



SO "I do not choose" means "I will not." We should be grateful to our Presidential language teacher for the information which some of his pupils seem even yet unwilling to believe. Undoubtedly it is to Mr. Coolidge's credit that he has removed the suspicion that he was party to some slick Yankee trick to have the nomination forced upon him. Or has he? Anyway the question whether Mr. Coolidge or someone else is a standard bearer for the financial oligarchy in control of the Republican party has no far reaching significance.

In spite of the amazing propaganda by which Mr. Coolidge has been "sold" to a credulous public as combining the best features of Washington and Lincoln he is not a man of any first rate ability and his success would only have been possible in a particular period which I believe is rapidly drawing to an end. I suspect that the cleverest thing Mr. Coolidge ever did was to sense that fact and get out in time. Hoover, Hughes, Lowden and Dawes are all abler men than the President though it may be doubted if any one of them will have as easy a time getting elected or as successful an administration in popular estimation. None of them would have written quite so vague, indefinite, and do-nothing a message as the cautious Calvin has perpetrated. When I say vague of course I don't mean that there is any doubt under what banner the President is enlisted. He very definitely wants to do nothing as often as possible. It is only when he has to suggest concrete measures that it is a little difficult to tell just what he wants. A Hoover or a Hughes might be clearer. There is no reason to think he would be more progressive.

Of course the President's message could have been worse. He could have been more jingoistic and militaristic. He could have failed to denounce the outrageous tax demands of the Chamber of Commerce. But judged by any conceivable liberal or progressive test the President has ranged himself once more body, mind and soul on the side of Big Business. Test this statement by what he says and what he failed to say with regard to Muscle Shoals, Boulder Dam, the coal strike, injunctions, foreign policy. This Yankee has an almost religious faith in the right of the big fish to swallow the little fish without any interference from the government. Any effort to use the power of the government to control the merchant marine or hydro electric plants for the good of all the people is abhorrent.

It will be interesting to see whether in the face of this tight class line-up of which the President's message is only one illustration the so-called progressives in the old parties will develop any effective program. The progressive group of Senators formally presented to their Republican colleagues three demands: The McNary-Haugen Bill or something like it, legislation against the injunction evil, and investigation of our relations with Latin America. If this is meant for anything more than a mild starter it is pitifully inadequate. It does not define the nature of legislation against injunctions, it does not assert any basic principle of anti-imperialism and it does not mention the fight on the water power issue which may be one of the most dramatic things in Congress. Meanwhile in the Democratic camp progressive sentiment is swinging to Al Smith. It is a pretty feeble order of progressivism which can be satisfied by the Governor's record. Yet this very failure of progressivism is the reason for the existence of the Socialist Party and ought to be a stimulus to its activities.

It really is most inconsiderate of this Queens Borough sewer scandal to break just now. On top of the unsettled milk scandal, the bus franchises that Jimmy Walker jammed through, the gross election frauds it is likely to prove embarrassing for a reformed Tammany and its favorite son, the progressive champion, Alfred E. Smith. Of course the Governor and his friends will say that these matters are as yet outside of his jurisdiction and that he will act upon the submission of the proper evidence. That is all right for the Innocents' Club but it won't do for men who know anything about New York politics. The Governor did not stand on a narrow conception of his official duties when he threw out Hylan in

(Continued on Page Three)

Workers Vote \$1 a Month To the Miners

Pittsburgh Central Trades Urges All Unions of Country to Follow Suit—Need is Great

(By International Labor News Service)

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—The Pittsburgh Central Labor Council has voted to recommend to all local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in this district, "that they voluntarily assess their membership one dollar per member per month until the strike of the miners is settled."

The committee appointed represented the Building Trades Council, Metal Trades Council, Union Label Trades Council, Carpenters' District Trades Council, Transportation and Miscellaneous Trades and the Chairman and Secretary of the Central Labor Union.

William Collins, representing the American Federation of Labor in the Pittsburgh district, said: "This action will be an example for all central labor bodies in the United States and Canada."

In the discussion of the miners strike it was charged that the miners are confronted by the conspiracies of mine owners, railroads, steel corporations and the Mellon financial interests combined to destroy the miners' unions in Western Pennsylvania. The Pittsburgh Central Labor Union in its letter to the local union says: "The miners' unions cannot be destroyed if they are properly supported."

The committee reported the suffering and hardships of the miners families who have been evicted from the company homes and are being housed in shanties erected by the United Mine Workers of America. The great rainfall of the past month has made the camp a sea of mud and the relief committee of the miners unions is hard put to provide shoes and rubbers for the wives and children. Many of the miner's families have as many as ten children. The Plumbers' Union of Pittsburgh has donated a big store in its building where the miners may receive clothing and food and it may be sorted and shipped to the different mining camps. The store is at 1901-3 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, and parcels addressed to William Hargest, secretary of District 5, U. M. W. of A., will be properly taken care of.

A RED INJUNCTION

Members of the trade unions now facing a storm of injunctions have forgotten the wise injunction to get political power for themselves. We are against the first kind of injunctions and for that reason favor the second.

FOR FUTURE SOLDIERS

The secret treaties back of modern wars are not known till those who fought for them are dead. It is then too late for the dead and almost useless for the living. Get wise before being conscripted, not after.

BURNS CATCHES BLUES

William J. Burns has spent so many years hunting down "reds" that he finds it difficult to become reconciled to the blues.

GIVE THE STREETS AWAY

Yes, private capitalist enterprise is essential to social progress and civilization. Let's vote the public libraries, the public streets, public schools, the fire departments and any other public property into the hands of corporations. Why halt "progress and civilization" by holding on to such things?

"Al's" Tammany Deeply Involved In Vote Frauds

Democratic Judges Permitting Party's Ward Healers Caught in Panken Election Steal to go Scot Free—Recount Demand is Filed With Election Board

WITH the eyes of the nation focussed on the Vare-Smith election scandals now being aired in the United States Senate, Democratic party leaders are making the most of an opportunity to raise their hands in holy horror over the violation of the "sanctity of the ballot."

In the meantime, unknown to most of the nation, the Democratic party is involved in an election scandal of its own, equally as flagrant and more significant nationally than the cases of the Pennsylvania and Illinois politicians who elevated themselves to senatorships through the sheer power of cash.

The New York election scandals are, perhaps, of greater importance to the citizens of the nation than the others, because it directly involves Governor Alfred E. Smith. Smith is being groomed by a wide section of the Democratic party for the presidency. To overcome the nation-wide revulsion to having a Tammany Hall president in the White House, the Smith camp-followers have been diligently attempting to create the myth of "The New Tammany." The recent elections in New York City and the current aftermath have revealed in an eloquent manner that the New Tammany differs not at all from the old Tammany.

5,000 Votes Stolen
While Vare and Smith are accused of buying their way into the Senate,

with a good measure of vote-stealing also credited to the Vare balance sheet, the charges against Al Smith's Tammany Hall involves unconcealed stealing of votes on a scale running up to as high as 55,000 in a single municipal judicial district. The ratio compares favorably with the exploits of the Vare machine.

The revelations of Tammany's current election stealing grow out of the election in November of a Municipal Court Judge in the 2nd district of New York City. Here Judge Jacob Panken, Socialist, was a candidate for re-election after serving 10 years on the bench. On Election day, the district witnessed an orgy of vote stealing, intimidation and wholesale

(Continued on Page 3)

PASTE THIS IN YOUR HAT

Natural resources, oil, coal, minerals, quarries and so on are ages old. A few own them. They did not make them. They will be here after the owners are dead. How did they get these things? By force, fraud or legislation. Why do they possess them? Because you permit it. What will happen if you withdraw your consent to their owning these things? All of us will fall heir to them through public ownership. How can we withdraw that consent? By refusing to vote for private ownership. Anything wrong with this reasoning? No. Then it's up to you in the election next year!

WE ARE THE WISE GUYS

Ours is the greatest country on the earth, yes siree. We have more crimes per population than any other modern nation. We are the only nation where lynching has become a regular institution, the only nation that does not have a powerful Labor Party, the only nation where voters are purchased in large numbers. We challenge comparison with our graft and injunctions, confident that no other nation surpasses us in these respects. We elect a Congress that is not seated till thirteen months after it is elected. "Lame ducks" who are defeated are appointed Secretary of State or to the Federal Bench. We vote for what we do not want and howl when we get it. Our masters hate free speech and call the police to suppress it. They praise Mussolini and avow affection for Lincoln. Forty states reject the child labor amendment and the politicians sing the praises of childhood. Coolidge tells bankrupt farmers not to rely on government help and then jacks up the tariff on pig iron for his Pittsburgh cronies. Miners are evicted from their homes, their families freeze and starve, and Coolidge tells them to keep cool with him.

Yes siree. None of this here Sushanism for us!

YOU ARE RICH—IN FIGURES

Recently a woman died and it was learned that she had money on deposit in 34 savings banks. This gives us a theme for a tabloid sermon on "savings bank" prosperity. It is estimated that there are nearly 47 million savings bank depositors in this country with an average deposit of \$211. Looks good, doesn't it? Sure. But what is meant is that there are nearly 47 million savings accounts. The woman mentioned above had 34 accounts but in the statistics figures as 34 depositors. Every person with bank savings deposits in two or more banks for one would be foolish to place all in one bank.

Then there are hundreds of thousands of small accounts for school children which average a few dollars each. These are often withdrawn for a birthday or Christmas and are hardly worth mentioning yet they all count in the big total of "depositors." Add to these the accounts of the middle and professional classes and the number of depositors among working people materially shrinks. So does the amount of their savings. This "savings bank" prosperity is largely hokum. Remember this when figures of these bank deposits are hurled at you.

THE LOWEST LEVEL

We have heard the complaint for many weary years that Socialism would reduce all to a dull and dead level. Well, the farmers of the West have plenty of time to figure out just how the Socialists succeeded in reducing them to their present level.

ON TO WASHINGTON

It's a long road to Washington for the toilers of this nation but there are many bypaths through control of city, county and state governments. Let's begin the march.

COOLIDGE COMFORTS

When you read of the doings of the oil thieves read a speech by President Coolidge on the "spiritual values" of capitalism and be comforted.

Socialist Out, Reading Loss Is \$80,000

Democrat, Victorious in Recount, Will Take "Fees" Hovertor Rejected—Party to Continue Fight

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

READING, Pa.—Widespread disappointment is expressed throughout the city because the recount of the vote gives the office of City Treasurer to Charles H. Kershner, thus defeating William Hovertor, Socialist. However, Reading Socialists will not be daunted by attorney fees and forfeits from again opening every ballot box in the city if such a course proves necessary.

