact that the last money order he had been able to make out had been for this committee. And some one in the office said, "All day thoughts have been repeating a prayer we were taught when we were children, 'Now I lay me down to sleep.' They have nothing to regret. They are good children. They will sleep well."

Aldino Feliciani, sitting with bent head, answered gently, "What are two lives! It is the ideal."

It was midnight. Quiet and more quiet, Gardner Jackson was speaking at the telephone. Madeiros was gone.

Mary Donovan Breaks  
Once a thief had hung on either side, the Christ between. Now, two idealists, not one, as if symbol of that

fellowship for which Christ lived and died, but one thief. These two, athletes though they might be, of the very Brotherhood of Christ.

And perhaps in the very moment when from Nicola Sacco they were cutting off speech with the straps guards were fixing about his head and the Death House heard him calling out last words of farewell, came a cry from Mary Donovan, "I can't—I can't believe it!" Her brother and a friend were swiftly at her side, there was the snap of an ammonia capsule, and control quickly regained. Still that belief in the ultimate kindness of the law! Vanzetti next—gentleman of the law! shaking hands with his guards, thanking Warden Hendry for his kindness, and even as he blindfolded him, from this atheist those Christ-like words: "I wish to forgive some people for what they are now doing to me." In the ears of those who stood in that Death House must have rung down two thousand years of time the words of another, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!"

Through the inner door of Defense Headquarters tumbled the Italian editor. Unable to speak, the breath in him shaking the whole man, he bit at a roll of papers he held in his hand. Then, crying out convulsively, "They are gone!" he threw himself head and shoulders, sobbing, upon the table. And in that moment there was no separation between his manhood and his tears. They were one and alike, beautiful.

Most courteous and most sensitive brother of ours, you meet a double tragedy. From what did you come? To what have you come? Fleeing Fascism in your lovely land, what is it you have gained here? Is it freedom? Is it the ideal? What was it that the ideal you hoped of your land of promise?

From the outer office, some weeping, all quietly, they were going down the steep stairs.

They Didn't Turn In  
In the inner office Mary Donovan

spoke, "Come, let us not answer the telephone any more."

And we went out, down the stairs, and into the night.

Then, after hours that seemed eternity, the way back to those foothills of the Adirondacks, where John Brown lies buried. Land of promise, beauty and wealth everywhere! Hills and rushing streams of the Berkshires in the summer sunlight, the deep valley of the Hudson in the heat of afternoon, in the dusk the thin ribbon of water and first cliffs of Lake Champlain. In my thoughts were another beautiful land and another Brotherhood struggling for justice, Padraic Pearse and his poem TO DEATH: Of wealth or of glory I shall leave nothing behind me (I think it, O God, enough!)

Yes, these two, the names of these two, left in the heart of a child! The train came to an unexpected stop outside a little fortress town, among the first of those historic towns on Lake Champlain. Above the sudden quiet, I heard a high-pitched woman's voice, "That Italian case that was on at Boston."

"When?" asked another woman who sat beside her.

"Tonight. But I didn't get tired in time and—"

With a kick, through the dark, the train went on.

## Rand School Scholarships

(Continued from page 3)

street, Brooklyn, Br. 456 W. C.; Edward J. Rome, 308 Union street, Brooklyn, Br. 456 W. C.; Local 889, Murray Rugoff, 1274 Stebbins avenue, Bronx, Local 24, Millinery Workers; S. Sacharoff, 708 East 243d street, Bronx, Bronx and Iron Workers; Jackie Schames, 439 Saratoga avenue, Brooklyn, Y. P. S. L.; Jack Schneider, 364 South First street, Brooklyn, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local 3; Ida Schildman, 925 Tiffany street, Bronx, Local 22, L. L. G. W. U.; Leah Silverstein, 3030 Holland avenue, Bronx, Local 43, Millinery Workers; Murray Singer, 1827 Coney Island avenue, Brooklyn, American Association Plumbers' Helpers; Paul Stein, 1606 47th street, Brooklyn, Pioneer Youth; William Stein, 81 Norfolk street, New York City; Mrs. May E. Swan, 6 West 99th street, New York City; Pullman Porters' Union; Isador Wallace, 1433 42d street, Brooklyn, Amer. Port. Shoe Workers; Solomon Weinberg, 2137 73d street, Brooklyn, Local 22, L. L. G. W. U.; M. Wilensky, 104 Vermont avenue, Brooklyn, A. C. W. A.

Abe Wisotsky, 1135 Intervale avenue, Bronx, Y. P. S. L.; Ida Witner, 2137 Coney Island avenue, Brooklyn; Bertha Wittner, 2137 Coney Island avenue, Brooklyn, Local 66, L. L. G. W. U.; M. J. Wooten, 164 West 120th street, New York City; Sleeping Car Porters; Rudolph Zanelli, 344 West 17th street, New York City; Furriers' Union, Local 105; Anna Zaretsky, 158 East Broadway, New York City, Local 9, L. L. G. W. U.; Dorothy Zisser, 4412 10th avenue, Brooklyn, Embroidery Workers' Union; Dillian Zolan, 354 Miller avenue, Brooklyn, Y. P. S. L.; Joe A. Zucker, 1087 Fox street, Bronx; Samuel Bart, 177 Norfolk street, International Brotherhood Electrical Workers; Max Schaefer, 152 Goerck street, New York City, International Pocketbook Workers; Harry Zucker, 102 Newport avenue, Brooklyn, taxi driver; Miriam Kraut, 867 41st street, Local 43, Millinery Workers; Joseph Schuler, 2090 Mohegan avenue, Bronx, United Neckwear Cutters; Jacob Zaretsky, 116 East 115th street, Furriers' Union, Local 105; Nick Combella, 2042 West Fifth street, Brooklyn, A. C. W. A., Local 243.

# Why Defend Sacco?

## A Reader Objects to The Socialists' Part in The Anarchist Case—The Editor in Reply

(This letter was received before the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti.)

EDITOR, The New Leader:

In a spirit of fair play, may I hope that you will give publicity to a point of view opposed to yours in the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

We Socialists have always prided ourselves on the fact that we stood for a society governed by law. Are we now to stultify ourselves by advocating the substitution of trial by jury and legal process for trial by mob clamor? For if through such terrorism guilty men can be set free, in the same manner innocent men may be hung. This may be Ku Kluxism or American Legionism, but surely isn't Socialism.

Is it inconceivable that men who believe in the overthrow of organized society by force and violence might not hesitate to commit the lesser crimes of robbery and murder? Shall it be made easy for future criminals to get free from punishment by setting up in their defense merely that they are anarchists?

We have petitioned Governor Fuller to review this case and he has done so, calling in men of high standing in the community to assist him. Governor Fuller is the chosen representative of the majority of the people of Massachusetts elected in a democratic manner. What right have we to assume that these men, the original jury and the various judges reviewing the case, have all been corrupt?

As to Governor Fuller being "capitalist minded," so was Governor Altgeld. I will remind you that a similar clamor almost accomplished the freeing of the McNamara brothers in Los Angeles.

This is great stuff for communists to get the crowds to bolster up their dying cause, but hardly the sort of thing that Socialists should lend sanction to. Of course, we are all opposed to capital punishment, but that issue is not particularly involved in the present issue. Let's quit supplying communists with their meal tickets.

EDW. D. LOEWENTHAL.

Chicago, Ill.

In Reply  
We cheerfully comply with the request of the above writer to print his letter and will consider the issues he raises in the order he presents them.

1. Socialists certainly have no desire to substitute "trial by mob clamor" for "trial by jury and legal process." What Socialists and hundreds of thousands of trade unionists have done in the Sacco-Vanzetti case is to hold public meetings, gather funds, circulate petitions and adopt resolutions express-

ing their opinion regarding the trial. As all these activities are in accord with the fundamental law of the land, how can any human being assert that this is "mob clamor," or "terrorism" or "Ku Kluxism"? Certainly, we have fallen upon evil days when orderly protest and expression of views on this case or any other question that has become of public concern are condemned.

2. Our correspondent asserts that the accused men "believe in the overthrow of organized society by force and violence." How does he know this? Nothing whatever has been printed to justify the statement. Then suppose Sacco and Vanzetti do hold to this creed? Shall they be tried for murder and be convicted for holding those opinions? If so, why not seize our correspondent for lecturing on Einstein's theory and convict him of burglary?

On the other hand, our correspondent forgets that there are two types of Anarchism, one the old force Anarchism and the other philosophic Anarchism. Advocates of the latter rely solely on education for the realization of their views. Everything we have read of the views of Sacco and Vanzetti agrees with philosophic Anarchism and in this respect their philosophy agrees with that of Josiah Warren, descendant of the Warren who fell at Bunker Hill. It also agrees with that of Henry D. Thoreau, distinguished citizen of Massachusetts when genuine culture was not an outlaw in that State.

But even belief in force and violence is not a legal offense or Lincoln could have been impeached when in his first inaugural he affirmed the "revolutionary right of revolution." It is the overt act which brings a man before the bar, not belief that violence may be necessary at some time in the evolution of society.

We make no plea for Anarchism of either type. We believe it to be utopian, impossible of realization, but so believing, we also insist on the right of all views to be heard. Our correspondent unwittingly takes the position that these men believe in "force and violence" and for that reason we do wrong to protest against the sort of "trial" they received.

3. He assumes that our protest is based on the assumption that the jury, the judge, the Governor and the commission are "corrupt." We have never taken this position. We do not believe that any person has been bought or bribed. We believe that this case is the outcome of an attitude and a psychology of the ruling classes of Massachusetts which has been long in shaping in that State and, to some extent, in the nation itself. The post-war period brought it to a head.

Two examples from history may be worth consideration. The ruling classes of England experienced the same psychic-complex during the French Revolution. Becoming panic-stricken over the agitation at home for reforms that were long overdue, the governing officials saw in all domestic agitation the clever designs of French Jacobins. These officials ventured on a reign of terror, struck down all civil rights, and judges perverted the courts into instruments of a brutal tyranny. Innocent men were sentenced to long terms

of imprisonment, the press was gagged, meetings dispersed and literature confiscated.

That psychic-complex of fear and hate also appeared on this side of the Atlantic and found expression in the notorious Alien and Sedition Acts and brutal treatment of accused men in courts because of their opinions. In Massachusetts the Rev. Jedidiah Morse even published a pamphlet that frightened the ruling families from Boston to South Carolina. His theme was a secret society plotting all over the country and inspired by aliens, especially those who were supposed to be linked up with the Bavarian Illuminati. A thorough investigation showed that the "conspirators" were French refugees from San Domingo and their societies were lodges of the Masons. Nevertheless, judges acted in cases growing out of this hysteria in accord with their hates, fears and prejudices against the accused, not in accord with the evidence.

Men and women who cannot understand that since our entrance into the World War our ruling classes have been afflicted with the same hysteria have been living without knowledge of their own times.

In passing it is important to remark that Socialists and trade unionists are not alone in their views of the Sacco-Vanzetti case. Their views are shared by many men of the type of Felix Frankfurter, who have laboriously studied the case and have concluded that a monstrous miscarriage of justice has occurred in Massachusetts. These men do not carelessly hazard their professional standing by rushing into print without careful consideration of what they are doing.

4. As to the McNamara brothers, the protest in that case was one in which practically the whole labor movement joined. The late Samuel Gompers wrote bitterly against the methods employed to obtain these men. It will be remembered that they were seized at night, placed into an automobile, rushed across the continent, and lodged in a Los Angeles jail. It was a case of kidnapping and it was this kidnapping that raised a storm of protest all over the country. These men were entitled to be served with a warrant, to appear in court, and their consent to waiving the extradition process was necessary before they could be transported to California legally. Socialists, trade unionists and others had every reason to believe that the professions of innocence by the McNamara brothers were sincere considering the methods adopted to "get them." That they later confessed guilt in court does not alter in the slightest degree the justification for the protest.

As for Governor Altgeld having a capitalistic mind like Governor Fuller, we answer that a comparison of the two men only establishes a wide contrast. Altgeld was fighting the plutocracy according to his best knowledge, while Fuller is a millionaire member of this plutocracy. Our readers will be interested to know that before Altgeld died he told Eugene V. Debs that he regretted that he had remained in the radical democracy and had not understood Socialist ideals.

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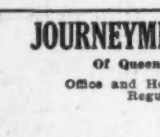


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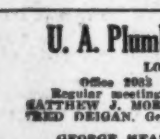
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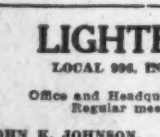
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# THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

## NATIONAL

### Fred Paulitsch—An Appreciation

**Aid For Appeal Urgent**  
Contributions and general support to the American Appeal must be given by our comrades with a vengeance. In previous issues I have called our comrades' attention to the fact that the deficit incurred on the paper during the summer months while our comrades were inactive—at least many of them—on the vacation, makes it necessary for each and every one to get busy and get subscribers, purchase sub cards, and in any other way possible get revenue into the paper's treasury. I have been trying to speak plainly to our comrades on this matter, for it is so important that we must have this active appeal. The time will not be far off when we can forget this sort of appeal, but that time is not here as yet.

W. H. Henry, Executive, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago.  
**Pogorelec Busy**  
Chas. Pogorelec, secretary of the Jug-Slav Federation, is on what was supposed to be a vacation in Colorado and other points west, but he has forgotten the vacation. He organized a Federation branch of eight members at Pueblo, Col., and expects it to have many more members in a short time. He also sends two yearly sub to the American Appeal. It is a shame we haven't a number of such able men out in the field.

**Jewish Socialist Verband**  
M. Blum of Chicago has been elected translator-secretary of the Jewish Socialist Verband. He was selected for this position by the National Executive Committee of the Verband. Comrade Blum is an old resident of Chicago, energetic and enthusiastic and believes in the national organization. His address is care Jewish Daily Forward, Kedzie and 13th Street, Chicago, Ill.

## MICHIGAN

**Big Detroit Meeting**  
The Socialists of Detroit have arranged for a big get-together of Socialists on Friday, September 2. The meeting will be held September 2 at 8 o'clock, in Turner Temple, 1009 Marston street, corner of Melrose, one block east of Oakland avenue. The National Executive Secretary and business manager of the American Appeal, Wm. H. Henry, will be present and it is expected that all Socialists will be on hand. In the very near future there will be a roundup of Socialists in a big Socialist meeting in the city of Cleveland, and later on in St. Louis, and we expect such meetings to be held in other of the larger cities. The National Secretary has agreed to visit cities where such meetings can be arranged for the purpose of planning party work and getting support for our official organ, the American Appeal. The National Secretary will have the co-operation of the National Secretary will please write the national headquarters, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

## MONTANA

Ida Crouch Haddett, national organizer of the Socialist Party, has been engaged by the Central Trades and Labor Council of Butte to deliver the Labor Day address for what is expected to be the largest Labor Day celebration in the history of the Butte trade unions. Montana law requires official parties to elect delegates from each county to state conventions to be held the third Tuesday in May. The Socialists of Montana have already elected delegates to this law. Railroad fare of all delegates out of and from the convention is paid out of each county treasury.

