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NEW LEADER

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W. J. BURNS HE LOVES TO TINKER WITH JURIES
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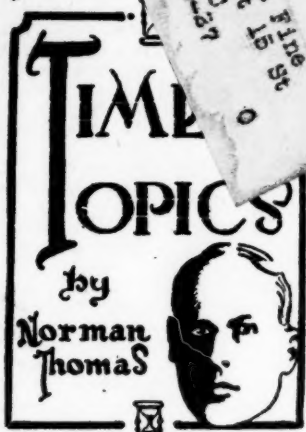
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IT is time for Americans to decide whether or not they want the War Department through the R. O. T. C., alleged patriotic societies and fearful faculties to act as censor of what shall be said and taught in our colleges. Compulsory military education in many American colleges and universities, it is increasingly clear, does not exist to develop soldiers ready for modern trench warfare—that is impossible in the R. O. T. C.—but to inculcate a slavish military psychology. The proof? Here are the two most recent instances:

1. At New York's great City College a year ago, in belated response to an intelligent and effective student demand, the faculty offered a course in civilian physical drill as an alternative to the military drill which had been compulsory. Apparently almost every possible attempt was made to sabotage this alternative course and to render it difficult and distasteful in the eyes of the students. Matters came to a head this year when the course was not even offered to freshmen who were left to console themselves with the vague assurance that they might have a chance to take it later. If not they would of course have to take at least two years of military drill. In student meetings students attacked this whole performance as an evidence of faculty insincerity. In consequence two students have already been suspended for what they said on the campus and a third is threatened with suspension for what he said at a meeting off the campus at a conference held in another educational institution. The effect of such suspension can only be to create a state of terrorism at City College and to make the R. O. T. C. and everything connected with it a sacred cow immune from criticism. Do we want to educate our boys in such an atmosphere?

2. At the University of West Virginia President Trotter has announced that no speaker who is opposed by the military department of the university, the American Legion and the D. A. R. will be allowed to address students in university buildings. Opposition from the military department and allied societies which confuse patriotism with repression compelled first the Religious Work Council of the university and later the Y. W. C. A. to cancel meetings arranged for Kirby Page, editor of the World Tomorrow and a speaker of national reputation. Individual students on their own initiative finally arranged a meeting off the campus. Local papers vigorously supported the right of free speech. On the other hand an anonymous six page mimeographed attack on Page was generally circulated by the protesting groups. This report was based wholly on attacks previously made by the notorious Freddie Marvin and by the anonymous writer of the bulletin of the military society, The Scabbard and Blade. The same university president who was intimidated by such attacks permitted Admiral Rodgers, an advocate of the most extreme form of preparedness to speak without let or hindrance. That is to say, a state university may be used as a forum for those who believe that war is normal and inevitable but those who are working with might and main to save the next generation from the curse of war must be silenced. This is not education. This is tyranny.

Let's look at some of the patriots who presume to dictate to colleges and public forums what speakers they shall hear and to legislatures what repressive laws they shall pass. Let us call the roll.

Harry M. Haideman, president of the Better America Federation of California, self proclaimed super patriot, friend of the California criminal syndicalism laws, enemy of the state water power acts, recently indicted for sharp financial dealings involving usury.

W. J. Burns, private detective extraordinary, ex-chief of the U. S. Secret Service where he used his official position to make false attacks on the patriotism of citizens whom he did not like, steadfast enemy of labor, now involved in the scandalous Sinclair jury fixing charges.

Freddie Marvin, most active professional patriot now operating. He makes his living by circulating stupid, distorted or positively untrue attacks on people of the standing of Jane Addams. This eminent patriot was the staunch defender of Fall, Doherty and Sinclair. He discovered what the Supreme Court was unable to find out, namely, that Moscow inspired the attacks upon its eminent fellow patriots in the Teapot Dome and Elk Hill Basin oil frauds.

Nathan L. Miller, ex-Governor of New York (Continued on Page 6)

Hearst "Documents" Offered For Sale To Mexican Gov't

Washington, D.C.—The documents being published by the Hearst papers regarding the Mexican Government are apparently the forged documents that were exposed several months ago. These papers were at that time used in an attempt to embroil the United States and Mexico but their origin was never satisfactorily explained. The Mexican Foreign Office throws some light on these documents through a statement issued by the Mexican Embassy here which, in part, states: "It is shameful," says the statement, "because these are the very same forged documents with which certain parties tried to blackmail the Government of Mexico. They were offered for sale for \$25,000 to our consulate in Los Angeles, on Aug. 24, last, through Dr. Cutberto Hidalgo; and even before knowing the text of the document, so sure were we of their lack of authenticity that our Consul was ordered to refuse the offer and to inform the sellers that the Mexican Government was not interested in them, nor did it care whether they were published or not."

Socialists Ask End of Spy Agencies

Party Urges Legislation To Suppress Private Detective Bureaus—Burns Is Target

LEGISLATION to suppress private detective agencies, such as the William J. Burns organization, which make a practice of mixing in industrial affairs, is demanded by the Socialist Party in a statement issued by Morris Hillquit and James O'Neal, members of the Socialist National Executive Committee.

The statement issued by Mr. Hillquit and Mr. O'Neal says:

"The shocking activities of the Burns Detective Agency in the oil scandal are a logical result of a policy which gives such organizations a semi-official status in this country. For many decades Socialists and trade unions have complained of the vicious work of agents of these organizations. The private detective agencies have embittered industrial relations, fomented violence in labor struggles, sown dissensions in the trade unions, pursued a policy of espionage purchased by employing corporations, and have often served as mercenary gunmen usurping the police powers of society.

"The Burns organization is only one of a number that has sold this corrupt service to employers. Among the more notorious of these agencies are the Pinkerton, Thiel and Baldwin-Felts organizations which specialize in trade union espionage and thuggery in industrial disputes. In the present instance the Burns agency stands revealed of attempting to tamper with a jury in a criminal case and to thwart the normal process of ascertaining the guilt or innocence of men accused of the most colossal fraud against the government and people of the United States.

"The existence of such organizations with the consent of governing officials is a public disgrace. There is not an alleged function performed by them that does not properly belong to the police powers of cities, the states and the nation. To permit this police power to be exercised by private organizations is as absurd and disgraceful as to farm out to private organizations the judicial powers of government. This policy places a premium upon crime and encourages the commission of illegal acts in order that the organization may demonstrate its usefulness to those who purchase its services.

"As a measure of protection for organized labor in its struggle for economic betterment, and in the interests of political purity and judicial probity, the Socialist Party demands the suppression by proper legislative enactment of such iniquitous institutions as the Burns Detective Agency."

Socialist Vote Increases 100 P. C. in Niagara Falls

Berlin.—The lockout of German cigar-makers started Monday morning, but the test is inconclusive so far. It is estimated that about 100,000 men and women were thrown into the streets by the closing of the shops.

A number of establishments, not belonging to the employers' organization, are still in operation, having offered their employees, estimated to total 30,000, wage increases of 7 and 9 per cent. In case this offer is rejected every factory will be closed down within a day or two.

Fight Begun For Panken Vote Recount

Socialist Party Executive Decides To Begin Fight on Tammany Election Thieves

RE-OPENING of the voting machines in the 2nd judicial district of New York City, where, it is charged, Tammany Hall no Nov. 8th, stole the election of Judge Jacob Panken, of the Municipal Court, will be demanded by the Socialist Party, it was decided Wednesday night at a meeting of the City Executive Committee of the New York Socialist Party.

Already scores of affidavits have come in from citizens and watchers substantiating the Socialist charge that the election was stolen by the Tammany hirelings. Further evidence will be gathered in the 4th and 2nd assembly districts, where the frauds practiced were particularly flagrant.

The Socialist Party will very likely demand that the machines in the 2nd and 4th districts, alone, be opened. It is felt that the count in the other districts of the 2nd judicial district were fairly accurate.

"The opening of the machines, the Socialists believe, will indicate only a small part of the great fraud that was perpetrated against Judge Panken and the voters on election day.

An inkling of the immensity of the fraud practiced by the Tammany election inspectors was given Wednesday when, under direction of the courts, the voting machine which had been stationed in the 23rd election district of the 2nd assembly district, was opened for tabulation of the vote. It was in this polling place that Judge Panken had had two inspectors, both Tammanyites, arrested.

On complaint from Socialist watchers, the Judge had gone to the 23rd election district on Election night. He found the machine had been locked, though no entries had been made on the official tally sheets. Despite the fact that the sheets were blank, the four Republican and Tammany inspectors had attached their signatures to a statement at the bottom of the papers saying that the figures above were correct. The Republican watchers had left, having evidently reached an understanding with the two Tammany men that they could fill in the returns as they pleased.

When Judge Panken and other Socialists with him asked to see the tabulation of votes, they were shown a piece of paper of no legal value. On this the Tammany inspectors had marked the figures which they intended to enter on the official tallies. This piece of paper gave Panken 5 votes. Later, the figure was crossed out, the Tammany men having decided to be more generous and give Panken 11. When the machine was opened on Wednesday, it was found that 36 votes had been recorded for Panken.

Special Deputy State Attorney General Meyer Machlis, assigned on election day to Public School 160, N. Y. C., which housed the polling places of three election districts of the Fourth Assembly District, has reported to Special Deputy District Attorney General George Z. Medalle that of the 1,300 votes registered under his observation more than 900 had been "directly attributable to the election inspectors or made under their immediate physical influence."

"Fifteen minutes after the polls opened," wrote Mr. Machlis, "any sort of enforcement of the law would have required the three polling places under my observation to be closed immediately and every inspector arrested. The inspectors insisted upon entering the booth with each voter or upon viewing how the voters made their choice. Despite my protests and threats of arrest I was helpless in the face of the calibre of the men constituting the inspectors. I yielded on all points, allowing the inspectors to spy on the voters and even to enter booths with voters, but I stood firm against actually permitting these inspectors to turn down the keys.

"I was threatened with my life; my father was threatened with arrest for some crime still to be committed. One Judge, sitting in our courts, approached me three times and requested me to desist, and in the presence of this Judge, one of the inspectors, with a vile oath, shouted that I ought to consider myself lucky to be alive—as yet.

"The business of voting in the districts under my observation had been put into the hands of criminals, or men of criminal tendencies."

Socialist Vote 100 P. C. in Niagara Falls

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

Niagara Falls, N. Y.—The vote for the Socialist Party in the recent city election shows an increase of over 100 per cent. compared with the preceding election. This result was expected by the Socialists as the registration of Socialist voters had increased nearly four fold.

Labor Votes Defiance of Court Injunctions Against Coal Miners

The Boss of the Coal Fields



The Campaign is Over, On With the Campaign!

By August Claessens

Executive Secretary, Socialist Party, N. Y. C.

THE results of the campaign just concluded in New York City are being appraised in various lights. Different people get different reactions out of the same phenomenon. Those who are inclined to be pessimistic can find encouragement for a continuation of that pleasant mental occupation in most any event, and of course, our failure to re-elect Judge Panken and elect Norman Thomas, Charles Solomon and others, tickles them to perfection. Then there is another breed of mankind that is usually interested in the encouraging side of all happenings and viewed from that angle, the results of the campaign just ended are not only cheerful, but magnificent, considering the circumstances, difficulties and other factors that must be taken into consideration.

The Socialist Party of Greater New York has increased its membership and activities considerably during the last year. It is in much better shape at present than for several years. Nevertheless, it is in relatively poor condition compared to our organization of 1917 and 1918, when we were able to carry on a vigorous campaign in some two dozen or more Assembly Districts throughout the city and elect a score or more of Socialists to public office.

To expect the Socialist Party in its present condition to elect Jacob Panken, Norman Thomas, Charles Solomon and at the same time carry on somewhat of a campaign throughout the city, was to expect a miracle. Nevertheless, unless we strive to achieve the impossible, we are liable to miss the possible. It is a very common trait among all ambitious souls always to figure on achieving more than that which they can possibly do.

When we went into this campaign, we carefully calculated our possibilities, the state of our organization. We can now say, especially so in the 2nd Judicial District, that the results are well beyond our yearly estimate. To have received 17,399 votes for our candidate for Judge in the 2nd Judicial District is remarkable. Estimating conservatively what votes were stolen from us by false tabulation of the totals on the voting machine, repeaters, floaters, the number of people who were intimidated in voting their intention and the number of people who were voted for by substitutes, would bring our total vote to over 20,000. And again from another angle, still more encouragement can be found by taking into consideration the fact that during the last few years the total Socialist vote in the 2nd Judicial District averaged between 4,000 and 5,000. To have received

17,399 votes for Judge Panken is truly a remarkable victory.

As to the vote in other parts of city, it will be interesting to note the following figures:—Our total vote for Mayor in all five counties in 1925 was 39,574; for Governor in 1926, 48,436. Taking our tabulation from newspaper sources in the absence of the complete returns tabulated by the Board of Elections, this year our county tickets received a total vote of about 53,070. This indicates a steady increase during the last few years and this year's figures show even a larger gain because of the considerably reduced registration usual in an off year election.

Our candidates for Alderman in all the Aldermanic Districts of the city in 1925 received a total of 47,095 votes. This year the figures culled from newspaper reports indicated a total of 52,987 votes.

An examination of the vote in some sections of the city indicates a healthy growth where until two years ago our vote was continually declining. Thus for example our vote for Alderman in the 1st A. D., New York has risen from 265 in 1925 to 575 this year. The same is true in the 4th-6th-8th Districts of Manhattan, where our Assembly vote in 1925 was, respectively, 230, 1010 and 918. This year the figures are, respectively, 830, 1305 and 1663.

A comparison of the vote for Alderman in these Assembly Districts shows even more of an increase. Our vote in the 2nd, 4th, 6th, 8th Aldermanic Districts of Manhattan doubled and in one instance trebled since 1925. The vote in East Harlem has taken a considerable drop showing the effects of the change in population in that section (the influx of Spanish speaking peoples) and also our weakened organization.

The vote in Bronx shows a gain at the head of the ticket and the vote for our Assemblyman and Alderman indicates that we have held our own this year compared to last year, in spite of the decreased registration.

The same is true of Kings County with the exception of Brownsville, thanks to the campaign made in behalf of Charles Solomon, we are again within winning distance for the first time since 1920. We lost our Assemblyman by the small margin of 310 votes.

All in all, the campaign carried on this year exceeded the remarkable one conducted in 1926, when we made a vigorous campaign with Judge Panken as our candidate for Governor. This year our activities were almost doubled. Even though we concentrated most of our energies in the 2nd Judicial Dis-

(Continued on Page 4)

Pennsylvania Conference Decides on Direct Violation of Infamous Schoonmaker Order

Demand Coolidge Defend Liberties

Lewis and Murray Tell Leaders of Corporation Terror at Mines—Appeal Made for Assistance

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

PITTSBURGH—Facing destruction of the miners' union unless injunctions are destroyed first, the special conference of the American Federation of Labor that met in Pittsburgh in behalf of the soft coal strikers adopted a resolution advising the members of the United Mine Workers to defy the writs.

The word defy does not appear in the declaration but the meaning is clear. After asserting that injunctions are not law but judge-made dictums destroying the authority of the state and the constitutional rights of the individual, the miners are called on to act.

"We call on them," the declaration reads, "as fellow citizens, for the continuance of the full observance of the law as prescribed in the American constitution and to pay no heed to power assumed by those who are unauthorized under the law to limit, circumscribe or repress their rights as citizens."

This suggested return to the old-time policy of the A. F. of L. was unanimously endorsed by the 400 delegates present from international unions, the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor and city central bodies. The drafting committee was headed by two well known conservative labor leaders, William Hutcheson, president of the carpenters' brotherhood, and Matthew Woll, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor. John L. Lewis, president of the miners, gave his approval.

Next Move Awaited

The next move is eagerly awaited. Presumably Judge Schoonmaker's writ will first be attacked at one of the Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Corporations where picketing is restricted. Or the district union may disobey the injunction by appealing the eviction cases of the companies' employees to court, a proceeding interdicted by Schoonmaker.

In the miners' union such a step would be historic. It would mean a fundamental shift in policy for its executives. Both in 1919, when confronted by Judge Anderson's injunction, and the following year, when Alexander Howatt was defying the Kansas courts, Mr. Lewis took the position that injunctions must not be fought by direct action. But the situation is now becoming too desperate. Outwits, only less strong, are spreading central Pennsylvania and Ohio. West Virginia is blanketed by injunctions.

Coolidge to Get Story

SOME time ago Calvin Coolidge came to Pittsburgh and painted a rosy picture of happiness and prosperity in its midst. But in a few days he'll hear of Coal Iron police brutality and hungry women and children and the overthrow of American constitutional liberties here. And perhaps he'll be told that his secretary of the treasury, Andrew Mellon, is the main person responsible.

For William Green, president of the A. F. of L. and his executive council are putting the whole situation up to Coolidge as a national emergency. This was one of the decisions of the conference. President Green said that the visit to Coolidge will be made speedily.

Governor Fisher also will hear the story to which he has been deafening his ears. A conference committee will visit him this week—Green, James Wilson, president of the patternmakers; Philip H. Murray, miners' vice-president; Matthew Woll, James Maloney of the glass bottle blowers; Thomas Kennedy, secretary of the miners and M. F. Tighs, president of the Amalgamated Assn. of steel workers.

But—Governor Fisher came to Harrisburg from the offices of a coal company (Continued on Page 3)

THE WAR LINE-UP IN THE PENNSYLVANIA COAL MINES

Regiment of Thugs In Official Uniforms Brutalizes District

Injunction Forbids Lawyers To Defend Striking Miners Evicted From Their Homes—Pickets Arrested Get "Court Martial" Trials—Steel Corporation Vs. Workers

By Art Shields
PITTSBURGH, PA.

SOME say the marines won the war, and other doughboys insist it was French cogs. But if you smell the breath of the Coal & Iron police in the Pittsburgh mining region you'll say it's pretty rotten moonshine they are relying on. Pretty rotten, but lots of it. Business may be bad in other lines except bootlegging, but the thirsty gullets of the "Yellow Dogs" are keeping the practitioners of the second oldest profession out of the poorhouse.

If all the bluecoated company guards in the western Pennsylvania strike zone were mobilized into one formation they would fill out a full regiment. Riding down every highway, and drooping over every bar, they are part of the military atmosphere that fills this region in the eighth month of the most critical strike the United Mine Workers has fought in a generation.

The blue coats are only part of the warlike atmosphere with which the coal operators are enveloping Allegheny and Washington counties. Every mining township reeks of the campaign against the United Mine Workers of America. You see its mark on nearly every telephone pole, in the proclamations of "martial law" the sheriff has tacked up. "Martial law!" No the sheriff does not call them that. They are only warnings of the riot act. But they amount to the same thing. Other posts and company fences carry big cardboard notices of Judge Schoonmaker's injunction, that suspends all elementary constitutional guarantees by—Don't be amazed by Americans—forbidding a constitutional labor organization from hiring attorneys to represent it in eviction suits or engaging bonding companies for the same cause. And in the offices of the justices of the peace in coal towns when pickets are arrested are staged trials that amount to little more than drumhead court martials.

Line Up In The Mine Towns

In the Pittsburgh region a blind man could tell that there is a war line up, even though the miners are carrying on their side of the struggle without violence. But it is war—a mean and nasty war that Mellon, Schwab and the Morgan interests in the U. S. Steel Corporation are waging against twenty-five thousand workmen who are merely defending their rights to an ordinary living wage, collective bargaining and civil liberties.

What of the rank and file of miners who are in the eighth month of their strike in this war zone? I have just come from a visit to a barracks colony of evicted families and I'll tell of some of the splendid folks I met—and skip the thugs for a while.