On the other hand, the party members are the busiest people in Pennsylvania. Not only are the elected Socialist officials preparing to assume their duties on January 2, but the party membership, which is large, is quickly adjusting itself to the new situation and responsibilities. Dead branches have come to life, meetings are well attended, and an intensive organization drive is in progress to enroll registered Socialist voters in the party.

Another phase of party activity is enrollment of women in ward organizations in preparation for the election next year when candidates will be nominated for the State Legislature. Two representatives and one Senator are to be elected. The members of the School Board assumed their duties this week.

Kershner Will Take Fees
If Hovertor's opponent is finally seated in the office of City Treasurer he will be placed in an embarrassing position. Hovertor's announcement that he would not pocket the \$20,000 annually which other treasurers have taken in fees leaves Kershner in a delicate situation. Kershner says he will take "every cent the office pays" because, he says, "it is worth it." Thus Reading will lose \$20,000 annually for the next four years.

In the recount it is pointed out that the ballot boxes stood unguarded for eight days before they were placed in the keeping of Judge Schaffer and this has given rise to suspicions. Then there is the fact that the first complete returns were reported by boards favorable to the Democratic candidate and these returns gave the office to Hovertor. The recount carries the presumption that these boards made errors that adversely affected Kershner. The question is therefore being asked, is it possible that these boards made mistakes against their own man?

Suspensions Are Rife

It is such puzzles and discrepancies that have aroused suspicion of the recount and has caused widespread comment.

Preparations are under way for a big public celebration on Monday, January 2, when the Socialist administration takes over the city's affairs. The size of the celebration will depend upon the size of the hall to be obtained. The local organization of the party believes that the largest hall can be filled as the Socialist and Labor triumph has given the Socialist Party a unique position and the change of power in January is regarded as a real change of power, not a mere transfer of offices from one party to another.

Meantime the Socialist local has decided to request the Republican and Democratic parties to join in petitions to the court to divide precincts in which there are more than 400 voters. The ward branches of the Socialist party will be instructed to circulate petitions for the sub-divisions wherever necessary.

Members of the Socialist party who will take office at the beginning of next year were made ex-officio members of the advisory committee of ten which was given power to represent and act for the county organization between meetings. It is expected to have the committee act in an advisory capacity to the new city officials on matters of administration and on other subjects which will confront them in public life.

HOLDING THE BAG

Back in the days of the Granger movement the farmers posted a large lithograph in their halls that was very suggestive. It also may represent the toilers of the city. A soldier says "I fight for all." A priest says "I pray for all." A judge says "I judge for all." A lawyer says "I legislate for all." The farmer answered, "Yes, and I pay for all."

This was very effective even though faulty in its reasoning. The gentlemen mentioned did not fight, pray, judge and legislate for all. If they had so acted the toilers would have had no complaint. The farmer paid for all but he didn't get even what he paid for. And he is still paying and holding an empty bag.

Power Interests Mass Vast Lobby To Swing Congress

Natural Resources of Fabulous Wealth at Stake—Corporations Want to Kill Boulder Dam Project, Deliver Muscle Shoals to Combine and Side-track Walsh Investigation

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON.—A super-power lobby with vast funds at its disposal is organized in Washington "to kill the Boulder Canyon bill, deliver Muscle Shoals to the Power combine, side-track the resolution to investigate the power trust as proposed by Senator Walsh of Montana, and turn over an invaluable power site belonging to the Flathead Indians of Montana to the Montana Power Company without just compensation to its owners."

This is the statement of Judson King, Director of the National Popular Government League, in a 12-page broadside entitled "Who's Who in the Super-Power Lobby." Mr. King goes into details, presenting names and other data to show how the great power interests are planning the greatest predatory raid in American history.

Bring Clothes for the Miners

THE New Leader, cooperating with 150 others through International Labor News Service, has undertaken to gather clothes, blankets, shoes, food and other supplies for the striking miners of Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Ohio.

Bring in your old clothes, your old shoes, underwear, socks—anything. Bring blankets. Bring food supplies. Bring any useful thing in that line.

The New Leader will ship your contributions direct to the miners. There's suffering in the camps of the strikers. There is the deepest need for the things you can give.

Bring your things today. The winds blow cold over the hills where the striking miners have their barracks. Women and children need clothes and food. Men need clothes and food. Bring everything from babies' clothes to overcoats for men.

Do this good deed today! The New Leader has received by mail bundles of clothing from the following readers:

S. Bass, Newark, N. J., 2 bundles; J. Welechnigh, Guttenberg, N. J.

GET OUT AND COME IN

For the love of Mike, why should a workman remain in the Republican or the Democratic party? Hasn't he got enough troubles without ratifying them at the ballot box?

You labor for a living and your children will also labor. You leave the factory or farm or you vote. Who and what are you voting for? Who pays for the campaign, the literature, the speakers, the special trains and the headquarters? Oil magnates, steel masters, coal barons and financial kings.

Ever know of that crowd investing money in anything without them getting handsome returns? Certainly not. They know what they are doing but do you?

Get out of those parties and come into your own. If you haven't one in your locality, organize a branch. Then finance it. The silk hat crowd are willing to finance a party for you if you will let them choose the party but why choose? You choose the party which they choose?

Get out and come in. The silk hat will then get out of power and you will go in. That's better than staying in their parties and never having any power, isn't it?

Very well. Get out and come in!

KEEP KOOL KOOLIDGE

Striking miners in Pennsylvania who have been surrounded by an injunction, who are evicted from their shacks, who are denied the right to picket or to approach any man taking their jobs, are despondent because President Coolidge will not act on the request of the American Federation of Labor to call a conference of mine owners and miners. The President's attitude is Keep Koool with Kooolidge.

President Lewis of the miners is a Republican and supported Coolidge in 1924. The strike has dragged out for eight months. Republicans rule Pennsylvania. They have the President and Congress. It is up to Mr. Lewis to explain to the miners how important it is for their welfare to be good Republicans and continue to Keep Koool with Kooolidge. There is no more opportune moment than now for this message, for the miners have lots of time to listen to Mr. Lewis.

One vote cast for your interests is worth a million cast for those who live on your labor. A Socialist vote never gave the masters pleasure because it brings them no dividends.

Among the significant facts brought out in this document is that certain former Socialists who deserted the Socialist Party ten years ago and some former "Progressives" are working for the power grabbers. The former Socialists are John Spargo and Frank Bohn whose articles on super-power are being distributed throughout the country. Two booklets by Bohn have had a circulation of 300,000. Bohn once joined with "Bill" Haywood in writing a pamphlet attacking the Socialist Party as not being sufficiently revolutionary. In his broadside Mr. King has this to say of Spargo: "Although British-born and a Socialist, his celebrated book, 'The Bitter Cry of the Children,' won for him national esteem.

"Today his articles fighting public ownership of power are being given wide distribution by the power interests. Any man has a good right, of course, to change his mind and pass from radicalism to reaction. But would, in his power propaganda, show something of the old brilliancy as a writer of the King's English, it would mean something. But to have him repeating hackneyed arguments in hackneyed phrases as individual initiative, private enterprise subject to social regulation, and so on and so on, is too much, too much.

"Mr. Spargo should now write a book entitled, 'The Bitter Cry of the Power Magnates and put a fitting climax to his career as an independent author.'"

Converted By Cash
In checking up on the "Progressives" serving the giant power interests, Mr. King quotes from an article written October 24 by Clinton W. Gilbert, now with the Philadelphia Ledger, and author of the book, "Mirrors of Washington." In that article Gilbert said:

"You could not count on the fingers of both hands all the ex-Progressives who draw nice stipends in Washington for convincing Senators and Representatives of the truth, beauty and goodness of oil companies and water-power corporations.

"Most of them are lawyers, and you can't tell where the lawyer ends and the lobbyist begins."

It appears that George B. Cortell, former private secretary to Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt, head of the Consolidated Gas Company of New York, and director in a number of big corporations, is serving as "window dressing" for the power program. He is "Chief Publicist of the Power Trust," according to King.

Other men named in relation to the power lobby in one way or another are Philip H. Gadsden of Charleston, S. C., former "dollar-a-year man" during the war, of the Vars brand of Pennsylvania politics and with important corporation connections.

Gadsden managed to couple some "patriotism" with the powerites in an article in the Chicago Tribune in which he declared that immigrants came to this country to escape public ownership. The assumption of the article is that European workers come here to enjoy the blessings of being skinned by big corporations.

Davis Gets \$35,000 Yearly
Stephen B. Davis, once in the Department of Commerce, is now reported to be getting \$35,000 a year from the super-lobby. Josiah T. Newcomb is counsel and Major J. S. S. Richardson is "Director of Department of Information," that is, the "contact man" to hand out the "dope" to newspapers. M. O. Leighton is consulting engineer, once chief hydrographer of the U. S. Geological Survey. The official title of this united front of power interests is "Joint Committee of National Utility Associations."

OLD PARTY EMBLEMS

We suggest that the Republican Party use an oil derrick for its ballot emblem in the next election. If Smith is the Democratic candidate the figure of an East Side tough beating a voter will do for his party.

A CELEBRATION AND A PROTEST!

Sunday Afternoon, December 11th, 2:30 P. M.

HUNTS POINT PALACE
163rd Street and So. Boulevard

VICTORY CELEBRATION!

To Greet the Elected Socialists of Reading, Pa.

Speakers

J. HENRY STUMP

Mayor of Reading

JAMES H. MAURER

Councilman and President of Pennsylvania

State Federation of Labor

GEO. W. SNYDER

Councilman

RAYMOND S. HOFSES

Member of School Board

DEMAND HONEST ELECTIONS!

Protest the Tammany Election Steal in the 2nd Judicial District, New York City

Speakers

Judge JACOB PANKEN

NORMAN THOMAS

JAMES ONEAL

Everybody Welcome

Chairman, AUGUST CLAESSENS

Admission Free

Auspices Socialist Party

Pledge Aid To Unionize Negro Labor

Conference Called By Pullman Porters Union Urges Fight For Economic Gains

DESPISE the steady pour of rain which began early and lasted until late last Friday, the 56th anniversary of the death of the immortal John Brown—one of the most significant meetings of Negroes and whites ever assembled met to consider the problem of the Negro worker generally and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters particularly.

A. Philip Randolph, General Organizer of the Brotherhood, presided. He outlined the history of the Pullman porters' union, the obstacles met and overcome, the treachery of some Negroes bought by the Pullman Company to fight the Brotherhood and how miserably they failed. How the Brotherhood had completely outwitted and out-maneuvered the Company and finally secured a favorable decision from the U. S. Mediation Board, how the Pullman Company deliberately refused to abide by that decision, being the first to flout the Watson-Parker Act, a child of its own creation.

Randolph ably covered the entire field of industrial problems affecting Negro and white workers.