## MASSACHUSETTS

**State Picnic**  
The Socialist party will hold a State picnic at Maynard on Labor Day. All Socialists and sympathizers are urged to come, as a very good program has been arranged. There will be singing, dancing, a musical program with prominent Socialists. Athletics of all sorts, including swimming, will take place in the morning. At 2 p. m. a business session will be held. No introduction to Socialists, will speak. Then there will be speakers in different parts of the field, in various languages. Oscar Tokok, former premier of Finland, will speak in Finnish; Arturo Culla in Italian, and W. V. Anest in Lithuanian. In the afternoon the Finnish band and some of their finest artists will give special musical selections, and in the evening there will be dancing. The picnic will be held at Vose's Pavilion, off Parker street. Maynard. Lunch can be obtained on the grounds. For those who have autos there will be men stationed in Maynard to direct you to the grounds; if you have no auto you can get to the picnic by bus from Arlington Heights station of the Boston Elevated Railway Company. Buses leave at half-past every hour. Fare is 50 cents. A State picnic is an experiment for the Socialists of Massachusetts, and we expect to make it an annual affair if there is a good turnout. Come and bring your friends.

## CONNECTICUT

**State Committee**  
The State Executive Committee met at the Workmen's Circle Educational Center, 438 Oak Street, New Haven, Sunday, August 28, Martin Plunkett presiding. The committee voted to send State Secretary Plunkett to the New England conference of the Jewish Socialist Verband for the purpose of boosting "The Commonwealth," the State party paper. He will also attend the State conference of the Workmen's Circle branches in New Haven October 2 in behalf of the Debs radio fund. **Successful Picnic**  
On Sunday, August 21, the Socialist party and Workmen's Circle branches held a very successful picnic for the benefit of "The Commonwealth," the party paper. McAllister Coleman, of the New Leader, addressed the gathering in behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti. August Gerber, secretary of the Debs Radio Committee, urged the Socialists of Connecticut to boost the fund. The picnic was well attended, considering the bad weather. Over \$100 was realized for the paper. **New Haven**  
A ticket will be named soon for the coming city election. **Hamden**  
W. E. Davis, secretary of the local reports that a ticket will be nominated for the town election the first Monday in October.

I HAVE known Fred Paulitsch for almost thirty years. Fred was a sheet metal worker and for the past twenty-five years we had belonged to the same local of the Sheet Metal Workers' International Association. Comrade Paulitsch was born in New York City. He joined the union of his craft as soon as he was eligible to membership. The New York tin roofers at that time were affiliated with the Knights of Labor. He joined the Socialist Party in 1901. It was then known as the Social Democratic Party. In 1902 the tin roofers amalgamated with the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' Union of New York, and since then we were members of the same local. From the time Comrade Paulitsch joined his union he gave to it his time and untiring energy, serving it in various capacities, as president and as business agent. He was a delegate to many conventions of the International Union.

During the lockout of the building trades in 1903 Comrade Paulitsch worked day and night to help the organization to break it, until his health broke down and he had to go to a hospital. The union lost the fight against the combined employers in the building industry, and the then Local 19 of the Sheet Metal Workers was broken up. In 1904 the union was reorganized as Local 11 of the Sheet Metal Workers, and Paulitsch gave his time and energy to rebuilding the organization. By 1905 we had rebuilt the union to such an extent that we won an increase of wages and an agreement that has served as a model for many other unions in the building industry. But Comrade Paulitsch, while in the Knights of Labor, realized that the trade union movement, though necessary under the capitalist system as a means of improving the condition of the workers, was not sufficient; that

the workers must organize politically to secure the gains made on the economic field. Paulitsch joined the Single Taxers and as such was an ardent worker in the second Henry George campaign, when George was a candidate for Mayor in the first mayoralty election of Greater New York, in 1907. (Henry George died during that campaign and his son, Henry George, Jr., was nominated in his place.) Comrade Paulitsch learned then that the labor movement must have not only a means, but that there must be an end to work for. He learned that Socialism was the only solution to the problem, and in 1900, though not a member of the party, he worked in the first Debs campaign, and in 1901 he joined the Socialist Party.

From then on he was an active member of our party, speaking, working and doing all in his power to organize and educate the workers to the realization of their power and the need of combined economic and political action. The trade union and the Socialist movement lost an active worker and a devoted member, and I, personally, a staunch friend. We mourn our loss, and it is to us who are left behind to fill the gap, to take up the work where Comrade Paulitsch left off, continue the fight until the principles for which he lived and died are realized. To our comrade and friend we bid a last fare-thee-well. You have done your duty as a man, as a citizen and as a member of the working class. You have rendered your service and done it well. All honor to you and to your memory. To the family of our comrade and friend we give our heartfelt sympathy and the assurance that when the future historian shall write the history of the labor and Socialist movement, the name of Fred Paulitsch will occupy an honored place. **JULIUS GERBER.**

## QUEENS

**Jamaica**  
Branch Jamaica will open its campaign activities with a special meeting next Friday evening, September 2, at 57 Beaufort (97th) avenue, Jamaica, near 138th street, south of the L. I. R. R. Plans for open-air meetings and distribution of literature will be made and all Socialist sympathizers, as well as party members, in that territory are urged to attend.

## New York City

**Membership Drive**  
A drive for 500 new members will be made by all the branches of Local New York City simultaneously with the campaign during the months of September and October. There is every indication of a revival of interest in the Socialist Party and its work in this city. Within the next few weeks we expect such meetings to be held in other of the larger cities. The National Secretary has agreed to visit cities where such meetings can be arranged for the purpose of planning party work and getting support for our official organ, the American Appeal. The National Secretary will have the co-operation of the National Secretary will please write the national headquarters, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

**Campaign Dance and Reunion**  
All of the candidates, campaign managers and committees, as well as Socialists and their friends throughout the city, will gather inspiration for the big campaign drive of us by coming together at the first social event of the season. This will be in the nature of a campaign dance and reunion and it will be held in the Debs Auditorium, People's House, 7 East 15th street, on Sunday evening, September 24. Saturday Society Orchestra has been engaged and will furnish the music. Other details as to the program will be announced later. Tickets are 50c., in making it comrades are urged to assist, socially and financially.

## Manhattan

**Second Judicial District**  
The campaign committee of the Second Judicial District met Monday evening, August 29, at 8:30, in Room 505, People's House, 7 East 15th street. Reports were made by various committees on the matter of obtaining public school auditoriums in the district for mass meetings. Comrade Leventhal reported that he had secured the Second Avenue Theatre for September 29 for the first ratification meeting in the district. The manager of the theatre, William Pasternack, is giving the theatre for Judge Panken's campaign gratis. The committee voted to accept the offer and to send a letter of appreciation to Mr. Pasternack. It was also reported that a trade union conference is being organized which will take place on Wednesday evening, September 14, at Beethoven Hall. The call for this conference is signed by a large number of leading trade unionists. It is expected that a huge turnout for this conference will be the result of campaign activities are already well under way. Comrade Valenti is already on the job organizing the campaign headquarters, 107 Second Avenue, at 8 p. m. sharp. All members of the committee are urged to attend and to come on time. **Harlem**  
A joint meeting of the Harlem branches is called for Tuesday evening, September 13. Candidates for Assembly and Alderman will be present at

ference with other active members of the branch, nominated Comrade Morris as speaker, and nominated Comrade Morris as speaker. At the next regular branch meeting plans will be proposed for a joint meeting of all the branches in this district and the organization of the Campaign Committee. **234 A. D.**  
One of the best attended business meetings for some time was held last Monday evening. The huge Brownsville family turned out in good numbers and ratified the new choice for Assemblyman and Alderman in their district. Comrades Chas. Solomon and Sadie Rivkin were nominated by acclamation and the Campaign Committee was given proper impetus to commence their work. By the enthusiasm displayed at this meeting, there is every indication that Brownsville will be won delegates Socialist District and that the election of Comrade Solomon to the Board of Alderman is easily probable. The next meeting of the Campaign Committee will be held at 234 A. D. Comrades Karlin and Classens were present and spoke at this meeting.

## YIPSELDON

**Athletic Meet**  
Remember the League Athletic Meet will be held Sunday, Sept. 11, at the Rice Stadium, Pelham Bay Park, if the weather permits. Entries must be filed immediately. All comrades are urged to turn out en masse. This will probably be the last big outdoor event of the season. It will be celebrated in an unusually fine manner.

**Russell Lecture**  
The Hon. Bertrand Russell will lecture on "Why Men Fight" at the Community Church, 34th Street and Park Avenue, Friday evening, Oct. 14. Tickets are 50c, 75c, and \$1. Comrades are urged to make immediate purchases. Capacity attendance is expected. Order of the City Office, Phone Algonquin 4620. It is very distasteful for the office to again urge comrades to purchase dues stamps, yet it is necessary. The coming National Convention will be the criterion of the standing of the New York League. Furthermore, the allotment of delegates will be made on the basis of dues stamps sold. This means that every comrade must make every effort to pay up. The motion picture entitled "A Yipsel Hike" is now at the Workmen's Circle Camp at Pawling, N. Y. The picture will be viewed this week by a large Labor Day week-end group.

## Dance

Local New York will hold a campaign and reunion dance at the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th Street, Saturday night, Sept. 24. Admission is 50 cents. Dues and tickets are made to circles. Twenty-five percent of sales made by circles will remain in the circle treasury. Each circle ought to have a list of names of those who purchase five books and dedicate them to the memory of Comrade Paulitsch. The books will be added to the Yipsel library.

## Circle One

Circle One, Bronx, met last Monday. It was a fine example of what can be done when everybody co-operates. Perhaps it was due to the fact that a young comrade who spent some time at Llano Co-operative Colony in Louisiana, gave an interesting talk of the workings of the colony. The spirit and the attendance were fine. Three new members were accepted.

## Fred Paulitsch

It is with a feeling of deep regret that we learn of the sudden death of the Bronx's staunch supporter of the party, Comrade Fred Paulitsch. The office takes this opportunity of conveying our sympathies to the relatives and comrades of the Bronx. The Bronx Branch Committee is desirous to purchase five books and dedicate them to the memory of Comrade Paulitsch. The books will be added to the Yipsel library.

**Valhalla Outing**  
Valhalla will witness another invasion during the Labor Day week-end. The Bronx Yipsels are already preparing for it. It is expected that a large number of comrades will be present. The outing should be at 11:00 A.M. on Saturday, Sept. 2, p. m. sharp.

## BRITISH PACIFIST HERE; WILL DELIVER LECTURE ON PEACE PROBLEMS

Rev. Oliver Dryer of London, secretary of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, arrives in New York on the Pennland, Red Star Line, on Sunday, September 4. One of the leaders of the European peace movement, Mr. Dryer has visited all the European countries in the past eight years, bringing together people from antagonistic national groups. In 1921 he became the secretary of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, succeeding the well-known Quaker, Henry T. Hodgkin, who is now one of the secretaries of the National Christian Council in China.

The pioneer work supported by this Fellowship has included: good-will journeys of French journalists through Germany and vice versa, a co-operative colony in Syria, participated in by Turks, Armenians and Bedouins, voluntary reconstruction of French homes by Germans and Austrians in the devastated area of France, publication of a news sheet in three languages for exchange of peace news, the setting up of innumerable conferences, meetings and personal visits for peace.

Mr. Dryer is an engaging speaker. He comes to the United States at the invitation of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation and will be one of the principal speakers at the Conference on Imperialism to be held at Asbury Park, N. J., September 8 to 11. Following the conference Mr. Dryer will visit various churches, speaking before leading churches, clubs and forums on the work of reconciliation in Europe, aspects of the peace question, etc., until November 15. Mr. Dryer's itinerary will take him to Chicago, Kansas City, Indianapolis, Philadelphia, Hartford, New York City, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Cleveland and Detroit.

**4-14th A. D.**  
The next regular meeting of this branch will be held on Monday evening, September 12. Our candidate for the Judicial Senatorial, Assembly and Aldermanic Districts will be present that evening and together with the branch membership will discuss the prospects and possibilities of the campaign in Williamsburg.

**224 A. D.**  
Due to the declination of Comrade Shipiloff, candidate for Alderman in the 56th Aldermanic District, the Committee on Vacancies met and in con-

# UNION DIRECTORY

## N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL

**CAP MAKERS**  
Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.  
OFFICE: 315 EAST 5th STREET  
Phone: Orchard 8900-1-3  
The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.

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

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

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

## HEBREW BUTCHERS UNION

Local 234, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A. 175 E. 14th St.  
Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday  
J. KORNAL, GRABER, President  
J. BELSKY, Secretary.

## BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS'

UNION, LOCAL 60, I. L. G. W. U.  
1 East 14th Street Tel. Stuyvesant 3857  
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union  
J. L. FRIEDMAN, President  
GEO. TRIESTMAN, NATHAN RIEBEL, Secretary-Treasurer

## NECKWEAR CUTTERS'

Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.  
7 East 15th Street Stuyvesant 3678  
Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of Every Month at 163 East 23rd Street  
Fred Fashenbender, N. Ullman, President  
J. KORNAL, GRABER, Secretary

## HEBREW ACTORS' UNION

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

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

Office: 175 East Broadway.  
Phone: Orchard 6630  
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening.  
M. GREENBERG, Sec.-Treas.  
PETER MONAT, Manager.

## See That Your Milk Man Wears the Emblem of The Milk Drivers' Union

Local 584, I. U. of T.  
OFFICE: 208 W. 14th St., City  
Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at BEETHOVEN HALL  
210 East 5th St.  
Executive Board meets every 1st and 3rd Thursday at 8 p. m.

## GLAZIERS' UNION

Local 1067, B. P. D. & P. A.  
Office and Headquarters at Astoria Hall, 63 East 4th St. Phone Dry Dock 1078. Regular meetings every Tuesday at 8 p. m.  
ABE LEMOK, Pres.  
FETE KOPP, Sec'y.  
JACOB RAPAPORT, Treas.

## German Painters' Union

LOCAL 499, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS  
Regular Meetings Every Wednesday Evg. at the Labor Temple, 34 East 14th St.  
PETER ROTHMAN, President  
ALVIN ROETTNER, Secretary  
ANDREW HALL, Fin. Sec'y.

## PAINTERS' UNION, NO. 51

Headquarters 288 EIGHTH AVENUE  
Telephone LEXINGTON 8219  
Day Room Open Daily, 10 a. m. to 5 p. m.  
JOHN W. SMITH, Pres.  
M. McDONALD, G. F. BRENN, Vice-President  
Regular Meetings Every Monday, 8 p. m.  
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## Pressers' Union

Local 3, A. C. W. A.  
Executive Board Meets Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple  
11-27 Arion Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
MORRIS GOLDIN, W. BLACK, Sec'y.  
E. TAYLOR, Treas.

## New York Clothing Cutters' Union

A. C. W. A. Local "Big Tree"  
Office: 44 West 23rd Street.  
Regular Meetings every Friday night at 310 East Fifth Street.  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 p. m. in the office.  
J. MACHLIN, Sec'y-Treas.

## The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

3 West 16th Street, New York City  
Telephone Chelsea 3148  
MORRIS RICHMAN, President  
ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

## The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union

Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U.  
Office 231 East 14th Street. Telephone Ashland 2600  
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION  
DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

## Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers

Office, 331 E. 14th Street. Union Local 43, I. L. G. W. U.  
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.  
SECTION MEETINGS  
Downtown—231 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 8 P. M.  
Brooklyn—E. 17th St. & A. Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.  
Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.  
Elizabethtown—118 Montross Ave. Jersey City—14 Montgomery St.  
SALVATORE NIKPO, Manager-Secretary.