This barracks colony is at Russellton, and has 1000 men, women and children who were put out of the houses of the Republic Iron & Steel Co. Remember that name. Wherever you find the word Steel in the name of a coal company in this region you meet an enemy of the

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Vol. 1 No. 6 (Feb. 23, 1924)
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Vol. 2 No. 29 (July 18, 1925)
Vol. 2 No. 30 (July 25, 1925)
Vol. 2 No. 38 (Sept. 19, 1925)
Vol. 2 No. 39 (Sept. 26, 1925)
Vol. 2 No. 52 (Dec. 26, 1925)
Vol. 3 No. 16 (May 1, 1926)

Readers in possession of any of these issues are asked to forward them to the New Leader "Library," 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

It certainly is not very subtle. Here is a sample of his methods: The miners had been evicted and they had no water supply. So the union bored wells for them, and they got real sweet water, ever so much better than the mine-run yellow stuff in the faucets outside the company houses. But when Bob saw they had their own water anyhow he generously said he would let them use company-house water.

TEN POINT LINE

Company Water Offered

"There are worms in that company water," said a broad-faced Slavish woman who had come in. "Real worms; I found them in the bottom of the bucket once."

"And sulphur, too," said another; "It comes from the mines. The men say you are drinking that water a second time."

"I suppose you have to boil it," I said.

"That does no good," she said; "It's still bitter."

"Can you use it for washing?" I asked.

"Not without a ton of soap," she said.

So, Bob McVicker's offer to turn on the muddy faucets met with no favor. One of the women said she wouldn't live in a Republic house again, even if the company signed up. Those houses are just shells, she said, and the wind comes through. Not a thing furnished by the company inside; not even the paper on the walls.

And shells the old gray 2 story double houses looked, standing drab there in the sun two hundred yards away, with their windows nailed up by the carpenter with plain boards.

Much brighter was the spirit of the strikers—their spirit was just 300 per cent. Mrs. Shala said; 100 per cent for the men; 100 for the women; 100 for the children.

Before leaving Mrs. Shala asked us to remember the name of Fred Broad. Fred Broad, the son-in-law of Frankie Scollins, the U. M. W. of A. organizer whose brains were beaten out by Allegheny Steel thugs just before the great steel strike. Fred Broad is not in the overall brigade in the labor struggle. He is a banker in New Kensington, but he helped the strike by saving the furniture of the miners of Russellton, Harmarville and other places. The company had determined to sell out the miners' furniture, to pay rent. Second hand furniture agents were pricing the beds and chairs and tables, at about 10 per cent of their value. Then in came Fred Broad with a bond that blocked the plan.

Gun-Play Free Among The Scabs

There is much gun-play among the scabs. District officials of the United Mine Workers estimate the total number of shootings in affrays between strikebreakers as 65, with many of them fatal. Newspapers and coroners cover many of these homicides up with the same thoughtful care with which a New Jersey editor or coroner erases the record of the deaths in an explosion in a DuPont powder factory.

The social life in a scab town is not conducive to peace. In Harmarville instead of 18 men scabs herded into one big house, with three prostitutes. Six wifeless men to every one loose woman mean fight. And drunken guards crashing in claiming the right of 1st night or whatever you call a gunman's special privileges under those circumstances does not make for serenity.

Few scabs stand it long. They get a pay or two—or else find that there is no pay coming after the store and board bill is checked out and beat it. As I stood in the picket tent outside of one of the entrances to the Vesta No. 5 mine in Washington county I counted five Mexicans walking past with their suitcases in their hands. "Job no good!"

Four to five hundred scabs are now working in the Vesta 4 mine, that had 1,400 men in normal times. But some 3,000 men have been hired by this mine's management since April 1. The scabs won't stay. Most of them are not miners and their lingo is low—the average man is less than half pre-strike times. Practical miners often get disgusted or ashamed and quit.

The scabs are conscripts of Recruiting Sergeant Hunger in this mine war. But they frequently desert the army after they have had a few meals, and seldom stay long.

Coal and iron police are afraid of the pickets. One good talk with a picket often means a scab out of the mine. They not only watch the regular picket line but the scabs are forbidden to leave the camp in many places.

Clothes and Food Needed

In Crescent Mine of the Pittsburgh Coal Co. at Red Hill, near Brownsville, merchants and shoe repair men are forbidden to enter the town on business. Only two or three farmers are permitted to sell in town. The embargo on visitors is strict. Someone might slip a scab a union idea.

So the fight goes and comes; a long weary fight, with the workers militant and optimistic in some towns; tired and crowded to the wall in others.

Ready to fight for sometime yet on rations they are getting, but needing more aid. Looking forward to the help that is expected from the American Federation of Labor. Basing their winter hopes on that.

Intimidation Is Tried By Pullman Co.

**Company Circulates Fran-
tic Appeals Through Its
Company Union**

IN its fight against organization of the Pullman porters into a genuine union to represent them the Pullman Company is resorting to methods similar to those used by the Fascist brigands of Italy. Espionage and intimidation of porters with the connivance of a few stool pigeons are more rife today than ever.

The few stool pigeons remind Negro workers of a similar type in the days of slavery. There were cases when slaves secretly planned to throw off the yoke of bondage. It frequently happened that a slave turned traitor and revealed the plans of the slaves. In such instances the legislature often rewarded the stool pigeon with a pension. The Pullman Company appears to have a few pensioners on its list who are drawing a Judas income in advance of "delivering the goods."

A final stage in the fight of the Pullman porters for emancipation from its intolerable tyranny has been reached and the company is doing its utmost to break the will of the union men. Through its "company union" it is circulating documents and petitions against the union and through intimidation obtaining signatures of porters to these documents.

The "Loyalists" Club

One such document comes from Washington, D. C., representing "The Loyal Pullman Porters Club." The document represents "loyalty" to the Pullman Company, not to the porters and their dependents. It attacks the genuine union and its officials as "very harmful to Pullman porters in general." Knowing the methods of the company, the document is bogus on its face as failure to sign such papers subjects the porter to discharge.

Another document of this character comes from Kansas City and has its origin in one of the locals of the "company union." It bears evidence of an attempt by the author to be clever but only achieves stupidity. It begins with the statement that the porters "are not satisfied with salary or working conditions." The designation of the starvation wage of the porters as a "salary" is itself stupid and betrays the authorship of the circular.

This is immediately followed by a declaration that the "company union" will look after the matter of wages and better conditions and is followed by an attack on the Brotherhood of Pullman Porters. It declares that the Pullman Company knows the law and that the Brotherhood does not, which is a piece of arrogance considering that the company has done its utmost to avoid the Federal legislation which provides machinery for mediation between the company and the Brotherhood.

Lies About Randolph

The character of the company—inspired propaganda and intimidation is evident from the following paragraphs from the Kansas City circular.

"We now have in circulation a petition," it declares, "expressing our loyalty to the Management of the Pullman Company, offering our co-operation and requesting them. To refuse to sign this petition means that you are not loyal and do not want to co-operate. To sign proves your loyalty and desire to co-operate, and condemn the methods of the Brotherhood. You understand, if you choose to make your bed hard that is your privilege."

"It will also prove that you are willing to go with us in asking for a conference in regard to wages and working conditions. Under the law we have that right; Mr. Randolph has not. We can go to the Mediation Board, Mr. Randolph cannot. He has just been there and was told that the board has done all they could under the law."

The first paragraph carries a plain threat to all porters who refuse to sign the petition and thus reveals its origin and purpose. "You understand," it reads, "if you choose to make your bed hard that is your privilege." Porters certainly "understand" such language.

The second paragraph is a tissue of falsehoods for it declares that A. Philip Randolph, representing the Brotherhood, has no standing before the Mediation Board. As a matter of fact he was in session with the board at Chicago and was officially recognized by that body. It is the Pullman Company, making its last desperate stand for a self status for porters in its service, that has balked the board in every attempt to use its machinery for adjustment of the dispute.

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Workers of Reading Wreathed in Smiles On Socialist Victory

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

READING, Pa.—"We will make good." This is the keynote to an inspiring statement made by J. Henry Stump, Socialist Mayor-elect, in the Labor Advocate, the eight-page weekly of the trade unions and the Socialist Party.

"Every Socialist in America," declares Stump, "will be depending upon us to make good, because our success will add prestige to the Socialist movement everywhere."

The Socialist sweep of Reading is a workingmen's victory and as such it is accepted by the voters. Stump emphasizes this in his statement, the chairman of the Berks County Labor Party calls attention to it, and the Labor Advocate in a prominent editorial on the first page declares: "The workers of Reading have taken the government of Reading into their own hands."

Berger Wins Greeting

The Berks County Labor Party shares with the trade unions and the Socialist Party in this triumph. Jesse George, chairman of the Labor Party, in a public statement said: "Every worker in Reading is overjoyed at the splendid victory of workingmen candidates in the municipal election."

"This has been a victory which should certainly hearten every worker in Reading and is the most wonderful demonstration possible of the power of the plain people of this town if they will only act together on the important issues affecting those who toil," Chairman George continued.

"The campaign which the Labor Party waged among the trade unionists of this city and allied bodies to bring about the election of the ticket headed by the president of the Federated Trades Council, J. Henry Stump, certainly can be claimed as being one of several important contributory causes of the phenomenal victory scored last Tuesday. Surely now the trade unionists of Reading will realize the necessity of taking an

active, constant and independent attitude in politics both local and otherwise."

Socialist Congressman Victor L. Berger wired his personal congratulations to James H. Maurer, in the following message: "Congratulations and many happy returns. They can't beat the Dutch and surely not the Pennsylvania Dutch. They will, in the end, always be found in the advance guard of progress. The main thing now is to hold your ground. Don't yield an inch."

(Signed)

"VICTOR L. BERGER."

The Socialist and Labor victory also brought defeat for a proposal which was submitted to a referendum vote. This was a proposed water loan that would have added a further burden to the workers. It was defeated by a vote of four to one. The unofficial figures which but eight precincts missing show 2,816 votes in favor and 9,082 against.

Stump Sets Record

A comparison of the vote received by Stump reveals that his vote and his plurality are the largest ever received by any successful candidate for Mayor and lacked but a few hundred of being a majority over his two opponents. When early returns of the vote began to come in the Ringgold Band was engaged by the Northeast Civic League and serenaded Socialist Party headquarters. This was followed later by a parade of several thousand voters through the streets who celebrated the victory with shouts and cheers.

The successful candidates take their job seriously and are determined to justify the confidence of the working class and citizens in general in the Socialist and Labor administration. "Their spirit is displayed in a humorous paragraph in the Labor Advocate. 'Will we make good?' it reads. 'Well, say! How good will we have to make to do better than the old gangs of former years?'"

A.F. of L. Votes Defiance Of Court Injunctions Against Coal Miners

(Continued from Page One)

that is now fighting the union with eviction notice and gunmen.

Official Relief Work

Of immediate importance to the union will be the money raising campaign to which the conference pledged the movement. This campaign will be carried on among the workers affiliated with the A. F. of L. and the international unions, state federations, central bodies and local unions to get into action rapidly.

"Give and give until it hurts!" said the conference statement.

This official trade union relief work will be chiefly carried on among unionists and will not interfere with the work of special relief committees who seek support for the miners from other sources also.

"Let it be known once more to all that an injury to one is the concern of all," the conference declared in its official statement. "Liberties lost even to one are menaced for all. Unity and solidarity is the crying need of the hour. Let there be unity, solidarity and an inviolable standing together until victory is won for the miners and every liberty assured for every American citizen."

Maurer in Attendance

With the fate of the miners' union in western and central Pennsylvania and Ohio hanging in the balance the American Federation of Labor assembled to plan action in behalf of its greatest affiliated organization. Hundreds of delegates were present, from international unions, the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, Pennsylvania central bodies and miners' local unions.

They met in the center of the Pittsburgh war zone, a few miles from thousands of lawless Coal & Iron police, and from the barracks colonies of strikers' families taking refuge from eviction sheriffs. They met to plan financial relief for the fighting coal diggers and resistance to the injunction of Federal Judge Schoonmaker, and of the Mellon-Fisher political gang that is healing the gunmen.

Fresh-faced young rank-and-file delegates were intermingled with stout gray-haired organizers. The hawklike head of Andrew Furuseth of the seamen's union stood out; "Jim" Maurer, Socialist leader, who dubbed the state police "Cossacks" a generation ago; the huge bulk of John L. Lewis; Matthew Wolf, who suggested defiance of injunctions at the last A. F. of L. convention, and President William Green, presiding.

Without doubt it was labor's most important special conference of the year, for most was at stake. The gravity of the situation infected speakers and audience.

Pinchot Makes Address

The first session, Monday afternoon, was an indictment of the enemy—the alliance of county, state and federal government aides of the coal companies, from the meanest sheriff's deputy to Andrew Mellon, secretary of the treasury. And of the big employer combine, the trunk line railroads that dictate an open shop policy of the companies whose coal they buy, particularly.

Fire on the Coal & Iron police was opened by former Governor Pinchot, of

Reading Sets New Standard, Says Stump

By J. Henry Stump

Socialist Mayor of Reading

READING has set a new standard in municipal politics. With the election of three out of five legislative officials, it is the first city in the nation to be completely governed by Socialists, and the eyes of the nation are centered upon us.

To the Socialists of Reading and to all independent-minded voters who helped to elect us, and on behalf of my colleagues and the members of the Socialist party, I renew the pledge of service given before election day.

WE WILL MAKE GOOD!

We realize that the task which the people of this city have set us is not an easy one. We have been placed in charge of local affairs after the administrations which preceded us succeeded in accumulating city and school debt of \$10,000,000. We are faced with the task of adjusting an assessment which has aroused more resentment among the rank and file of our fellow citizens than any other public event in the history of our city. We will be compelled to complete unpopular plans and programs which have been started by our predecessors. We will be called upon to take action for the convenience and health of the people.

"No Task Too Severe"

We were elected by our magnificent victory. We are sobered by the responsibilities which confront us. But we will make good because we will give our full time and all our energy and intelligence to the one task of giving service to the plain people who assigned us to the important offices we soon will fill.

We are the servants of the people of Reading, not their masters. For that reason we appeal to every man and woman within the confines of our city for their unstinted co-operation and support. As public officials we will be conducting their business, not our own, and we will conduct it honestly and in the open. Everything we undertake will be done with the one purpose of advancing the interests of the plain people. We will not move quickly and heedlessly in anything, but we will strive to act intelligently and with certainty in all that we do. We have been honored with the confidence of our fellow citizens of all political faiths and we are ambitious to show that their confidence has not been misplaced.

But there is another reason, and a selfish one, why **WE WILL WORK TO MAKE GOOD.** It is this: Every Socialist in America will be depending upon us to make good, because our success will add prestige to the Socialist movement everywhere. For that reason I appeal to every Socialist in particular to continue to support us in office as they have done in party work.

WE MUST MAKE GOOD! We, who have been elected to conduct the business of our city are the pioneers of work-class political independence everywhere. No effort will be too severe, no task will be too exacting, no sacrifice of personal comforts and conveniences will be too great to prove to the world that workers in office can serve their fellow citizens efficiently and that Socialists can faithfully and ably use political power in such a manner that the greatest good will be secured for the greatest number.

Famous Poets To Read At St. Marks In-The-Bowery

All those who are not deaf to the delights of poetry have learned to look forward eagerly to the poetry symposiums held by that pioneering church, St. Marks In-The-Bowery. They will be even more than usually interested in the first poetry symposium to be held at that picturesque church where Second Avenue and Tenth Street, workers and intellectuals, meet. For seldom have so many distinguished poets been induced to read their own works from the same platform on the same occasion. Therefore, four o'clock this Sunday afternoon, Nov. 20th, will be a witching hour for many New Yorkers.

Readers of "The New Leader" are familiar with the work of several of the poets on the program: Joseph Auslander, Ralph Cheyne, Mary Carolyn Davies, and Joseph T. Shipley. Angela Morgan and Benjamin Musser are two other poets sympathetic with the labor movement and famous for their poetry. One of the poets is so widely esteemed as an actress that few think of her as an eminent poet as well: Eva Le Gallienne.

Admittance is free—and in view of the large attendance when poets who have little new to tell read at this church, it seems a safe prophecy that a record audience will gather to hear these poets with a message.

Friday Eve., Dec. 2, 9 P.M.

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ABRAHAM CAHAN'S IMPRESSIONS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

By Abraham Cahan

IN this, the initial article of my series on Soviet Russia, I shall begin with the end. I shall present to the readers a concise summary of my views and impressions of Soviet Russia after a sojourn of three months in that country. During the three months I visited a large number of Russian cities and villages, and very many Jewish colonies. I studied the economic, political and social institutions of the land, and not the least important part of my task was to observe the way the Russian masses live and have their being. I studied Russian life in the vast government factories, in the numerous cooperatives which dot the country, in the government banks, in stores large and small, at meetings of labor leaders as well as great mass meetings of the cooperatives; in Russian churches and Jewish synagogues, in public schools, agricultural schools, and a Communist college; in Workmen's Clubs, in workmen's homes and in the homes of peasants, professionals and "NEP" Merchants; in the homes of members of the intelligentsia as well as of ordinary people, in Jewish homes and Gentile homes.

I had excellent opportunities to become acquainted with all sorts and conditions of people. I made the acquaintance of Russian citizens belonging to various classes and types, and in many cases I got to know these people quite intimately. It is my sincere conviction that I succeeded in getting an insight into the inner life of Russia's teeming population. It is not hard to become acquainted with people in Russia. Russians are a talkative people. And as a result of my personal observations and investigations I have assembled material for a lengthy series of intensely interesting and absorbing articles—material grave and gay. I hope to give the readers a comprehensive and just picture of life in Soviet Russia today. And because it is not for me to ask the readers to wait until the end of the series for my opinions of Soviet Russia, I shall outline them in a present article.

Partly because of honest idealistic ambitions and sincere striving, but also partly on account of their struggle with the Opposition from within, the government leaders are much more interested in the socialist program of the more or less distant future than the immediate needs of the masses. It almost seems that they are prepared to let 10,000,000 Russian men and women suffer now, in order that the ruling group of the Bolsheviks, might be enabled to carry out their ambitious program at some future time.

"War" Cry Aimed at Trotsky
I happened to arrive in Moscow at the time the Soviet leaders were raising the cry that the country was being threatened with an attack from England and that all other European countries were actively conspiring to destroy the Soviet government. The Russian masses, not knowing any better, really supposed that an alien army was advancing upon Moscow. But it soon became apparent that the cry had been purposely raised in order to deal a blow at the Trotsky Opposition. But one of the results of this policy was that the peasants hid a considerable proportion of their farm products, in order to be in a position to demand higher prices for their corn and wheat later on.

Vast propaganda funds are expended to convince a doubting world that great socialist undertakings are springing up everywhere overnight; at the same time there are long queues of hungry, weary people outside the cooperative stores waiting for an opportunity to buy flour, sugar, leather and other necessities. Russia is in the throes of a terrible tormented (scarcity of commodities), which should have been ended long ago. In several cities I saw two long waiting lines: a long line of young men who had been called to military service, and another line of small children who were patiently waiting outside the cooperative stores.

As I have said, there is still a shortage of commodities, which should have ended long ago. It is even worse with unemployment.

I have mentioned the long lines of customers waiting outside the stores on account of the dearth of goods. Long queues are likewise to be seen in front of the labor bureaus. Only skilled labor, particularly metallurgical workers and electricians, are sure of their jobs; office employees are less certain of their jobs than unskilled laborers. The government spares neither money nor effort to find employment for the unemployed. But it is a very difficult task as even the

official statistics show, which, by the way, conceal as much as they reveal of the severity of the unemployment situation. Moreover, not all the unemployed apply to the labor bureaus.