Represented at the Conference was every section and cross-section of Negro life, the Negro Church, the press, law, social service, politics and fraternal organizations. All declared unequivocally in favor of the porters' struggle and pledged support to the final issue. Representatives of the League for Industrial Democracy, The Rand School of Social Science and organized labor were also present.

Injunction Denounced

An agenda had been prepared for the conference which included short addresses by Rev. William Lloyd Jones, Ira D. A. Reid of the Union League, Harry W. Laidler of the League for Industrial Democracy, Miss Layle Lane, teacher, Algonquin Lee of the Rand School and Abraham I. Shipiloff of the Pocketbook Makers Union.

The conference adopted a number of important resolutions, one condemning the "company union" and singling out the Pullman Company for special condemnation for trying to force the Porters into it. Another pledges "all sections of the Negro race to unite to support morally and financially the fight of every section of the Negro workers in their struggle to organize for higher wages, better working conditions and self-reliance."

A third resolution expressed the solidarity of the Negro workers with the organized labor movement and condemned the practice of corporations using Negroes as well as whites for strikebreaking purposes. Negro workers are called upon to refrain from being "the victims of this vicious practice."

Other resolutions denounced the abuse of the injunction in strikes, pledged support to the I. R. T. workers in their attempt to organize, and a long resolution reviewed the history of the struggle of the Porters with the Pullman Company, its slave-driving policy, the persistence of the degrading policy of placing on the Porter's wage with "tips" and pledged full support to the Porters in their fight for emancipation and organization of a union of their own. A large mass meeting in St. Luke's Hall concluded an inspiring conference.

Similar conferences are being held throughout the country which it is believed will strengthen the fighting front of the Porters and help them to win their struggle.

Simple addition: The more you patronize our advertisers the bigger we can grow.

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Sunday, December 13, 8:15 p.m.

SYMPOSIUM

REVOLT of the

MODERN WOMAN

Speakers

Fanny Hurst

Texas Guinan Mrs. Will Durant

Elizabeth Marbury Eva Le Gallienne

Tickets: \$5.00, \$1.10, \$1.65, \$2.20, \$2.75, at Box Office

Rand School, 7 E. 10th St., & Gray's Drug Store, 43rd St. & B'way

CONTEMPORARY FORUM

Socialist Party Grets Turati, Exile on 70th Birthday

The following cable was sent by the Socialist Party of the United States to Filippo Turati, veteran leader of the Italian Socialist movement, who is now in exile in Paris, on the occasion of his 70th birthday, which occurred on the 26th day of November:

"Dear Comrade Turati—Accept the somewhat belated but none the less cordial and affectionate congratulations of the Socialist Party of the United States and the expression of our sincere hope that the 26th day of November, 1928, will find you in good health and personal happiness in a free, democratic, and Socialist Italy."

Mayor Stump and Maurer To Speak Over WEVD Sunday

One of the two Socialist Mayors of cities in the United States will be heard over WEVD, the labor station, tomorrow, Sunday afternoon, Dec. 13th, at 2:45 p.m. The Mayor, J. Henry Stump, of Reading, Pennsylvania, was elected in the November elections in a contest the result of which surprised the entire country. Mayor Stump will speak over WEVD on "Labor Political Action." The election which carried Mayor Stump into office also saw the election of a Reading Councilman of one of the directors of the Debs Memorial Radio Fund, which operates WEVD. This was James P. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor. Mr. Maurer will also speak over WEVD on Sunday.

Other features of interest to organized labor which will be broadcast by WEVD during the week of December 13th include: Elsie Gluck, labor organizer, who will speak on Tuesday, Dec. 13th, at 9:15 p.m.; James O'neal, editor of The New Leader, who will speak on "The Worker's View of American History" at 9:15 p.m. on Thursday, Dec. 15th; and McAllister Coleman, journalist, who, at 9:15 Saturday night, Dec. 17th, will give a "Worker's Review of the Week."

Brookwood To Hold Conference; "Youth And Labor" Topic

KATONAH, N.Y.—"Youth and the Labor Movement" will be discussed at a two-day institute at Brookwood Labor College here Dec. 30-31. Organizing young workers, serving their interests in trade union activity, apprenticeship regulations and training will receive special attention. Any union member may attend, but preference will be given those sent by their unions. Speakers will include: Francis Mahoney, Building Trades Apprentices School, New York; William Smith, secretary-treasurer, American Federation Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers; Tom Tippet, director of workers' education, United Mine Workers of America, Illinois; Spencer Miller, Jr., secretary, Workers Education Bureau of America; J. Schlossberg, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; A. I. Shipiloff, Leather Goods Workers; Philip Umstadter, Printing Pressmen's Union; Rose Schneiderman, Women's Trade Union League, and others.

The Why of Women's Revolt To Be Subject of B'klyn Discussion

"The Revolt of Modern Women," reported to be taking place at this time, will be discussed from unique angles on Sunday night, Dec. 13th at the Brooklyn Academy of Music, (take the I.R.T. subway to Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn). The Contemporary Forum has secured the services of Texas Guinan, night club hostess and musical comedy star, Fannie Hurst, novelist, Mrs. Will Durant, wife of "The Story of Philosophy," Eva Le Gallienne, actress and play producer, and Elizabeth Marbury.

Students to Weigh This Social Order

League For Industrial Democracy To Hold Conference During Winter Vacation

COLLEGE students throughout the country are showing an unusual interest this year in the Intercollegiate Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy to be held at Columbia University, New York, from Wednesday, Dec. 28 to Friday, Dec. 30, 1927. The general subject of the conference is "The Student and the Social Order." The conference will be formally opened on Wednesday morning at Room 301, Philosophy Hall, Columbia, by Ludwig C. Hirning, President of the Columbia Social Problems Club. The first session will be devoted to a symposium on "Present Day Capitalism in America" in which Ivy Lee, public relations counselor for the Rockefeller and other big corporate interests and Professor Harry F. Ward, Professor of Social Ethics of Union Theological Seminary and author of "The Profit Motive in Industry," will be the principal speakers. This discussion will be continued in the afternoon with Prof. Rexford Tugwell of Columbia, author of the "American Economic Life," as discussion leader. Tom Tippet of Brookwood Labor College, as one of the speakers, and Beatrice Heiman of Barnard as chairman.

Thursday sessions will be confined to informal student discussion groups on "Liberal Activities on the Campus," "Education as a Road to Freedom," "The Value of Political Action," and "The Class Struggle and Labor Unionism." Among the expert advisers and discussion leaders at these sessions will be Paul Blanshard, George S. Counts, Robert Morris Lovett, President of the L. I. D., Peter H. Odegard, Louis Waldman, William P. Hapgood, J. S. Potofsky, Harry W. Laidler, Norman Thomas, Benjamin Stolberg, McAllister Coleman, Solon Delson, Justine Wise, Felix Cohen, A. D. Black, William B. Spofford and others. William George Fennell of Yale and a Vassar student will act as chairmen.

The Annual Dinner will be held Thursday at the Irving Plaza, 17 Irving Place, and will deal with "Political Prospects for 1928." Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota will give the point of view of the Progressive Republicans; Norman Hapgood, former editor of Collier's and author of a life of Governor Alfred Smith, will represent the Progressive Democrats; Max Eastman, writer, will give the Communist point of view and Norman Thomas will represent the Socialists. Robert Morris Lovett will preside.

On Friday, Philosophy Hall, Columbia, reports of the group meetings will be rendered and discussed with Simon Gerson of C. C. N. Y. and William A. Hunt of Dartmouth in the chair. In the late afternoon there will also be a discussion of what students can do in their occupations for social progress after college days. Norman Thomas will give the closing address.

The final conference affair will consist of a number of skits followed by a dance in Earl Hall, Columbia. These skits arranged by Gertrude Well Klein, Sam Friedman and others are entitled "The Average Man," "Twisting the Lion's Tail" and "The Sandwich Men."

Further information regarding the conference can be obtained from the Intercollegiate Department of the League for Industrial Democracy, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City. All students are welcome to attend the conference sessions.

Memorial Meeting For Mrs. Norrie

A memorial in honor of Mrs. Gordon Norrie will be held in the auditorium of the Young Women's Christian Association, 600 Lexington Avenue, near Fifty-Second street, Monday evening, December 19th, 1927, at a quarter past eight o'clock.

The chairman will be Mrs. Henry Goddard Leach, and speakers: Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and Oswald Garrison Villard.

Van Loon To Speak at Mutual Aid Dinner

"History and a Sense of Humor" will be the subject of an address by Hendrik Van Loon at the annual dinner of the League for Mutual Aid, at the Irving Plaza, 17 Irving Place, Thursday eve, Dec. 15. Captain Paxton Hibben, author of "Henry Ward Beecher," will preside. Reservations are \$2 per plate and can be made at the League for Mutual Aid, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Bishop Paul Jones On Tomorrow's World

"Creating Tomorrow's World" will be the subject of a lecture by Bishop Paul Jones, at the Brooklyn Lodge of the Theosophical Society, 292 Carlton Avenue. The lecture, at 8:15 this Sunday, December 10th, evening, will deal primarily with two questions: Can tomorrow's world be created today? Does the end justify the means? It will be followed by discussion and by answers and questions. Admission is free and everybody is invited.

Road to Freedom Ball
A Costume Ball will be given by "The Road to Freedom," the anarchist publication, at Harlem Casino, 116th street and Lenox Avenue, on Christmas eve, Dec. 24th.

Unity House Reunion To Be Held Saturday

The long expected Reunion of the Workers Unity House, summer vacation house of the Ilgwa takes place to-morrow evening, Saturday December 10th in the ballroom of the Manhattan Opera House, at 34th street near 8th Avenue. This will be a representative assemblage of members and friends. The guests of Unity House will again have an opportunity to meet and recall good times together in pleasant surroundings.

Nothing has been left undone to make the evening a social and artistic event. The excellent dance floor and the exhilarating music of the PAUL WHITE-MAN PICCADILLY PLAYERS will contribute much to the enjoyment of the dancers. You are advised to come early, about 9 o'clock, and not miss a moment of the fun. Tickets are 1.00 including wardrobe, and can be obtained at the box office of the Manhattan Opera House 34th street and Eighth Avenue, to-morrow night.

Negro Tenants Urged To Come to Meeting To Discuss Housing

Tenants in the Negro section of Harlem, New York city, have been invited to a mass meeting arranged by the Community Progressive Painters' Union to discuss the rent and housing situation in that part of the city. The meeting will be held at Mother Zion A. M. E. Community House, 151 West 136th street, on Sunday afternoon, Dec. 11th, at 3:30 p.m. The speakers will include Rev. Ethelred Brown, Harry Ellen Ely, Ira D. A. Reid, Rev. E. P. Batson, Rev. E. C. Clark, Miss A. E. Hendrickson, Frank Poree, V. C. Gaspar and G. French.