## EMBROIDERY WORKERS'

UNION, Local 3, I. L. G. W. U.  
Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 301 E. 16th St.  
Melrose 7899  
CARL JORANBERG, President  
M. WEISS, Secretary-Treasurer

## United Hebrew Trades

135 EAST BROADWAY  
Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M. Exec. Board same day, 5:30 P. M.  
R. GUSKIN, Chairman  
M. TIGEL, Vice-Chairman  
M. FEINSTEIN, Secretary-Treasurer

## WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION

Local 69, I. L. G. W. U.  
117 Second Avenue  
TELEPHONE ORCHARD 1144-3  
A. NYDORF, Manager

## AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

11-15 UNION SQUARE, N. Y. AMALGAMATED BANK BLDG. 3rd FLOOR.  
Telephone: STUYVESANT 6500-1-3-4-5  
SYDNEY HILLMAN, Gen. President. JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

## NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA  
411-413 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Telephone: Spring 1090-1-3-4-5  
ABRAHAM BECKERMAN, Gen. Mgr. ABRAHAM MILLER, Sec'y-Treas.

## PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD

OF GREATER N. Y. AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA.  
OFFICE: 175 EAST BROADWAY. ORCHARD 1891  
Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening at the Office. All Locals Meet Every Wednesday.  
MOSES BLUMENFELD, Manager. HYMAN NOVODVOY, Sec'y-Treasurer.

## NEW YORK JOINT BOARD INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION

Affiliated with The American Federation of Labor  
GENERAL OFFICE:  
11 WEST 18th STREET, N. Y. Phone Chelsea 3084  
CHARLES KLEINMAN, Chairman. CHARLES GOLDMAN, Secretary-Treasurer. A. I. SHIPILOFF, Manager

## MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL 24

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union  
Downtown Office: 416 Broadway. Phone Spring 4518  
Up-town Office: 30 West 17th Street. Phone Wisconsin 1319  
Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening  
Joint Board meets every Second and Fourth Monday.  
Board of Directors meet every First and Third Monday.  
Local 24—Executive Board meets every Tuesday.  
Local 24—Executive Board meets every Thursday.  
Local 24—Executive Board meets every Wednesday.  
These Meetings are Held in the Office of the Union

## N. Y. Joint Board, Shirt and Boys' Waist Makers' Union

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA  
Headquarters: 621 BROADWAY (Room 533) Phone Spring 1338-1339  
G. GOOZE, Manager  
Joint Board meets every Second and Fourth Monday.  
Board of Directors meet every First and Third Monday.  
Local 24—Executive Board meets every Tuesday.  
Local 24—Executive Board meets every Thursday.  
Local 24—Executive Board meets every Wednesday.  
These Meetings are Held in the Office of the Union

## FUR DRESSERS' UNION,

Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union.  
Office and Headquarters: 916 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn. Phone: ELIZABETH 9798  
Regular Meetings, 1st and 3rd Monday.  
M. KERN, President  
S. FINE, Vice-President  
A. FRIEDMAN, Sec. Sec'y.  
W. WINTER, Treas.  
H. KALINIKOFF, Bus. Agent

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

130 West 88th St. Madison Square 1904  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M.  
D. GREGG, Sec'y.  
A. WENIGER, Treas.

## INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS' UNION

OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA  
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor  
9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. Hunters Point 66  
PHILIP A. SILBERSTEIN, General Pres. HARRY BEGOON, General Sec'y-Treas.

## The AMALGAMATED SHEET METAL WORKERS

UNION LOCAL 137  
Office: Room 410-11, Bible House, 430 Fourth Avenue, New York  
Phone: STUYVESANT 4139  
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at 8 P. M.  
M. BROWD, Vice-Pres.  
J. I. NEWMAN, Sec'y.  
J. FRUCHTER, Vice-Pres.  
PHILIP GINDER, Treasurer

## Amalgamated Lithographers

of America, New York Local No. 1  
Office: AMALITHONE BLDG. 285 WEST 14th ST. Phone: WAT 5th 1964  
Regular Meetings Every Second and Fourth Tuesday at 8 P. M.  
ARLINGTON HALL, 19 ST. MARK'S PLACE  
ALBERT E. CARSTEN, President  
A. J. KENNEDY, Vice-Pres. Frank J. Flynn, Sec'y. Frank Schol, Treas.

## U. A. Plumbers, Gas Fitters and Marine Plumbers

LOCAL NO. 1, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK.  
Office: 19 Fourth Avenue. Phone: Sterling 9123.  
Regular Meetings every Monday evening, at 193 Fourth Avenue, Brooklyn.  
Executive Board meets every Friday evening, at the Office.  
Office open from 9 A. M. to 6 P. M.  
THOMAS F. OATES, President. OGLETHORPE, Secretary-Treasurer.

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CHAS. CAMP, President. ALEX ECKERT, Financial Sec'y.  
Carpenters' Union No. 423. German Technicians & Draftsmen  
ALBERT HELB, Secretary.  
Fur Dressers' Union No. 2



# LABOR DAY GREETINGS

FROM

## NEW YORK DISTRICT COUNCIL NUMBER 9

### Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America



The New York District Council of the Painters' Union on Labor Day, 1927, Re-dedicates Itself to the Task of Eliminating from its Industry the Barriers Which Keep Our Workers from Enjoying the Just Benefits of Their Toil. We Extend to the Embattled Workers in Other Trades and in Other Countries the Hope that Succeeding Labor Days Will See Us All Further Advanced on the Road to Full Economical, Political and Social Justice.

**A. J. FISCHER, President**

**CLARENCE S. BARNES, Secretary**

#### DELEGATES TO THE NEW YORK DISTRICT COUNCIL

O'CONNELL, D. D.  
BREHEN, GEO. F.  
HARTLEY, WILLIAM  
HARRINGTON, JOHN

Representing—  
Painters' and Decorators' Local Union 51  
John W. Smith, Pres. Geo. F. Brehen, Sec'y

GRAY, EDWARD  
TOOKER, W. F.  
RAFFERTY, JOHN. J.

Representing—  
Sign Writers' Local Union 230  
Albert V. Quinn, Pres. W. I. Sackheim, Sec.

PEARLMAN, I.  
SILVERMAN, I.  
MANDEL, SAM  
RUBIN, SAM

Representing—  
Painters' and Decorators' Local Union 261  
Max Ginsberg, Pres. W. Marron, Sec'y

ELSTEIN, L.  
ROSEN, H.

Representing—  
Painters' and Decorators' Local Union 442  
H. Rosen, Pres. S. Weinreb, Sec'y

FISHER, A. J.  
FRIED, J. G.

Representing—  
Painters' and Decorators' Local Union 454  
G. Begassi, Pres. Robt. Harmon, Sec'y

KAVANAUGH, C.

Representing—  
Painters' and Decorators' Local Union 472  
Jos. Dorian, Pres. W. Breedveld, Sec'y

MEYERS, A.  
HANDELMAN, H.

Representing—  
Paper Hangers' Local Union 490  
Irving Heideman, Pres. E. Jackson Snyder, Sec'y

ROTHMAN, PETER  
HAAS, A.  
JUST, EMIL

Representing (German Speaking)—  
Painters' and Decorators' Local Union 499  
Peter Rothman, Pres. Alwin Boethner, Sec'y

ROBINS, C.  
NELSON, A. D.

Representing—  
Art Glass Workers' Union Local 520

SCHNEIDER, JOHN

Representing—  
Bevelers' and Mirror Workers' Local 528  
———, Pres. H. Rappaport, Sec'y

BERGER, W.

Representing—  
The Varnishers' Local Union 697  
John Schneider, Sec'y

McBURNIE, J.

Representing—  
Gilders' Local Union 803  
S. Rode, Pres. Jos. Murphy, Sec'y

EVERETT, GEORGE  
ASTNER, NELS

Representing—  
Scenic Artists' Local Union 829  
Oscar Yerg, Sec'y

JONES, THOS.  
DRECHSLER, CHAS.  
DAWSON, ROBT.

Representing—  
Painters' and Decorators' Local Union 848  
Alex. McVitty, Pres. Thos. A. Jones, Sec'y

JAPELLI, S.  
MANCINI, A.  
BALDINUCCI, G.

Representing (Italian Speaking)—  
Painters' and Decorators' Local Union 874  
S. Japelli, Pres. G. Pallecchia, Sec'y

McNAMARA, EUGENE  
DUNN, MATHEW  
ZELLER, B.  
CALLANAN, D.

Representing—  
Painters' and Decorators' Local Union 892  
David Callanan, Pres. Benj. Greene, Sec'y

PERLIN, MAX  
MATZKIN, D.  
KOSLOFF, L.

Representing—  
Painters' and Decorators' Local Union 905  
Max Perlin, Pres. Thomas Wright, Sec'y

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KAPLAN, H.  
LADITZKY, H.

Representing—  
Painters' and Decorators' Local Union 1011  
H. Bloom, Pres. E. Bialik, Sec'y

MILLER, FRANK  
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Representing—  
Glaziers' Local Union 1087  
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## "NOT A DAY FOR THE WORKERS TO REJOICE"

By James Oneal  
(Editor, The New Leader)

LABOR DAY is by no means a day of rejoicing this year. The aftermath of grief following the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti leaves a pall over the labor movement of the United States. To the credit of the whole trade union movement be it said that, regardless of differences, it was unanimous in opposing the execution of these two Italian workmen. Yet it must also be admitted that the upper class of politicians and intellectuals who represent a soviet of class rule in Massachusetts were so confident of their power that they proceeded with the barbaric drama without any regard for working class sentiment.

When it is remembered that the unanimous resentment of the organized working class of this country was reinforced by appeals and protests all over the world but without avail, the humiliation of the labor movement of this country is complete. Sacco and Vanzetti went to their death because the workers of this country have no political power. Had there been twenty-five or thirty representatives of the workers in the Massachusetts Legislature and fifty or more such representatives in Congress, and with the political movement of the working class on the upgrade, Sacco and Vanzetti would not have been the victims of the most atrocious "trial" that has ever disgraced any country.

Look at this tragedy as we may, this is the outstanding fact. Ruling classes and their political agents have profound respect for a working class that respects itself, that is independent, self-reliant, and that moves forward in the political field as an independent power, conscious of its claims and determined to weave them into statute law. They have no respect and certainly no fear of a working class that humbly plays the role of camp followers, content with a bone thrown now and then to the divided, listless and impotent voters. When they could market Coolidge with his labor record in 1924 it was certain that they could send Sacco and Vanzetti to their death.

### A Day of Defeat

So this Labor Day is one of defeat and profound humiliation. It is the greatest disaster that has come to the American labor movement. It would be unthinkable in England or in any nation on the Continent. In those nations abroad the upper classes have too much respect for the political intelligence of the organized masses to risk their power upon such a gross travesty of "justice" as that staged in Massachusetts.

But merely lamenting what has happened cannot reverse what has been done. At least should sober all of us. We have been kicked in the face. We have been knocked down and rolled in the mire. There are some men in the labor movement who seem to think that progress can be made by being "yes-men" to the most reactionary sections of our ruling classes. They appear to believe that by paying homage to an "Americanism" and a mythical "democracy," words that mean anything and everything, the labor movement can win the tolerance and even the respect of our reactionaries.

Vain hope! Unless the labor movement constitutes itself an independent political power in American life there will be more human sacrifices made to our malicious reaction. For from having democracy in the United States, we have to win it as a shield behind which the labor movement can develop and ward off the menacing dangers ahead. It is therefore the duty of intelligent members of the trade unions to educate their fellows night and day on the necessity of a complete break from the two political parties that govern this country.

In Massachusetts we had the spectacle of Democratic Boston co-operating in the suppression of peaceful demonstrations while the Republican clique on Capitol Hill were preparing the chair for Sacco and Vanzetti. There has been a powerful feud between the Puritan Republicans and the Democratic vulgarians in the State for three or four decades, but they presented a united front in perpetrating the most atrocious judicial crime in our history. How can labor men avoid the logic of the lesson which this teaches?

### An Obvious Lesson

That lesson is obvious. The old policy of the trade unions regarding politics should be changed. We are working men and women in the unions. We should be working men and women at the polls, not Democrats, Republicans, Socialists, Farmer-Laborites and Independents, who are scattered, divided and impotent. We can be united in a labor party, break with the past, move our battalions forward in one mass, break into city councils, the State Legislature and Congress. We can place labor judges on the bench and executives at the head of cities and States.

The question should be raised in every trade union and every convention of the unions. Not dogmatically, but earnestly, continuously, and bring to the task a wealth of information drawn from American life and experience abroad. Ours is the only modern nation in the world that does not have its trade union movement supporting its own political party. We are a desolate island in a sea of labor parties. Even Mexico entered the modern current years ago.

No other issue will result in more profitable discussion in the trade unions of this country. The members

## Need For Labor Party Greater Than Ever, Socialist Secretary Says

By Wm. H. Henry  
(National Executive Secretary of the Socialist Party)

LABOR DAY, 1927, finds the working class struggling to hold its advantages won in previous years, with but slight increases (if any) in its roster of organized membership. Capitalists' interests are doing all within their power to cripple the workers' forces by court action and by attempting to get the workers into company organizations. The details of the past year's efforts can be more properly stated by the officers and writers who are directly in charge of the economic organizations, so I shall confine myself to the question of political action on behalf of Labor in the United States at the present time and its future outlook.

On the political horizon, from the standpoint of the old parties, we find the Wall Street leadership in complete control. Every leader of those parties is of the most conservative make-up and there is no hope for the workers to have even a look-in for anything that will be of any benefit to the great masses. Organized workers cannot hope for any crumbs from these Wall Street political organizations, to say nothing of a regular-sized loaf.

Every wide-awake member of the producing masses fully realizes that the condition of the farmers has not been benefited in any way by the present capitalist rulership. The powers that be have complete control of both old parties and are also in complete control of the public offices. This should be plain to the farmer as well as to the wage worker.

The feeling for a greater co-operation between the economic and political organizations of Labor gives great hope for strengthening our forces in both fields. There should be a complete harmony, and a friendly co-action, for both arms of Labor are needed in its efforts to not only hold what it has and better its condition, but in its aim for complete emancipation.

The workers should understand that the owning class has a great power in its ownership of a press that reaches the people and keeps them fed up on the daily news of crime produced by the very system that this press helps perpetuate.

Not only has the owning class a powerful press to keep the minds of the workers embalmied and unable to see their own interests, but they have the movies, the radio, and many other agencies to put their story on the minds of the great mass and keep them from thinking of their own interests. The workers should realize that emancipation of their class cannot be brought about by blindly following their masters. The labor forces should realize that it is short of a press of its own. While there are a number of working class newspapers in this country, many of them are just existing—their circulation is scant—their usefulness, lessened by lack of circulation. Too much stress cannot be laid on this one weapon that

## A Labor Day Darkened By the Sacco Murder

By Algernon Lee  
(Director, Rand School of Social Science)

ANOTHER Labor Day comes around, darkened by the shadow of the judicial murder committed in Massachusetts two weeks ago.

### What shall be our response?

Shall we bow our heads in sorrow, lamenting the weakness of a labor movement that was not able to save our two brothers from the doom pronounced upon them by the ruling class? If that is to be our mood, Thayer and Fuller and Lowell will know that they have succeeded. A working class broken in spirit, dismayed, dejected—that is what our exploiters wish to see.

Shall we vent our emotion in angry denunciation of the capitalist class and its official tools? No words can be too bitter to express our rightful indignation. But beyond that, such words will have no effect. Our reproaches will not touch the souls of the men who killed Sacco and Vanzetti. Their attitude is that of the old Roman tyrant who said: "I care not for the people's hate, if only they also fear me."