Villages Are Overpopulated

It is pointed out that among the unemployed there are many peasants from the villages. But the Russian villages are notoriously overpopulated. What are they doing for a living? More often than not the work of one peasant is done by two or three. True, the peasants have received considerable tracts of land expropriated from the land gentry. But that is not enough. Every peasant has one or more sons who are on the farm. The son just hangs around unable to find profitable employment on the farm.

The stream of labor from village to city is therefore a normal condition, the inevitable result of economic necessity.

The soil is still tilled in primitive ways and the government has its hands full trying to introduce modern agricultural methods and implements. The employment of farm machinery would increase productivity, which in turn would

throw large numbers of agricultural laborers out of employment. It has been estimated that approximately 21,000,000 peasants would become unemployed if modern and efficient agricultural methods were to become the rule rather than the exception in Russia.

On the other hand, it is hoped that with the simultaneous development of Russian industry these 21,000,000 excess farm laborers would find employment in the factories. Such a consummation of course, is devoutly to be wished. But when will that happen?

A Barrier To Socialism

I have heard Russians say, "If only we could somehow manage to get through the first few decades!" Which means that some day in the distant future Russia will become a Socialist paradise; in the meantime things are far from what they might be.

The birth-rate greatly exceeds the death-rate. Therefore there are bound to be more and ever more people clamoring for jobs.

The crux of the situation is the fact that the proletariat is in a small minority, that more than 85 per cent. of Rus-

sian people are peasants living on farms and in small villages. In other words, the economic condition of the country presents an insuperable barrier to the creation of a Socialist State.

This is the essence of the Marxian position with regard to Russia, and when you are in Russia you realize that Marx was right after all.

Lenin attempted to fit Marxian theory to Russian conditions, with a preponderantly agricultural population. Bukharin, Rykoff and Tomsky, with the aid of a large number of able and practical economists, are energetically working to bring Lenin's theories into consonance with life. Will they succeed? If they do, it will not be a victory for Marxism. On the contrary, for Karl Marx taught that Socialism cannot be introduced in a mechanical, artificial way but must develop naturally out of Capitalism and that this is possible only in countries where capitalist industry has reached its highest development.

Notwithstanding the attacks upon the Socialist by the Bolsheviks the Socialists of the world wish them success. Should, however, the Bolshevik experiment be crowned with success it will be a direct

refutation of Marxian theory. It would appear, then, that the Bolsheviks are making strenuous efforts to prove to the world that Marx's theories are worthless.

Karl Marx Versus Lenin

Marx and Lenin are dead, and one may imagine a ghostly debate between their shades. Who will win? The leaders of Soviet Russia deny that such a theoretical combat is going on. They assure the world that Leninism is simple Marx, but in my opinion there yawns an abyssal chasm between the two isms.

I believe that Socialist practice is vastly more important than the profoundest Socialist theory. And if the Russian Communists successfully establish a Socialist commonwealth they will have accomplished immeasurably more than the author of any theory.

The only question is whether they can accomplish what they have set out to do; the important question is whether under the system established by the Communists man will be able to live more happily than today, or, for that

matter, whether he will be less unhappy than he is today.

Many of the essentials of life which every worker and farmer enjoy in every civilized country are lacking in Russia; besides, the dread of losing one's job keeps the people in a panic.

Life in Soviet Russia is drab. Usually when I talked to people about their earnings and living standards their answers dealt only with food. I asked, for example, how much a worker's family needs to subsist. The answer was: "Two roubles a day; anyhow not less than one and-a-half roubles."

Rent Problem Handled Well

"Does that include clothing as well?" I asked; for the purchasing power of the present rouble is equivalent to 30 kopeks of pre-war days.

"Oh, I wasn't speaking about clothes at all," came the ready response.

It is next to impossible to buy a decent overcoat in Russia. A suit of clothes which would cost \$30 or \$35 in New York would have to be made of imported wools and would cost 240 roubles in Moscow (about \$122). Russian cloth is very poor indeed; nevertheless there is such a dearth even of this

poor material that there were long lines of eager purchasers outside the woolen stores hours before the stores opened. Shoes are also more expensive than in New York.

The people are poorly dressed, even those earning an average of two hundred roubles a month. The average worker's income is 80 roubles a month or less, which is very little, though his rent is ridiculously low.

In passing I want to say that the rent problem in the cities has been tackled by the Bolsheviks in a manner to arouse the utmost admiration. A man pays rent in proportion to his monthly earnings, and workers who earn small wages pay as little as a rouble a month for the same room or rooms for which another would have to pay fifty times as much.

The average worker's family that enjoys an income of 80 roubles a month finds it hard to get along. One is always in debt. And, as I have said, you are never certain that you won't lose your job the next day. This nervousness and uncertainty are felt everywhere. In the interest of economy and efficiency the number of factory workers is continually being reduced and the victims of this system of efficiency are everywhere visible.

Hard to Find Employment

In other countries it is bad enough when a man loses his job, but at any rate he is able to look for work elsewhere. In Russia, however, all the jobs are in the same hands, and if you once lose your job there's practically no hope of getting another. Therefore I noticed that people were afraid to utter the slightest criticism of the government, not for fear of being arrested but rather because of the dread of losing their jobs. There is a widespread feeling that getting a permanent job is a matter of pull. I have alluded to the fear of criticism in the powers that be. In the interest of truth I should add that this fear is not as strong as it used to be. It is not uncommon to hear the government freely criticized not only at meetings of workers called for that purpose but also on the street and in cafes. More than once I heard the government criticized so severely and under such circumstances that I was genuinely surprised. At the time I even suspected that the person who indulged in criticism so freely was probably an agent of the Cheka, but my fear was groundless. I should think that the comparative freedom to criticize the government is due to the present Opposition, but only partly.

How do the masses feel? What do they say? After three months in Russia I came to the conclusion that generally speaking, the workers are friendly to the government. They appreciate the good things the government has done for them and, in my opinion, they would be ready to defend it against its enemies at a moment's notice.

These are all cases of good hard workers, working steadily for years and in debt when the time came for an accounting. This is a cross-section of Southern "prosperity" and a glimpse of what Southern mill owners are doing to the 100 per cent American, native born whites. If Europeans are slowly getting American conditions in textiles, Americans are getting Chinese conditions.

THIS IS THE FIRST OF A SERIES OF ARTICLES IN WHICH MR. CAHAN WILL GIVE HIS IMPRESSIONS OF SOVIET RUSSIA.

HENDERSON — — OR HELL?

By John Edelman

THE asphalt roadway ends and the dirt track begins when you "hit" the South Henderson mill village, the scene of the recent strike of 800 cotton mill workers and the scene of the suffering of these workers for years. The first building is a large store with frosted windows. A grocery business once existed here but the owner became bankrupt and the Textile Workers' Union now uses the building. Fitting companions of the bankrupt business place—a row of dreary, dilapidated, unpainted houses with sagging roofs, crooked fences and broken windows, stretches down towards the mill buildings. These are the homes of the mill workers.

A big lawn and flower garden—very pretty indeed—surround the big factories. But at the edge of the lawn is a cyclone wire fence, 7 feet high, with barbed wire entanglements draped around the top. The heavy mill gates are locked most of the time. Two guard houses flank the gates. The mill buildings have tall towers equipped with searchlights. "The Penitentiary" is what the villagers call the place.

Straggling over hills and bottoms is the rest of the village with its drab houses and rutty streets, impassable in wet weather and dusty as sin in dry weather. In some of the bottoms the roads frankly are lost in the swamps.

A SKUNK DEN SEEMS ALLURING
It is October and the hogs are getting bigger and dirtier all the time. The weather is hot. The stock-yard odor hanging over the back yards of the richer workers, the open toilets, the garbage dumps and trash heaps—one could crawl into a den of skunks and be happy.

At 6:30 in the morning we watch the villagers going to work, men, women and children, very reluctantly, very tired after a night's rest. The men are in overalls, and the women in cheap cotton slips with sun bonnets on their heads. Some of them barefoot, some of them ragged, but all of them tired. At ten minutes to 6 the night shift goes in, tired too. At 6 P. M. the day shift comes off and the machinery keeps on going without a stop. Many of the men, and most of the women and children drag themselves along, almost too worn out to reach their homes.

For supper you find, fat pork, without even the trace of lean, beans, homemade biscuits, corn bread and perhaps a few potatoes or yams. If you are lucky you sit on 69 cent chairs. More likely it will be a soap box. Perhaps you will eat off a trunk, perhaps off a table. In most cases the table cloth is last night's newspaper. There is little paint on the wooden walls of the rooms, no paper, hardly ever a picture. The floors sag and if it is not dark you can see the ground through the floor. There are no screens on the windows. If you want water take a pail and get it from the spigot outside. However, if you want water fit to drink you will have to walk from ten yards to a quarter mile for it. If you are afraid of typhoid, or don't like dirty water, you won't drink water at all.

WHEN troops were called out and machine guns mounted around the Cooper Mills in Henderson, N. C., last August, at the orders of the mill owners, the attention of the whole South was rivited for a month on the strike of 800 workers in that miserable mill village. Alfred Hoffman, Organizer for the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, assumed the leadership of this spontaneous revolt of wretched wage slaves. The strikers were standing firm and relief was pouring in from all over the country. Hoffman was called away for 10 days. Crooked leaders got con-

trol of the situation and the workers were fooled into going back into the mills. But Hoffman has established a Branch of the Textile Workers Union in South Henderson. He is holding chataquas and distributing relief. Vaudeville shows and union propaganda go hand in hand. These poor "slaves of the spindle" are being helped in their misery and are learning that the rest of the world is concerned with their plight. Assistance can be sent to Alfred Hoffman, Hotel Melbourne, Durham, N. C. Receipts will be sent. Here is a brief sketch of conditions in South Henderson today.

ALL 100 PER CENT AMERICANS

Down in Moccasin Bottom and Black Snake Hollow are the haunts of the bootleggers, rum runners, gamblers, and the rough necks. Just the same, here is the place you find the few free men in the village, the "scrappers" and the well fed folks. Here you find the people not afraid to talk and not afraid to fight. This is the region that the "agitators" come from and also the poker players.

Living conditions in Moccasin Bottom are worse than in the mill village if such is possible. The houses here are more run down and broken up. The streets rougher, and the water dirtier than anywhere else.

The people themselves are 100 per cent Americans. Anglo Saxon Nordics, "the finest type in America" if you believe the ads of the Southern Chambers of Commerce. Actually they are just an underfed, overworked, malnourished, overbred, bunch of consumptives. And if it isn't b. they suffer from its something else. Practically all are defective.

GOOD CLOTHES ARE SCARCE

They don't earn enough to have decent clothes. A suit at \$23.75 means saving for six months. Women, beautiful at that, can't earn enough to clothe themselves adequately. The children go to school but invariably are not as bright as children of other parents. They are always behind in their work. Hardly any of them get enough to eat, or the right kind of food; many of them are living with tubercular parents or relatives. The kids know when school is done they must work. Their parents are just waiting for them to get thru school so they can be sent to work and earn their own bread—butter is too expensive.

This is just a cross-section of a condition that is still widespread in the South. This is not only a cross-section of Henderson, but also of hundreds of other mill villages in North and South Carolina, in Georgia and Alabama. The workers are practically put on the auction block and sold at low wages. The Southern power interests, and Southern

Chambers of Commerce are the auctioneers, selling the South to manufacturers with the bait of thousands of workers to be shamefully exploited.

Here are a few typical cases reflecting conditions in a southern mill village:

CASE NO. 1

Mother working. After rent and fuel have been deducted from her pay, she draws 35 cents for 55 hours work. She has three children in school whom she tries to support. Under better conditions she can earn \$6 per week. Her statement to me was, "Mah Jonathon are gettin' larnin, all ah evah got were what mah man taught me. Ah'll be glad when he can help."

CASE NO. 2

Mother and daughter working. Joint average earnings, \$10 per week after rent is deducted. Mother in last stages of tuberculosis with yellow dried up skin, without flesh, but with a wonderful smile. Her daughter, nineteen years old, with a hacking tubercular cough and spitting blood. Son in last stages of tuberculosis barely able to move, gasping for breath. Found in home during strike without screens or windows, without a bit of medicine, fresh milk, or eggs and very little other food. Mother discovered after she had been sitting up with boy for five days and two nights keeping flies off him. Seven visits with plenty of promises from the County welfare worker brought no results. Boy finally removed to sanitarium thru pressure. Mother again working fifty-five hours with daughter. A good case of a living death. Only one room in house with a water-proof roof.

CASE NO. 3

Widow and two children. Woman sick and unable to work. Coopers (mill owners) thru their attorneys had gained judgment to have woman removed from home. Given transportation to Goldsboro.

CASE NO. 4

Single man had been fined for fighting, drunkenness, etc. Borrowed \$100 from mill, at the end of six months was still paying on original debt.

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The Onward Sweep of Socialism

Socialists Capture Free City of Danzig

Danzig.—The Socialists captured forty-two seats in Sunday's Volkstadium elections, a gain of twelve over their previous position. The Communists lost three seats and the Polish Party lost two of its five seats, while the German Nationalists, hitherto the strongest with thirty-three, are now reduced to twenty-five.

On September 24th and 25th the Congress of the Socialist Party of the Free City met in Danzig. The Congress was a prelude to the elections to the Assembly. Gehl who discussed exhaustively the Congress had to concern itself with the preparation of the list of candidates and of the electoral programme. On this point the vice-president of the Assembly Gehl, who discussed exhaustively the political parties of the Free City, and the situation as to foreign politics, much complicated by position of Danzig between Germany and Poland. On his motion an election programme was adopted of which the following are the leading items: Resumption of the policy

of entente with Poland begun by the Socialists on the basis of the existing treaties; reform of administration of the lines of retrenchment of expenditure and reduction in the number of Senators. Extension of social legislation, reduction in taxation and finally alleviation of the shortage of houses by encouragement of building, maintenance of tenant's protection, etc. The resolution was adopted unanimously without a debate.

German Socialists Score

Noted Local Victories

Berlin.—The results of elections in some of the local Diets in Germany Sunday showed notable Socialist victories.

In the Bremen House of Burgesses the Socialists stopped the poll with fifty, gaining four. The communal elections in Mecklenburg also showed Socialist gains at principal centers.

The radical papers hail the results as foreshadowing the enhanced power of socialism in the Reich.

The Campaign is Over

(Continued from Page 1)

trict and in Brownsville and Williamsburg, we were able to marshal our forces sufficiently to hold some 200 hall and street meetings per week during the month of October. Some 200,000 leaflets were distributed and mailed in various parts of the city and the attendance at our hall and street meetings was infinitely better than the year before. The New Leader circulation during the campaign jumped more than 100 per cent.

About 200 new members have been obtained during this campaign and the cards handed in at the various meetings totalling another couple of hundred are now being used for a continued membership drive and we are sanguine in obtaining a large number of these people as members of our organization in the near future. We received a great deal of publicity in the press. Small as it is and as yet incapable of achieving electoral victories, the Socialist Party, however, is a political factor in the minds of the average newspaper reader and is something that our Democratic and Republican politicians have to reckon with.

I would say that there is very little note of discouragement audible among most of our comrades. On the other hand, there is a determination to go ahead for still bigger things next year. As I started out to say, for the pessimist there is more pessimism. For the active, hopeful, and enthusiastic Socialist the effect of the campaign is one that produces that state of physical and mental determination that causes a fighter to clench his fingers and grit his teeth and gather his energy and resources for still greater struggles. Those of us who are convinced that Socialism must and will be achieved in all capitalist countries are not at all dismayed by the terrific difficulties. Our comrades in those European countries where the blessings of dictatorship rule have a much worse task ahead of them. In this country, considering its vastness, the varied nature of its population, the so-called prosperity and numerous other typical American complexes, we must strive and struggle on. The victory in Reading, Pa., points the road. The day of victory is inevitable.

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WILLIAM J. BURNS—HE LOVES TO TINKER WITH JURIES

By Louis Stanley

"I have a little shadow
That goes in and out with me
But what can be the use of it
Is more than I can see."

—ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON

THE hearings before the Grand Jury of the District of Columbia have revealed these things:

1. That all but one of the jurors in the Fall-Sinclair trial were under "close, intimate, objectionable and improper surveillance";
2. That this shadowing was carried out by fourteen detectives of the William J. Burns International Detective Agency;
3. That it is almost certain that Harry F. Sinclair arranged for this work and that his personal representatives were the "contact" men between the detective agency and himself;
4. That the charge of Burns that the Government had tampered with the jury is probably a lie made out of whole cloth, as the Burns agent who double-crossed his employer and worked for the government testified; and
5. That attempts to approach two jurors were made. Thus William J. Burns hits a snag. The detective game has netted him in too. We can well pause to review his career.

Liked To Tinker With Juries

You do not suppose that W. J. Burns did not early reveal an aptitude for his future profession. Puzzles and riddles did not perplex him for long. His father was a police commissioner of Columbus, Ohio, which gave the young Burns material upon which to feed his genius. The family had moved over from Baltimore, home of those other American institutions, the Star Spangled Banner, Henry L. Mencken and Bromo Seltzer. W. J. Burns was born in that city in 1861. The father, a merchant tailor,

became a political figure in Columbus through his efforts in some civic clean-up campaign.

The son imbibed the spirit of the police department and went into politics on his own account in a small Republican way. One day, to be sure, he criticized the handling of a certain case. "Can you do better, my son?" asked the police commissioner.

"I'll try, dad," replied the opening bid and fiction-like he succeeded where his predecessors had failed.

Thenceforward, problems came thick and fast upon him and he solved them all—especially the "tally-sheet election forgeries" of the 1880's in Ohio and the arson mysteries of St. Louis. He branched out for himself but the United States Government needed such talent as his and William John Burns was harnessed into the Federal Secret Service.

His assignments sent him in pursuit of counterfeiters and other defrauders of the government. Burns did make good. One of his victories was in the Oregon land-fraud cases. One of those who went to jail was Willard N. Jones. Later the reason for his incarceration became clear, when Attorney-General George W. Wickersham investigated the case and reported to President Taft May 10, 1912. The report showed that Burns early learned the knack of detecting crime by tampering with juries. That was a phase of criminal investigation that Sherlock Holmes never thought of.

Weeded Out Bad Jurors

Burns and his detectives investigated the potential jurors in the county where Jones was to be tried and after classifying these unwary citizens into three bound to convict and those otherwise, the Great Detective caught the criminal

by arranging matters so that adverse jurors—adverse to conviction—would not be called for service. The proofs of this plot were unanswerable. There were the reports of the detectives, some in Burns' own handwriting. There was a cipher telegram of Burns to E. A. Hitchcock, Secretary of the Interior, which reads:

"Jury commissioners cleared out old box from which jurors were selected and put in 600 names, every one of whom was investigated before they were placed in the box. This confidential."

Finally, there was an affidavit from C. N. McArthur, a field agent of Burns and later Speaker of the House of Representatives of Oregon. McArthur swore that Burns had handed him a list of prospective jurors with instructions "to weed out those who will not vote for conviction." McArthur protested, but Burns insisted however, that he was "going to stack the cards."

Perhaps this explains the remark of the Great Sleuth to the reporters in the Fall-Sinclair case as his white rage made him lapse into confession. He stated that for thirty-five years he had been investigating jurors for the government and knew "how the Government operates in shadowing and observing them," but he added quickly, "everything was honest and above-board."

"Frame Up" His Motto

William J. Burns, it can be surmised, is not the man to be halted by any obstacle. Early in his days of notoriety he expressed this philosophy of pragmatic optimism: "If you come to a stone wall, there must be a way around. Frame up a situation that will get you around or over."