Brooklyn Shoe Workers Join New Union

THERE is a strong move on foot to organize the shoe workers of Brooklyn and Greater New York.

After a long period in which independent unionism has prevailed in this shoe center the local shoe workers have decided to become part of the bona fide labor movement of the country. They have applied for membership in the Boot and Shoe Workers Union, an international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The Boot and Shoe Workers with general headquarters in Boston not only has issued a new charter to the first group who applied for membership authorizing them to constitute a new local which will be known as Local No. 625, but has undertaken an organization campaign on a large scale to bring into its fold all the shoe workers of Greater New York.

A staff of organizers have been stationed here for that purpose. Mr. Jerome Valenti has been especially engaged for this work. Mr. H. Baxter, a general organizer for the National Organization, is also on the job devoting most of his efforts in organizing the cutters. Mr. Valenti has had considerable experience in labor organization work as he was formerly organizer of the American Shoe Workers Protective Union, a local independent organization which went out of existence last year as a result of the unsuccessful strike that it waged against the Shoe Manufacturers' Board of Trade.

The organizer of the Boot and Shoe Workers say they are meeting with success in their drive. Mr. Valenti, who at present is making it his business to recruit lasters, one of the highly skilled crafts in the industry and largely composed of workers of Italian descent, has he states succeeded in inducing a good number of them who were the leaders and active members in the former American Shoe Workers Protective Union to join the ranks of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union.

The Local Organization Committee announces that the headquarters of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union have been moved to new and more spacious quarters at 635 Fulton street, corner of Rockwell Place, Bklyn. All members of Local No. 625 have been notified that the first meeting in the new quarters will be held next Tuesday eve, Dec. 13th. Mr. Thomas O'Hare, general organizer of the B. S. W. U., Mr. J. Valenti local organizer and a representative of the Central Labor Council will speak. Only members and shoe workers accompanied by members will be admitted.

A fool, bitten by many fleas, put out the light, saying, "You no longer see me."—Lucian.

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Labor Starts Organization to Aid WEVD

Socialist-Labor Radio Station Wins Support of Trade Unions—Permanent Conference Started

WITH the organization of a WEVD Labor Conference, WEVD, the radio station instituted by the Debs Memorial Radio Fund, 31 Union Square, N. Y. C., has been more closely and organically integrated into the trade union movement. More than 80 representatives of trade unions and labor fraternal organizations were present at the organization of the Conference in the headquarters of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which organized the WEVD Labor Conference. A committee of 25 was elected to work out plans for permanent relations with the Debs Fund.

Labor leaders of national importance accepting membership on the executive committee of the WEVD Labor Conference, voiced their enthusiastic support of the project. Samuel E. Beardsley, International Secretary-Treasurer of the International Jewelry Workers' Union, is chairman of the executive committee. Edward P. McGrady, legislative agent of the American Federation of Labor, and manager of the N. Y. Joint Council of Fur Workers, was elected vice-chairman.

"WEVD is an instrument of which the labor movement must make increasing use," Mr. McGrady declared at the meeting which organized the Labor Conference. "In WEVD, we have at our disposal a powerful agency for reaching the people with the message of trade unionism. In their fight on the injunction the trade unions must make WEVD their gigantic vehicle of protest."

Services To Labor Free

In an address to the Labor Conference, G. August Gerber, secretary of the Debs Memorial Radio Fund, who was asked to act as secretary of the Labor Conference, pointed out that during its short period of operation WEVD has already rendered signal service to trade unions. "Among those which have used the broadcast facilities," he pointed out, have been the Teachers' Union, the Union of Technical Men (engineers), the Office Workers, the Garment Workers, and the Needleworkers. No charge has been made for these services," said Mr. Gerber. "It is not our policy," he told the labor leaders, "to ask for the use of WEVD. WEVD is here for service." In case of one union, Mr. Gerber pointed out, WEVD gave free of charge the use of facilities for which the same union had been forced to pay another station \$200 a week previously.

It was the feeling of the delegates that while WEVD made no effort to exact payment for the use of its facilities, holding itself open for use by all unions when they needed the services most, WEVD was entitled to year-round support, particularly at times when the trade unions were not called upon to extend their energies and resources in other directions. To this end, the executive committee is expected to work out a plan whereby assistance in the maintenance of the labor radio will be

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Western Socialist Leader Returns; Reading Victory Calls Him Back to Party

In the year 1897 a covered wagon left Tennessee with a young man and his wife on their honeymoon. The wagon was supplied with literature which was sold enroute at open air meetings in cities and villages. The young enthusiast was the speaker and his wife gave recitations from the poets. The young man was an artist and illustrated his lectures with crayon drawings on a black-board.

Guy H. Lockwood and his wife spent months in the field in this pioneer work in Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and other states. They left behind them everywhere a sentiment which in after years was reaped in local organizations of the Socialist Party and an increasing Socialist vote.

Years passed and they gave their time to the Socialist movement. The war came with its despotism and destruction of thousands of locals and branches, followed by "Left Wingism" which drove thousands of others out of the party. Lockwood disappeared, disappointed, wondering what the outcome would be. Then came the recent elections and a letter from Lockwood in Michigan written to National Executive Secretary, William H. Henry. The letter tells its own story and we reprint it here for the information of all the trade unions.

The executive committee elected at the conference includes A. J. Muste, Dean of Brookwood Labor College; Rose Schneiderman, president of Women's Trade Union League; A. Shipiloff, manager Int'l Pocketbook Workers; Edward I. Hannah, president, Int'l Union of Pavers and Rammermen; Benjamin Moser, manager N. Y. Joint Board of Int'l Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Dr. Henry Linville, president, Teachers' Union; Abraham Bockerman, manager, N. Y. Joint Board of Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Philip Umstadter, Printing Pressmen, Local No. 51; Philip Gellebter, educational director, Workmen's Circle, Harry Chapman, district organizer, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks; Louis D. Berger, manager, United Needleworkers' Union; Daniel P. Hauer, Union of Technical Men, Local No. 27; Salvatore Ninfo, Local No. 48, Int'l Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; James P. Burns, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers; Herman Rivkin, Socialist Party; William Meyer, Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund; Luigi Antonini, Local No. 89, Int'l Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Newman Marquer and Arthur Kahn, Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund; H. Mallis, Workmen's Circle, Branch 294; Julius Hochman, Int'l Ladies Garment Workers' Union; Charles Stotsky, assistant manager, Furriers' Joint Council, New York City.

The Forum will meet every second Monday in the month and will cover social, political and industrial problems of interest to young people.

"We have wanted a Forum for a number of years," stated Allison Burroughs, 17 year old chairman of the Forum, "but since Pioneer Youth is such a young organization we did not have a large enough group of older boys and girls to get it under way. Now that we have our fifty members 15 to 20 years of age, and a very active study group under Dr. Goldenweiser, we felt we were in a better position to go ahead. We expect a very successful Forum."

The Pioneer Youth organization conducts children's clubs and Summer Camps in New York State, Pennsylvania and Maryland and reaches many children 10 to 18 years of age. Pioneer Youth is supported by Trade Unions and a group of leading educators.

SHERWOOD EDDY AT BROOKLYN JEWISH CENTER

The next speaker at the Forum of the Brooklyn Jewish Center, 667-691 Eastern Parkway, on Monday evening, December 12th, will be SHERWOOD EDDY, International Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association.

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Haitians Demand Election

50,000 Citizens of Island Demand Kellogg Intervene To End U. S. Military Rule

THE Patriotic Union of Haiti, which has a membership of fifty thousand and includes practically all educated Haitians except the few now on the payroll of the United States Government, has appealed in vain to the American High Commissioner in Haiti for the right to hold an election.

The Patriotic Union of Haiti has therefore addressed an appeal to Frank P. Kellogg, Secretary of State of the United States, which says in part:

"The Constitution imposed on our unhappy country in 1918 provides in article No. 107 that the primary assemblies meet in the manner prescribed by law without previous convocation, in each Commune, on the tenth of January of even numbered years. Their object is to elect, at periods fixed by the Constitution, the Deputies of the people, the Senators of the Republic, the Municipal Councilors and to decide upon the amendments proposed to the Constitution.

"The Chambers should have been re-established in 1920, the first even year after this Constitution was voted. But the Haitian Government, supported by the Government of the United States, has constantly refused the legitimate demands of the nation.

"The Patriotic Union comes once more to insist that the obstacles which, illegally and in defiance of the Constitution, have been put in the way of re-establishment of the Legislative Chambers, should now be ended for all.

"The electoral period is here. We hope that a declaration on your part will recognize our rights and your error.

"The Patriotic Union, and with it the whole Haitian people, hopes that you will not fail to recognize the validity of what we are putting forward and that this year there will be no exchange of views to prevent the exercise of one of the essential rights of the citizens of all countries, the right to choose for themselves their representatives in the legislature."

Spanish Socialists Refuse to Take Part In Rivera's "Assembly"

Madrid.—In connection with the refusal of the Spanish General Union of Workers to accept delegation to the Government's National Assembly, a decision confirmed by the Spanish Socialist Party, the following is the text of the resolution passed by the latter:

"The Socialist Party of Spain records a vigorous and unreserved protest against the regime of dictatorship instituted for the last 4 years. It protests equally against the creation of a National Assembly to which the Socialist Party fully agreeing with the decision of the General Union of Workers, will send no delegates. Finally, the Party emphasizes the urgent need of the country for government according to principles of freedom and honesty, which permit the diffusion of socialist ideas. It demands from the Spanish Government to take account of the will of the nation, frequently invoked but never consulted, which can attain expression and respect by democratic method alone."

Farmers of Japan Make Rapid Progress In Political Arena

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
Tokio.—There now exists in Japan, both in town and country, Boards of Farmers whose business it is to stimulate in their capacity of public institutions the development of agriculture. Created originally as an organ of the large land-holders, these Boards were in 1922 thrown open, as a result of the revision of the franchise, to tenant farmers also.

This year, when for the first time, the elections were held under the new system, the tenants put up their own candidates, and with the backing of the Union of Landworkers and of all the workers' parties, they have after a brisk campaign secured a very striking victory. Out of 4204 candidates who stood, 3826 or 91 per cent were elected. These results may be viewed as indicative of a deeply-felt impulse stirring in the masses of the people, and permit of good hopes for the next Parliamentary elections.

Smith's Tammany Deep in Vote Fraud

(Continued from Page One)

voting of "floaters", voters illegally registered by Tammany district leaders.