The struggle against class murder cannot be forced. They must be educated and the change must be a willing one based upon education or it will be fruitless. But the change must come soon, as the future does not look bright for the working class of this country.

Meantime, the Socialist Party, always friendly to the trade unions, will hold the banner of independent political action aloft. It will be willing to turn it over to the trade unions when they are willing to carry it, and merely serve as one section of the labor army, helping to carry this banner to victory. The members of the trade unions who realize the necessity of independent political action can do no better than to resolve that henceforth they will give their time to this task of emancipating their fellows from their old political allegiances.

Labor is so badly in need of. Each individual should give his or her support in a spirit of gladness. Gather about the cause and contribute liberally to the end that our press be made a real power to educate and put our side before the masses in the light of working class interests.

There is no room for destructive methods. Men and women who understand their interests and the proper methods will steer clear of any entanglements with any group that wants to use methods that can only lead to a weakening of its forces. The Socialist Party has always been in the forefront constructively fighting the battles of the workers in every contest with the owning class. Education and organization are the constructive ways to progress.

Every Socialist and every far-sighted member of the producing class and all those in harmony with the aims and objects of the Socialist Party should be an active member of the organization. No time should be lost in building a bigger Party organization and preparing the way for a mighty campaign in 1928. Nothing succeeds without organization. Every one who believes in the Socialist Party program should be an active member and supporter of the Party at all times. The one constructive way to give service is to join the Socialist Party and the union of your trade.

The Socialist Party is the only force worth mentioning. The trade unions and organized farmers must look to the Socialist Party as their own Party and recognize that it will doubtless be the political expression of the masses for working class progress. In but one state does any other working class expression seem to be attempting to get political power and educate the masses into working class political action, and that is the state of Minnesota. In this state the forces do not seem to be in as good a shape to face the future with any hope of success as they were one year ago, but we hope that the groups in Minnesota will be able to grow and prosper.

The Socialist Party is planning to put a presidential ticket in the field for the 1928 election. We expect to have our electors in every state, so those that are tired of capitalist administration may have a chance to vote for a Labor program. I have no hesitancy in saying that political action is one of the arms of the Labor movement and if we are thinking of solving our problems, it is an important one. And, again, if the economic organizations in this country expect to build and increase their membership, or even go along as they are at present, they will unquestionably need a political party of their own to fight their battles in public office. It is high time that the great mass of industrial and agricultural producers line up and help to strengthen the Party of Labor in this country. We are optimistic regarding the future and we feel that unusual progress will be made in the strengthening of Labor's political arm—the Socialist Party.

## TO THE MEMORY OF SACCO AND VANZETTI

Let us dedicate Labor Day of 1927 to the memory of Sacco and Vanzetti!

Organized labor of America rejects the philosophy that Sacco and Vanzetti held, but it honors the memory of these two men. Labor is quick to feel indignation for injustice, and it was outraged at the spectacle of two helpless Italian workers suffering seven years of torture, and finally execution, because courts and government officials were either too prejudiced, too cowardly, or too much entangled with red tape, to take the step which would have prevented the horrible miscarriage of justice.

In December, 1926, John Brown was hanged. Two years later, thousands of marching feet were keeping step to the refrain:

"John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave,  
His soul goes marching on!"

Not because they believed in John Brown's acts, but because they honored his indomitable and self-forgetting spirit, and because they hated the institutions at which he struck a blow, the boys of '61 sang that song.

So we of organized labor may well give this Labor Day as a memorial to those two men of sturdy, unflinching spirit, who were put to death by those forces which we are out to destroy—racial hatred, political bigotry and intolerance, and the strangling, vise-like grip of outworn legal institutions. Because they were honest and steadfast men, and because their valiant fight seemed to embody the spirit of Labor struggling for the freedom and hope of a new day, let us think of them on Monday, September 5th, and salute them—"gentlemen unafraid."

JOHN P. TROXELL,  
Director of Education,  
Pennsylvania Federation of Labor.

## 'ORGANIZE' URGED AS SLOGAN

By William Kohn  
(President Upholsterers' International Union)

ON SEPTEMBER 5 the organized men and women of America will celebrate Labor Day. Throughout the length and breadth of the country events will take place calculated to impress upon all of the people the importance and dignity of Labor. Mass meetings, the radio and the public press, as far as that is accessible, will be used to spread the gospel of our movement to make known in every corner of the continent that we are a vital, virile force upon whom the very life and existence of society depends.

In making this particular day as impressive as possible we will do so in no spirit of boasting, but rather we will be actuated by the knowledge that there are even today only too many people who fail to recognize and give due credit to the significance and constructive role of the organized wage earners everywhere.

Only the wilfully blind and the prejudiced will fail to acknowledge that the credit for the sum total of social and economic advancement achieved to date must be accorded to those men and women who have had sufficient vision, foresight and social consciousness to unite and help others to unite so that all of us as individuals may progress. Our work has not been accomplished by mere lip service or the spinning of lovely phrases, but by actual participation on the field of economic and industrial struggle, in the combats that have been forced upon us by the forces of reaction and the enemies of labor and progress. In the slow, uphill fight against tremendous odds we have had occasions that have called for the supreme sacrifice, and we have recorded to the eternal glory of the labor movement that we have always had in our ranks courageous souls who were ready to step forth and take some what may so long as the cause was served. Our history is filled with the records of martyrdom and self-sacrifice on the part of devoted individuals so that many may move forward on the path of progress.

The good that organized labor has accomplished is enjoyed not only by its members but also by those millions of unthinking workers who will not recognize that only through unity and organization can we build up our social and economic status and protect ourselves against the common enemy. Every time that the intelligent wage earners through their unions gain another step forward, whether it be in increased wages, decreased hours or improved working conditions, it is inevitable that the unorganized of the same craft will profit to some extent in similar gains, though, of course, in a lesser degree. It is beside the point that they do not deserve what they refuse to work for or are unwilling to help achieve; the fact is that they do benefit. How much greater would be their advancement and how much more we could all achieve if every worker would use his or her common sense and join the ranks of organized labor can easily be visualized, but it is the tragedy of our class that we have so many who are satisfied to stand aside and accept merely the crumbs.

On this Labor Day we of the American Federation of Labor can do nothing more significant, more important and nothing more fraught with greater possibilities than to rededicate ourselves to the task of keeping the ranks of the unions intact, their powers unimpaired and to strive with all of the energy at our command to reduce the vast army of workers who are still strangers to the unions by getting them to understand our aim and mission and annexing them into our ranks. Let us then agree to do three things: First, ORGANIZE; second, ORGANIZE; and third, ORGANIZE!

## Kennedy Calls on Miners To Battle Unfair Courts And Operators' Thugs

By Thomas Kennedy  
(International Secretary - Treasurer, United Mine Workers of America)

LABOR DAY of 1927 finds the organized labor movement consistently fighting for the achievement of its ideals, its aims and its aspirations. It is well that we take inventory as to the underlying factors which affect favorably or adversely the course of trades unionism.

Labor Day is a logical time for this analysis. Has there been that unity, co-operation and solidarity among our membership and unions so vitally necessary for the progress of organized labor? If we are found lacking in these we should resolve to get back to our basic principles. Some wise man once said "we get out of life what we put into it." This is equally true of the labor movement—we get out of the labor movement that degree of progress consistent with the efforts put forth.

The United Mine Workers of America continues to do battle in the interests of its members and their dependents. This great organization must continuously keep in the trenches of industrial warfare in order to protect and further the welfare of its people. Its adversaries are usually great combinations of wealth who wield great influence in the various branches of the Government.

The forces of the United Mine Workers are usually met with an injunction from a judge and a gun in the hands of a thug deputized and commissioned by authority of the Commonwealth. An illustration of the power which seeks to destroy the mine workers' organization can be found in the Pittsburgh district of Pennsylvania, in West Virginia, and elsewhere, where gunmen, thugs and strike breakers have been imported by the thousands and under the abuse of the police powers have been protected and aided in their nefarious work against labor.

Against these obstacles our organization presents its solidarity and its constructive policies and is making the highway. All of the forces of reaction have centered their attacks on the United Mine Workers of America. Despite these attacks we move forward and we will continue to do so until every mine worker on the North American continent is a member of the United Mine Workers of America and working under the protection of our organization and under the provisions of a joint agreement arrived at through collective bargaining.

If there are any persons in the mine workers organization or in any other

union—and there are such persons—by their actions create dissension, turmoil and division in the ranks, they should be made to understand that they are mill stones around the neck of real trades unionism and that they are aiding the enemy in their attacks on the organization. Men cannot consistently preach solidarity and practice disruption. By their actions shall they be judged.

Let us resolve on Labor Day of 1927 to benefit by mistakes of the past. Let us renew our obligation to the principles of the trades union movement. Let us destroy any germs of hatred, suspicion, prejudice, intolerance or bigotry that may exist and which has weakened our ranks and resolve to substitute therefor the principles of brotherhood, democracy and service in the great cause of humanity. Let us intelligently work to the end that abuses in Government, be they in the legislative, the judicial or the executive branch, shall be eliminated and that liberty and justice shall be restored to the people. Let us resolve to be broad and tolerant in our thoughts and our actions. Let us not only preach, but practice unity, solidarity and co-operation, and with our forces thus united we can continue to make progress and as a result our organization, our membership, their dependents and society in general will move forward into the sunlight of a better day.

Valer—Sacco and Vanzetti  
Editor, The New Leader:

The manner in which Sacco and Vanzetti, the victims of the travesty of justice just perpetrated, met death, well became them, displaying deep emotion for their relatives, but otherwise calm resignations and courage. Their putting aside the hollow mockery of man-administered so-called "spiritual consolation" proved the sincerity of their belief as to the negligible part the church plays in our present iniquitous social order, which part is, at the very best, that of the good Samaritan seeking to allay the want and woes of individuals, but with no condemnation of, or concerted effort to destroy, the financial and industrial system which makes our life road "from Jerusalem to Jericho" little less than a shambles—not of blood, but of heart-aches and heart-breaks. Sacco's salutation to anarchy (which he mistakenly considered the antithesis of our organization of society instead of it being its real essence and perfect flower) shows his heart was right, though his conclusion was wrong.

## Political Action Held Labor's Major Problem

By Max Zaritsky  
(President Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' Union)

CONDITIONS now do not seem very favorable. Business prosperity is apparently on the decline. The period of recession has evidently already set in and we are threatened by the approach of a periodical, industrial depression. This situation is already acutely felt in our own cap and millinery industry and in the needle trades in general. These trades in which the contraction of consumption is taking place much more lastly than in other industries reflect the general unsatisfactory business situation somewhat sooner and to a greater extent than in most of the industries.

Under these unsatisfactory industrial conditions, labor is confronted with very serious tasks. The maintenance of the present conditions and standards of organized labor and even more, the further improvement of these conditions, not to speak of the improvement of the social position of labor, depends very largely if not entirely on our ability to organize the great masses of the unorganized workers of this country. In our own field, in the cap and millinery industry, our organization has made during the last two years untiring efforts in that direction. Notwithstanding the unfavorable conditions in our industry, substantial results were accomplished and the membership of our International Union has increased almost 50 percent. Owing largely to the success of these organizing efforts, we succeeded in introducing the five day, forty-hour week in the cap trade of all the larger markets and also in substantially improving the conditions and wages of the workers in the millinery trade. Our organizing efforts continue and this Labor Day will be devoted by our membership to the advancement of our organizing campaigns in the various centers of our industry which are not yet fully organized. On this Labor Day our membership will dedicate themselves to the task of accomplishing during the coming year a one hundred percent organization in every cap and millinery market throughout the country.

It strikes me that this task of organizing the unorganized is the major task of the entire labor movement at the present time. It seems especially essential that some supreme effort be

made to advance the cause of organized labor within the great trustified industries, such as iron and steel, automobile, electric, etc. The company unions and the other so-called welfare schemes which are used by the labor bating trusts to befuddle their workers will demand special attention on the part of organized labor. They will also perhaps demand the development of additional and new methods of organization adapted to meet the special needs of the workers of those industries and fit to overcome the peculiar difficulties with which every organizing campaign in these industries is confronted.

Closely bound up with the organizing campaign in the trustified industries will necessarily be the fight against injunctions—that instrument of arbitrary suppression of organized labor for which there seems to be no justification in the constitution or laws but which the courts have converted into a powerful weapon of class domination and which has recently been extended to new ground depriving the worker of every fundamental right and denying them even the right to organization. Organized labor will have to find ways and means to hold back the injunction club and prevent it from striking brutally and indiscriminately at every labor head which refuses to follow slavishly the arbitrary dictation of the boss.

Last but not least, the Sacco-Vanzetti case, this brutal judicial murder of two workers, whose guilt was never established by any impartial trial in the face of the protest of the entire labor movement and of the millions of justice-loving people throughout the country and the world, shows that as long as labor is not substantially organized, politically as well as economically, it cannot count on the slightest consideration from the powers that be.

It seems that both ruling parties are merely the mouth-pieces and the agents of soulless Big Business. Tom Mooney is still in prison, notwithstanding the repeated decisions of conventions of the American Federation of Labor and in the face of the fact that his innocence was established by a governmental commission. Sacco and Vanzetti are dead, notwithstanding the fact that their trial was a travesty of justice and that the entire world literally was shocked by this frightful judicial murder.

Should not labor then consider whether the time is not ripe for a change in the methods of political action on the part of organized labor? Is it not time that labor shall cease to depend upon "friends" and hostile camps, but shall instead build up its own powerful organization in the political field as well as in the economic? It strikes me that this is one of the major questions to which organized labor must give serious thought on this Labor Day of 1927.

Something of the same chaos and waste as exist in coal are evidenced also in the agricultural and textile industries, which require, however, somewhat different constructive programs. The last few months are beginning to teach the workers that, despite the propaganda of the highly paid prophets of prosperity, the capitalist system has not solved the problem of industrial crises. The recent prediction of Colonel Ayres of the Cleveland Trust Company, of Professor Haney of New York University and of others regarding the approach of another period of industrial depression, as indicated by the increasing lack of demand for available capital, the growing sales resistance of customers, and the increasing difficulty in finding jobs, appears to be correct. And, as to say, no more provision has been made for meeting this period of unemployment as far as giving work to the unemployed is concerned than in all of the previous periods of economic depression.

Will any of these lessons be grasped by the American workers? Here and there there are signs of light. The aroused public interest in the Sacco-Vanzetti case is hopeful. The effective pressure of labor opinion against war with Mexico and against joining hands with the Tories of England in the Chinese embargo; the decision of the A. F. of L. to start a drive for the unionization of the workers in the automobile industries; the new theory of wages enunciated by President Green and the proclamation for the five-day week (if these are anything more than gestures); the recent acquisition of the WEVD radio station, and the growing fundamental literature which is beginning to appear in the country on economic subjects are straws that point to possible significant developments. However, these straws are few in comparison with the needs of the hour.

In the meanwhile those who see the vision of a time when the workers will enter the heritage that should be theirs, when industry will be run with the primary and direct aim of human welfare rather than for private profit, should work unceasingly in whatever way their capacities dictate for the organization of workers by hand and brain on the political and industrial fields.

Immediately they should do their part to wage, through the Socialist Party and similar agencies, an educational and political campaign, with all the intelligence, all the constructive ability, all of the aggressiveness and enthusiasm that is at their command, with the realization that the same forces that have created a powerful political working class movement elsewhere are at work here in America, and that every sane piece of educational and organizational work at the present time will count mightily in the years to come.