The career of William J. Burns may

be divided into two parts. In the first he is the governmental servant forgetting crooks, whether they be plain criminals or unscrupulous politicians bent upon robbing the government, city, state or federal. But even in this period he does not pursue the capitalists in the background who offer rich temptations in return for timber land, contracts or franchises. Perhaps the law did not call for the apprehension of the businessmen but Burns also did not seem to be conscious of the economic bases of the cases he was investigating.

The second portion of Burns' professional work begins with his retirement from the Government Secret Service after twenty-two years of activity. He had Pacific Coast land-fraud cases and in just gained a hero's reputation in the San Francisco graft investigation. Such a sleuth could not fail to fascinate the business interests. They made him their darling. The William J. Burns Detective Agency was founded and in December, 1909, eleven thousand members of the American Bankers' Association put their property under Burns' protection. A clientele like that upon one swoop placed the new agency among the foremost of the country.

Burns and his men now began to sniff around labor and radical circles. How else could detectives be more useful to the business interests than by spying at trade union meetings, provoking violence to enmesh guiltless workers, snooping about "Reds" and then swooping down upon them at the publicist's moment? Burns became the labor-baiter par excellence.

Technicalities Not His Worry

The first open attack of the Sleuth Magnificent upon the labor movement came in the McNamara case in 1911.

A predatory capitalism in the iron and steel construction industry had inevitably brought certain unionists to the desperation edge. Hired detectives, just plain thugs, agents provocateurs and corporation judges worked the game for the Manufacturers' Association and the Erectors' League. Later when the McNamara brothers confessed to dynamiting the labor movement condemned them to resort to violence. The role of Burns could not be forgiven however. J. J. McNamara, Secretary-treasurer of the Bridge and Structure Iron Workers' Association was kidnapped with hardly a legal subterfuge from the Union office in Indianapolis out of his state into California. Extradition could not have been secured through the normal processes. Referring to this incident Burns said, "The officers had the right to take him out of the State in a wheelbarrow if they liked. Of course, we knew that some one or other would be getting up on his hind legs and I do not suppose if we had given time for the raising of all sorts of technicalities that we should ever have gotten him out of the State." Neither did a little maladministration of justice halt Burns when the forty executive officers of the union were imprisoned in their own council chamber and later all but two railroaded to jail.

Despite the exposure of Detective Burns in the Oregon jury-fixing case another, Republican administration saw fit to honor him. In 1921 he became Director of the Bureau of Investigation under Attorney-General Daugherty and remained in that office for three years. The Fall-Sinclair graft and the accusations concerning it occurred during this period but the public-spirited detective never discovered anything wrong. Perhaps Daugherty never assigned him to

investigate. In a more than symbolical sense Burns is on trial with the Ohio gang at Washington. Burns, it may be interesting to recall, hails from Ohio.

Ralph Easley Burns Mentor

The Director of the Bureau of Investigation placed himself at the service of the patriot societies, as a Senatorial investigation has shown. He gave them access to his confidential files, while informing liberal organizations under accusations that the rule of the Bureau made access to its records impossible. He initiated prosecutions and persecutions at the instance of these one hundred percenters. He recited "Red scare" speeches whenever he could. He stated officially in 1924 that there were "over 600,000 Reds affiliated with Moscow in the United States, ready to overthrow this government." He aided in the deportation of foreigners.

Said Burns officially in 1923: "The source of communists' and related activity is alien, and aliens to a large degree have been relied upon either as the active agents or the planting ground for the seeds of discord and revolution. . . . Where the activities of alien agents constitute positive sedition it (the Bureau) exercise jurisdiction."

He was in close cooperation with Ralph M. Easley, patriotic chairman of the National Civic Federation. Burns was indeed beholden to Easley who claimed that he was responsible for the Great Detective's elevation to public office. Easley raised money to finance his protégé's work in prosecuting the communists in Michigan for the public funds not available for the purpose. Incidentally, Burns before the trial lent the material which the government had seized to R. M. Whitney of the American

Defense Society, who wrote articles based thereon that called forth libel suits and retractions.

Meanwhile, while Burns was supposed to have cut off connections with his private detective agency, he was constantly mixing his public duties with his personal business affairs. An instance of this came to light towards the close of Burns' directorship of the Government espionage system, "Industrial Solidarity," organ of the I. W. W., published a series of documents that had come into its editors' hands that illustrates Burns' labor spying in the Southwest with the assistance of governmental operatives.

Wall Street Blast Improves Business

We must not forget also the Wall Street explosion episode. Bailin, the agent provocateur, while in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, wrote a report for the Thiel detective agency on September 16, 1920, a day following the explosion, in which he concocted a fable to explain the mystery. The Soviet Government agents had committed the dastardly deed. W. J. Burns' great mind saw the truth of this tale and bought Bailin's fabrication from him. In October, 1920, this spy—by this time in the employ of the William J. Burns International Detective Agency—was instructed to write letters to the Postmaster of New York, threatening to blow up the Woolworth Building unless political prisoners were freed immediately.

Later Bailin wrote an intercepted letter from J. W. W. headquarters to enable the detectives to solve the mystery. Bailin was arrested but was not tried either before or during the Burns' administration of the Government Secret Service. He had too much to tell. Thus, it happened that Burns publicly flared up again and business improved. Meanwhile, the government had closed the matter when its specialist reported that the explosion must have been due to some blasting-powder carried to some excavation work in the vicinity. But that was not enough for Burns. He offered a fifty thousand dollar reward. Fifteen months later, after he had already become Chief Spy for the government, he caused the arrest of a Wolfe "Windy Lindy" Lindenthal, in Warsaw, who was purported to have confessed all the details of the Wall Street plot. Again the business of the private detective agency improved. There were intimations that Bailin's invented story was still spinning through Burns' head. "There is no question," said the Great Detective, "but that the Third International of Moscow was responsible for the Wall Street explosion, and that the Third International paid the plotters \$30,000." Then, nothing was further heard of the matter and when Lindenthal, America a year later, he was admitted to land.

We may best characterize William J. Burns in his own words, spoken in a pristine moment back in 1911:

"You may put me on record as saying that many private detectives are the biggest lot of blackmailing thieves that ever went unwhipped by justice."

And the record still stands.

Anniversary Amnesty Frees Russian Felons, Keeps Socialists Jailed

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

ZURICH.—For the 10th Anniversary of the Revolution the Soviet Government is planning an amnesty of wide scope. The amnesty is intended to embrace the most varying categories of criminals who by their origins belong to the laboring classes. However, according to these official communiques, political offenders imprisoned or banished are not to be amnestied.

"The dangerous criminals and counter-revolutionaries banished by administrative measures to Narym etc. must be excluded from the amnesty; the others on the contrary are to be set free and to receive permission to return"—such was the declaration by the President of the Court of the Province of Moscow ("Komsomolskaja Pravda" 25th September, 1927).

By pointing to the real counter-revolutionaries, the monarchists who took part in the ventures of the White Guard, the Bolsheviks are trying to mask the problem of the political prisoners in Russia. The real problem of conscience for the workers in all countries concerns the representatives of the Socialist labor movement who are in the prisons of Soviet Russia. Many of them will be able to regard the anniversary celebrated by the Soviet Government as their own anniversary also—that of a prolonged sojourn in prison or banishment, that of unceasing persecution.

Exiled to Distant Places

In the illimitable regions of Northern Russia, of Siberia and in the far steps of Khirgistan and Turkestan, in the "Tundras" of Petchora and on the shores of the Arctic Sea, in the snow wastes of the Narym and Turuchansk regions—wherever the terrible severity of the winter or the scorching arid heat of the steppes destroys human beings unaccustomed to this climate, there are to be found Socialists and anarchists as prisoners of the Bolshevik dictatorship. A glance at the map is sufficient to give a clear conception of the conditions of life in Otdorsk, Ust-Zylma, Ust-Sysloik, Mesen, Turt-Kul, Parabola, etc. They are hundreds, sometimes thousands of miles distant from a railway; the postal service is very infrequent and in consequence of the bad roads is during autumn and spring altogether suspended. To the utter divorce from the world of civilization must be added the miserable situation resulting from the very scarce possibilities of livelihood.

These are places of banishment in which within determined limits men are able to move "freely." But apart from these there are numerous prisons peopled by Socialists and anarchists. These jails have enjoyed their melancholy notoriety since back in the time of the Tsarist independent regime, such as the gaol in Jaroslav, the Katoryn prisons in Tobolsk, Tcheliabinsk (Siberia), the prisons in the Monastery Soudalcha and in Werchne-Uralsk. The news, transmitted only in a fragmentary manner and by round-about ways about the numerous hunger strikes among the prisoners and the grave maltreatment permitted by the administration, bears witness eloquently to the system prevailing in these prisons. As late as January, 1927, the Foreign Delegations of the Russian Social Democratic Party received detailed communications of the cruel treatment meted out to 200 political prisoners in the prison at Werchne-Uralsk. Those of the inmates who protested against the forcible feeding of the prisoner Baljankin (a

workman from the Dynamo works in Moscow), who had been on hunger-strike for 17 days, including women and young people were mercilessly assaulted by the armed guards of the Tcheka. The prison was under martial law for three days during which the guards of the Tcheka forced their way perpetually into the cells and fell upon the defenceless inmates. The persons especially man-handled were, among the women, Goltzmann and Wenger, and among the men, Strukov, Dalinski, Dichter, Tarasov and Lewitski. The list of prisoners would be incomplete without a mention of the ill-famed concentration camp on the Solovetski Islands. The removal thence of prisoners in the summer of 1925 was a mere sham. Scarcely had the steamer carrying Socialists and anarchists, who had been on the island since 1923, moved away from the shore when another steamer with political prisoners, mainly Georgian Socialists, arrived. There are now on the Solovetski-Islands about a hundred Socialists and anarchists who are subjected to the mode of life of common criminals.

Grounds for Imprisonment

On what grounds are these people persecuted, banished and shut up? Has the Soviet Government the faintest justification for its action, if in such a case one can speak of justification? The guilt of the confined and exiled Socialists consists solely in their having, conscious of their duty to the Russian Labor Movement and to the International performed Socialist work and endeavored to organize the working-masses for the preservation of their political and economic interests. The "guilt" of many of those persecuted, moreover, does not consist in their having been active agents but in their refusal to renounce their allegiance to the political parties as the Tcheka bade them do. Saving a few exceptions, the prisoners and banished persons are not serving their sentence in accordance with the verdict of a court.

Only in isolated cases since the inception of the Soviet rule has the government ventured to bring Socialists before a public court. Out of the hundreds and thousands of prisoners and banished scarcely one per cent could probably be found who are serving their sentence according to judgment by a court. The Government prefers to deal with them by administrative channels in the secret offices of the Political Departments and in the absence of the accused. In this way there is no need of producing proofs or of evidence in defence. The sentences are delivered automatically by the Committee of the Political Departments; they amount commonly to 3 years prison or banishment, or at times to 5, 8 or even 10.

The punishments never come to an end. Although the sentences, even if passed by administrative authority, do mention a definite time-limit, the fate of the prisoners is as good as sealed; for after the expiration of the time, the prisoners are not usually set at liberty. Having served their sentence, they are generally, without having had the slightest opportunity of committing fresh "crimes" condemned to a fresh punishment. This is normally done as follows: the person in prison or banishment after expiration of his time is released, since the authorities in the prisons or places of banishment have no right to liberate political prisoners who have served their sentence, unless with the express consent of the Political Department. The prisoner re-

mains in the gaol and there awaits the decision as to his lot which is framed in Moscow. He must expect to wait many months. At length the decision arrives—but instead of freedom it brings a new sentence by the Political Department.

In this fashion, persons who have completed their time in the prisons are sent into banishment and vice-versa. The procedure sometimes works with a brief intermission. After the sentence, the prisoner is released, only to be re-arrested some weeks or months later. This system little by little shatters its victims, and death or flight are the only hopes of escape.

Only recently there died in the prison of Werchne-Uralsk the Petrograd workman, Alexander Smirnov, member of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Party, well-known not only in Russia, but also abroad as member of the delegation of the Petrograd Council for preparing the Stockholm Conference. Not long ago there occurred the death in quite early years of another member of the Socialist Party, Aron Schmois, who fell sick of consumption while in banishment on the Solovetski-Islands. Others who have died in banishment are an old member of the Party, Anna Dobrochtow, and the well-known and highly respected comrade, Astrow, member of the Central Committee. Not a few persons have become mentally deranged; news has been received that a member of the left Social-Revolutionary Party, Sergei Panow, who since 1921 has been alternately in prison or banishment, has fallen into insanity.

But not satisfied with this system of continuous punishment, the Bolsheviks do their utmost to apply it as cruelly as possible. We have already referred to the way of living in the prisons. Another form of torment for the prisoners are the so-called "travel by stages," i.e. the removal to destination during which they must pass from one prison into another. Such a convey is for months on the way. The greater part of the time is spent in the cold and dirty prisons at the stages which mean for the prisoners real torment. They often wait there weeks and months for the next prisoners' convey to carry them on to the destination. The removal is performed in overcrowded convict carriages. Indeed the life in the prison seems almost like a paradise in comparison with the miseries of the transport by stages.

Hillquit to Survey "These Ten Years" in Rand School Course

"These Ten Years" is the subject of a five-lecture course to be given by Hillquit, well known Socialist and labor lawyer, at the Rand School of Social Science, 7 East 15th St., N. Y. C.

The time has come for taking stock of the epoch-making decade which began with the revolution in Russia and Germany and the ending of the Great War. This Mr. Hillquit plans to do under the following heads:

1. The End of the War; the Revival of Nationalism; World Revolution and World Reaction; 2. The Crisis of Democracy; Bolshevik Dictatorship and Fascist Dictatorship; 3. New Forms of Class Struggle; Political and Economic; 4. The Awakening of the East: Russia and Asia; 5. The League of Nations and the New Imperialism.
- This course will begin Tuesday, November 22 at 8:30 and continue through December 20.
- On Friday evening, Nov. 18 at 8:30 p.m., Samuel C. Schmecker, Ph. D., author of "The Meaning of Evolution and of Man's Life on Earth" will begin a five-lecture course on "The Ascent of Man." These lectures will continue to December 16.
- N. Bryllin Fagin, of the University of Baltimore, will give a five-lecture course on "Rebels in Contemporary American Literature," Saturday afternoon beginning November 19 and continuing to December 17.
- The following lectures are still being given:
- The Story of World Literature, by John Macy—Mondays until December 19.
- The Psychology of Personality, by Hil-

Green and Woll Attack Program of Labor Party

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

Pittsburgh.—Independent political action through a labor party came on the floor of the A. F. of L. conference in Pittsburgh for a rocky 45 minutes of debate that brought Matthew Woll and William Green to the attack and two rank and file men from the floor to the defence of the idea.

The conference had just adopted a lengthy report in the course of which the organized labor of Pennsylvania was called upon to get busier in politics—through non partisan A. F. of L. methods—for the purpose of doing away with the repression of the miners.

J. S. Otis, a Pittsburgh Central Labor Union delegate, objected to the Democrat and Republican see-saw policy, urging the support of a labor party, and also suggested that the declaration against injunctions be stiffened, reminding the convention of Gompers' near contact with the bars over an anti-strike writ.

Woll, in a sharp reply, called the labor party impractical; called such talk mere theorizing and asserted that the La Follette campaign had taught the A. F. of L. the lesson to keep out of such movements.

Green took a similar line, saying independent political action did not appeal to the hard headed men to whom the delegate had been talking. He pointed to the election of LaFollette and Pinchot as triumphs for the non partisan policy. He argued that a labor party in Pennsylvania would give comfort to the reactionaries by splitting the vote.

Charles Kutz, of Altoona, for years chairman of the Pennsylvania Labor Party, took Green up on the subject of Pennsylvania. There the labor party had proved very practical; he emphasized that word. The labor party always endorsed the Pinchots, the men approved by the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, and in various coalitions with progressive elements in other parties it had elected labor men to the state assembly and minor offices. Its political machinery was a useful factor and it was a contact with folks further to the left who were thus brought into common political action with the rest of labor, Kutz said.

Bronx Fellowship To Hear Lathrop on East Europe

John Howland Lathrop, a member of a commission that went to Europe to study conditions of minority groups in the Balkans, will speak on "The Jewish Problem of Eastern Europe" at the Open Road, Sunday, November 20th, 9 P. M. Rev. Leon Roeser Land will speak at the 8 o'clock Fellowship Service on "Orthodoxy, Atheism and Liberal Religion." Musical program by Genevieve and Zelma Kaufman.

HAPGOOD AT JEWISH CENTER

On Monday evening, Nov. 21st, the Forum of the Brooklyn Jewish Center, 397 Eastern Parkway, will be addressed by Norman Hapgood. The subject selected for Mr. Hapgood's address is: "Hoover, Hughes, Dawes and Smith."

On Friday evening, Nov. 18 at 8:30 p.m., Samuel C. Schmecker, Ph. D., author of "The Meaning of Evolution and of Man's Life on Earth" will begin a five-lecture course on "The Ascent of Man." These lectures will continue to December 16.

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Emergency Committee Seeks Assistance For Striking Pa. Miners

The lockout of the Pennsylvania and Ohio coal miners, now in its eighth month, has brought about a tragic situation in many of the mining camps. The miners are reduced to the barest necessities, and in many cases are actually in want as winter comes on. The thousands of evictions have left families without shelter, except for tents or the rough wooden barracks hastily being erected. Food and clothing for almost half a million men, women and children must be provided.

To meet this end, the Emergency Committee for Strikers Relief, established by the League for Industrial Democracy and the American Civil Liberties Union, with Norman Thomas as Chairman and Forrest Bailey, Treasurer, has been called into activity. The committee is preparing to rush supplies of food and clothing to the neediest districts to be distributed through the local relief committees of the miners union.

Donations should be sent to the New York headquarters of the Committee, Presbyterian Building, 156 Fifth Avenue, Room 1027.

Bagnall To Speak Sunday in Harlem Community Church

An important lecture of special interest to the colored people of Harlem is announced for Sunday evening at the Harlem Community Church, 149 West 136th Street. Robert W. Bagnall, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, will lecture on "The Responsibility of the Church for Race Prejudice."

The speaker and the subject are certain to attract a good audience. Admission is free.

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Executive Board meets every Monday.

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Headgear Workers' Lyceum
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210 East 5th Street.

Morrison Addresses New Haven Meeting For Necktie Strikers

New Haven.—The New Haven Trades Council held a large mass meeting at Moose Hall Friday, November 11, for the purpose of acquainting the public with the situation in necktie strike. Frank Morrison, treasurer of the A. F. of L., was the main speaker and told of the loyalty of the necktie unions in that organization.

John Murphy, president of the City Council, acted as chairman of the meeting. The meeting was also addressed by Patrick F. Omeara, president of the State Federation of Labor, and Louis Waldman, of New York, counsel for the strikers. He gave a history of the unions, told of the sweat shop conditions in the trade in past years, and of the sacrifice that the members had made to better working conditions.

Mr. Waldman declared two New York necktie firms had moved to New Haven to get away from the union and to obtain cheap scab labor. He said it had been reported to him that a foreman (that if they attended the mass meeting in one of the shops had told the girl they would be discharged. The meeting was well attended. A large number of Yale students were present.

On Sunday evening, November 13th, the First Methodist Church Forum had as its speaker Louis Waldman, counsel for the Neckwear Makers' Union. He told of the union's fight to obtain good working conditions, the 44-hour week, better pay, and to do away with home work.

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BIG BILL LOSES
TEN BUCKS

ALMOST I was persuaded to send ten dollars to Big Bill Thompson of Chi. The occasion was the landing last week of the Aquitania carrying its quota of visiting Englishmen.