The Socialist party will go the limit to expose this flagrant election steal. This week, Morris Hillquit and Fred Umhey, counsel for the Socialist party, filed notice on the Board of Elections requiring that the voting machines be kept intact as they were locked on Election Day night. The first move of the part on the Socialist party is to obtain the re-opening of these machines and a re-tabulation of the votes. This is expected to return to Judge Panken a considerable number of votes stolen from him on election day. While this may not establish Judge Panken's election, the Socialist party is marshalling affidavits from scores of citizens which will be held in preparation for a further move to prevent Tammany Hall from consummating the election steal.

Pending the applications to the courts for leave to examine the figures on the voting machines, the Socialists are pushing efforts to convict a number of Tammany election board officials who were caught red-handed in election day. There has been no success in this direction. These cases have proved an acid-test of Governor Smith's Tammany Hall. Tammany judges, one after another, has freed these people, reaching out for every possible pretext to give the air of regularity to their rulings. Here are some of the cases and their results.

1. Irving Simon, Tammany district leader. Was chairman of the election board in the 22nd election district of the 4th assembly district. Arrested on charge of Meyer Machilis. Accused of interfering with voters, illegally casting votes for voters. Dismissed by Tammany Magistrate Edward Weil.

2. Daniel Mignogne, Tammany leader, chairman of the election board in the 20th election district of the 2nd assembly district. Hermoine Panken accused him of voting for

others, and interfering with the voting of scores of citizens. He was arrested. Magistrate Simpson, Tammanyman, refused to hold him.

3. George Cingolo, chairman of the board in the 22nd election district of the 2nd assembly, a Tammany man. Don Chase, a student at the Union Theological Seminary, had him arrested, charged with illegally casting votes for others. Magistrate Simpson also dismissed him.

4. Cella Gerstein, active Tammany worker, member of election board in the 20th election district of the 4th A. D. Accused of voting twice. Was about to vote a third time when she was arrested by Philip Hansel. She said in court that she was voting for her mother. Magistrate Weil refused to hold her despite her admitted violation of the law.

5. Ben Eisenberg and Abraham Engel, Tammany ward heelers, officials of the 2nd election district of the 4th A. D. These members of Governor Smith's new Tammany closed the voting machine before copying the Panken vote on the official return sheets. They intended to "give" Panken 5 votes. On protest from the Socialist watchers, they became generous and offered to "give" him 11. The Socialists insisted on the actual vote from the machine being recorded. The Tammanyman refused and their arrest followed. One of the two was revealed as having a criminal record, which, under the law, should have barred him from being an election board official. The court hearing revealed that they had permitted the chairman of the board, a Tammany man, to cast a vote illegally. Tammany Magistrate Simpson could not see his way to punishing these people.

On the insistence of the Socialists, however, he reserved his decision until Dec. 8th.

There are other cases of a similar nature still to be heard by the courts. The conditions existing in the polling places where these arrests took place were fairly typical of what was going on through the 2nd and 4th assembly districts. In most polling places police officers, intimidated by political bosses, refused to make arrests demanded by Socialist watchers. In other places, Socialist watchers were forcibly ejected.

Rand School Has 86 Taking Training Course

SURVIVING the war terror with its raids and arrests, followed by several years of apathy in the Socialist movement, the Rand School of Social Science has emerged as a busy and thriving institution. Its activities are further evidence of the general Socialist revival throughout the country.

This is apparent from the report recently made to the meeting of the American Socialist Society by Algernon Lee, Educational Director of the School. Since Oct. 11 some thirty class sessions and lectures have been held each week and they will continue till the middle of April. Thirteen courses are also scheduled to begin in January, February and March.

The number of individuals matriculated in the school and registered for one or more courses is materially larger than in any recent year. On November 30, 1926, the number of matriculated students was 382; on the same date in 1926, it was 420; by November 15 this year it had reached 493.

Of the students who matriculated by Nov. 15, 86 registered for the Workers' Training Course. This number includes 60 trade unionists, 22 members of the Young People's Socialist League, and four unaffiliated wage-earners, who hold the four scholarships given by the Women's Committee.

The sixty union members represent thirty locals of seventeen different organizations. The activity of the school is indicated by the amount of its earned income. Under this head are included matriculation, registration, and single-admission fees, net proceeds of benefits conducted by the school, and a few minor items, such as rental for class rooms let to other organizations, commission on sale of tickets, library fines and sale of library discards, and Labor Student subscriptions and advertisements.

In these three full months last year our total earned income was \$3,877.55. In two and a half months this fall it was \$5,058.61—an increase of \$1,181.06. The tuition income for two and a half months exceeds that for three months last year by \$695.70. The tuition income during the period named was 19 per cent larger this year than last.

Notwithstanding this progress financing the work of the school is still a problem. The greater the activities the greater is the need of a sustaining fund as the increased income from courses and classes is not sufficient to meet increased expenses.

Unemployment Grows in England As Winter Comes

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

London.—With the coming of Winter, the unemployed-capitalism's army of surplus labor will be greatly increased. Officially there are over a million workers unemployed at the present time in Great Britain. The figures represent the number receiving the out of work dole. At least a quarter of a million are not included in the above named figures by reason of their not being eligible for the dole and hence their names do not appear on the registry lists. In the textile, shipbuilding, coal mining, and engineering, (metal trades) industries, the situation is especially acute. Lately the slump is also felt in the building trades. According to labor union officials a large number of workers are working but two or three days a week.

Wages have not kept pace with the cost of living which is over sixty per cent higher than the prewar level. Today the cost of living in London is about as high as it is in the United States. Men's clothing, leather goods and a few other items are cheaper than in the states. Some commodities are higher. The skilled mechanic in London is fortunate if he receives as much as three pounds and seven shillings a week. (About \$16.25). In the smaller cities he receives almost one third less. The Chesterfield of the police world, the famous London "bobby", receives a wage of four pounds and a pension after thirty years of service. Among the most poorly paid are those in the railway service.

In England politics is taken much more seriously than in the states. In a great measure the Tories in power are responsible for the industrial slump and the backward social conditions of the masses, the Laborites charge. The latter confidently expect a victory in the Parliamentary elections which will be held in 1928 or 1929. It is certain that an increasing number of the younger voters are being won over to Labor's program and if the Independent Labor Party is successful in the next Parliamentary election, sweeping industrial and social reforms will be the result.

The proposal to tax all unearned incomes of \$2,500 a year and upwards, adopted by the Labor Conference a few weeks ago, will be bitterly fought at the next election. Even now there is ceaseless complaint because of the heavy increases in taxes levied in the past few years. Taxes of all kinds are assessed in a more direct manner than in the United States and are much higher. However, while about \$52 per capita is spent yearly towards paying for future and past wars, (army, navy, pensions, debt, etc.), but one-third of that amount is expended for education, old age pensions, ministries of labor and health, roads, law departments, etc. Property owners, even the smaller ones, openly lament the fact that Britain is paying the interest on its war debt to the United States while His Majesty's government, which staked Italy and France, is whistling, or rather groaning, for the two erstwhile allies to "come across".

Meanwhile, ironically enough, the conservative interests are calling upon Labor to help bring about peace in industry, increase production and consume British made goods only, so that the material (and spiritual) prestige of the Union Jack may increase over "the seven seas".

Fascists Kill 2 Workers in Mill Strike

All Is Not Well In Mussolini's Heaven, Industrial Conflict Reveals "Prosperity" Figures False

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

Paris.—The fall of wages in Italy is having the consequences that might have been expected. In the cotton factories of Cantoni, Busto Arsizio and Legnano in the province of Milan, in consequence of the bad quality of the raw material and of a cut of one third in the wages of the women, they carried out a passive strike, i. e. they went to the factory but did no work there.

This strike quickly spread to all the Cantoni works and was joined by the men. In the factories and even in coming out "red" songs were heard. The Fascist militia did not act because it was staffed by local men. However, the police fulfilled its functions. A worker fell dead, and there were several wounded. It is said that a pregnant woman died in prison in consequence of blows received in the scuffle.

The strike and the disturbances lasted two days. All the workers reputed to be Socialist or Communist were arrested and accused. Almost simultaneously and likewise in consequence of wage-cuts, another passive strike broke out at the De Angeli printing works in Milan.

Fascist lying is characterized by its monotony. Regularly, every month, the Fascist press sends out the same statistical sophistry: "It is true that Italian exports are falling irresistibly; but imports are falling still more, and in this way the commercial balance tends to improve."

Figures are falsified. Even if the figures adduced in support were accurate, this reasoning would not hold, for the fall in Italian import is not in the least an advantage which would compensate the disadvantage of the fall in export. Seeing that Italy has to import almost all the raw material which it needs, the fall in imports is nothing but the consequence of the decline of Italian production. Worse than that, the decline of import trade is inevitably paving the way in Italy for a still sharper decline in the future of the production capacity of that unhappy country.

But the figures of this statistical formula, repeated month by month in the fascist press, about the Italian economic situation, are no more than the result of a manoeuvre constantly renewed. "Il Sole", the great Milanese paper for economic information, likewise reproduces (September 18th, 1927) the official figures, taking good care not to correct them according to the instructions published in the official publications themselves (page 380) of the Central Statistical Institute of the Kingdom of Italy. These publications are at present almost unobtainable, especially outside of Italy, and thus it is quite possible to plunge once a month into a campaign of national and international boomerang. It is therefore worth while to expose once again the trick of the falsified statistics.

"Il Sole" notes that during the first eight months of this year, the value of Italian exports was 10,212 million Lire, whereas during the same period in 1926 it had attained the figure of 11,494 million Lire, and since during the same period, Italian imports have fallen to 14,543 million Lire instead of 18,512 million Lire last year (this figure certainly involves an error of 200 million, so much) the Milanese newspaper hastens to conclude that accordingly the deficit in the international commercial balance must be considerably lessened. This deficit which during the first eight months of 1926 would have been 6,818 million Lire, was only 4,331 million Lire in the same period of 1927, which would indicate an improvement in 1927 of 2,487 million Lire.

Balance Is Destroyed
Now the Central Statistical Institute did not fail to observe that the export figures only begin to be more or less accurate from 1927 onwards, and that in comparing with 1926, it is essential to add at least 15 per cent to the figures, in order to rectify the declarations on the low side then made, for reasons entirely connected with taxation, by the exporters.

Accordingly the true value of the exports of the first eight months of 1926 reaches the figures of 13,218 million Lire (instead of 11,494), and in consequence the deficit in the commercial balance of the first eight months of 1926 falls to 5,249 million Lire. But the improvement realized in 1927 would amount only to 936 million Lire and not 2,487 million Lire as printed by "Il Sole".

But the trick lies in this very comparison between the deficits of the two analogous periods of 1927 and 1926 as drawn by the Fascist press. The fact is that these two deficits are reckoned in paper Lire, and in order to publish them, one must first of all translate them into gold Lire according to the exchange of the two different periods, which were, in August 1926 589, and in August 1927 roughly 354. Which means that the deficit of the Italian commercial balance reached 898 million gold Lire at the close of the first eight months of last year, and 1308 million gold Lire at the close of the same period in this year.