## FOR A YEAR OF EDUCATIONAL WORK

By Harry W. Laidler  
(Executive Director, League for Industrial Democracy)

WORKERS in America have this year received a number of valuable lessons in the practical working out of capitalist economics. They have been taught through the terribly tragic Sacco-Vanzetti case and through numerous other court decisions the meaning of capitalist "justice" and the absolute need of selecting representatives of the working class to judicial, administrative and legislative positions, if the workers are to receive more than nominal justice at the hands of the law. Will the workers of America heed this oft-repeated lesson?

American labor has been taught, through the outrageous policy of this country in its dealings with Nicaragua, Mexico and other Latin-American countries, that there can be no guarantee against war under a system of machine production for private profit. For such a system inevitably leads to the exploitation of weaker peoples, to continual pressure on the governmental machine to use every agency at its command, financial and military, to insure the safety of these investments and the continuance of super-profits therefore, and, unless the strongest kind of people's protests are made—and often against these protests—to international warfare.

The last year and particularly the last few months has given another indication of the waste involved in capitalist industry and the impossibility of solving the social problem without fundamental reconstruction. This lesson has been particularly vivid in the case of the blundering coal industry. Here is an industry shamefully overdeveloped; an industry capable of producing at least a billion tons of coal a year with the available labor force and mines, not knowing whether they will but half that amount; tens of thousands of idle men at the mouth of the mines, not knowing whether they will be needed next week, next month, next year or at all; thousands in debt, restless, discouraged, embittered, roused to desperate strikes against further reduction of wages and living standards, but drifting along without any constructive policy for the reorganization of the industry on a basis of a good American life for the worker and real participation in the industry to which they have dedicated much of their lives. When will labor learn that something more drastic than strikes will settle the problem of the industry? that only through some plan of nationalization and democratic control will they and their families begin to live, begin to enjoy the life, liberty and happiness to which they are so richly entitled?

Something of the same chaos and waste as exist in coal are evidenced also in the agricultural and textile industries, which require, however, somewhat different constructive programs. The last few months are beginning to teach the workers that, despite the propaganda of the highly paid prophets of prosperity, the capitalist system has not solved the problem of industrial crises. The recent prediction of Colonel Ayres of the Cleveland Trust Company, of Professor Haney of New York University and of others regarding the approach of another period of industrial depression, as indicated by the increasing lack of demand for available capital, the growing sales resistance of customers, and the increasing difficulty in finding jobs, appears to be correct. And, as to say, no more provision has been made for meeting this period of unemployment as far as giving work to the unemployed is concerned than in all of the previous periods of economic depression.

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## MANY SIGNS SHOW DROP IN BUSINESS

**Curtailment of Operations Following in Wake of General Depression, Survey Shows**

(Continued from page 1)

ready begun to recede. The index numbers for new floor space for 1924, 1925 and 1926 were 115, 136 and 138 respectively. The average for the first six months of this year was 132 as compared with 137 for 1926. This is to be expected. The shortage created by the war was made up, most authorities agree, sometime in 1925. Within the last two years construction has only had to keep up with the growth of business and population. The boom is on the wane. Naturally the industries which have been producing building material, such as iron and steel, lumber and bricks, will be seriously affected.

### Stocks of Goods Pile Up

Expansion of production would be a sign of improvement if the increased amount of products was easily absorbed by consumers. As a matter of fact, we have indications of the glutting of the market. The demand falls short of the supply. The wheels of industry have been run too rapidly. An index number of the stocks on hand of forty-five commodities shows that there has been a steady accumulation of goods. The yearly average for 1924-1926 being the base equal to 100—was 137, for 1926 it was 146, and for last year 174. For the first six months of 1927 the average was 185 and for the same period of 1926 it was 166.

Take unfilled orders as another key. They pile up when business is humming. Factories speed to keep up with the demands of their customers. Unfilled orders for steel of the United States Steel Corporation, for example, have always been considered a good indication of the movement of business because steel plays such an important role in varied business activities. What do we find to be the state of affairs this year? Let the following table speak for itself:

Unfilled Orders, U. S. Steel Corporation  
(Base year 1919=100)

	1926	1927
January.....	83	64
February.....	78	61
March.....	74	60
April.....	65	59
May.....	61	52
June.....	59	52

Average..... 70 58

The general status of unfilled orders of miscellaneous commodities has been the same as for steel, which, of course, dominates the situation. An index number with the peak year of 1920 as the base equal to 100 shows that un-

filled orders have been halved since then. The index for 1924 was 52, for 1925 it was 56 and for 1926 it was 59. The average for the first half of this year was 48, and for the corresponding months of 1926 it was 53.

### Sales and Prices Decline

Another check upon our thesis is afforded by the statistics for the amount of wholesale trade. Sales of mail-order houses, ten-cent chains and department stores are not very useful in this connection because these types of businesses have been spurring forward as a result of an accelerated popularity and success. Wholesale trade, also, is more responsive to general business conditions than retail. We find that the index for wholesale trade, using 1919 as a base, was 82 in 1924 and 84 in both 1925 and 1926, while the average for the first half of this year was 78, as compared with 81 for last.

The question, then, arises as to whether prices are of such character as to induce capitalists to increase their production. Our answer must be in the negative. Wholesale prices have been on a general decline. Once more taking 1919 as the base=100, we find that the index number for 1924 was 73; for 1925, 77; and for 1926, 73 again. It is better to show the steady lowering of the wholesale prices for the year and a half ending last June:

	1926	1927
January.....	76	71
February.....	75	71
March.....	74	70
April.....	73	70
May.....	74	70
June.....	74	70
July.....	73	70
August.....	72	70
September.....	73	70
October.....	73	70
November.....	72	70
December.....	71	70

There is no indication that prices will advance sufficiently to induce capitalists to risk their funds in new enterprises.

This may elicit the rejoinder that prices need not rise to enable business men to make profits. The increased productivity of labor, proved in these columns on several occasions, enables manufacturers to sell cheaply and yet have a safe if not a widening margin of profit, while at the same time increasing the purchasing power of the consumer, especially the worker, by virtue of lower prices. To this there are four replies: First, that labor itself, no matter how ineffectually, is insisting upon sharing this increased productivity; secondly, that the individual capitalist has difficulty in foretelling whether particular enterprise will be blessed with this labor efficiently and still relies upon prices to direct him; thirdly, that the increased productivity itself causes unemployment, as was suggested last week, and, therefore destroys instead of increases the purchasing power of the consumer, and, fourthly, that it is doubtful whether the increased productivity of labor really keeps up with the decline in prices in an immediate rather than in an ultimate sense, so that the capitalist can see profits directly ahead of him.

**Less New Corporations Formed**  
A significant commentary upon the trend of business exists in the figures

## LABOR'S DIVIDENDS

Accidents at all coal mines in the United States during the month of July resulted in the death of 135 men, according to the Department of Commerce. Of this number, 108 deaths occurred at bituminous mines and 27 at anthracite mines. The production of both bituminous and anthracite coal in the month was 38,597,000 tons—33,563,000 tons of bituminous and 5,034,000 tons of anthracite. Fatality rates based on these figures were 3.22 and 5.36, respectively, per million tons, while the industry as a whole showed a fatality rate of 3.50.

for the value of the authorized capital of new corporations, exclusive of those under \$100,000, incorporated in the principal eastern states. In 1924 the monthly average amount was \$596,227,000; in 1925, \$823,434,000 and in 1926, \$912,278,000, showing a steady rise. The first half of 1926 saw the monthly average of new incorporations amount to \$1,183,406,000, but during the corresponding period of this year the figure dropped to \$478,082,000 or less than half. Business men were wary about entering upon new ventures, for they sensed the danger ahead.

Another test of the business situation is the condition of the money market. Interest rates have declined because people hesitate to borrow money. Surplus funds abound. Thus the monthly average interest rate on 60 to 90 days commercial paper was 4.05 per cent. during the first half of this year as compared with 4.15 per cent. during the corresponding period last year. The rate of interest on long-term real estate bonds has dropped from 6.24 per cent. as the monthly average from January to May, 1926, to 6.09 per cent. In the first five months of 1927. At this time of the year money rates should be stiffening in anticipation of fall business but the contrary is the case. For one thing a business recession is anticipated. For another lowering prices has made it possible to do the country's business with less money. There was a monthly average of \$41.22 in circulation per capita of population during the first half of this year and \$42.74 during the corresponding period in 1926.

### More Failures—And Bigger Ones

Finally, notice must be taken of business failures. The index numbers for defaulted liabilities (1913 monthly average = 100) was 193 in 1924, 162 in 1925 and 149 in 1926. For the first half of this year we have the following index numbers in contrast to those of the same months of 1926:

	1926	1927
January.....	191	225
February.....	180	208
March.....	134	254
April.....	169	233
May.....	147	166
June.....	129	151
Average.....	153	215

The amount of defaulted liabilities

was, therefore, more than twice as large from January to May this year as compared with the same period in 1926. To look at the matter from another angle we present these figures for the first half year periods from 1924 to date:

January to June periods of	Liabilities in Millions of Dollars	Number of Firms Failing
1924	\$204	10,735
1925	239	11,420
1926	210	11,476
1927	282	12,298

The average amount of liabilities for each firm failing was \$28,000 in 1924; \$21,000 in 1925; \$18,000 in 1926 and \$23,000 in 1927. Larger firms go bankrupt during bad times, such as that of 1924. The first half of 1927 saw a rise in average amount of liabilities per firm, indicating business recession.

It appears, therefore, from the available evidence that business is confronted with overproduction. The proof is that while production has been unabated, stocks on shelves, in bins and in warehouses have been accumulating, while orders have been falling off. The results already have been a decline in new incorporations and an increase in bankruptcies. If this situation continues, a serious depression is in store for us.

## Police Harass Mourners

(Continued from page 1)

brutal blows and curses, anger and flight and pursuit, frightened faces, policemen with drawn pistols and clubs, raised in the air, and—almost abreast of the car—the plunging figure of a comrade who had just received a brutal kick from a man in uniform who was still close at his heels. . . .

Our car swerved suddenly and sharply to the left, and almost under the upraised arm of the policeman who stood in the center of the road. Directly the friendly trees and the rapidly thickening mist of the late afternoon swallowed us up. One got a glimpse of a white gloved hand, but whether it was raised to halt us or to speed us on our way, we shall never know.

Boston had added civic insult and injury to stupendous and cruel injustice. The earnest endeavor of orderly and peaceful men and women to pay their last tribute of respect to their beloved comrades, Sacco and Vanzetti, had met with and gone down before the all-conquering majesty of the law—the brutality, the criminality and the vindictiveness of the law of a once great State.

God save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts!

## Street Meetings

### MANHATTAN

Friday, September 2, 8:30 p. m.—95th street and Broadway. Speakers: William Karlin, Pierre De Nio.

Friday, September 2, 8:30 p. m.—10th street and Second avenue. Speakers: Frank Crosswath, A. N. Weinberg.

Friday, September 2, 8:30 p. m.—Bleecker and McDougal streets. Speakers: G. Valenti, S. Romualdi, Samuel Ulanoff.

Saturday, September 2, 8:30 p. m.—137th street and Seventh avenue. Speakers: Frank Crosswath and others.

Tuesday, September 5, 8:30 p. m.—Fifth street and Avenue C. Speakers: Frank Crosswath, Irving Basoff.

Wednesday, September 7, 8:30 p. m.—12th street and First avenue. Speakers: G. Valenti, R. Romualdi, A. N. Weinberg.

Thursday, September 8, 8:30 p. m.—Sheridan Square (Grove street and Washington Place). Speakers: August Claessens, A. Pepperberg.

Friday, September 9, 8:30 p. m.—95th street and Broadway. Speakers: Esther Friedman, Pierre De Nio.

Friday, September 9, 8:30 p. m.—106th street and Madison avenue. Speakers: Leonard C. Kaye and I. George Dobsevage.

Friday, September 9, 8:30 p. m.—Bleecker and McDougal streets. Speakers: G. Valenti, Ben Cacova.

Friday, September 9, 8:30 p. m.—Second avenue and 10th street. Speakers: William Karlin, A. N. Weinberg, Benjamin Goodman, Samuel Ulanoff.

Saturday, September 10, 8:30 p. m.—137th street and Seventh avenue. Speaker: Frank Crosswath.

### BRONX

Thursday, September 8, 8:30 p. m.—Bathgate and Tremont avenues. Speakers: Esther Friedman, Dorothy Steinberg.

Friday, September 9, 8:30 p. m.—163d street and Prospect avenue. Speakers: Frank Crosswath, Abraham Kaufman.

### BROOKLYN

Friday, September 2, 8:30 p. m.—Stone and Pacific streets (Sacco and Vanzetti memorial meeting). Speakers: Charles Solomon, Vincenzo Vaccaro, August Claessens, Dominick Ruggerio.

Saturday, September 2, 8:30 p. m.—Pennsylvania and Sutter avenues. Speakers: Samuel Ulanoff, Moses Plotkin.

Saturday, September 3, 8:30 p. m.—Havemeyer and South Third streets. Speaker: August Claessens.

Saturday, September 3, 8:30 p. m.—13th avenue and 42d street. Speakers: Morris Gismet, William M. Feigenbaum.

Wednesday, September 7, 8:30 p. m.—Sutter avenue and Hinesdale street. Speakers: Esther Friedman, I. Ostrowsky.

Thursday, September 8, 8:30 p. m.—Tompkins avenue and Hart street. Speakers: Samuel Ulanoff, Samuel H. Friedman, Joseph Tuvim, I. M. Chaitoff.

Friday, September 9, 8:30 p. m.—Bristol street and Pitkin avenue. Speakers: Charles Solomon, Sadie Rivkin, August Claessens.

Saturday, September 10, 8:30 p. m.—Pennsylvania and Sutter avenues. Speakers: Esther Friedman, Samuel Kantor.

Saturday, September 10, 8:30 p. m.—Havemeyer and South Third streets. Speakers: August Claessens, Harry Schachner.

Saturday, September 10, 8:30 p. m.—13th avenue and 42d street. Speakers: Morris Gismet, William M. Feigenbaum.

## MOVIE OPERATOR OUT IN CHICAGO

**Strike Follows Discharge of Two Union Members by Theatre**

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

CHICAGO.—A strike of the union operators in the movie houses of Chicago on Monday involving about 90 percent of the houses in the metropolitan area and over 15,000 workers reveals a clear lineup along class lines. The strike grew out of the discharge of two operators by one theatre, requiring the two men to do the work of four.

To permit this to become a general policy would mean to weaken the union and increase the profits of theatres by reducing the wage budget and more intensely exploiting the operators. On the side of the theatre owners the struggle has also assumed a lockout, as the Chicago Exhibitors' Association has voted to discharge all union motion picture machine operators and to suspend all other workers as a reprisal against the union.

Thus two forces in a class antagonism have pricked the bubble of "harmony between capital and labor." An interesting phase of the strike which reveals the power of economic interests in determining the views of men is the attitude of "Jack" Miller, president of the Exhibitors' Association. Miller at one time was an agent of the Operators' Union and an influential aid of "Tom" Moloy, business agent of the union. Miller acquired control of a theatre and then rose to the headship of the employers' organization.