I had gone to the dock to meet the far-darting Morris Ernst and his wife and having no pass, I was forced to wait for a ghastly hour what time there filed by me from the great ship's first cabin as depressing a mass of humanity as it has been my bad fortune to behold for many moons.

On they came with faces resembling worried sheep, foolish mustaches, ridiculous derby hats, incredible pants, all bleating in that clipped, insufferable accent of self-conscious superiority which is the voice of peridious Albion—the world over. Liberals and novelists, purveyors of rum and romanticism, actors, bad and indifferent, ticket-of-leave men and assorted adventurers with greed in their fishy blue eyes and a vast conceit swelling their scrawny chests, they marched upon our defenceless city seeking what suckers they might devour.

I say that, gazing upon this schmier, I was on my way to wire ten bucks to The Bust the Britons in the Beezer Marching Club, or whatever Big Bill calls his outfit, when two things stopped me. One was the fact that I didn't have ten dollars. The other, that in my pocket was a copy of "The Unbearable Bassington", a book as English as blubber and squeak and as amazingly charming as only a charming Englishman may be.

It was an untimely bullet that wrote a tragic "Finis" to the life of H. H. Munro, the author of "The Unbearable Bassington", better known by his pen name of "Saki". Another black mark to be chalked up against the Great War, for Munro was killed fighting in the trenches.

Now the Viking Press is bringing out in attractive form a number of Saki's little books with introductions by A. A. Milne, Hugh Walpole, Chesterton and other celebrities and if the rest are as good as "Bassington", we want them all.

Here is satire of the sort that makes the best of the younger Americans seem heavy-handed indeed. It is satire that is the most difficult of all to write—social satire that sparkles, and stings too, that flashes and glitters through every brilliant page.

Thompson will get no dollars of mine so long as English soil still gives birth to Saki. And it has been the mother of many such.

"The art of public life consists to a great extent of knowing exactly where to stop and going a bit further," says Saki.

"I was speaking down in Leicestershire," says one of his unbearable characters, "and I pointed out at some length a thing that few people ever stop to consider—" And, continues Saki, "Francesca went over immediately but decorously to the majority that will not stop to consider."

"Lady Caroline," we are told, "was a professed Socialist in politics, chiefly, it was believed, because she was thus enabled to disagree with most of the Liberals and Conservatives, and all of the Socialists of the day. She did not permit her Socialism, however, to penetrate her stairs; her cook and butler had every encouragement to be individualists."

Lady Caroline is a grim adorable, hard-bitten old dame who says, "We must not grudge them their show of presents after their twenty-five years of married life. It is the silver lining to their cloud." And again, "The dear Archdeacon is getting so absent-minded. He read a list of box-holders for the Opera as the First Lesson the other Sunday, instead of the families and lots of the tribes of Israel when they entered Canaan. Fortunately no one noticed the mistake."

There is the attractive lady who runs to the arms of a world-faring naval aviator after the break-up of an affair with an M. P. finding that "pluralism is a wonderful tonic." There is the busy-body who "creates a positive draught with the number of bazaars she opens." And there is the grand description of all social workers, "The poor have us always with them."

Granted then that the Englishman abroad is a particularly offensive animal, as offensive, no doubt, as many touring Americans. Granted that even the best of them talk down to us and exhibit their certain condescension of which Lowell once wrote so bitterly. I have in mind, for example, Mr. Bertrand Russell who has not put together two sentences worth going round the block to hear in all the weeks that he has been with us. (His friends tell us that he is "tired," but why use us as a rest cure?) Granted all this, there is nevertheless in England a civilized attitude towards life that we somehow miss in America.

If we go in for satire we have to take a slapstick with us as did Lewis in "Elmer Gantry." Otherwise the still small voice is drowned in the yelps of the cheering sections. If we talk about the things that move us, we are chased off by our loving friends to the nearest psycho-analysts. If, in short, we show interest in anything beyond the aggrandisement of self and the sweating acquisition of money we are at once suspected of being "queer." This has gone so far as to include an interest in the apparently harmless activities of public life, so that today anyone who is curious about what is going on in the world is frowned upon by our sterile and singularly unintelligent sophisticates.

After all, to be really sophisticated requires something more than the mere lack of enthusiasm for any decent thing. Indifferentism is not to be confused with intelligence. If the truth were known, it might well turn out that our American sophisticates, aping the worst features of the English, were nothing but badly beaten men and women rationalizing their defeat by sneering at those who still have guts enough to go on fighting.

We are a bit sore on this subject because The New Leader is now receiving letters from self-appointed critics of the methods used in conducting the last Socialist campaign. For the most part they come from those who kept so far behind the lines when the battle was on as to be invisible. They looked at us through patronizing eyes when we made the mild suggestion that the Party could do with a few more workers. Of course, they explained, they were not interested in street-speaking and the like. House to house canvassing was not for such as these nor could their exquisite fingers be stained by addressing envelopes. But somehow they have managed to snatch enough time from their self-adoring preoccupations to write us telling us that we were all wet and explaining just how the campaign should have been run. We made plenty of mistakes. We fumbled a lot of easy punts but at any rate we were on the field when the whistle blew, not sitting with the sneering section on the top row of the stand.

McAlister Coleman.

Scanning The New Books

Mencken and Nathan

THERE have been many charges at George Jean Nathan during his career—charges of radicalism, torism, puritanism and plain hellishness—but never has he been charged with dullness. Always, the man was amusing, both in his tirades and more gentle moments of lyricism. Always, even though he had nothing to say, he said it with gusto and interest. But now it must be reported after an investigation of his "Land of the Pilgrim's Pride," (Alfred A. Knopf) that he at last has succumbed to the gray standardization of America and become pedantic.

Along with other things of little importance, Mr. Nathan reports on the changing morals of America. He says nothing about them which the Rev. Dr. John Roach Straton and the even more Rev. Bishop Manning have not already imparted to breathless congregations with a great deal more trimmings. It is a story view of morals which Mr. Nathan holds to for the moment and it is as uninterestingly imparted as if a member of the Union League Club had opened his mouth and blathered.

His partner in crime, H. L. Mencken, the great commuter, also publishes, this time a selection of "Prejudices," taken from earlier works and republished by Knopf. Strong as are the words of Mr. Mencken there is something about him which is immature. He seems to be a particularly articulate sophomoric, worried about things which do not matter.

His sallies against Methodism and Prohibition, against Bryan and the Reds, against everything which irritates him at the moment, are great fights with straw men. As the world gradually acquires a polish, if not actual knowledge and tolerance, these bugaboos of his become something to laugh off, just as one laughs off the chalet de necessite of the less populous regions.

Methodism yearly loses great hordes to the less religious Episcopal sect as the nation acquires greater wealth. Prohibition is an annoyance which probably will pass just as the Blue Laws did.

Bryan is dead and his cause is dying. His great issues, then, disappear as the mirage with a shift in the atmospheric conditions.

There is, however, one great service which Mencken has done the country. And for this all praise. Throughout the land there are droves of young newspaper men who read his green bound gospel every month and who take its jazzy cynicism to heart. Subtly this spirit of doubt and disrespect for the clowns who infest public life has insinuated itself into the columns of the papers so that today one will find more readable stories abroad than ever before.

It is a pity that the great man does not realize this himself. He is ever prating about the dear dead days of the old New York Sun, when reporters were reporters and not hand-out chasers. But this investigator once spent days in the Public Library reading that shrine of journalism and it did not appear in such a noble light.

This lamenting of the old master and his yammers of woe about the good old days in drinking, journalism and debauchery seem to be a sign that the man is growing old. For a time he spelled progress to many of his followers. At present there is no one to replace him as the great American naysayer. But somewhere in a tank town or a big city there is a man who will hear very shortly: "The King is dead. Long live the King," and he will accept graciously the crown that once was H. L. Mencken's.

Bert MacDonald.

Life and the Hermit

IT IS disconcerting to find students of sociology—that science of human action—the most dehumanized of beings. For that reason the book at hand ("Life and the Student," by Charles Horton Cooley, Alfred A. Knopf, \$2.50) comes as a delightful and rather puzzling surprise. In the author's own characteristic words, there is a "deep sense of personality" in these pithy and rambling paragraphs on letters and living. Pro-

fessor Cooley, it is to be remembered, is the author of "Human Nature and the Social Order," and is Professor of Sociology at the University of Michigan.

The index reveals Marcus Aurelius, Goethe, Emerson and Thoreau as the writers oftenest mentioned in the book. There is much of the personal flavor of these writers caught up in Professor Cooley's firm and simple prose, especially of the last two.

"Institutional writers die with their institutions." So the author is always pleased to find personalities that spill over the confining bounds of a social theory or a religious dogma and reveal themselves as many-sided wholes. He looks for the trace of personality in writing and is overjoyed to find it, whether in a book by Pascal or a freshman theme, bustling with egotism. This norm of personality is maintained throughout in all the discussions of science, religion, our social order and campus life.

It must not be thought that Professor Cooley has attained this intellectual calmness by avoiding the world or by accepting orthodoxy, for he grapples with many problems and there are devastating iconoclasm sprinkled through his book. Only once or twice does he strike a false note of strained optimism. And some of the observations on the psychology of radicalism, for instance, are more epigrammatic than profound.

In America we have had since Emerson few such writers with human aplomb, with deep and serene sense of integrity. It is easy to explain Emerson and Thoreau, Cooley's spiritual forebears. Theirs was an age of little capitalists, when the Person still had much elbow room. The frontier was still an important social agent determining thinking. Did not Thoreau refer to Walden as his West, his frontier? Since then the industrial age has almost completely upset leisurely old ways of thinking so conducive to wholeness. Men are lopsided; writers have become like Sherwood Anderson's grotesques. Freedom, serenity, harmony, the qualities extolled by Professor Cooley, are qualities so rare in this age as to be

cause for comment. How does he achieve them? Surely not in a steam-heated Washington Square apartment pierced by the staccato of riveters and perpetually shaded by a twenty-story apartment house. "In all epochs," Professor Cooley writes, "one who could write something tranquil and considerate must resist the spirit of the time, since, whatever the spirit of the time may be, it is never that."

If explanations are in order the best guess is that Professor Cooley found his "Walden" on faculty row—some shady street in Ann Arbor. He has managed to take root and flourish there. And if there is one who would cast the stone of parochialism he might reply as he did to the critics of his beloved Thoreau: "But it is certain which is parish and which capital?"

To discuss the question is outside the province of book reviewing.

Norman Studer.

Chase To Talk
At L. I. D. Dinner
On Soviet Russia

The New York Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy announces a dinner to be held on Tuesday evening, November 22, at 6:30 p.m., at the Town Hall Club, 123 West 43rd street, New York City on the subject of "Ten Years of Soviet Russia"—and the Question of U. S. Recognition.

Stuart Chase, author, accountant, director of the Labor Bureau, Inc., and treasurer of the L. I. D., and Robert W. Dunn, author of "American Investments Abroad," etc., who have just returned from Russia as economic advisors of the Trade Union delegation, will be the principal speakers. Rexford Tugwell will be chairman. Agnes Arington Laidler will sing Russian songs.

The dinner will be held under the auspices of the New York Chapter, L. I. D. Tickets are \$2.00 each. Orders should be sent in immediately to the L. I. D., 70 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C.

American History for Workers

An Outline — By James Oneal

The New Nation

ORIGIN OF THE PUBLIC DOMAINS.

The charter colonies, Virginia, Connecticut, Massachusetts, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, originally extending from "sea to sea," claimed that their grants extended west to the Mississippi River and these extensive claims provoked friction with other colonies. Maryland had refused to sign the Articles of Confederation until these claims were abandoned and eventually all the claimants ceded their western lands to Congress. The cession was made with the understanding that the public domain should be divided into States, that when they had a sufficient population they should be admitted to the Union, and that the revenue from land sales should be used to pay the national debt. This national interest acquired by the old Congress was one of the few unifying factors that had held the jealous colonies together.

ORDINANCE OF 1787. Land companies were soon organized and millions of acres purchased. Fraud often accompanied the transaction. Congress provided for the government of this vast territory in the Ordinance of 1787 which provided for the appointment by the President of a Governor, a Secretary and three Judges. Further provision was made for the eventual division of the Northwest Territory, as it was called, into not less than three nor more than five States; that slavery and involuntary servitude should be forever prohibited, but that fugitive slaves should be surrendered. When a section of this domain had 5,000 free adult male inhabitants this section became a territory of the second grade and was granted a general assembly with a Governor, a Legislative Council, and a House of Representatives. Territories of the second grade were to be admitted to the Union as States when they had a free population of 60,000.

This process of territorial probation until a territory had become qualified for statehood was on the whole, followed across the continent until the last territories, New Mexico and Arizona, were admitted in 1912. The provision against slavery in the Ordinance of 1787 was to play an important part in the party struggles over slavery as we shall see later.

ORGANIZING THE GOVERNMENT. George Washington took the oath of office as the first President in New York on April 30, 1789. Distinct party lines were not yet drawn although those who favored adoption of the Constitution and those opposed ranged into opposing camps. The former became the Federalists and the latter Anti-Federalists in the party alignment for the next two years.

The Constitution made no provision for a Ministry but it became a custom of Washington to consult with his secretaries of departments and these consultations grew into meetings of the "Cabinet." Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the

Treasury, was a statesman of exceptional genius, the brains of Washington's Administration, and one to whom, more than any other, is due the credit of untangling the financial anarchy of the new government. An aristocrat who detested democracy, he incarnated the ability and foresight of the rising class of capitalists and moneyed men.

The foreign debt was \$11,700,000; the national debt, \$42,000,000, and the State debts were estimated at \$21,500,000, a total of \$75,000,000. Hamilton prepared two measures, one for funding the foreign and national debts, the other for Federal assumption of the State Debts.

EARLY CAPITALIST MEASURES. The paper tokens of the State and national indebtedness had depreciated till they were almost worthless. Security interests had been extensively represented in the Constitutional Convention and of its 55 members 40 afterwards profited by Hamilton's assumption measures, some of them handsomely. This measure provided for the redemption of these securities at par. They were quietly bought up by those who appreciated the economic possibilities of assumption. Hamilton thus drew to the support of the new Government the influential men in the States who held these securities.

On the other hand the paper money of the nation and the States had become practically worthless, the chief losers being farmers, workers and soldiers. The old Congress had solemnly recorded its decision a number of times to redeem this money at par. But the funding bill "contained a provision for the redemption of the Continental bills of credit at one cent on the dollar."

A National Bank was created and a tariff act for the protection of manufactures was passed. In recommending the tariff Hamilton frankly wrote that the labor of women and children would be "rendered more useful" and the children "more early useful, by manufacturing establishments, than they would otherwise be." The capitalist and moneyed classes were reaping the fruits of the Revolution.

In 1794 occurred the "Whiskey Rebellion." Farmers of western Pennsylvania rebelled against paying a tax on their whiskey. They could not ship grain to eastern markets because of the prohibitive cost of transportation and the Mississippi River was closed to them by Spain. The grain was made into whiskey but the heavy tax left them little

income. Nearly 20,000 troops were called out by President Washington, the rebellion was suppressed, and for the first time a national Government had demonstrated its supreme authority by the use of force.

POLITICAL PARTIES. In 1789 the French Revolution contributed to the formation of definite political factions. The French tricolor and red liberty cap appeared in taverns and coffee-houses. Washington issued a proclamation of neutrality when France went to war with England although partisans of France urged that the French Alliance of 1778 required giving aid to the French. A treaty of Great Britain, negotiated by John Jay, which proved disappointing to the commercial, merchant and planting interests, added to the causes of party divisions.

Washington left office in March 1797, bitterly resenting the abuse which his course had evoked and was succeeded by John Adams of Massachusetts. His administration was a tumultuous one. Stung by the rising partisan opposition, which was sympathetic with the French Jacobins, the ruling classes became apprehensive and turned to oppressive measures. An act against aliens gave the President power for two years to deport objectionable foreigners. Another law provided fines and imprisonment for those who "seditionously" criticized the President or Congress. One Congressman received a prison sentence and a number of Republican editors were fined or imprisoned. The followers of Thomas Jefferson (Anti-Federalists) were coming to be known as Republicans, or Democratic Republicans.

The Legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky responded with resolutions that became the basis for "State rights" political declarations for many years thereafter. The Kentucky resolutions asserted the right of "each State" to decide its course when Congress, in its judgment, exceeded its powers. The Virginia resolutions asserted the right for "the States."

JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRACY. The fears of France in the Adams Administration were similar to the fears of Bolshivism more than a hundred years later. Thomas Jefferson, a Virginia planter, became the leader of the opposition.

GOOD CHEER COMRADES! Want to buy, sell, or swap books, bronzes, old china, clocks, curios, etchings, lamps, paintings, prints, oriental rugs? Bus. or stroll to Dacca's, 53 Washington Sq., 8c. N. Y. C. Books all ways 20 to 80% off. Open eyes.

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A WORD TO WISE YIPSELS

YOU can have that football, book, movie or tuition money and at the same time serve the Movement working for us in your leisure, acquiring valuable business experience. Phone or see Mr. Ralph Cheyney, The New Leader office, 7 East 15th St., New York City — Algonquin 4622-3, preferably this Saturday morning.

AN OPEN LETTER
TO JOHN D., JR.

DEAR JOHN:

I see by the papers that you are having a heap of trouble with the I. W. W. in your Colorado coal mines and not wishing anybody any worse luck than a controversy with those multiple double W. boys. I write this letter in the hope of getting you out of the mess.

Now, to start with, you made a helluva mistake when you let your Colorado gunmen smash the United Mine Workers. I know all our fellows ain't nice little Sunday school boys, by a long shot. If they were, they wouldn't pursue life, liberty and happiness by way of digging coal in death traps.

But all the boys want is three squares a day, steady work (can you beat it?), a roof over their heads and reasonable assurance of not getting buried in the potter's field after poison gas, black damp or some rotten pot calls them to a better world.

Now, those I. W. W. fellows are an altogether different breed. They're revolutionists. What they're after is the ownership of the mines by the people who work in them instead of by the folks who couldn't tell the difference between a mining shaft and a prairie dog hole. The idea is preposterous, of course, somebody's got to own things in order to use them and, besides, where would they be if some one couldn't show a title deed to prove that it's there?

But that's neither here nor there. People are not what they are but what they think they are and if those I. W. W. fellows think that they can produce coal without the divine intervention of absentee ownership, they'll act accordingly and history proves that the most hare-brained notions, such as religious and political liberty, for instance, sometimes succeeded just because a great number of fanatics believe what ain't so.

Moreover, ever since those Russian Bolshievisks made mince pie out of the very best people of that unfortunate country, there are millions of weak minded persons all over the world who accept the fallacy of a boss-less universe. Sure, bolshivism doesn't work. Everybody says so and what everybody says is naturally so. But what good does it do a corpse when the post mortem verdict is that he came to his death in a wrong way? Bolshivism doesn't work, of course, but so long as the bolshies think it works and there isn't anybody big enough to stop them from thinking so, they'll go ahead. And what are we going to do about it?

Well, as I was going to say, progress seems to have only two ways of making progress. One is by evolution and the other by revolution—unfolding or explosion. So long as the common people get a little bit more of the good things of life as the years roll by, all hell can't induce them to change the existing order. The average man compares what he has today with what he had yesterday and if the comparison favors the present ever so little and holds out hope for a little more tomorrow, he is contented with his lot. It is only when men get the feeling that there is no hope for the future, that tomorrow will be as bad as today and perhaps even worse than yesterday, that they rebel against the men who an all-wise providence entrusted with the destinies of mankind.