It follows then that this year there is a decline in the Italian commercial balance of 410 million gold Lire, which at the existing exchange (354 per cent) is equivalent to a decline of 1,451 million paper Lire. Accordingly the conclusions of the falsified statistics are absolutely turned upside down.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from Page 1)

the Democratic primaries. He cannot take the credit for reforming Tammany and avoid all the discredit of Tammany's misdeeds.

There isn't a worker in the whole United States nor any lover of decency who can afford to be indifferent to the Greco-Carrillo case which comes up for trial in the Bronx on Friday, December 9, with Clarence Darrow as chief counsel for the defendant. I do not think he will have much difficulty proving to fair minded men that these two Italian workers are innocent of the murders charged against them and the victims of a peculiar sinister frame-up in which Count DiRevel and his fellow fascists in America are the principal actors. I have confidence that Judge Cohn in the Bronx will prove to be no Webster Thayer but it takes more than a fair judge to save alien workers from a frame-up. Their proper defense is necessarily expensive. There is no time to lose. Contributions should be sent to the Greco-Carrillo Defense Committee, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York. That committee of which Robert Morris Lovett is chairman, represents the nearest thing to a legitimate united front in a common cause that New York has seen for many a day.

Labor today is summoned to fight on many fronts. No absorption in political events at Washington or in the Greco-Carrillo case in New York must make us forget the vitally important battle which the miners are fighting for us in the blood stained coal fields of Colorado and on the bleak hillsides of Pennsylvania. The least we can do is to see that the relief committees of the miners do not appeal in vain.

Secretary Hoover and his department are out again with new trumpets of American prosperity. What that prosperity is worth is discussed in our L. I. D. book, "Prosperity?", a symposium based on our last summer's conference. I think it is worth while contribution to a tremendously important theme. It is one of the Vanguard books.

Bertrand Russell, Morris Hillquit and I are going to discuss Peace and Freedom at the Community Church next Wednesday night. We may differ on some rather important points but we are all likely to agree that lovers both of peace and freedom want to protest now before it is too late against any loans by the House of Morgan to the Japanese government in behalf of the South Manchurian Railroad which it controls in China. Both Chinese factions have protested already against rumors of this loan. To lend \$40,000,000 or any other sum for the use of this railroad is simply to buy into a fight which is none of ours. Indeed to finance the Japanese at all may make the ultimate fight more likely. Write your protest to Secretary Kellogg—your Congressman. (Notice that "your".)

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New Sacco Case Of Two Italians Feared in Arrest

CLARENCE Darrow has arrived in New York to take charge of the Greco-Carrillo trial in the Bronx County Court before Judge Albert Cohn. Arthur Garfield Hays is associated with Mr. Darrow in this case, as attorney for the defense.

The Greco-Carrillo Defense Committee, organized a week or two ago to raise funds with which to carry on the extensive investigation and legal work necessary, announced Tuesday the receipt of a check for \$500 from Local 63 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

The Defense Committee in charge of the case is a joint body made up of members of all shades and kinds of opinions from various Italian and American organizations. Robert Morris Lovett, editor of the New Republic, is chairman of the Committee. Arturo Giovannitti is vice-chairman and Filippo Greco, brother of one of the prisoners is treasurer. Others on the executive committee include Stuart Chase, auditor; Marguerite Tucker, Secretary, James O'Neal, Giraldo Valenti, James Cannon, Jacob Margolis and Norman Thomas.

The trial of Calogero Greco and Donato Carrillo, charged with murdering two Fascists in the Bronx, N. Y. C. last Memorial Day, was scheduled to begin December 5th, but it was postponed because of the trial of Mario Gilletti, who claimed in his testimony that he was threatened with being implicated in the Greco-Carrillo case if he did not accuse Carlo Tresca head of the Anti-Fascist League, of having directed the murder of the two Fascists.

Gilletti is charged with shooting two Fascists in Brooklyn, January 25th of this year. In his trial, which took place this week in the Bronx County Court, Gilletti asserted that he was forced to sign documents in the office of the Italian consul in Chicago last October under orders of Leo Luyri, secretary of the Chicago Branch of the Fascist League of North America, implicating various anti-Fascists suggested by Luyri.

and Count Thaon di Revel, president of the Fascist League. He further stated that he had made application for membership in the Bronx Branch of the Fascist League and that Joseph Carrillo, one of the men murdered last May, signed his application card.

The story of the Greco-Carrillo case, which has been prepared in leaflet form by the Greco-Carrillo Defense Committee will be issued soon. Comparing the Greco-Carrillo case to that of Sacco and Vanzetti, the leaflet contains an appeal for funds with which to carry on the defense.

The appeal asks "those who were filled with anguish at the death of Sacco and Vanzetti, who felt their helplessness to do anything to prevent this horrible thing, who were deeply ashamed at the reputation which America has been given for injustice and brutality throughout the world, to take this opportunity now of helping to prevent another such case from developing."

The headquarters of the Greco-Carrillo Defense Committee are at 70 Fifth Avenue, room 904. Contributions from interested individuals and organizations are urgently requested.

Peace Conference To Be Held in Wash.

Nine national organizations with an estimated membership of 10,000,000 women will cooperate in the third national conference on the Cause and Cure of War at the Hotel Washington, Washington, D. C., from January 15 to 19, in an effort to frame a definite program for world peace.

The national organizations which will cooperate in the meeting are the American Association of University Women, Council of Women for Home Missions, Federation of Women's Boards of Foreign Missions of North America, General Federation of Women's Clubs, National Council of Jewish Women, National League of Women Voters, National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, National Women's Trade Union League.

Modern wars are the crucifixion of the meek for preservation of the mighty.—Wilted Wellock.

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FROM LUDLOW TO COLUMBINE — THE TRAIL OF BLOOD

By Louis Stanley

IT WAS Easter Sunday, that April 19, 1914, at least for those of the Greek Orthodox persuasion. The striking miners at the tent colony of Ludlow, Colorado, were celebrating the holiday in their own style. They were American enough to enjoy a baseball game in the afternoon. Some troopers on horseback rode up, as if with the intention of dispersing the crowd. Indifference seemed to them the better part of duty and they wheeled their horses to return. Some of the spectators laughed outright at this display of malicious officiousness. "Oh, that's all right; have your fun today," taunted one of the soldiers. "We'll have our roast tomorrow!"

The following morning a company of militiamen took up positions on Water Tank Hill overlooking the tents. Shortly before ten o'clock these soldiers exploded a bomb. Consternation swept the colony. Two other explosions followed in quick succession. Upon these signals Troop A, consisting entirely of company guards, came up from the rear to aid in the impending carnage. Then the firing began. Men, women and children hurried to shelter. Those of the miners who had arms took up the defense of their families and comrades. Resistance was futile. The armed gunmen of the state moved forward, riddling with bullets every living thing before them. Then, with brutal efficiency they set fire to the tents.

A Tent Their Home



A group of miners' children, with their parents, had been evicted from the company owned house. In the background is the tent in which they were forced to make their homes.

40 Are Sacrificed

How many were shot that day or burned upon the funeral pyre thus gratuitously supplied by the government will never be known exactly. Some forty perhaps were the sacrificial victims. Nobody, however, will forget the Black Hole at Ludlow. There in one of the caves which the men had dug for the refuge of their wives and children were found cremated two mothers and eleven tots.

Today there stands at Ludlow a monument by the United Mine Workers "to the memory of the men, women, and children who lost their lives in freedom's cause." It depicts a miner and his wife, and in her arms is a child. It is a perpetual reminder to the coal and iron masters of Colorado that their workmen will never cease revolting, so long as exploitation twists the lives of the miners and his beloved ones into an agonizing existence.

Certainly the absentee capitalists of Colorado have no reason to forget the suffering of their workers. Ever since the mining industry invaded the state

the cauldron of rebellion has been hissing. Ever so often the lid would be shot off. Before the 1913 outbreak the militia of the state had been called out upon several occasions, at Leadville in 1890 and 1897, at Cripple Creek in 1894 and 1903-4, at Lake City in 1899, at Telluride in 1903-4 and at Trinidad in 1903-4. Blood and iron, blood and coal and lead have been the history of industrial relations in Colorado. The slaughter of the marching miners at Columbine in 1927 has but contributed another spurge of workmen's blood to the murderous tradition.

The Call to Arms

The Ludlow massacre was followed by a call to arms issued by irresponsible trade union officials, including the representatives of the United Mine Workers of America, the secretary of the Colorado State Federation of Labor and the secretary-treasurer of the Western Federation of Miners:

"Organize the men in your community in companies of volunteers to protect the workers of Colorado against the murder and cremation

The Rule of Violence in the Rockefeller Domain

of men, women and children by armed assassins in the employ of coal corporations, serving under the guise of state militia-men.

"Gather together for defensive purposes all arms and ammunition legally available....

"The state is furnishing us no protection and we must protect ourselves, our wives and children from these murderous assassins. We seek no quarrel with the state and we expect to break no law; we intend to exercise our lawful right as citizens, to defend our homes and our constitutional rights."

For a week the civil war raged throughout the coal fields of Colorado. Mine after mine was captured by the infuriated strikers. Then, the Federal troops appeared upon the scene and peace was restored.

Gory Ludlow shocked the sensibilities of the busy public. Even the capitalist press sickened at the smell of singeing flesh and the sight of lifeless babies. Secretary of Labor Wilson, once himself an official of the Miners' Union, appointed a mediation commission of two, one an operator, the other an ex-officer of the U. M. W. of A. As a result of the efforts of these two investigators, President Wilson presented to each operator the tentative draft of a three year truce. After calling for the enforcement of mining and labor laws and the re-employment of all strikers who had not been found guilty of law violations, the plan provided for the ultimate settlement of all disputes arising during the period of the truce by a commission appointed by the President, to be composed of a representative of each side and a third member to act as umpire, whenever necessary.

The favorable reception which President Wilson's offer met with in the press forced the coal operators upon the defensive. The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, then as now, was the major factor in the situation. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., the dominant stockholder, and the president, J. F. Welborn, sought to ward off the attack. The situation they admitted was "delicate." Welborn could not risk a hurried trip to New York to

consult with his superior for fear of the sarcastic comments of the newspapers. It was all supposed to be a local matter. Instead "Poison" Ivy Lee, publicity man for Rockefeller journeyed out to Colorado. Wrote Welborn to his "boss" in the incriminating correspondence which was made public later, during the hearing before the United States Commission on Industrial Relations:

"I think it is very fortunate that we have been able to make reply direct from Denver, with the public fully informed as to my presence here."