Upon rising out of his class and becoming a profit-taker instead of a wage-receiver, Miller changed his views with the change in the form of his income. He is now influential in the policy of theatre owners to destroy the union, increase the exploitation of his former fellow workers, and locking out the union men. In this respect he follows the course of men like Phil Penna who was once president of the United Mine Workers but who later became the enemy of the miners by hiring his services to the mine owners' association of Indiana.

On both sides in this struggle there is a solidarity of opposing interests and

other unions in the industry may be involved. The contracts of the musicians and the stage hands expire within a week. The stage hands demand

a raise. The musicians are not asking for an increase in wages but they are demanding a longer season than forty-four weeks.

Heartiest Good Wishes for the Success of

## THE NEW LEADER

From

## BRICKLAYERS' MASONS' AND PLASTERERS'

Union No. 33

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.

HARRY J. UNGERER  
President  
J. WALTER HARDCASTLE  
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Recording Sec'y  
HOWARD BECKETT  
Financial Sec'y

## LABOR DAY GREETINGS

FROM

## The PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD

of Greater New York  
A. C. W. A.

MORRIS BLUMENREICH  
Manager

HYMAN NOVODVOR  
Secretary-Treasurer

GREETINGS FROM

## THE NEW YORK CLOTHING CUTTERS' UNION

LOCAL 4, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

The Progress of Civilization Is the Result of the Victories Gained by the Toiling Masses During the Course of These Nearly Twenty Centuries.

Let Us, The Workers, Pledge Ourselves on This LABOR DAY to Continue Our Struggles and Never Cease Until We Have Achieved Justice on the Economic Field.

PHILIP ORLOFSKY  
Manager

I. MACHLIN  
Secretary-Treasurer

## ON LABOR DAY And On All Other Days

## THE AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

Extends A Hand Of Fellowship  
To The Wage Workers  
Everywhere

SIDNEY HILLMAN  
General President

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG  
General Secretary-Treasurer



# ∴ The Old-timers ∴

By Semper Idem

FOR some time a storm raged, particularly in "Progressive" labor circles and in the "Progressive" labor press, because a certain official of a labor union had accepted a position with an employing organization in his trade.

Without defending the action of this official, his action should rather give thought to our trade unionists, and particularly the "Progressives," as to the situation an official of a labor union finds himself in, when he leaves his office, voluntarily or otherwise.

From my long observation I find that the most unfortunate individual is the person who has been an officer of a labor organization any length of time.

Usually it is the younger men who aspire and are elected to office, and by the time they get out of office they have reached or passed middle age. That alone would mitigate against their securing employment, should they desire to go back to the shop, and if such officer has been honest and sincere in the performance of his duties he has invariably aroused the ire of the employers, and, with the exception of such trades where a crop of new employers grows every year, such a person cannot get a job.

What is left for him to do? The salary is usually not too large, and the expenses incidental to such office usually great, so that after years of work such an ex-official is worse off than those who have worked in the shop. In New York City one can meet any number of former labor officials who, after many years of conscientious service to the movement, grown too old to work at their trade or unable to get a job at the trade, now have to eke out a living by selling something or another—a mild form of panhandling.

Now one would expect that these people, having served the movement and in many instances given their time, their life and their future to it and to their respective organizations, that the movement and their organizations would reciprocate. But unfortunately such is not the case.

Usually these men are too proud to tell even their friends of their real condition, and, while many people look on the labor union official as "pie counter boys," as one writer recently

(The following article by a veteran in the New York labor movement considers a phase of the movement that is too often flippantly brushed aside by those who do not know and may never know the tragedy that sometimes follows long and devoted service to the working class. The writer cites a number of instances that have come under his observation of a callous indifference to veterans of

the movement, an indifference sometimes manifested when a little aid by the calloused ones would be no sacrifice to them. Having squeezed the best out of the veteran, it too often follows that he is cast aside with no more consideration than the capitalist displays when he discharges the workman who has passed middle age. The article deserves the careful attention of our readers.)

expressed it, the fact is that few manage to save money.

I remember one wintry day not so long ago, while walking through the side streets of New York, seeing a man who, for more than 20 years, served the labor movement and his own organization, doing his work for what would be considered a starvation wage. This man was working as a snow shoveler for the city. In New York and Chicago, and I know of some in other cities, there are men who are in the same position as the man described above.

I know of men who, when young, gave their all to the Socialist and the trade union movement, who are today cast aside, and who eke out a living as insurance agents, towel supply men, painting, etc., and this is different work than they are accustomed to. They usually do not make good salesmen.

I recently met in a big city two men who gave their whole life to the labor

movement, and always were in the front ranks of the movement, both fine speakers and organizers and good executives. One was selling real estate and the other canvassing from house to house for a laundry. These men are temperate in their habits, so that intemperance cannot be charged against them.

In most instances the men in the labor movement have to give so much of their time to the movement that they are strangers to their families. And when their children grow up there is not the filial feeling; and in most cases the children feel that if their father had not given so much to the movement he and they would have been better off, and therefore feel no obligation to their parent when he is in need.

As most of these men are alive, names cannot be mentioned, but all that is necessary is to stop and think for a while of what became of this or that man who was active in the union or in the party, what is he doing now,

## We Shall Never Forget October 20th—November 5th

The above dates are memorable ones to the Socialists of this nation and the world, for it was on Nov. 5 that Eugene V. Debs was born and it was on Oct. 20 that he passed away. The National organization is planning to co-operate with all organized Socialists and other groups for the purpose of holding memorial meetings on or near Oct. 20 and continue the meetings and general activity without ceasing up to and including Nov. 5. SIXTEEN DAYS OF INTENSIVE ACTIVITY.

At all meetings membership to the Party will be urged and subs to the Socialist press taken. The American Appeal is the child of Debs, and it will be the duty of our comrades at all meetings, and also in places where no meetings can be arranged, to gather subs, buy sub cards, make donations to the Party and Appeal, and distribute the Appeal, The New Leader, and other Socialist literature. There will be a Special issue of the Appeal, and we expect it to be the biggest and best yet issued, to commemorate the anniversary of the birth and death of our beloved comrade, "Walla and Bars," his posthumous book, will be sold at all meetings and a general forward move for the cause throughout the country carried on for the benefit of the Party and the American Appeal—work that Gene himself would wish done if he were with us.

WM. H. HENRY,  
Executive Secretary, Socialist Party.

and you will have no trouble in finding them.

I know of a man who was a very successful organizer and representative of his union. The employers' association wanted to get him as an officer for their organization. Whether there were ulterior motives behind this offer I do not know. The offer was tempting at a salary almost three times that paid by the union. Had this man accepted the offer, he would not only have earned a good salary, but, perhaps, would have had his job today, with a corresponding increase in salary. Had he accepted, there would have been a hue and cry throughout the labor movement, and particularly the radical wing. But this man declined the offer. He preferred to remain with the labor movement, and that is the man I saw shoveling snow.

This man now is selling something which every labor organization needs, but if one believes that these organizations think of him—a good many of which he helped to organize and many, many having benefited by his generosity of time and money—you are mistaken.

These organizations would rather patronize persons who never had anything to do with the labor movement, and who have never done anything for the labor movement, because, as a labor official recently said, "it is a tradition with us to give our patronage to this firm." This was the answer when questioned why they did not patronize this man, who is of the movement.

So, while it may please some people to talk of the "Pie Counter Boys," and while many of us are ready to throw stones at the person who, while an officer of a union, accepted a position with the employers, let us stop and reflect what have we or the movement done for the veterans of the movement? Perhaps many a stone will slide down in our own pocket, and sometimes we may invite some of them

to the counter where we will buy them a piece of pie and a cup of coffee. Some need it, and most of them will.

Let those who are today benefiting as members and officers of the labor organizations remember that these organizations were built by the blood and sacrifice of these veterans, and let us withhold the stones and see if there is not some way that we can throw out a life-line to them. Let us remember that a dead person cannot see nor can he smell the flowers on his coffin.

## LABOR DAY GREETINGS

FROM  
THE  
JOURNEYMEN  
BARBERS'  
International Union  
LOCAL 752  
New York

SAMUEL LEVENBERG  
Sec'y-Treas.  
ABRAHAM GREENWALD  
Manager

Patronize Union  
Barber Shops

That Display This  
Show Card

# THE UNITED NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION

Affiliated With the American Federation  
of Labor

GREETS

THE NEW LEADER

With the Hope That the Day  
Is Not Far Distant When The New Leader  
Will Fill the Void of a Very  
Much Needed American Working Class  
Daily Newspaper.

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Manager  
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Business Agent  
EDMOND GOTTESMAN  
Secretary-Treasurer

## Labor Day Greetings

FROM

# THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

Negro Labor, through the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, adds its lusty voice to that of the embattled and militant workers of the world striving toward a new social order where poverty, ignorance, war and prejudice will have no place.

To Workingmen everywhere, of every race and color, we stretch forth our hands in unity and solidarity in Labor's march to re-conquer the world for those who do the world's useful work.

## The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

National Headquarters  
2311 Seventh Avenue  
NEW YORK CITY

Organized August 25, 1925

### Officers:

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH  
General Organizer  
W. H. DESVERNEY  
Assistant General Organizer  
A. L. TOTTON  
Assistant General Organizer  
ROY LANCASTER  
Secretary-Treasurer  
S. E. GRAIN  
Field Representative  
FRANK R. CROSSWAITH  
Special Organizer

## LONG LIVE THE SOLIDARITY OF LABOR!

R. GUSKIN  
Chairman

M. TIGEL  
Vice-Chairman

M. FEINSTONE  
Secretary-Treasurer

## THE ITALIAN DRESSMAKERS' UNION

Local 89, I. L. G. W. U.

Greet the  
Trade Unionists  
of America  
On This  
Holiday of Labor

LUIGI ANTONINI  
Secretary-Manager

# LABOR DAY GREETINGS

TO THE

# NEW LEADER

AND

# ORGANIZED LABOR

### JOINT BOARD

## CLOAK, SUIT, SKIRT AND DRESS MAKERS UNIONS

BENJ. KAPLAN, President  
JULIUS HOCHMAN, General Mgr.  
BENJ. MOSER, Secretary-Treasurer



## Labor Day Greetings



### THE INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS UNION

of the United States and Canada

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Eleventh Vice-President

On this day dedicated to the achievements of Organized Labor, the Fur Workers International Union greets *THE NEW LEADER* as a glorious weapon in the struggle for Labor's place in the sun. May another Labor Day see *THE NEW LEADER* receiving a still greater recognition for its efforts in behalf of those who toil.

PHILIP A. SILBERSTEIN  
General President

HARRY BEGOON  
General Secretary-Treasurer

## IF YOU KNEW, WOULD YOU?

If you were served food that you know is going to harm you, would you eat it?

Of course not.

If you knew that the kind of food you eat is going to harm others, would you eat it?

Well, that depends who you are.

If you are selfish and thoughtless, you won't mind. If you are considerate and interested in the welfare of other people, you would avoid such food as if there were poison in it.

Now please remember this:



YOU HELP THE GREEDY BREAD TRUST AND YOU HARM THE BAKERY WORKERS AND THEIR DEPENDENT WIVES AND CHILDREN.

For many years the better elements of the public have stood with the Organized Bakers, and the Organized Bakers have stood with the public.

KEEP YOUR BODY IN GOOD HEALTH AND YOUR CONSCIENCE CLEAR BY INSISTING UPON THIS UNION LABEL ON YOUR BREAD IN THE GROCER'S OR IN THE RESTAURANT.

The business man who refuses to handle Union-made products does not deserve your support.

BAKERY AND CONFECTIONERY WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION

ALL WORKERS SHOULD INSIST ON THE UNION LABEL

## Labor Day Greetings to the Organized Workers of America

FROM THE

### WAITERS AND WAITRESSES'

UNION LOCAL 1, NEW YORK

LOUIS RUBENFELD  
President

WILLIAM LEHMAN  
Secretary-Treasurer

#### BE CONSISTENT

Patronize Only Union Restaurants  
That Display This Union Emblem:



Please see to it that when your organization runs a banquet it engages halls that employ Union Waiters.

We will gladly offer our services in securing the best arrangements and terms for you. Just call at our Office, 162 East 23rd Street.

LABOR DAY

∴

∴

1927

*To the Men and Women of the Working Class:*

## THE NEW YORK JOINT BOARD OF THE AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

Sends its LABOR DAY GREETINGS. We extend the hand of solidarity to all workers. May the dawn of another Labor Day find the labor movement counting new victories for the cause of working class emancipation.

ABRAHAM BECKERMAN  
Manager

ABRAHAM MILLER  
Secretary-Treasurer

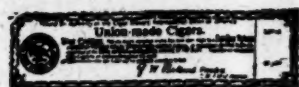


Consistent Trade Unionists

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If the above Union Label (Blue) is not on the Box, the  
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THE NEW YORK JOINT ADVISORY BOARD

Cigar Makers' International Union

JACK MELHADO, Secretary

THE NEW YORK  
**JOINT COUNCIL**  
OF THE  
**CAP MAKERS'**  
**UNION**

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers'  
International Union

Greets the Workers of America on Behalf  
of Its Members on This Day of  
Labor's Solidarity

S. HERSHKOWITZ, Secretary-Organizer

**LABOR DAY  
GREETINGS**

Let the Workers of America rededicate themselves  
to Labor's inspiring ideal, International Brotherhood  
and Peace in a world where the toilers will receive  
the full fruit of their labor

**MILLINERY  
WORKERS  
UNION**

Local 24, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery  
Workers International Union

HYMAN LEDERFARB, Chairman, Exec. Board

NATHAN SPECTOR, Manager

ALEX ROSE, Secretary-Treasurer

I. H. GOLDBERG

MAX GOODMAN

A. MENDELOWITZ

Organizers

LABOR DAY GREETINGS

FROM

The Cloth Hat, Cap and  
Millinery Workers  
International Union

Always Patronize



This Union Label

M. ZARITSKY, Pres.

J. ROBERTS, Act. Gen. Sec.

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION

THE HEADGEAR WORKER, J. M. Budish, Editor

**GREETINGS TO THE LABOR MOVEMENT**

FROM

THE NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

**INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK  
WORKERS UNION**

AFFILIATED WITH

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Through the New Leader, Labor's medium for information and enlightenment, the members of the International Pocketbook Workers' Union send their greetings to organized labor everywhere.

May this holiday of America's toilers bring them to a fuller realization of the common cause of the workers the world over.

It is the fond hope and wish of our organization that in this struggle waged by the workers of America for the betterment of their economic life, they may never forget the deeper and greater significance of their mission; namely, the task of abolishing the iniquitous system in which we exist and the upholding of the co-operative commonwealth in which the workers will live.

CHARLES KLEINMAN  
Chairman

CHARLES GOLDMAN  
Secretary-Treasurer

ABRAHAM I. SHIPLACOFF  
Manager



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For information apply to

**THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE**

175 East Broadway, New York City

Telephone Orchard 6616-6617

**Labor Day Greetings to Organized Labor**

FROM

**THE BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS,  
DECORATORS AND PAPERHANGERS**

OF AMERICA

DISTRICT COUNCIL NO. 29, BROOKLYN, N. Y.

The Spirit That Animates the Workers on LABOR DAY Will Strengthen the Ranks of the Working Class. It is the Day on Which Organized Labor Will Close Its Ranks and Stand Ready to Meet the Further Attacks of Organized Capital.