Now, there is no better machinery for the improvement of the standard of living of the people than the labor unions. For these organisms not only give to the workers that little bit more so all-essential for the conservation of conservatism, but in addition give them the precious feeling that what they got they secured by their own efforts.

Well, John, you didn't recognize the stabilizing virtues of trade unionism. You went out to Colorado and handed candy to the children of miners, danced with their wives and then presented them with a nice little company union which was to bring eternal peace to the blood-stained coal fields of Colorado. And it didn't work, did it?

It's one thing to set aside a few millions to cure Hottentots of sleeping sickness and hill-billies of hookworms and quite a different thing to charm coal diggers with charity—be it ever so nicely coated with pious sentiments. It's not charity, but justice—they see it—that our men are after.

So now in place of the fairly well disciplined United Mine Workers you've got a horde of I. W. W.'s on your hands. And what those wild and woolly wobbles will do to you and your kind will be a plenty. By this I don't mean that the wobbles will establish the Soviet order in Colorado in the near future. But of this I am sure: the more successful you are in the suppression of conservative unions, the sooner the wobbles will get you.

So if I were in your place, I'd use all my influence to further the gradual and, therefore, peaceful unfolding of the bona fide labor movement. In doing this, it will not be necessary that you invite our organizers into your coal fields. Just shut your ears and pocketbook to the scab herding, thug selling, women and children murdering cut throats who disgraced you at Ludlow.

Be a good American citizen and a half way decent Christian and we'll attend to the organizing ourselves. As I said, it isn't charity but justice that we want and the boys will feel a heap better if they have a do reasonable amount of scrapping for what they get.

Now, John, that's about all I have to say for today. Say hello to the old man next time you see him and tell him not to take in any wooden nickels. Ha! Ha!

Well, so long, buddy, and don't forget to do what I told you.

Your old friend,
ADAM COALDIGGER.

P. S. Them I. W. W. fellows got a song "You'll Eat Pie in the Sweet Bye and Bye," which proves that there ain't any Christian sentiments about them, while most of us go to church Sunday and some of us are even Baptists like you and your Dad. So if you don't do the right thing by us, you're liable to find some of us doing picket duty before the pearty gates and where will you be then?

Beautiful weather. Sunshine, singing birds and May breezes in November. Merchants weeping. Winter goods refuse to move. Miners cussing. Nobody buying winter coal. Damn that beautiful weather.

Just saw wavering wedge of wild geese winging their way to the sunny south. Wish I was a wild goose instead of a tame geezer.

Adam Coaldigger.

Ode to Education

Be goddess, not a prostitute! Come, shatter Your lamp that makes the shadows blacker! Seize The flaming torch before which shadows scatter! Awake! Arise from too long bended knees!

Your temple's here in simple union halls. Give old with fears and young with dreams your hand. The outraged workers rise. A new world waits. Guide on with truth or perish with the night!

RALPH CHEYNEY.

Amusements

The Week On Stage

Some New Offerings

By Joseph T. Shipley

THE week is another of bustle and business on stage, with the chief event—the arrival of Reinhardt—too late for this recording. But the start of the week is little less eventful, what with the appearance of Pauline Lord and the return of Billie Burke. Miss Lord in "Spellbound", at the Earl Carroll, has another of those trial plays that have crowded the season; this time, again, seem to have a reinterpretation of an old tragedy, which Frank Vosper views in a way that the police did not. His attitude, however, gives Pauline Lord opportunity for some of her best work, which is near the peak of our present. Reinhardt's new offering, "The Marquise", acting. And Billie Burke comes in Noel which brings to the Baltimore the flavor of old France, in the days when the Revolution was less than a dream, when gallantry was considered proper activity for able bodied men, and when trifles, for want of other interest, were elevated to matters of great concern.

At the Mansfield "New York", and at the Bijou "Tia Juana" continue the habit of bringing along plays named after places. "Tia Juana" is a spot just across the Mexican border; New York may be a name known to some of my readers. The plays are both less attractive than their titles.

But at the Winter Garden the new "Artists and Models" brings talent to compensate for this loss. Jack Pearl has two appropriate names; Florence Moore is as entertaining as Jack Osterman and Ted Lewis are amusing; King and King dance, and the show spreads sound and color and formal beauty (that is, beauty of form) for those who rely upon this play for an annual relief.

TO SLEEP, PERCHANCE TO DREAM

At the Shubert Theatre "And So To Bed" carries on the life of that Samuel Pepps who carries on so revealingly in the years of his diary—after we learned the key to his secret script. In the play, which James B. Fagan has built up from the diary into an excellent capturing of Pepps, and a sparkling comedy, there is no need of a key to unlock the man—rather, Mr. Fagan and Wallace Riddinger (whose performance grows more and more brilliant) have found and turned it.

Pepps, as the eight hours of the story go, is suspected by his wife of having an amorous engagement, to which she follows him, raging—and finds the king! Charles II, the merry monarch of England's most dissolute days, enters into the spirit of her search, and shelters Pepps only that the ultimate vengeance the sweeter when it falls. But the wife of Pepps is so swiftly dead that she says she could catch him in another's bed and he'd argue himself out of it. Having (with the king's aid) caught him and made him confess, pretty Mrs. Pepps orders him to swear never to see that wretch, Mrs. Knight, again—when he protests he can't help accidents, to swear that if he sees her, he will close his eyes. He swears. Then she bids him swear he will never look at a pretty woman again. Turning to his wife, Samuel protests: "God spare me from having so to deprive myself forever of the sight of you." What can a wife on her way to bed do with such a husband as pardon him and bid him come along?

Only, in Mr. Fagan's play, Samuel takes the oath and glumly follows an satisfied wife. But this is the one of character that the author has caught in easy, graceful dialogue, adding two effective characters into a charming play. . . . with, incidentally, delightful music delightfully sung by "that wretch, Mrs. Knight." Mary Grey.

"INTERFERENCE"

Somehow English society melodrama carries, often enough to be the rule, the suggestion of age-old breeding, the charm of ancient culture, so that even the "blackguard" villain is more estimable than many a hero of one of our under-world thrillers. "Interference", by Roland Pertwee and Harold Dearden, at the Empire, brings that sense of solid substance behind its swift story; supported by a cast that does some excellent acting, the play is well worth seeing.

The theme borne in the title is one with which there will be little quarrel; that every man should be left to work out his problems himself, that interference, even well-meaning efforts intended to be helpful, most frequently mess things the more. The plot shoots off at a tangent from the title, however, for the gentleman-villain (we refuse, despite the accusations and the confession of the gentleman, to believe that a man with his present could have had the past attached to him) interferes quite to the advantage of the great doctor and his loving, distraught wife. It is another of those plays in which a dead husband turns up after the woman has married; this time, however, it is not a man from whom the trouble looms, but from a former mistress of the first husband, seeking to blackmail the second for revenge. This affords opportunity for Kathlene MacDonnell to wear

an interesting costume, and to die a poignantly played death, in an excellent moment.

The suggestion of one line (among many deft bits in the dialogue) captures the spirit of the first husband, and sets the high standard of the play. While Voaze is reading the love letters of the innocent girl Faith once was, his old mistress spills words of vengeance, words of vulgar hate and ugliness over the man (whom she loves, but whose love for Faith has made her lengthily jealous). Voaze thereupon poisons her. When asked if it was because he had been reading Faith's love letters, he replies, "I'd have killed her if it had been a poem of Keats". This substitution of an esthetic for a "moral" standard approaches the happiest attitude toward life. What is, morally, good or bad? The assassination of Caesar? the killing of Pethura? the murder of Lincoln? the execution of King Charles of England? If a deed is to be judged by its motives, who can examine human hearts and assign responsibility? If by results, who is to look into the future and foreknow events? But in every moment of action, if the immediate guide be the ugliness or the beauty of the act—I wander from the thought that "Interference" is excellently presented, with Arthur Wontner, Phoebe Foster, and especially A. E. Matthews doing outstanding work, and that the play makes good entertainment, and a little more.

With the endorsement of Elinor Glyn and the aid of its haughty superiority of most critics, "Hidden", Mr. Belasco's offering at the Lyceum Theatre in West 45th Street, seems settled down for a long and profitable run. Unexpected circumstance has delayed our review until far beyond its opening days. By now it is known that "Hidden" is a dramatic exposition of the theories, recently discovered on Broadway, of psycho-analysis. The ideas of Mr. Freud and his school are hammered home, iterated and reiterated through the several acts, until there can be no mistaking the idea.

"Hidden", among other uses, might serve the purpose of acquainting novitates with new psychology. Pages and pages from the books of the psychologist are offered by way of dramatic lines.

An unmarried sister lives with an older sister and her husband. Peculiar things happen to this young lady, made quite a personable and healthy looking character by Miss Beth Merrill. The sight of her brother-in-law's knees are enough to give her shooting pains in the head; slightly more exposed, the innocent man is the cause of her falling into a swoon. This, apparently, has been going on for years, yet the intelligent appearing married folk can't make out what it's all about. They find out, but it is too late to help matters any. Philip Merivale is the brother-in-law, Mary Morris, one of the most capable of actresses, is subjected to the doubtful necessity of looking like a terribly uninteresting married woman.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from Page 1)

York, foe of all radicals and supporter of the Lusk laws in the name of patriotism, now counsel for the B. M. T. in its efforts to get the better of the City of New York, who advised Blackmer, an important witness in the Sinclair oil case, to stay abroad in defiance of a government subpoena.

It is almost a rule that whenever a man in times like these becomes too superheated in his denunciation of those who do not agree with him on the ground that they are unpatriotic one should examine his motives or his intelligence, or both. There are plenty of modern illustrations of that sort of patriotism which old Dr. Samuel Johnston called the last refuge of scoundrels.

William Randolph Hearst, American newspaper proprietor and Mexican land owner, is doing his best to make trouble with Mexico on the ground that telegrams in his possession prove that Mexico stirred up opposition to the United States in Nicaragua. Even granting that all the telegrams he claims to have are genuine—which is to say the least doubtful—they by no means prove what the headlines and commentary in his newspapers artfully suggest. They simply show (1) that during the Chamorro regime which the United States never recognized Mexico supported Sacaas as the legal president, (2) that after the United States set up the puppet president, Diaz, Mexico continued friendship with, and perhaps some support for Sacaas. It should be remembered that Senator Borah and other Americans argued in our own Congress that Sacaas had a far better legal claim than Diaz. Certainly Mexico had as much right to aid what she thought were her interests in Nicaragua by continuance of her established policy as we had to defend what we thought were our rights. Not Mexico but the United States sent marines to reduce Nicaragua to subjection. Just what absentee landlord Hearst hopes to gain we do not know. At any

In Brief

The Theatre Guild's second production, Bernard Shaw's "The Doctor's Dilemma", opens at the Guild Theatre in 52nd street, Monday evening, the 21st of November. Alfred Lunt, Lynn Fontaine, Bailoi Halloway, Dudley Diggs, Helen Westley, Henry Travers and Ernest Cossart will be some of those in the cast, which, we may be assured, will be the usually capable Guild assembly of artists.

In presenting "x2 equals 5", its next production in the most modernistic and novel fashion possible, the Civic Repertory Theatre will have the services of Boris Aronson, the Russian Scenic artist. Aronson was a noted art critic in Germany.

Alexander McKaig announces that his production of Bartlett Cormack's new melodrama, "The Racket", will have its New York premiere at the Ambassador Theatre on Tuesday evening, November 22nd. Mr. Cormack was formerly a newspaper man in Chicago, and "The Racket" is his first play.

"The New Moon", Schwab and Mandel's new musical play, will come to the Imperial Theatre around the holidays.

"Four Walls" at the John Golden Theatre will have its matinee this week on Thursday, instead of Wednesday.

"Porgy" will move on Monday, Nov. 21st, from the Guild Theatre to the Republic Theatre on West 42nd street, and will offer three matinees this week,—on Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday.

"The Spider", at the Music Box, by popular demand, will give three matinees instead of the usual two this week. These will be given on Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday.

"Escape", John Galsworthy's latest play, now current at the Booth Theatre, on West 45th street, will offer three matinees instead of the usual two. These special performances will be given on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday.

In Movies

"Good Time Charlie", a comedy-drama of theatrical life with Helene Costello, Warner Oland and Clyde Cook, comes to the Roxy Theatre next Saturday, November 19th. It is a Warner Brothers production directed by Michael Curtiz. The cast includes Montagu Love and Julianne Johnston.

"Topsy" and "Little Eva" of Carl Laemmle's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" are on their way East to visit New York. The two youthful stars of this spectacular Universal production now playing at the Central Theatre, left Los Angeles, Wednesday, accompanied by Sam B. Jacobson, who will supervise their visit here, and other principal cast until their return. They will arrive here Monday on the Twentieth Century.

"The Michigan Kid" a Rex Beach story of the Alaskan wilds, will be Norman Kerry's next starring vehicle at Universal City. It will be directed by Irvin Willat. Peter Milne is now making the adaptation and the production will probably be made in the California mountains late this Fall when the mountain passes are snow-clad. The story first appeared in Hearst's International Magazine, and afterwards was published in book-form by Harper.

MUSIC

"Violanta" and "Haensel und Gretel" will open the fourth week of the Metropolitan Opera Season Monday evening with Mmes. Jeritza, Guilford, Wakefield, Ryan and Bonetti and Messrs. Kirchoff.

Unity House Reunion

Dance Drawing Room

The date of the Unity House Reunion Dance of the I. L. G. W. U. is drawing near. This affair will take place in the ballroom of the Manhattan Opera House at 34th street near 8th avenue. All will be there to whom the ideal for which Unity stands is dear, and who helped make Unity House the success it is. The actors, artists and musicians who entertained the discussions and the house staff and management who contributed so much to the pleasure of the vacationists will also be there. An added feature will be the stimulating dance music of the Paul Whiteman Piccadilly Players. Secure your tickets at once from the Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street. Tickets are \$1.00 including wardrobe. Reserve Saturday, December 10, for the Unity Reunion Dance.

rate he has taken up that incendiary torch which his noble fellow patriots like Fall, Doheny and Sinclair had been obliged to lay down. At a time when the Mexican government has sternly dealt with rebellion at home and apparently has made its peace with the bankers represented by Mr. Morrow, and when the oil interests are discredited in America, Hearst sees fit to try to make our relations with Mexico more difficult. Some time he may want American boys to fight for his Mexican acre. Meanwhile he can make those same boys pay for his papers which inflame their patriotism and may sometime send them to war. It is all too likely that such are the sordid reasons for this contemptible and scarcely honest piece of journalism.

LABOR TEMPLE
14th Street and Second Avenue
SUNDAY, NOV. 20TH, 1927
5:00 P. M. "Goethe's Faust"
Lecture, Dr. G. F. Beck.
7:15 P. M. Special Thanksgiving Program
American Inter. Church. Edmund H. Chaffee.
8:30 P. M. "The Strike in Colorado"
Forum. Jack Walsh—Harry Myers.

EAST SIDE OPEN FORUM
AT
The Church of All Nations
9 Second Ave., N. Y. C.
RISHOP PAUL JONES
of The Fellowship of Reconciliation
WILL SPEAK ON
"IMPERIALISM"
Admission Free Everyone Invited.



WINTHROP AMES

New York theatrical manager, whose productions of Gilbert and Sullivan's "Iolanthe", "The Pirates of Penzance" and "The Mikado" have been the artistic high-lights of recent New York seasons. Mr. Ames, who presented George Arliss in John Galsworthy's "Old English," has just produced Galsworthy's last play, "Escape," in the Booth Theater, New York.

Whitehill, Altglas, Bada, Paltrinieri and Wolfe; the latter with Mmes. Fleischer, Mario, Manski, Alcock, Parisette, Wakefield and Mr. Schutzendorf. Mr. Bodanzky will conduct both operas.

Other operas of the fourth week will be: "L'Africana" on Wednesday evening with Mmes. Rosa Ponselle, Mario and Wakefield and Messrs. Gigli, DeLuca, Didur, Rothler, Bada, Altglas, Reschlian and Ananian. Mr. Serafin will conduct.

"Trovatore" as a matinee on Thanksgiving with Mmes. Leonora Corona (another American debutante as Leonora), Matzenauer and Falco and Messrs. Martell, Danise, Pinza, Paltrinieri and Gubor. Mr. Bellezza will conduct.

"Turandot" on Thanksgiving evening with Mmes. Jeritza, Guilford, Flexer and Parisette and Messrs. Lurici, Bada, Tedesco, Ludikar, Altglas and Cehanovsky. Mr. Serafin will conduct.

"Die Meistersinger" on Friday evening with Mmes. Stuckgold, Telva and Messrs. Laubenthal, Whitehill, Mayr, Bloch, Bada, Paltrinieri, Meador, Schutzendorf, Altglas, D'Angelo, Cador, Cehanovsky, Wolfe, Ananian and Gustafson. Mr. Bodanzky will conduct.

"Madame Butterfly" will be the "popular" Saturday night opera with Mmes. Easton, Bourskaya and Wells and Messrs. Jagel, Scotti, Tedesco, Picco, Gustafson, and Ananian. Mr. Bellezza will conduct.

Lucilla de Vescevi, lyric soprano, will give her first program of Italian songs

POETRY SYMPOSIUM, THIS SUNDAY
ST. MARKS IN-THE-BOUWERIE
Tenth St. and Second Ave.
4:00 P. M. NOVEMBER 20th

Distinguished poets including Mary Carolyn Davies, Eva LeGallienne, Angela Morgan, Margaret Widdemer, Joseph Auslander, Ralph Cheyne, Benjamin Musser, and Joseph T. Shipley will read from their own works.

ADMISSION FREE

You are invited to a Dinner on
Ten Years of Soviet Russia—and
Russian Recognition
to be held on
Tuesday, November 22 at 6:30 P. M.
at the
Town Hall Club
123 West 43rd St., N. Y. C.

Speakers: STUART CHASE ROBERT W. DUNN
Chairman: PROF. REXFORD TIGWELL
Economic advisors of American Trade Union Delegation
Tickets at \$2.00 may be secured from
New York Chapter, League for Industrial Democracy
70 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. City

Rand School of Social Science
7 East 15th Street, New York Algonquin 3094

These Ten Years
five lectures by
MORRIS HILLQUIT
Tuesdays, 8:30 p. m.
Nov. 22 to Dec. 20

Ascent of Man
five lectures by
SAMUEL C. SCHUCKER
Fridays, 8:30 p. m.
Nov. 18 to Dec. 16

Rebels in Contemporary American Literature
five lectures by
N. BRYLLIN FAGIN
Saturdays, 2 p. m.
Nov. 19 to Dec. 17

BERTRAND RUSSELL
LECTURE
"WHY MEN FIGHT"
CHARLES SOLOMON, Chairman
Brownsville Labor Lyceum
219 Sackman Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Friday Evening, December 9, 1927
Reserved Sections: \$75—\$1.00—\$1.50
SYMPOSIUM

"Peace or Freedom, Must the World Choose?"
MORRIS HILLQUIT NORMAN THOMAS BERTRAND RUSSELL
COMMUNITY CHURCH, 34th ST. and PARK AVE.
Wednesday Evening, December 14, 1927
ALL SEATS \$1.00
At the RAND SCHOOL, 7 EAST 15TH STREET, N. Y. C.
Auspices: RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

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THEATRES

ROXY
"Good Time Charlie"
with HELENE COSTELLO
and Another of These Great
Roxy Symphony Orchestra of 110

ROXY Ballet Corps
"A Woodland Fantasy"
with MARIA GAMBARELLI

Symphony Concert
Sun. Eve., Nov. 20th
At 11:30 A. M.
Wagner Program
ROXY SYMPHONY
ORCHESTRA
Erno Rappe, Conductor

World's
Greatest
Theatre
7th Ave. &
50th St.