The miners accepted President Wilson's proposals but the operators with polite firmness entered their objections. The permanent commission feature was counteracted by the announcement that the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company was contemplating the installation of a much more comprehensive scheme for dealing with the men than either unions or commissions could afford.

John D. Supplies a Union

What President Welborn had in mind was the company union which has since become so notorious as the earliest and most sanctimonious of the employee representation frauds. Right after the Ludlow slaughter Rockefeller borrowed Ivy Lee from the Pennsylvania Railroad and laid down a fierce barrage of vilification. At the same time negotiations were opened with W. L. Mackenzie King, a former Minister of Labor for Canada. King was asked to suggest some arrangement whereby the company might handle its men without intervention of the United Mine Workers of America. This expert took enough time from his patriotic war duties to outline a workable scheme. Rockefeller was impressed with the pancea but when Welborn and his colleagues were sounded out they dissented vigorously on the ground that it would be an admission of weakness to speak of such remedial measures during the strike. The chief was won over by their protestations. President Wilson's truce notions forced a premature commitment to some plan of representation.

The strike ended in December 1914. Shortly afterwards King arrived in Colorado to prescribe a cure for the in-

dustrial ills. An Industrial Representation Plan was concocted. In September and October Rockefeller himself visited his domains and stayed until the company union was voted into existence by the men's casting the favorable white ballots instead of the opposing red.

The I. W. W. On the Scene

"There must not be another strike," said John D. and the so-called Rockefeller Plan was supposed to ensure immunity. Actually a strike was threatened in 1917 and was averted by the national officers of the Miners, whose President was then serving on the United States Fuel Administration. In 1919 and 1922 the workers struck during the national walk-outs of those years and in 1921 they went on strike to resist unsuccessfully a wage reduction. Now in 1927 the Industrial Workers of the World replaced the United Mine Workers as the leaders of the men and staged another demonstration of the futility of the company union in bamboozling the workers.

Those who are striking at present and tying up the operations of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and the smaller corporations that follow its lead were not pricked into activity by some sudden and unusual irritation. The Industrial Workers of the World have been agitating among the Mexicans and other immigrants who constitute the bulk of the miners almost ever since the United Mine Workers abetted by internal dissension practically abandoned the field. In September 1925 Frank Jurich came to southern Colorado as a job delegate for Industrial Unions 210-220 of the I. W. W. Within a few months his achievements justified his being appointed organizer. Later on A. S. Embree took the leading

Miner and Wife



Here is a miner and his wife, typical of many thousands of American miners.

role. The Passaic strike and the Sacco-Vanzetti protestations served as object lessons to the miners and recruits multiplied. When last summer the call went forth for a Sacco-Vanzetti general strike, the I. W. W. responded by ordering a three-day suspension of work. The miners walked out in true class-conscious style. They would have stayed out longer than the two days they did had the regular labor movement in the remainder of the country shown an equal enthusiasm.

Ludlow is Repeated

This sympathetic strike demonstrated to the miners their strength and they

began to entertain prospects of a walk-out for the improvement of their own lot. On the other hand the two day cessation of work set the government officials and the employers a-shudder with fright. The law of Colorado requiring that the State Industrial Commission be notified thirty days in advance of a strike had been violated—for Sacco and Vanzetti could not wait. In addition the agitation by the I. W. W. among the sugar beet and potato harvesters had caused increases in wage rates. The mine operators began to discharge leading "wobblies" despite the no-discrimination law and the promise of the Industrial Commission to use its good offices to prevent the dismissal of Sacco-Vanzetti protestants. Particularly offensive was the illegal refusal to recognize checkweighmen, duly elected by the men.

A district conference of the I. W. W. was held in September at Aguilar and October 8 was set as the date of the big strike. The demands called for \$7.75 per day wages, six hours from bank to bank as a working day, semi-monthly pay, no increases for rent and light charges in company-owned houses, and abolition of physical examination, a practice which had been used to dispose of troublesome I. W. W.'s. These causes smacked very much like those of 1913. Later the time for the walk-out was moved forward to October 18 in order to accommodate the northern Colorado miners who had decided to join with their southern comrades.

From that time on the strike crept over the inside pages of the Eastern newspapers until the Columbine massacre, already reported in the New Leader, thrust the walk-out into a first page position. The readers recognized the semblance of another Ludlow and, indeed, nobody knows what the end will be. Certainly the strikers have been heroic. Only the lack of relief will rob them of their victory.

Chaos in Roumania

Growing Fascist Movement Associates Itself With Return of Carol as King — Socialist Movement Makes Steady Gains

By Jacob Pistiner

NOT even all Roumanian politicians are clear as to what is now happening in Roumania; such understanding cannot therefore be expected from foreign observers. It is in truth a state of utter chaos, in which the liberal oligarchy are apparently struggling against Fascism and Socialists walking hand in hand with democrats.

Since the war the liberals have indeed held power uninterruptedly. It is true that during this time there was one very short-lived regime of the new provinces and two Averescu governments. But the liberals not only had their spokesmen in all those governments but, according to the Roumanian popular saying, the liberals "govern when they are ministers and dictate when they are in opposition." The rule of the liberals has grown more unendurable from day to day. Politically it cripples the whole life of the country and commits one act of tyranny on the top of another. Their regime is marked by violence and bloodshed, while it impedes the economic development of the country.

In Roumania the natural trend is towards a process of industrialization, but the liberals do their utmost to frustrate it, with the object on the one hand of preventing any competition to their system of profiteering capitalism, and on the other hand of preventing the birth of a proletariat. Further they impose duties which often increase threefold the market value of commodities in order to ensure to individual industrialists enormous profits at the expense of industrial development, while in another direction they deprive industry of another opportunity to evolve by maintaining the rate of interest at 30 per cent and over and by using the funds of the national bank for the improvement of their own institutions only. They have falsified the land-reform and not only made of it a national rather than a social advance, but further they have put no means of production into the hands of the farmers; so that today it is no longer uncommon to find land-workers returning to the pre-war form of village life—i. e. robotism—while others declare that they were better off before the land reform. For then they still had a chance of working on the great estates whereas now these estates have been broken up without any division of the land having taken place.

The price of wheat is low while the peasants in consequence of the import duties must buy at high prices manufactured products. The export of national products is hindered by the completely broken-down state of the transport system. It is characteristic that in one district cut timber may be found rotting whilst in other districts timber is being imported from the nearest foreign center. Unemployment is growing from day to day, and the bulk of urban dwellers have been thrown into serious anxiety by the suspension of the Rent Act as from April 23rd 1928.

Office Holders Are Restive

If the liberals have for a long time rested their power on the fact that they were able to interest the highest military and civil representatives in the maintenance of their dominance, now the whole mass of officers and officials are making themselves felt, all the more because their material situation is far from being a cheerful one.

In this economic situation it is of course not difficult to turn the prevailing discontent against the liberals. These latter have always considered the son of the late King as an unreliable element and have treated him accordingly. They brought about his renunciation of the throne, because they knew his publicly anti-liberal and Fascist attitude—though in 1919 indeed he still wished to join the Socialist Party—and had no mind to substitute Carol's fascism for their own dictatorship. If there was to be a state of Fascism, they felt themselves to be the ones fitted to lead it, especially since they possessed more experience of dictatorship and of violent disregard for justice.

At the moment when the act of renunciation of the throne took place it awakened hardly any stir; but Carol's popularity grew in proportion to the growth of discontent and hatred against the liberals. His actions and endeavors were forgotten and only his anti-liberal attitude remembered. A great part of the capitalist parties had no confidence in their own powers or in democratic methods, while they were not endowed with the courage to try other methods of attaining democracy; and so they made use of Carol's personality to set him up as an idol and so to strengthen the anti-liberal temper among the peasants. Even though no single party seriously desires Carol's return and though the play they make with this claim is to them but a means to an end, there is in fact today a strong Carolist movement in Roumania, however its existence may be denied. This movement is by no means limited to officers and students, it has taken hold of wide elements among the peasantry; it is not uncommon to hear that the peasants are looking to Carol's return for a new land-reform.

Anti-Liberalism Grows

Thus the following situation has shaped itself: The Averescu, a group of adventurers, who for a long time had worked in the service of the liberals and pursued the policy of the latter, desired shortly before King Ferdinand's death to make themselves dominant; abroad they had assured themselves of the support of Italy, and at home made all preparations for a coup d'etat, when at the last moment Bratianu gave Averescu his dismissal, whereby the latter was deprived of the possibility of undertaking anything. But Bratianu still had at that moment to reckon with the temper of the population and accordingly contented himself with a coalition cabinet in which National Zaranists also had seats. Only a few weeks later did he take the government into his own

hands. He then held the elections at which he won to complete a victory. Thenceforward (until his recent death) he saw that an electoral victory alone meant no guarantee of power, and recognized that in this situation the dynastic question might become a danger to him. Thus he strived perpetually by means of alternate cajolery and threats to win over to his side the National Zaranists, the only considerable opposition party. It was all in vain, for out of their experience they recoiled from any alliance with Bratianu and moreover were beginning to realize that there was now an opportunity for them to climb into power themselves.

And thus things came to the affair of Manoliescu, Averescu's under-Secretary. This man was by no means Carol's only spokesman and agent; before him many National Zaranist leaders had been in touch with the prince, but in Manoliescu's case Bratianu thought to give the National Assembly in Alba Julia, the historic spot which is not only associated with the revolutionary struggle of the Roumanian against the Magyar oligarchy, but is also the place where the Union with Old Roumania was proclaimed and subsequently the coronation of the first King of Greater Roumania took place. Alba Julia became the symbol, and on all sides preparations to go there were taken up. Not only the National Zaranists, but almost the whole population of Steiemburg and especially of the Banat wanted to despatch delegations and on all sides people looked towards this Assembly for a decisive lead in the struggle against the liberals. Some gave out that the violence of the liberals was thenceforth to be met with violence on their own part, others played with the idea of autonomy and many hinted at the return of Carol.

The Assembly at Alba Julia gave the liberals serious grounds for anxiety, and they made every effort to dissuade the National Zaranists from their plan. But even had the latter wished, it would have been too late. The idea had already captured the masses. However, many of the Zaranists began to feel afraid of the extent of the Carolist movement, and the best brains among them apprehended that the means might become an end in itself. It was given out in the interviews that the Roumanian problem was not the dynastic question but the Bratianu dictatorship. The imprisonment of Manoliescu for Carolist propaganda was thus but a move in the campaign of the liberals against National Zaranists. They brought Manoliescu before the court martial in Bucharest because they no longer trusted in the other courts-martial. But even this one proved untrustworthy for the liberals; the prisoner was acquitted and the trial has but helped to reinforce the Carolist movement.