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**Labor Day Greetings**

FROM THE

**Amalgamated Ladies'  
Garment Cutters'  
Union Local 10**

International Ladies' Garment Workers Union

Labor's holiday is a tribute to labor's heroic struggle for justice. Holidays are a symbol of civilization, and this day which labor has wrested from the employing class is a sign that the trade unions are beginning to civilize industry. On this anniversary of labor's victories, our union greets the NEW LEADER as a fighting weapon in its own struggles and in the battles of the whole labor movement.

PHILIP ANSEL, President

HARRY SHAPIRO  
Vice-PresidentDAVID DUBINSKY  
ManagerMAURICE W. JACOBS  
Chairman of Executive BoardSAM B. SHENKER  
Assistant Manager**LABOR DAY, 1927****General Executive Board**SALVATORE NINFO  
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HARRY GREENBERG  
MOLLIE FRIEDMAN  
DAVID GODES  
DAVID GINGOLD**The International Ladies'  
Garment Workers' Union**

EXTENDS ITS LABOR DAY GREETINGS TO ALL THE WORKERS, AND EXPRESSES THE HOPE THAT THE LESSON OF SOLIDARITY AND BROTHERHOOD WHICH THIS HOLIDAY OF LABOR SYMBOLIZES WILL INSPIRE THEM TO RENEWED EFFORTS FOR THEIR EMANCIPATION.

MORRIS SIGMAN,  
PresidentABRAHAM BAROFF,  
General Secretary-Treasurer



# A FEW OF GREATER NEW YORK'S LABOR INSTITUTES

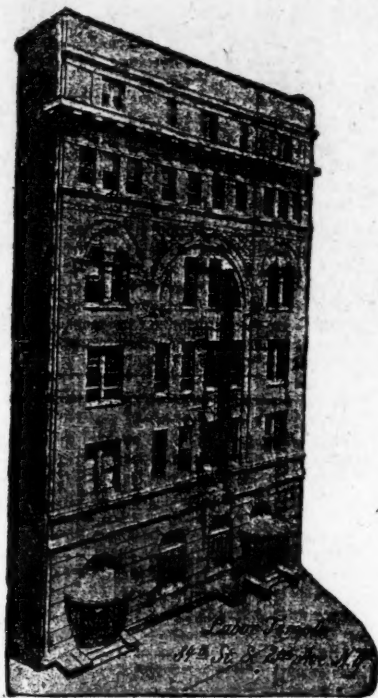


## BROOKLYN LABOR LYCEUM

949 Willoughby Avenue

Center of Labor Activities

Contains large and small meeting halls, restaurant, banquet facilities

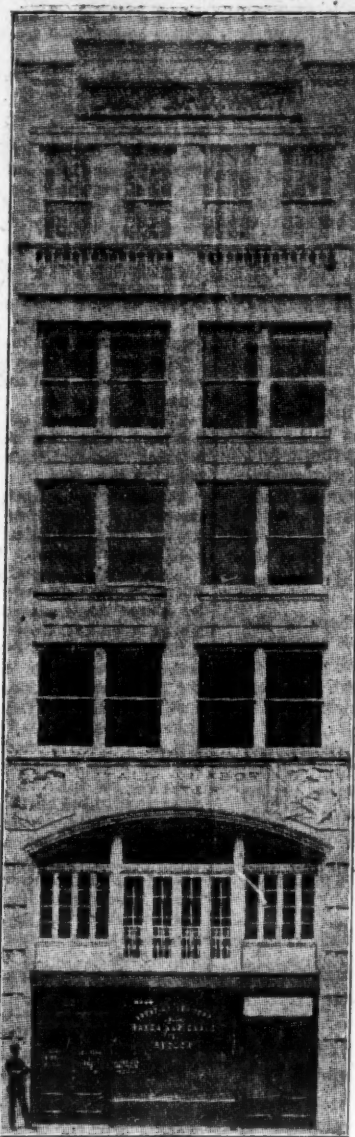


## NEW YORK LABOR TEMPLE

Home of Organized Labor

243-247 East 84th Street, N. Y.

Contains large and small rooms for meetings, up-to-date dining room, facilities for banquets

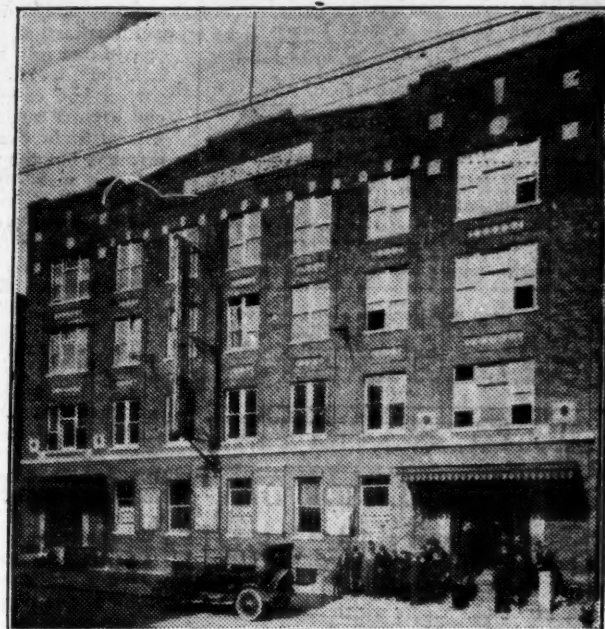


## ITALIAN LABOR CENTER

231 East 14th Street, N. Y.

Home of the Italian Cloakmakers' Union Local 48, I. L. G. W. U.

And Other Labor Bodies

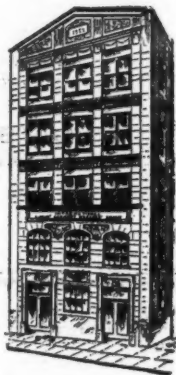


## BROWNSVILLE LABOR LYCEUM

219 Sackman Street, Brooklyn

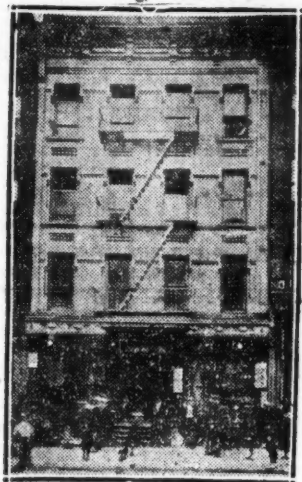
Center of Labor and Socialist Activity

Large and small meeting rooms. Facilities for balls and banquets



## THE HOME OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

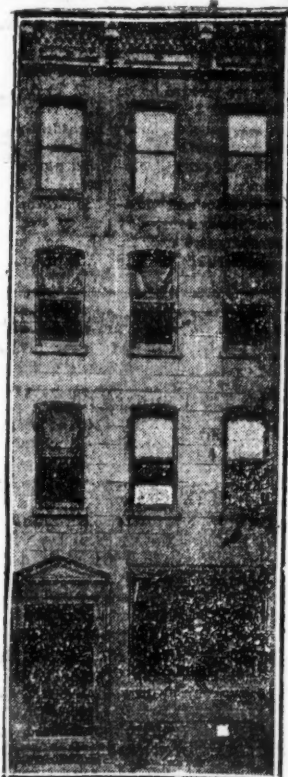
3 West 16th Street, New York



## HARLEM SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CENTER

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Hall and dining room for social functions. Meeting room seating to 600. The Harlem center of labor and radical activities, J. F. Viola, manager.



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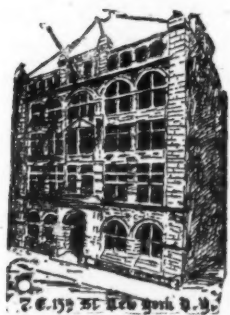
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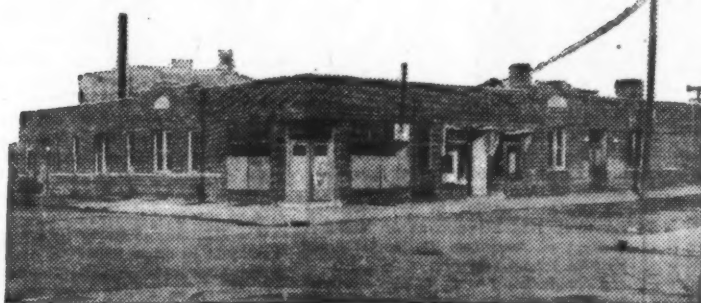
Home of the RAND SCHOOL, THE NEW LEADER, THE SOCIALIST PARTY and a number of Trade Unions. Large auditorium, seating 500; smaller meeting rooms and offices



## UNION HEALTH CENTER

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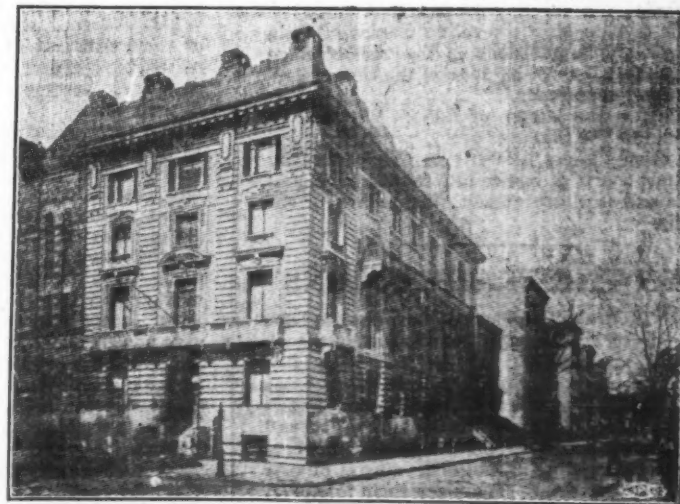
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# THE NEW LEADER

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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1927

## A LESSON FOR LABOR DAY

THE editorial attitude of the daily press since the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti falls into four groups. The first group is represented by those papers which have either maintained silence or have taken a coldly legalist position, declaring that the affair is ended and it is best to forget it. This may be regarded as a "consciousness-of-guilt" attitude, guilt of the ruling class of Massachusetts in the murder of the two men. The second group is represented by the Boston American, which ratifies the murder and smears it with the respectability that attaches to Fuller, Thayer, Lowell and their accomplices. The third group is represented by the Chicago Tribune, which waves the bloody shirt much after the fashion of the Republican grafters who looted the republic after the Civil War. A fourth group, small in contrast with the others, is represented by the Capitol Times of Madison (Wis.), which places the guilty upper class oligarchy of Massachusetts in the pillory. Contrasting the fate of Sacco and Vanzetti with creatures of the type of Harry Thaw, Leopold and Loeb, it assesses this terrible judgment:

Shame on the state of Massachusetts as the author of this great American tragedy. Shame on a commonwealth that will take the lives of two men whose guilt was never established. Shame on a powerful commonwealth that demands its pound of flesh from a poor cobbler and fish peddler and whose cowardly minions of the law are palmed and listless when the rich and the favored of society stand at the bar of justice. We predict in the years to come the slouched figures of Sacco and Vanzetti in the electric chair will haunt all those who had a part in railroadings these innocent men to their death and destruction.

This is a noble and courageous utterance, and it gives hope that outside the labor movement there is an awakening among decent and intelligent men and women. Another hopeful sign in these last few tragic weeks is the large number of professional men in all walks of life, especially members of the bar in many states who followed the inquisition called a "trial" as it unfolded in its revolting details. Not since the Dred Scott decision, which dramatized the issue of human bondage, has any case so shocked so many people to a realization of what the forces of capitalism can do under the forms of law.

While this is all to the good, it still remains a fact that it represents a minority opinion, a healthy minority to be sure, but still a minority. For that we are thankful, but the working class of this nation have a fearful example of the limits to which a ruling class will go. The American republic has evolved into an aristocratic empire of corporate capital. Its owners rule the states and the nation and capitalist property is their god. Their philosophy does not differ from that of the slave owners who believed that white and black workers were mudsills whose labor must make leisure possible for gentlemen. They do not express this openly, but this is what the Fullers, Thayers, Lowells, Grants and their ilk believe.

Their power rests upon the consent of the toiling masses. When that consent is withdrawn the whole structure of upper class rule will follow the rule of plantation magnates into history. The whole strategy of politics by this upper class is to win this consent. It is the solemn duty of the workers of the nation to refuse this consent, to educate and organize the voting masses into a party of their own to strip the ruling classes of their power. This was done in the case of slave property. It must be done in the case of corporate supremacy.

This is the lesson of Labor Day and it should be the theme of every speech, for there are other Fullers, Lowells and Thayers ready to turn courts of justice into inquisition chambers and send liberators to the gallows or the chair.

## TO THE TRADE UNIONS

IF THE working class of this republic have drunk the dregs of humiliation by the arrogant attitude of the ruling class of Massachusetts in the Sacco-Vanzetti case, we have nobody but ourselves to blame. Politically, we are pariahs at the doors of courts and legislative bodies. These organs of government belong to the political agents of the great corporations. We place them in power. Fuller knows this. So does Lowell, Thayer, Grant and Stratton.

In every other modern country the working class places cobblers, fish peddlers and other workers in office in sufficient number to ward off any atrocity like that staged in Massachusetts. Abroad the workers are

massed into organized parties of their own. Here we are scattered and divided. We are workmen in the unions, but Republicans, Democrats, Socialists, Independents and so on at the polls. Abroad workers are powerful in the governments; here they are powerless. There they are united; here they are divided. There they are respected by the enemy; here they are not.

It is the difference between those who are conscious of their duty, their power and capacity to play an important role in our complex civilization and those who are timid, uncertain and relying on a two-party fetish that is archaic and hopeless. If the two leading parties had candidates and issues and principles there might be some justification for this attitude continuing into the twentieth century, but they have none. Now and then a "good man" appears in one party or the other, a Smith in one or a Borah in the other, and these are paraded as flags to conceal the merchandise of the professionals. North and South, East and West, the two parties are political bureaus officered by a personnel of professionals representing the powerful business interests of their respective sections.

The result today is that there is no fighting group in Congress that we can point to and say, "This is our Labor group, pledged to a Labor program, presenting our claims, voicing the ideals of our class, responsible to us for their mandate, receiving our instructions and required to report to us from time to time regarding their labors." What is true of Congress is true of the forty-eight states except Wisconsin and Minnesota. With full adult suffrage, we are disfranchised in the law-making bodies and the American labor movement is one century old.

We appeal to the thinking members of the trade unions to soberly consider this humiliating situation. They should urge education of their fellows. Throw open the doors to lectures and discussions, consider our experience and history, the experience and history of the labor movement abroad, our resources, our power, our possibilities, our aims, our duties. A field almost unoccupied awaits the organized masses. It invites progressive adventure, opens a reservoir of idealism, awakens self-reliance, and promises a united march where now is division and humiliation.

## THE SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN

AN IMPORTANT duty now faces the Socialists, their friends and sympathizers in New York City. The educational campaign for the Socialist candidates begins soon and the prospects are very good in a number of districts. Every effort must be made to return Judge Panken to the bench. With intelligent and systematic work this can be done. Panken has an excellent labor record which, together with his long service to the labor movement, makes him a strong candidate in a district that is overwhelmingly of working class voters.

Other districts are also promising, especially Brownsville, where fusion of Tammany and the Republicans for years has been necessary to prevent the election of a Socialist to the Assembly. This year there will be no fusion. The two-party twins have decided to occupy different beds, but they will be taken care of by the same nurse—the capitalist granny who looks after all her children.