PLAYS FOR THE PEOPLE!
Eva Le Gallienne
at the
Civic Repertory Theatre
14th Street and 6th Avenue
MON. EVE.—"The Cradle Song"
TUES. EVE.—"The Good Hope"
WED. MAT.—"Three Sisters"
WED. EVE.—"The Cradle Song"
THURS. EVE.—"The Good Hope"
FRI. EVE.—"The Cradle Song"
SAT. MAT.—"The Good Hope"
SAT. EVE.—"Three Sisters"

"AN ABSORBING AND
PROFOUNDLY MOVING
DRAMA."
—John Anderson, Post

WINTHROP AMES presents
JOHN GALSWORTHY'S
ESCAPE ✓
with
LESLIE HOWARD

MATS. WED., THURS., SAT.
Special Thanksgiving Mat.
Eves. 8:40 Mats. 2:40
BOOTH — \$2 Mat. Wed.

Ignace Hilsberg, the Polish pianist, will give his annual recital at Town Hall on Monday evening, November 21st. The program will include a Vivaldi concerto, Variations and Fugue by Paderewski, a group of impromptus by Tansman, a new group of Preludes by Chasins, six Waltzes by Brahms and Liszt's Mephisto Waltz.

Yours Bilstin will give his second and last cello recital at Town Hall on Monday evening, November 28th, when he will again present many novelties of ancient and moderns.

The Cleveland Orchestra, with Nikoli Sokoloff, conductor, will come to New York for a concert in Carnegie Hall Tuesday evening, December 6. Assisting will be the Women's University Glee Club of New York and two soloists—Marie Montana, soprano and Nikola Zan. baritone.

In addition to giving its regular series, the orchestra also holds children's concerts, summer concert and fees on annual tours. In ten years it has visited 109 cities. It also conducts an extensive instruction service in the public schools of Cleveland. Eight hundred school children are studying instrumental music under the members of the orchestra.

At the concert of the New York Symphony Orchestra in Mecca Auditorium today (Nov. 20) Paul Kochanski will again appear as assisting artist.

Yehudi Menuhin, ten year old American boy violinist, will appear as soloist at the concert Friday evening (Nov. 25) in Carnegie Hall and Sunday afternoon

(Nov. 27) in Mecca Auditorium. Menuhin is the youngest artist ever to appear with a major orchestra in this city. He made his first public appearance in Paris in February, 1926. He was born in San Francisco of Palestinian Jewish parents. His first teacher was Louis Per-

singer, director of the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra. In Paris he has studied under Enesco. At his appearance with the New York Symphony he will play Mozart's Concerto No. 7 for violin with orchestra.

The opening number of the Friday evening and Sunday afternoon programs will be a new work, Symphony in C minor by Adolf Busch, brother of Fritz Busch. This will be its world premiere. On Saturday morning, November 26 at Carnegie Hall, Walter Damrosch will hold one of his Concerts for Children.

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE
At Cooper Union
At 8 O'clock
Sunday, November 20
DR. HORACE M. KALLER
"The Influence of Dictatorship on Art"
Tuesday, November 22
MR. BRUCE BLIVEN
"Is America Imperialistic?"
Friday, November 25
EVERETT DEAN MARTIN
"The Psychological Influence of the Backgrounds of the American Population"
ADMISSION FREE
Open Forum Discussion

At Muhlenberg Branch Library
209 West 23rd St. (nr. 7th Ave.)
At 8 O'clock
Monday, November 21
ERNEST BOYD
"Germany: The Flight from Realism"
Wednesday, November 23
DR. EDGAR WIND
"The Metaphysical Implications of the History of Science"
Thursday, November 24
NO MEETING
Saturday, November 26
DR. MORTIMER J. ADLER
"Whereof One Must Be Silent: the Aesthetic Experience"

The COMMUNITY CHURCH
PARK AVENUE AND 34th STREET

Sunday, November 20th
11 A.M.—John Haynes Holmes
"Religion and Revolution: Must They Always Be Opposed?"
8 P.M. Forum—Stephen S. Wise
"The Best and the Worst in Modern Life"
ADMISSION FREE

Thursday, 8:15 P.M.
John Farrar
in a course of lectures on
"SIDELIGHTS ON CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE"
Nov. 21—"New Women Writers"
Dec. 1—"The Literature of Futurity"
Dec. 8—"The Literature of Propaganda"
Dec. 15—"The Religious Angle on Current Literature"
75c for a Single Lecture \$2.50 for the Course

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A Fortune Spent to Thrill You!
Carl Laemmle's
Universal Masterpiece
A Harry Pollard production

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN

Central The Greatest Human Drama Ever Screened!
B'WAY at 47th ST.
Twice Daily 2:30-8:30

JOHN GOLDEN THEATRE
Matinees THURS. and SAT. 2:30
DANA BURNETT'S and
GEORGE ABBOTT'S

4 Walls
with MUNI WISENFREND
Former Star of—
JEWISH ART THEATRE
Staged by
GEORGE ABBOTT
Seats 8 Weeks in Advance

THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTIONS
GUILD THEATRE—W. 32nd St., This Art. and Tonight

PORGY
A FOLK PLAY
by DUBOSE and
DOROTHY HEYWARD
MOVES MONDAY TO
REPUBLIC
Thea. W. 42d St. Eves. 2:30
Mats. Wed., Thurs. Sat. 2:30

MUSIC

PHILHARMONIC
MENDELSSOHN, Conductor
CARNegie Hall Sun. Aft., Nov. 20, at 3:00
Soloist: RUDOLPH GANZ, Pianist
BEETHOVEN—GRIEG—LISZT
RUDOLPH MENDELSSOHN—GOLDMARK
CARNegie Hall Wed. Ev., Nov. 23 at 8:30
Friday Afternoon, Nov. 25, at 2:30
Soloist: HEATHER HARRISON, "Cellist"
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The Socialist Party at Work

National

Socialist Victories

Victor L. Berger, our National Chairman, sounds the right sentiment when he says that the turn toward Socialism means a bigger and more powerful Socialist movement in this country. Many comrades who were pessimistic for several years are all smiles again and are ready to get into the work with a vengeance. There is no doubt but the great mass of workers and progressive minded folks in other walks of life are turning to Socialists for leadership, to a more just and sane administration of their affairs. Next year will see the Socialist Party jumping to the front and our comrades must all become active in the building of the Party and preparing for the big work ahead. There is nothing to worry about. If we appreciate the progress of our cause, then all we have to do is work for success and it will be realized.

Debs Birth Place Pictures

The Debs birth place pictures on good paper, suitable for framing, can be had from National Headquarters, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill. The pictures are 9x11. Single picture 25 cents; one dozen 2.00; 100 for \$15.00. The same picture on postcards can be had for 30 cents per dozen, or 10 for 50 cents. Comrades will all want one of these beautiful pictures for the home, club rooms, etc., and each party member will surely want a supply of the postcards to be mailed to friends and relatives.

Kansas

Enthusiastic Meeting at Pittsburgh. Socialists of Kansas held a big and enthusiastic meeting at Pittsburgh on Sunday afternoon, Nov. 13. Arthur Bridwell, State Secretary, and Ross Magill, Acting State Secretary, were on hand as well as others who came to talk over organization work and plan for the rebuilding of the Party. Much enthusiasm was shown by all the comrades. The meeting was well attended, especially from Pittsburgh and vicinity. Every one seems ready to go into the harness and rebuild the Party organization.

The Yugoslav Socialists furnished excellent music which started the meeting off with a "banjo." National Executive Secretary Henry was the principal speaker and the enthusiasm proved conclusively that the Socialists are ready to go ahead.

Kansas Socialists will be on the job early. They are preparing to raise money for the purpose of sending organizers into the field. Kansas Socialists should send application and 50 cents to Ross Magill, 401 W. 1st St., Garnett, Kansas. He in turn will issue membership cards.

Washington

Seattle. Emil Herman writes that two new members were added to the Seattle Local and he expects others to follow in the rebuilding of the movement in that city. The new members are young men, the type that make good workers, live wires in Party activity. Herman has charge of the Northwest District Western takes in Washington and Oregon. There is no time to be lost in building the movement and getting ready for the State and National ticket in the Northwest District.

F. M. Dyer, Battle Ground, a member at large, informed the District Secretary that he has made a will in which he provides that one-third of his estate will go to the Socialist Party, the money to be expended for organization and educational purposes and that Emil Herman will be the Executor of the will. James Lund of Redondo, member of Local Seattle, also states that he intends making a similar will except that he will leave all his property to the Socialist Party.

Oklahoma

A number of letters to National Headquarters from Oklahoma declare that the Socialists desire to cooperate in rebuilding the Party in that state. Our readers who wish to become members of the Socialist Party and cooperate in holding a State Convention should write to National Headquarters, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

New Jersey

Essex County Socialists held a splendid Debs memorial meeting in the new home of the Workmen's Circle last Friday night.

One of the large assembly halls was packed with an audience of 500 to pay their tribute to the memory of Eugene V. Debs. William Karlin and James O'neal of New York were the speakers. The Workmen's Circle chorus of fifty men and women sang the Bundist ode and the International and Miss Mary Menk rendered a piano solo. Andrew P. Wittel presided and George H. Goebel made an effective appeal for funds for party work. A substantial sum was contributed by the audience.

Robert Leemans of Local Hudson County sends more money to National Headquarters as its share from memorial meetings. Locals that have held such meetings should not forget that 50 per cent of the net proceeds are to be sent to the National Office where it will be divided equally between the Party and the American People.

New England

Maurer in Boston. James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor will speak under the auspices of the Socialist Party on the subject, "Russia as a Social System." He was a member of the National Executive Committee of the Workers Educational Bureau. He was president of the Unofficial Trade Union Delegation to Soviet Russia which recently returned and he has an interesting and important message.

He has been a sturdy opponent of the destructive tactics of the American Communists or rather the Communists in America for American Communists are as scarce as hen's teeth, but he is hated and feared by the American reactionaries because of his progressive stand in the labor movement.

The meeting will be held Sunday afternoon, Nov. 20 at 2:30 at Scenic Auditorium, Backus street and Waverley avenue, Boston. Admission is free and an opportunity will be given to answer questions.

Connecticut

Socialists of the state were grieved at the death of the wife of William Williams Morgan on Tuesday, Nov. 8. Comrade Morgan is secretary of Local New London and a member of the State Executive Committee.

Local New Haven is planning to hold a Forum, two meetings per month, during the winter at the Workmen's Circle Educational Center, 439 Oak street. It is expected that Louis Waldman of New York will be the first speaker.

The Local will hold an important meeting at the home of Gustave Berquist, 28 Miller street. National Convention assembly stamps will be on sale. Plans will be made to dispose of a large number of the new "Commonwealth" calendars.

New York State

Vote Increase Update. The most surprising result of the recent election, according to State Secretary Merrill, is the great percentage increase of the Socialist vote in rural counties of the state. Sullivan County more than doubled its Socialist vote since 1924, while Schuyler nearly quintupled its vote.

A compilation of the vote for Wilcox by counties will be sent to locals and members at large as soon as the official canvass is available. The State Secretary has advised members at large to "make hay" now, and offers to send 50 to 500 copies of the pamphlet "What is Socialism" free to those who will faithfully agree to distribute them.

Forums and Study Classes. In urging the membership to "capitalize" the vote increases of the recent election, the State Secretary emphasizes the desirability of arranging study classes, lecture courses and public forums. Socialists who are active members of organized labor should endeavor to have central bodies of organized labor conduct Labor Forums during the winter season. Both arms of the labor movement are certain to benefit through a Labor Forum.

State Secretary Merrill requests that local and branch secretaries ask every member paying dues if he or she wishes to purchase a Debs Memorial stamp. Many comrades will purchase such stamps if financial secretaries only call attention to them.

New York City

Three large undertakings have been arranged by the City Office, two of which will be held in cooperation with the Rand School. The first of these will be a lecture by Bertrand Russell on the subject "Why Men Fight." This lecture will be given at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, on Friday evening, December 9th. Charles Solomon will be Chairman.

On December 14th there will be a symposium at the Community Church. The speakers will be Bertrand Russell, Morris Hillquit and Norman Thomas. The subject of this symposium is "Peace or Freedom? Must We Choose?"

All branches and individual members are urged to hasten the sale of the Special Voluntary Assessment Stamps issued by the National Office. The closing date for the sale of these stamps is December 15th. The money derived from these stamps will be divided among the National, State, Local Offices and the Branches. The money is urgently needed by the National and State Offices for the expenses involved in the coming National Convention and the party preparatory to the placing of our presidential candidates on the ballot in the various states.

MANHATTAN

6-8-12 A. D. Branch. A very well attended meeting of this branch was held last Monday evening. The headquarters were crowded. Five new members were initiated and half a dozen more applications were obtained from new members present. The Campaign Committee made its report. Comrade Claessens, one of the candidates of the recent campaign in this district, was present and spoke on the results of the campaign.

The Branch instructed its Educational Committee to go ahead with the continuation of the Sunday Morning School with Judge Jacob Panken as the speaker. This will be the second season of the forum. It was successfully started last year. Arrangements will also be made for a lecture course at the headquarters on Thursday evenings. The Educational Committee was further empowered to start a Sunday School for the children in the neighborhood.

The Entertainment Committee is working on a program to enhance the social activities of the Branch. All in all, an excellent spirit was shown at the meeting and the constant new members coming in are making themselves ready by participating in the Branch activities. Every effort will be made to increase the membership of this branch to its former strength and vigor.

BROOKLYN

A General Party meeting of the Bronx Branch was held last Tuesday evening. The results of the campaign were fairly well analyzed and plans were proposed for the organization of several new branches preparatory to a more intensive campaign next year. Reports were rendered by Comrades Knobloch, Rubinstein, Murphy and Claessens on various activities. The Ball Committee's report was acted upon. Comrade Samuel Orr was elected as Manager of this year's affair. It will be held in Hunts Point Palace on Sunday afternoon and evening, January 29. More reports will be made relative to this affair in the near future.

The next regular meeting of the branch will be held on Tuesday evening, November 22, at the Club Rooms, 4215 Third avenue. Matters of importance will come before the branch for decision. New members are being added weekly and it is urged that all of the old timers be present to greet their new comrades and initiate them into our activities.

BROOKLYN

23rd A. D. Branch. A very well attended meeting was held

last Monday evening. Twelve new members were adopted. Several interesting discussions were held on matters pertaining to the campaign and future work of our Organization in this district. The educational activities for this winter will begin on Friday evening, December 9th with Bertrand Russell as the lecturer. He will talk at the Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, on the subject "Why Men Fight." Immediately following, August Claessens will deliver a series of three lectures. Comrade Osman will continue with a course through the month of January and February through the month of March.

Yipseldom

The general meeting of the League which was to be held on Saturday, Nov. 19, has been postponed to Saturday, Nov. 26. Norman Thomas will address this meeting. All Yipsels are urged to attend this important affair.

Dues

Please buy due stamps. It's extremely important. Our National Convention will be held shortly and the apportionment of delegates will be made according to the dues stamps sold by the City Financial Secretaries. Get busy, comrades. Let's get as big a representation as possible.

Bronx

The Bronx Yipsels held a joint meeting last Sunday at which George Ross delivered a very fine illustrated lecture on India. The Thirty Yipsels sat through three hours as much interested as when he first started. Many calls have been made to City Office requesting the services of Comrade Ross.

Circle Two, Brooklyn, boasts of having two members of the City Executive Committee, George Guss and Joseph Friedman. Also "The Vista," a newspaper which has been doing phenomenal success. George Guss is the editor and asks all contributions to the paper be sent to "The Vista," 219 Sackman street. Inter-circle sentiment to the editor will be greatly appreciated. The Circle Dramatic Group is working on a new play called "Freedom" by John Reed.

On Saturday, Nov. 26, the Bronx Boro Committee will hold the first social affair to enhance the social activities of the Branch. The program for the evening is as follows: music by a union jazz band, refreshments and unusually good entertainment. Admission is fifty cents.

An attempt is being made to organize a circle in the West Bronx section. Those interested are to get in touch with Helen Kesner, 1581 Macdonald Road, Bronx. Telephone, Jerome 8923. Comrade Kesner is doing some very fine work and assistance will be greatly appreciated by the City Office.

City Executive

Members of the new City Executive Committee and its officers are: Goodman, William Werfel, Ida Yavner, Joseph Friedman, Emanuel Switkes, George Guss, Johanna Rjasky, Julius Umansky, Molly Wasserman, Robt. Pushkoff, Fred Gurowitz, William Gomborg, Harry Lopatin, Irving Cohen.

Secretary Goodman attended a meeting of Circle 10, Boro Park, last Thursday and was greatly impressed by the fine group. Under the able direction of Comrade Fisher the group promises to become a very large one within a few months. The subject of "Education" was discussed. Everybody seemed extremely interested in the discussion.

Applications

Financial Secretaries please take note that hereafter all application cards must be accompanied by a cent initiation fee and 7½ cents for the first month's dues; a total of 12½ cents. Remember this when mailing new cards to the City Office.

Juniors, please buy due stamps. It is of the utmost importance that the membership keep up to date.

UNION DIRECTORY

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Public Accountants

570 Seventh Avenue

Longacre 7214-7215

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Every Month at 147 East 23rd Street

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QBO, TRIESTIAN, NATHAN RIESEL,

Manager Secretary-Treasurer

NECKWEAR CUTTERS'

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

1 East 15th Street, Stuyvesant 7678

Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of

Every Month at 147 East 23rd Street

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President Rec. Sec'y

A. Weiser, J. Rosenzweig,

Vice-Pres. Fin. Sec. & Treas.

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meets 1st and 3rd

Thursdays at

BEETHOVEN HALL,

210 East Fifth Street

JOE HERMAN, Pres. & Business Agent.

MAX LIEBER, Sec'y-Treas.

GLAZIERS' UNION

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

Office and Headquarters at Astoria Hall, 63 East

4th St. Phone Dry Dock 1074. Regular meetings

every Tuesday at 4 P. M.

ABE LEMONICK, PETE KOPP, Sec. Sec'y

GARRY BRISCOE, J. GREEN, Fin. Sec'y

JACOB RAPAPORT, AARON RAPAPORT,

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Local 3, A. C. W. A.

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MORRIS GOLDIN, Chairman

E. TAYLOR, W. BLACK,

Rec. Sec'y. Fin. Sec'y.

Butchers' Union

Local 174, A. M. C. & B. W. of N. A.

Office and Headquarters:

Labor Temple, 245 E. 64th St., Room 12

Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd

Sunday at 10 A. M.

Employment Bureau open every day at

6 P. M.

FURNITURE, FLOUR AND GROCERY

TEAMSTERS' UNION

Local No. 133, T. C. S. & H. of A.

International Brotherhood of Teamsters

Office and Headquarters, 125 Livingston St.

Phone: Dry Dock 2578

The Executive Board meets every first and

last Wednesday. Regular meetings

Second and Fourth Saturday

at 8 P. M.

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3 West 16th Street, New York City

Telephone Chelsea 5148

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The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union

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

Office 231 East 14th Street Telephone Ashland 3999

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Office, 231 E. 14th Street, Union Local 45, I. L. G. W. U.

SECTION MEETINGS

Downtown—211 E. 10th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 8 P. M.

Bronx—E. 18th St. & A. Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.

Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.

3439-104 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—16 Montgomery St.

SALVATORE NINIO, Manager-Secretary

EMBROIDERY WORKERS'

UNION, Local 4, I. L. G. W. U.

Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th

Tuesday, at the Office

NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement
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The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the struggle for the eradication of class. Signed contributions do not necessarily represent the policy of the New Leader. On the other hand it welcomes a variety of contributions, and it is its policy to publish them. Contributions are requested to be sent to both sides of the paper and not to one side only. No return postage is charged. Contributions will not be returned unless return postage is enclosed.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1927

HELP THE MINERS

THE conference of A. F. of L. union officials at Pittsburgh has achieved an excellent piece of publicity by getting the story of the frightful conditions in western Pennsylvania on the first page of the newspapers. The committee in its report did not exaggerate when it invited organizations throughout the country "to come into Pittsburgh, to see what we have seen, to learn for themselves, to behold this degradation and oppression and brutality, to witness this economic and social tragedy, to learn the perversion of the judicial processes and of the feudalistic police control in the State of Pennsylvania."

The decision to place the facts before President Coolidge will also give further publicity to this frightful atrocity. Then as Thomas Kennedy of the miners pointed out, winter is approaching and the miners' families require food, shoes, clothing and shelter if a terrible toll of death is not taken. This urgent need presents a solemn duty to all labor organizations and sympathizers and meetings cannot be arranged too soon to organize relief and arouse sentiment against this human bondage.

The New Leader urges instant and hearty cooperation but it also dissents from the decision to confine political activity within the old parties. More than thirty years of this "non-partisan" activity has permitted the rise of this atrocity. The working people of western Pennsylvania after these thirty years exercise no influence on the governing powers of that region. Profoundly convinced that another year or ten or twenty years of confinement within the two old parties will be just as fruitless as the past thirty years have been, we feel that we owe a duty to the victims of the dictatorship to record our dissent. We do not question the sincerity of those who favor it but we insist that history and results do not justify it.

THE HEARST DOCUMENTS

WHETHER the Hearst papers forged or stole the documents which they publish, and which are intended to show that the Mexican Government was supporting the Liberal group in Nicaragua, this publicity is an indictment of Hearst and his accomplices. If they stole the documents, action needs no comment. If they forged them the same may be said. In either case Hearst and his confederates are revealed as miscreants who would stoop to low cunning to enbroid two nations in war and sacrifice thousands of human lives in both countries.

But as the World points out, no less than six of the documents relate to a period before the United States intervened in Nicaragua. On the other hand, if every document published and to be published is genuine, and proves that the Calles Government supported the Liberal faction in Nicaragua, this support cannot be condemned without condemning the support by the United States of the reactionary faction. Mexico has just as much right to support one faction as the United States claims to support another. Any other view must assume that the American Government is the boss of the Western Hemisphere and for any other nation in this part of the world to disagree with it is to subject it to diplomatic intimidation or a military raid.

Some months ago a mysterious controversy arose over similar documents which was hushed up by the State Department. We also know that Assistant Secretary of State Olds gave out a vicious statement regarding Mexico but was unwilling to be quoted by the newspapers. This was to the effect that the Mexican Government was at the head of a movement to Bolshevize all Latin-America. Thanks to the St. Louis Post Dispatch this dirty piece of underground propaganda was exposed, but Olds still holds his position.

Two other facts must be remembered in this crusade fostered by Hearst. That worthy after a long history of yellow journalism has become a supporter of the Coolidge policy of imperialism that has aroused the fear and distrust of all Latin-American peoples. Then Hearst is a large owner of land in Mexico and a big problem of the Mexican people is to restore the land to the workers which was taken by conquest, fraud and theft.

Now if Mr. Hearst wants a war with Mexico we are perfectly willing that he and his associates, a small handful at best, shall be given arms and shipped to the Rio Grande. The New Leader will open its columns for contributions to equip the dirty dozen for their mission. We would be happy to see Hearst and his cronies in khaki crossing the border with his land as their objective. If there are any lives to be sacrificed we insist that Hearst and his associates should offer theirs.

THE DEBS STAMP

THE New Leader has been compelled to forego mention of a matter that is of vital interest to members of the Socialist Party in the past few Campaign and election days have crowded other matters, now call special

attention to a program outlined by the National Office a few weeks ago.

This provided for Debs memorial meetings all over the country and the sale to members of a Debs Memorial Stamp. The proceeds from both sources are to be divided between the National Office, state and local organizations. Many meetings have been held and we presume that the National Office has not been overlooked in apportioning the proceeds of these meetings.

There still remains the special Debs Memorial Stamp and we urge all local organizations to make a special effort to see that each member purchases a stamp. The member assesses himself, the minimum price for a stamp being one dollar and anything over this amount that he is able to pay. The income from these stamps is also to be divided between the three divisions of the party. This program is intended to help the whole movement in preparation for the work for next year.

We hope that every branch and local secretary will do their utmost to reach every member with the Debs stamp and thus fulfill the purpose for which it was designed.

ITALY A SLAVE STATE

UNDER the rule of Mussolini's assassins the Fascist Government has abolished universal suffrage. This "reform" is announced with that obscure lingo for which Mussolini has become noted but it is very simple and easy to understand. It is the decision of the Grand Council of the Fascist criminals and that decision becomes the law for Italy.

In brief, it changes the qualification for voters by providing that they must make some "definite contribution to the nation" and prove by "their civic conduct" that they are "worthy" of the suffrage. The Tribune adds that "Above all this, in the new organization of the State there is to be the leader who cannot be confined within any law but who is given to us by the will of God." Thirteen Fascist organizations are to be the basis of this bandit rule. It is all very simple. Castor oil and clubs and murder are translated into "the will of God" by Mussolini, the chief bandit, the choice of God to rule an Italy of slaves. Of course, no human being can vote who does not offer a "definite contribution to the nation." Who passes judgment on the contribution? The Fascists. Then the voter must show by his "civic conduct" that he is entitled to the suffrage. Who decides? The Fascists.

So it is all very simple, too simple and too brutal to last forever. Italy is a slave state. It should be officially known as such so long as the armed bandits now in control rule the unhappy people. It is also certain that hate is seething throughout Italy that will some day consume the Fascist scoundrels with a fearful vengeance. We shall rejoice when the storm overwhelms them.

HELL IN PENNSYLVANIA

WE direct special attention of our readers to the story in this issue by Art Shields on the situation in the Pennsylvania area of the miners' strike. It is a hideous cross-section of American life, as revolting as Zola ever wrote of French miners, and a disgrace to all who bear any responsibility for it. One will have to go back to the travels of Europeans in the southern states in the days of Negro bondage to get some comparisons with the brutal regime that continues in the mining section of western Pennsylvania.

What is the future of children of miners brought up in such a hell? Is this the ripe fruit of 300 years of progress in a nation with the greatest powers of production the world has ever known? Is this to be included in the dull sermons of a President on "prosperity"? Think of the aged and the infirm in this mining field, of vigorous young men struggling against enormous odds, with the region transformed into a slave pen by an injunction which writes the material interests of the mine owners into judge-made law. What hope is there for such as these so long as the executive, judicial, legislative and police powers are the property of the ruling corporation?

The sycophants in public office are not alone responsible for this human tragedy. In the face of such conditions no one can contend that the political policy of the trade unions has been helpful to the working class. The purpose of any such policy is to win some measure of power for workingmen and thirty years of it have left the working masses without any share in the governing powers. Even the power of the union is slipping because of failure to guard the political fortress that is now in complete command of the enemy. If this terrible situation does not make members of the trade unions think we do not know what will.

"IT'S ALL RIGHT, JOHN"

WE have no doubt that the appointment by Governor Smith of Edwin J. Byrne to fill the vacancy in the Supreme Court of the Second District is a good selection. No doubt Byrne has all qualifications required for this important office.

But we recall that a few days before the appointment a gentleman with a ponderous intellect and bull neck bearing the name of John H. McCooey visited Smith at the Hotel Biltmore. This vulgarian urged the appointment of Byrne and Smith is reported as saying: "It's all right, John. Whatever you say goes in this case."

McCooey's qualifications to pick members of the bench may square with Smith's estimate of McCooey, but this open traffic in judicial appointments does not square even with the fiction of a new and saintly Tammany. We might select McCooey for advisor in removing our ash cans but would check his advice even in a matter of this sort. The Hotel Biltmore incident is a sweet morsel for the go-goos who are marketing the "New Tammany."

The Muse of Labor

I come, O heroes, to the world gone wrong;
I bring the hope of nations; and I bear
The warm first rush of rapture in my song;
The faint first light of morning on my hair.

I look upon the ages from a tower;
I am the Muse of the Fraternal State;
No hand can hold me from my crowning hour;
My song is Freedom and my step is Fate.

I come to overthrow the ancient wrong,
To let the joy of nations rise again;
I am Unselfish Service; I am Song;
I am the Hope that feeds the hearts of men.

I am the maker of the People's bread,
I bear the little burdens of the day;
Yet in the Mystery of Song I tread
The endless heav'ns and show the stars their way.

—Edwin Markham.

End the Savagery of War!

Let Armistice Day Mark the Turning Point

By Morris Hillquit

NINE years ago the opposing armies in the great world war laid down their arms on all battle fronts as a preliminary step to a formal declaration of peace. This came to an end the most ghastly carnage ever inflicted on the human race.

In the four years of universal slaughter ten million young men, the flower of Europe and America, were killed while countless other millions were maimed and crippled for life. Whole regions were devastated. Cities were razed to the ground. Factories, schools and churches were ruthlessly destroyed. The material foundation of Europe was ruined. It was as if an angry god had bereft mankind of reason and goaded it to self-destruction in a blind fury of general homicidal mania. The thin veneer of civilization with which history had covered the human race in a laborious process of thousands of years was suddenly removed, and man stood naked, ferocious and hideous like his prehistoric savage progenitor. The injury which the wholesale slaughter inflicted on the soul and moral fiber of mankind was infinitely greater than the appalling toll in life and property.

Not Yet Recovered

As yet we have not recovered from the physical and spiritual wreckage. But today, nine years after the great catastrophe, some of us at least are sufficiently sobered up to hang our heads in shame over the ignominious failure of human civilization and to vow that in as far as it lies in our power, there shall never again be war among nations.

For after all it is the citizen who in the last analysis determines the policy of governments and is responsible for war and peace.

It is now generally recognized and admitted that the great world war was economic in motive and object. The ghastliest holocaust in human history was not a sacrificial offering to lofty ideals but a sordid slaughter for material enrichment. It was but the most tragic and brutal phase in the competitive warfare between the ruling classes of the leading nations for the wealth of the world.

It is this reckless and dangerous game of international capitalist rivalry, the imperialist policy of all leading governments, the peace-loving people must sharply watch in the first instance. They must insist persistently and emphatically on the principle that every citizen residing in a foreign country or investing his money in it in the expectation of personal gains must do so at his own risk and that their government will un-

der no circumstances hazard a single human life in defense of his commercial interests. That vital principle must be established uniformly and firmly in time of peace. When our armed forces have invaded a weak neighboring country in the interests of a banking group or when our government has brought us to the brink of war with a sister republic because of private claims of some of our predatory fellow citizens to the exploitation of foreign natural resources it may be too late to prevent another international conflagration.

And we must insist on immediate drastic limitation and early complete abolition of all armament on land and sea and in the air. In all lands the professional advocates of "preparedness" have ever covered their militaristic minds or selfish business designs in a cloak of super-patriotism and made a noisy and deafening appeal for "national safety". So long as modern nations rely for their safety on their military preparedness each country will always try to outstrip the other in armament, and the terrible war whose end we commemorate today has amply demonstrated that rival armament inevitably leads to ultimate armed conflicts.

There is not a dispute between nations that cannot be settled by arbitration

rather than by blind and brutal force. The people of the world must everywhere demand the invariable substitution of arbitration for war, and because the United States is the strongest and safest of nations the American people must take the lead in the battle for humanity and civilization.

And lastly we must banish militarism from our spirit as well as from our government. Let us cease teaching our children the glory of war but let us inculcate in their young and pliable minds the love of peace and the sacredness of human life.

Let us cease paying eternal tribute to the victorious leaders on the field of slaughter and let us turn our thoughts more often and more reverently to the teachings of human kinship and brotherly love.

Let us firmly resolve that the late war, the most ferocious and destructive in human history, shall be the last, for only thus may it come to pass that the rivers of blood shall not have flown in vain, that the cry of anguish from millions of agonizing throats shall not be lost in the wilderness of the ages, and that the 11th day of November, 1918, shall mark a turning point in the history of man, the turning point from savagery to civilization, from madness to reason, from war to peace.

FOR TWO MEN

TONIGHT a thoughtful lady died
Two frightened men were crucified,
And though another sits at ease
For none to care and few to please
The stars are dead, the earth is dead
For blood has fallen on his head,
Fallen drop on patient drop
Fallen while his head did drop—
Listen to the winds howl,
"Cool murder is doubly foul."
He does not care,

What if they do die in the chair,
Die and worry over sin,
Die with all their brother kin,
It is the Law he sternly said
While blood kept falling on his head.

He has one regret,
If they would only let
Him raise a tall
Bare scaffold for a judgment seat,
And kill them all
Indiscriminate.
For he will heed a hangman's word
Who murders two and kills a third.

But such regret falls dead on lips
On hearts of men,
Men who dare defy his voice,
Who dare him speak those words
again.

Listen to the winds howl,
"Cool murder is doubly foul."
To pass a brother in the street
Is only to admit defeat,
Men of mind
Men unkind,
Men whose glinty eyes are blind,
Blind and cold,
Cold and old
Who hear the ring of a tyrant's god

Solomon Portnow.

THE CHATTER BOX

THE old Russian Jew had a proverb which still bears translation for effect: "It (the gift) may even come from a Cossack, as long as it will help toward happiness." I make the transposition with some allowable looseness, since idiomatic Yiddish set into English verbally would make the matter unintelligible. This is introduced to caption the recent "victory" planks that Tammany Hall is parading about after the last New York election. The State Housing Amendment and the \$300,000,000.00 debt margin increase for new subways in the city, are in particular interest here.

Somehow I would hardly feel piqued if the Boodle Band of Fourteenth Street suddenly jumped on the waterwagon, swore off from all civic sin, and went in for wiping up the slums with crusading zeal. And surely, would I welcome four more subway lines from Bronx Park to Cherry Street, even if Jimmy the Jazzboy and his dizzy crew dug them with their own little shovels. I for one never get the "down and out blues" the morning after the other fellow gets elected. As a Socialist I must always remember that an assemblyman more or less is little to crow or weep about. Even the complete sweep of a city, as in Reading or Milwaukee, is no orifame around which to gather the minions of the social revolution. The greater victory lies in that we have through years of ceaseless agitation compelled the grafters and political bandits to call a halt in their seasonal plundering, enough at least to learn that our cities have unspeakable slums, that millions of the lower class languish in their filth and squalor, and in the name of some sort of decency the crime of their existence must be ended. For the last fifteen years that I remember, Socialist speakers have kept reminding the old parties of their responsibility for this unforgivable outrage. Yes, we alone have kept stressing that point, and at last, a new day and a newer world may come for Allen Street and Hell's Kitchen. And every livable apartment house that rises on the now sodden streets will be a monument for our old endeavors. Every blade of grass that will sprout out of court yards on Ludlow Street will be a word that we have shouted from platforms in years long gone by. And I shall be the last to hold back my hand of congratulation from even the lowest Tammany ward heeler if he shall have had something to do in the practical transformation of a poor man's hell into a worker's decent home.

Zowies! Jim O'neal caressed me with the office hammer. I'll never indulge in dreams again.

Vale!

Let us be strangers. Be it as though
We were not lovers this year or so.
Proud. No regret. No look of askance.
Let us pass each other with only a glance.

Confess that those tender words slip your lip's door
Only because they've passed there before!

Say you that love's worthwhile, held half-dearly?
Define and accept it, qualified "nearly" . . . ?

No. Break every bond in us. Wipe the slate bare.
Be carefree—new love will come, and not care.

Let us be strangers. Be it as though
We were not lovers this year or so.
(Strangers may fall in love you know).

—E. P. VOLLMER.

Fraternally Yours, —

WE ALWAYS like to hear from our friends on the farms. Here's a letter from Comrade J. J. Fitch, who sends us a money-order from his farm at Fresno, California:

"I'm just making a sacrifice," writes J. J. "to help you New York stiff beat Tammany. I am a farmer and a work stiff, too. I guess you think the farmer has lots of dough because you have to pay 25 cents to 40 cents a pound for raisins and dried peaches. But remember we farmer stiff get only 3 and a half cents a pound for raisins and 6 to 8 cents a pound for peaches. Hoping this mite will help you some, I am yours for the people's ownership of the government."

We don't mind being called any sort of "stiff" by folks with the spirit of Fitch.

Here's the indefatigable Alfred Baker Lewis, the great-hearted Secretary of the New England Socialists, sending us an order for bundles of The New Leader for meetings he plans to hold this week. This has been a most admirable habit of Lewis's for years past. We wish that such habits were contagious and that others of the comrades caught them.

There are lots of good party members who tell us that they hate to miss a single issue of The New Leader. The subscriptions of some of them have lapsed and that puts us and them in a hole. We don't want to deprive any loyal Socialist of his or her paper but we can't afford to keep a lapsed subscriber on the subscription list.

If you know of any such cases, make it a point to suggest to the comrade that it's just as easy to subscribe right away as to let the matter drag along, with the chance that his name may be dropped.

And better yet, you can save us expense and yourself annoyance by renewing your subscription immediately upon receiving an expiration notice from us. It's the old advertising gag: "Eventually, why not now? Eventually you will renew your sub. Why wait for a second or third notices to do this ultimate job?"

There's one tremendous service that our friends can perform and that has to do with securing advertisements for The New Leader. You know that the life of any periodical conservative or radical, largely depends upon the advertising it runs. Now, The New Leader is an ideal advertising medium for a number of products and services. It has a healthy growing circulation and a degree of reader interest that is not to be found in many papers ten times its size. Leader readers are intelligent men and women who enter into the affairs of modern life. They read their favorite paper and read it thoroughly every week. When they see in its pages, advertisements of books, restaurants, theaters, forums, schools, or for that matter, anything which makes life richer and more spacious, they give whole-hearted support to the advertisers.

Among your friends there must be some who have advertising contacts. Tell them about The New Leader. Point out to them that for certain things, it opens up new markets that can be reached by no other weekly medium. The rate is low, the returns to the advertiser in The New Leader are large. Let's all get busy and fill the advertising columns with the announcements of reputable concerns, national and local, too.

Special notice: The quarterly meeting of the proud owners of The New Leader Publishing Association, will be held at the Rand School, 1 East Fifteenth Street on Monday, December 5th, next. If you want to sit in on this interesting gathering at which labor paper policies will be discussed and plans for the future of your paper considered send us one dollar and your name and address today. This will make you a member of the Association in the best of standing and will assure your participation in a most significant movement.

Last week we said something about a labor story by America's most distinguished novelist, Theodore Dreiser, for which The New Leader has exclusive rights and which soon begins in these columns. The name of the Dreiser story is, "St. Columba and the River," and those who have seen advance proofs tell us that it is one of the most gripping things Dreiser has ever penned. The moral, boys and girls, is to send in your subscriptions of your "cousins and your aunts and your aunts" and all your little play-mates so that you don't miss a single installment of this thrilling masterpiece.

Art Shields' special stories from the uncharted coal-fields have attracted national attention. If you've missed the Shields' piece in this issue of The New Leader, go back and read it on page 2. You'll find that it gives you a better picture of actual conditions down where the miners are fighting with their backs against the wall than do any of the sketches in the old-line papers. Shields is still in the field, still gathering exclusive material for The New Leader. There will be another story from his talented typewriter next week. Tell your friends to look for it and if they don't get The New Leader regularly, tell them that this is the sort of inside material which this paper has a habit of printing.

THE OFFICE WINDOW.

S. A. de Witt.