It is hardly necessary to stress the deep sense of lack of political power felt by the working class in the past few tragic weeks. To those who think at all it is apparent that we are aliens before the legislatures, the courts and the executives. The necessity of the workers making the law, judging the law, administering the law, interpreting the law and enforcing the law was never more apparent in our history than now. We cannot make, judge, administer, interpret and enforce law through Republican Fullers and Democratic Crowleys. They represent their class; we must represent our class.

The workers have been beggars with caps in hand at the portals of government. They can place their representatives in the seats of power. A large vote and a few victories will hearten the masses all over the country. Do your duty and do it well!

## A QUESTION AND ANSWER

READER asks us, "Why we have to have capitalism to reach a certain stage of development?" We assume that by "stage of development" he means the ideal of collective possession of industry managed for the welfare of all—Socialism.

Our answer is that collective or public ownership is only possible when the given industry becomes public or collective in its character. We urge public ownership of railways, the modern method of transportation. This would be absurd if transportation was still a matter of ox carts and pack horses. What is absurd regarding public ownership of these methods of transportation becomes reasonable and necessary when the ox cart and pack horse become railways that are national in their scope.

The same reasoning applies to production as to transportation. The workman of colonial times with awl, hammer, pegs, wax, last and thread, who wandered from house to house making shoes to order, used tools to make shoes that could not and should not be publicly owned. But that workman and his tools have been displaced by the wage worker and collective machinery installed in great plants with steam or electricity as motive power. It would be absurd to urge public ownership of those hand tools, but reasonable practical, and necessary to urge public ownership of the great shoe plants.

This reasoning applies to all forms of industry. It answers the question, "Why we have to have capitalism to reach a certain stage of development?" In this country our industries are ripe for socialization than in any other country, but intellectual development has lagged behind material and economic development. Socialism is a philosophy of historical development, and, so understood, it is adapted for nations that have reached a high phase of industrial organization.

## The Letterbox

Police as Educators

Editor, The New Leader:

He was a typical American youth, clothed, physically and mentally, in the much advertised "100 percent American" style. With body tightly pressed against the picket fence of the Charles Street Mall he was alternately, with glee and sneers, regarding heroic funeral cortege to maintain order in their ranks.

A sudden charge of the mounted Cossacks brought a smile to his lips. The slow stiffening of the workers' lines in the face of vicious clubbings drove away the smile, to leave instead a wrinkling of the brows and a look of wonder and respect. As though he wondered at such courage, and whence it could have sprung. What was the matter? Why were all these people suffering like that?

"Hey, you! Get away from there and run!" It was the snarling vicious growl of some mad creature. The youth quickly turned his head and saw not far distant from himself a beefy, bristling "fat-foot," fresh from clubbing the mourners.

The young man began to obey the threatening commands and slowly walked away from the fence to proceed along the path.

"Run, I told ye—and keep running. I'll smash your face in for you!" As he uttered this threat the cop rapidly moved after the youth. The latter, noticing over his shoulder as he walked the onslaught of the lumbering beef-face with his ever-swinging club, began to run. Out of breath, the Boston police "club-swinging" stopped and fiercely shook his fist at the retreating back of his escaping quarry.

As the lad ran the look of wonder disappeared from his face. In its place there grew an expression of grim determination crowned with the certainty of hope. And as he joined the line of plodding workers he uttered a single significant remark: "Now I know why you are fighting." Capitalism had driven another nail into its own coffin.

Louis Robinowitz.

Boston, Mass.

Sacco and Vanzetti

Editor, The New Leader:

Nearly two thousand years ago a blameless teacher of moral truth was crucified between two thieves. His was not the first such crucifixion, nor the last. In all ages of human history those who have thought and taught in advance of their day have been persecuted and punished as criminals. As advancing thought more and more bases its faith upon reason instead of superstition, upon human brotherhood instead of infallible authority, the more clearly does it perceive that wherever truth and justice are temporarily crushed, there "Christ again is crucified."

The tremendous drama that has been staged in Massachusetts during the last seven years is a striking parallel to the one in Palestine two thousand years ago. Progress of the human race is symbolized in the fact that here was slain one poor defective criminal with two devoted martyrs to social idealism; then a handful of mourners knelt at the foot of the cross, now millions gather in all countries of the world. Now, as then, organized wealth commanded "constituted authority," legal, political, religious and educational, to silence the voice of reason and of love. Now, as then, the thoughtless and indifferent shrug their shoulders, the ignorant and vicious cry for blood.

The seeds of truth, nourished for a time in the early church, centuries ago left the old, dry seed-case empty, and were scattered near and far. They have sprung up in minds innumerable of people who seek to apply them to the betterment of the human race. All who have heard or read the words of Nicola Sacco and Bartholomew Vanzetti, sent forth from their prison cells, should perceive that this was their constant thought: to build a better society for suffering humanity. They desired evil to no one, good to all.

It is the old story. Their martyred bodies are returned to earth "to mix forever with the elements"; their clear voices will go ringing down the years, echoed in drama, in song, in every avenue of human expression, inspiring and uniting those who in all lands labor to create a new and better social order. The old order, which seems so strong, is rotten, rot and core; the forces that struggle for the new, which seem weak and scattered, are full of life and integrity; and the wheels of human progress fly ever more swiftly.

MARGARET SHIPMAN.

Lee, Mass.

James Oneal's Work

Assistant Editor, New Leader:

Comrade Cohen's letter has certainly struck the right note in his summation of the stirring qualities of the editor of your fine paper.

I cannot help but add my voice in laudation of Comrade O'Neal's brilliant expose of the petty, disgusting and reactionary acts of this cancerous fungus known as the communist movement. It is a distinct contribution to the psychology of American working class history.

I also wish to commend James O'Neal's brilliant and analytical series of articles on the Socialist Party. I think I can safely say that his discussion of the ill of our movement was the best so far in its scholarly and temperate attempt at an understanding of American life, social and spiritual.

In conclusion I wish to say a word about the general excellence of your weekly. I am stumped in attempting to enumerate the features that deserve signal distinction. I am afraid it would be necessary to index almost every feature.

ALLEN FLEISHER.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

# Sacco, Vanzetti and the Poets

## The Ballad of Charlestown Gaol

THERE'S a chair for you, Vanzetti,  
In a cold and empty room;  
A chair aloof and lonely,  
Like a spectre in the gloom;  
A chair with open arms and wide,  
To welcome you to doom.

They've made this chair, Vanzetti,  
Good men, and strong and true,  
To manifest the will of God  
On poor men such as you;  
To show the Lord Christ lives again,  
And dies, the Lord Christ, too!

In olden days, Vanzetti,  
They used a cross instead;  
They stretched a man upon its beams  
By foot and hand and head;  
And nailed him there with iron spikes,  
Until his heart was dead.

But nowadays, Vanzetti,  
Good men are very kind;  
They offer you an easy chair,  
To sleep, if you're inclined;  
With nice electric batteries  
To soothe an anxious mind.

Great Caliphaz is Christian, now—  
He heeds what Jesus says;  
And Pilate, who is civilized,  
Does justice all his days;  
And even executioners  
Have sweet and gentle ways.

Yet cruel death is much the same  
In any modern city;  
The fires of fear and hate and lust  
Consume all human pity;  
And righteous mobs cry "Crucify"  
In Charlestown as in Calvary.

And after-death is much the same,  
For no men kill the soul;  
They rend and burn and crush the flesh,  
But leave the spirit whole;  
And then strange wonders come to pass  
That men cannot control.

The buried dead lie not in peace  
Within the quiet tomb;  
Their broken lives are quickened,  
They grope amid the gloom;  
And, sudden, they are born again  
From out a timeless womb.

They rise, these dead, and walk the earth:  
John Brown is marching on;  
Shrewd Socrates is teaching still  
How wisdom may be won;  
The shining Christ is yet a light  
For men to gaze upon.

## THE CHATTER BOX

THEY have been making a ghouliah gesture out of Sacco and Vanzetti, these Communists, now that the two martyrs are ashes. It has been a heyday of agitation for them, these Communists, over the torture and brutality the two victims of American class justice suffered so cruelly. I had no idea that human beings might fall so low as to deliberately use the pain and death of two idealists to their own immediate prestige and gain.

Capitalists, petty bosses, and boodling politicians have done that sort of thing in the past. Will be doing that sort of thing in the future. All too harrowingly true. But then, I do not set them into the category of the simon pure human being. Something there is in their frank worship for money that marks them out of the human pale. And the very nakedness of their ambition allows for some sort of respect.

But Communists profess an idealism that soars above mundane materialisms. It sings with poetic glory into the ears of the mass about a beauty of living on earth beyond the immediate advantage, the frail indulgence of the hour. It seeks to lift sudden spirits up to the plane of high seeking and the accomplishment of a day when all shall live for each one, and each one for all; when the all shall be the meek, and the meek shall inherit all of the earth. I have known that ideal. I still live in its inspiring hope. I have dedicated my years of usefulness to it.

Nor have I ever relegated to myself the sole wisdom for its attainment. I have listened with a tolerant ear to the impatient Anarchist, the heated Syndicalist, the positive Land Taxer. And there was a time not so very long ago when I would have given weight to the feeble Communist in his dogmatic pronouncements of how and when and where regarding the International Co-operative Commonwealth. True I had laughed and laughed at them at times. They were so puerile and clumsy. They had been so destructively inept. Ruin and retrogression rear-guarded every one of their maneuvers, wherever they operated. For every step of progress made by their brethren in Russia, they yanked back that bitterly earned prestige at least ten steps here in America. Many well wishers of Russia had really begun to believe that the calibre of the Communists there must be on a par with that of those maddening about in these provinces.

All of which I was willing to pass on with just chiding. Although the provocation for outright nastiness at times was indeed difficult to keep down.

The manner in which the Communist end of this Sacco-Vanzetti struggle was carried on will remain an everlasting disgrace to the radical movement of America. I shall not hesitate to declare here that if the many thousands of dollars these plots of the proletariat have collected in the name of two martyrs are not humanely accounted for, then the blood of Sacco and Vanzetti is as surely on the hands of the Communist agents who collected and mispent that money as it is on the executioner of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. If one cent of that money collected went into the propaganda fund of the Communist Party and was so spent, then every member of that dismal order walks the earth a low thief, and an accomplice before and after the fact of murder. Lack of funds to properly establish the innocence of the two Anarchists is what at bottom sent them to their hellish doom. The last few weeks of feverish work in their behalf might have brought a definite halt in the intent of Massachusetts to go through with it, were there enough gold in the defense fund to carry through the program of belated investigation of newly discovered witnesses and evidence.

The Communist Party held huge meetings in New York and in other industrial centers. Individual collections were taken up. Thousands of dollars were announced as having been collected. What became of that money will perhaps remain a mystery. So little of it was ever turned in to the Boston Defense Committee. The public press is having a hellish laugh at the splendid band of men and women who fought so tirelessly, so faithfully during the dark years of this tragedy. The capitalist mind howls in glee at the ugly aftermath of a battle fought in the name

They rise and shine, these noble dead,  
Like planets in the sky;  
They speak—and stricken nations hear  
The voice without reply;  
They live—and all the world beholds  
The life that cannot die.

There's a chair for you, Vanzetti,  
In a house where angels tread;  
A throne with thrones where at the host  
Who judge the quick and dead;  
The martyr-host, whose sufferings—  
Divide the good and bad!

Upon that throne, Vanzetti,  
You'll sit the ages through;  
And all the myriad sons of men  
Will stand, and look on you—  
The proud, to wither and bow down,  
The meek, to live anew.

Look up, look up, Vanzetti,  
Your chair is glowing bright;  
Your prison chamber, thronged with saints  
Who welcome you tonight;  
The forged lightning of men's wrath,  
God's baptismal of light!

—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Execution Day, August 22, 1927.

## The Poets and Sacco and Vanzetti

NOT for you—  
You are already deified—  
but for ourselves we raise a lamentation.

Not for you—  
You are already crucified—  
But for ourselves we beg a vindication.

We shall be forgotten  
When the red dawn breaks;  
You shall have begotten  
Immortal stakes.

—Gremm Zorn.

## Two Crucified

(After Midnight, August Twenty-second)  
O Jew Jesus, Jew Jesus,  
Down from your tree again!  
The wind, the wind, the wind, the wind,  
Whirls with a dove in pain.

O Jew Jesus, Jew Jesus,  
Great fellowship for you!  
The peace, the dream, the hope, are here—  
See what these poor doves do!

O Jew Jesus, Jew Jesus,  
Wings in a world of love!  
The wind, the wind, the wind, the wind,  
Cries like a bleeding dove!

—Jeannette Marks.

of unadulterated ideals. "Ha," they shriek, "your own gang has double-crossed you. You talk about us being hungry for the dough. Look at your fellow Reds, and see how they have gobbled up your charity collections."

The brazen protagonist of the Communist Party may get up and admit openly that Sacco and Vanzetti were nothing in this hectic life compared to the coming of Communism in America. Money must be gotten for propaganda, since that might teach the American worker how bitterly he is being exploited by the master class. "We used the emotions of the workers over those two Italians in order to get them to contribute to our propaganda fund." This has been said by a few out and outers. Very well, then. I can respect that sort of frank brutality. But most of them will whine their way out by stating that there were terrific expenses involved in getting meetings organized, in printing leaflets, in paying salaries of committee employees, making banners, etc.

I will ask the Communist party to read the accounts of the money raised and sent in by the "yellow," reactionary, bloody-handed Socialist Party, and see how much of the expense accruing to a collection was charged off against the gross amount collected. And we too have a message to bring to the workers in our own way, through propaganda.

It may be, however, that the Communist Party is not altogether at fault in this matter. It may be that the rank and file are blissfully unaware of the treachery and crime indulged in by some of their trusted leaders in handling those funds. If the men and women who compose the party do not take steps at once to investigate and publish the guilt of those involved in the Sacco-Vanzetti Collection Funds, then I repeat again that Sacco and Vanzetti died at the hands of declared capital, aided and abetted by the Communist Party the lowest form of human life this age has known.

## Outcast

You stand alone and urge your weary boughs  
To pierce the heavens with one single thrust  
To cry in pain and crumble to the dust  
In sweet relief—to know the sacred vows  
That once you pledged are but the turns of Fate  
That in the dimness of forgotten years  
You blossomed too—without the petty fears  
That since have guiled your forest love to hate.

Too soon the tints of summer fade away  
And Autumn browns usurp the green and red  
Where lonely limbs stand in a mute array  
To pay a tribute to the falling dead  
And in the purple flush of cool twilight  
Grief-stricken tree, you silhouette the night!

—G. H. S.

I wish to acknowledge receipt of some fifty poems this week on the Sacco-Vanzetti case. All are the outpouring of noble men and women in grief and outrage over the horror. Some are finely written pieces of work, some plain stark protests, eloquent in their simple language. Would indeed that I could publish them all here. It cannot be done for physical space reasons alone. To select some and not publish others would hardly be fair since a poem on Sacco and Vanzetti however poorly it may read in verse form and literary technique, has the ennobled theme to lift it into permanent publication. I have therefore presumed to submit all of them to Lucia Trent and Ralph Cheney, Editors of Contemporary Verse and the publishers of an Anthology of Sacco-Vanzetti Poems soon to be issued. They will probably use most of the ones sent in. In my own judgment they all have publishable merit.

You, dear readers will notice that I have forsaken the modest and weak editorial "We". . . . After three years parading about as a composite individual, I have decided to go on my singular own. Do you mind?

—S. A. de Witt