Labor Moves Ahead

The liberals next step was to prohibit the Assembly of Alba Julia and to pass a law making impossible any Carolist movement; but intended in reality to legalize the dictatorship of the liberals. Roumania already possesses a Defence of the Realm Act. Just as the former law was directed against any attempt at international propaganda and Socialist activity, so the new law is aimed expressly against freedom of thought. In it occurs the following passage "Whoever undertakes or attempts anything against the inviolability of the person

of the King, against the established order of the succession to the throne or against the form of government laid down in the constitution: likewise anyone carrying on or attempting agitation which might result in danger to the safety of the State as embodied in the laws, can be punished by imprisonment for five years, by fine up to 100,000 Lei and by the loss of civic rights." Similar penalties are held over those who spread tendentious news as to any alteration in the established succession to the throne or form of government. It is obvious from the wording of this act that it opens the door to every kind of oppression. Every report, every activity may be treated as an attempt upon the safety of the state. Any effort to alter an existing law may be punished and criticism against the liberal government may be punished like a crime. Thus the liberals in their campaign against the Fascism of the Carolists have legalized their own dictatorship and are resolved to apply it ruthlessly. And thus the only middle-class party in Roumania, that National Zaranists, have joined the retinue of the Carolists. There in a grave danger lies. The National Zaranists are still capable of shaking off the liberal dictatorship without helping thereby to erect another Fascism. They are still capable, thanks to their great following and their historic mission, to substitute for the oligarchic dictatorship development through the "middle-class"; but for this task resoluteness and a will to democracy are needed. Tomorrow it may be too late and the National Zaranists may have become the captives of their own campaigning methods. Anyway the actual situation cannot long persist.

And what of the workers? In consequence of the liberal system of elections they have, it is true, remained without parliamentary representation; but nevertheless their political influence persists, and they are striving to gear development of affairs in such a way that no new dictatorship shall arise out of the fight against the liberals. They see clearly that the liberals must be overthrown, but they see also that the time is ripe for a democratic development. During the last year the labor movement itself has grown considerably in strength. Between the elections of 1926 and 1927 it was already possible, despite all acts of violence and trickery at the polls to raise the Socialist vote by ten thousand, i. e. 25 per cent, since that time all Socialist organizations have further grown.

The party membership is steadily rising, and a whole stream of Communist trade union groups have come back into the party. For the immediate future a series of political meetings and great propaganda activity is being planned. There is no doubt that the new law passed against the Carolists will soon be applied against the Socialists. But movements have never been checked by paragraphs and in Roumania people are accustomed to persecutions. If hitherto one has been illegally thrashed, now one will be legally put into prison. That is all the difference. The strife between Fascism and dictatorship cannot blind us to the fact that economic necessities are beginning to impose themselves in Roumania and that here also there is opening a new epoch, which will be substantially affected by the democratic progress made further to the west.

Why Politics Matter

The Workers Dissipate Their Power by Supporting the Two Old Parties — Why A Labor Party Is Needed

By Alfred Baker Lewis

THE employers, capitalists, and bankers of America are trying hard to defeat Organized Labor through political power, control of the government and courts. By the vicious yellow-dog contracts, which have been upheld by the courts, they try to prevent their workers from joining a real union. By the use of injunctions issued by the state and federal courts, with the permission of Congress and the state legislatures, and enforced by the executive departments, the great corporate interests are bent on destroying organized labor in this country.

Since the bosses use political power against us, let us get political power and use it to defend the labor movement and even to reduce the swollen profits of the employers and bankers, the men who are the real masters of the country today. Remember, the capitalists may have the money, but the workers have the votes, and in the long run it is the votes that count.

Advantage of Political Action

Political action has another advantage; the consequences of defeat are not serious. If we lose a political campaign we are no worse off than before; the union is still safe and the fighting spirit of the members may even be increased. But when we lose a strike we often lose the union and we always lose a lot of members and enthusiasm.

Non-Partisan Political Action Has Failed

Organized labor of course has a political program. But we fail to carry out that program because we still use the outworn policy of non-partisan political action. This means in practise that we often endorse a democrat or republican who is, from the point of view of labor, only the less of two rotten eggs. Our humble part of the tail of someone else's present policy thus makes us merely a political kite. We want a kite of our own.

We ought to form our own political party, with the help wherever possible of the organized farmers, so that we can control that party from top to bottom, pick the candidates and the campaign committee and determine the platform. Then we will have a real labor party in America.

Non-Partisan Political Action Divides the Workers

Non partisan political action and the failure to form a labor party have brought political confusion and division into the ranks of organized labor. In 1919 the coal miners struck while the Democrats were in power in Washington and the Democratic Attorney General Palmer promptly slapped an injunction on them through the Federal Courts. As a result John L. Lewis and most of the coal miners' leaders are Republicans. In 1922 the railroad shop crafts struck while the Republicans had control of the Federal Government, and the Republican Attorney General Daugherty got an injunction against them. Since then most of the railroad men's leaders have been Democrats. So we have leaders of two of the biggest groups in the A. F. of L. politically divided. A labor party would unite those who wanted to oppose the Republicans for good reasons with those who for equally good reasons wanted to oppose the Democrats, as well the very large number, totalling 50 per cent of all the voters, who have become so disgusted with both the Democrats and Republicans that today they do not vote at all.

A Party Controlled By Labor

Some labor men have in the past opposed a labor party because they said they did not want to see the unions controlled by a political party. But those of us who favor a labor party want to have a political party controlled by organized labor (and the organized farmers too if possible) not to have labor controlled by a political party.

How can any true member of organized labor object to a political party founded and controlled by organized labor? Answer that.

The Coward's Argument

Yet a few men do object. They are afraid our labor party will have to start small and weak. That is a coward's argument. Even if we start small we will grow. And as we grow we will scare even democrats and republicans into giving us more of our rights than they do now. If the men who founded America had gone back because the first few colonies here were small and weak, where would America be now? As a matter of fact we don't have to start a labor party as a small thing. We have already had a good start in the La Follette campaign in 1924 when the beginnings of a labor party started out and got a larger proportion of the total vote than the British labor party got when it first started.

Democratic and Republican Parties Are Financed By Big Business

When we endorse democrats or republicans we endorse the candidates of parties both of which are financed by the employers and bankers of this country. Workers who vote for democrats or republicans are voting for parties that get their campaign funds from the capitalists and plutocrats. The man who pays the piper calls the tune in politics as in everything else. So when they get elected the democrats or republicans serve the interests of the capitalists who pay their party's campaign funds and forget the interests of the workers.

We would not elect an employer as business agent of our union simply because he was a good fellow. Neither should we endorse a democrat or republican simply because he is a good fellow. For both democratic and republican parties get their campaign funds from the bankers and capitalists who are opponents of organized labor.

Democrats and Republicans Never Campaign On Labor Issues

The democrats or republicans whom we endorse do not campaign on labor issues. Political campaigns afford a wonderful chance to educate public opinion on labor's demands. But we can't do that unless our candidates talk about labor issues. Hardly a single one of the candidates endorsed by labor in the last few years ever made an issue of the injunction evil, yellow dog contracts, unemployment insurance or old age pensions. Even the men who do vote right on labor issues when elected, campaign during election on some such fool issue as being wet or dry, favoring a high or low tariff, loving Coolidge or loving Wilson, etc., and the whole educational value of a campaign run on labor issues is lost. When we nominate our own candidates in our own party we can see that they campaign on labor issues. Then even if they don't get elected at first at least they will have helped to educate public opinion to the justice of labor's demands.

Generally the democrats and republicans who make us promises during elec-

Clement Wood's New Book Wins Praise

A furor of enthusiasm has been occasioned by the latest contribution to contemporary literature by one of the contributing editors of "The New Leader," Clement Wood. This work, "The Outline of Man's Knowledge," presents the whole story of civilization within the covers of one monumental book.

The press of the nation has acclaimed Mr. Wood's outline in a manner that is a tribute to him and to this periodical on account of his connection with it. Space permits me a few quotations:

The "New York Sun," comments: "The Outline of Man's Knowledge" is, as the sub-title announces, six books in one. A remarkable claim; but far less remarkable than the measure with which the attempt is rewarded. There is an amazing store of information packed into these 600 pages, and it is so arranged that the whole story seems to mean something. A casual reader can actually get from this book a clear impression of what this business of human living on the globe called earth is all about. Its summaries of history, religion and philosophy accomplish the miracle of readability. It is hard to imagine how any man, short of the highest genius could come nearer success." The "Philadelphia Public Ledger," registers: "Sincere, sound and straightforward. Humanizes knowledge without sentimental discussions. It is work that any reader with a good background of general culture can read with real interest and appreciation. And for all the millions of Americans who hardly ever read a book, Mr. Wood's Outline of Man's Knowledge" would seem to be THE book to read and know."

Back Numbers Wanted

We need the following back numbers to complete the files of a Public Library.

Vol. 1 No. 6	(Feb. 23, 1924)
Vol. 1 No. 6	(Feb. 23, 1924)
Vol. 2 No. 29	(July 18, 1925)
Vol. 2 No. 38	(Sept. 19, 1925)
Vol. 2 No. 39	(Sept. 26, 1925)

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.

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

THE LOWDOWN ON COLORADO

MR. IVY LEE, press-agent for the Rockefellers, is good enough to give us the lowdown on the mine strikes in Colorado. He is sending out a statement by J. F. Welborn, president of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company.

From this unbiased source we have the interesting word that:

"The action of the I. W. W. is against all coal mines in the state, no matter who owns them and no matter under what industrial plan they are working. It cannot properly be called a strike at all. Miners quit work from fear of violence and not from a sense of grievance against their employers. This is certainly so in the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, and I believe in many other companies, too. There has been in our company no substantial reduction in working forces except where the miners and their families have been intimidated by pickets."

The thought of the timid miners being frightened by naughty Wobblies is indeed a heart-rending one. One of the leading I. W. W. pickets is a twelve-year-old girl, and we have no doubt that when this un-American figure appears on the scene, carrying an American flag, strong coal-diggers swoon.

Mr. Welborn quotes Governor Adams of Colorado as saying:

"An unfortunate industrial condition exists in the coal fields of the state by reason of the I. W. W., an un-American organization, having attempted to bring about a strike and in this attempt has openly and publicly advocated and practiced defiance and violation of the law."

It is remarkable how quickly any union which calls a strike becomes "un-American." We had always imagined that the I. W. W. were a strictly American group, but now that both Governor Adams and Mr. Welborn assure us to the contrary, we presume that the Wobblies take their orders from Czecho-Slovakia, where they make orders cheap. From the comments that we have heard from some of our I. W. W. friends, we know that they are not too strong for Soviet Russia, so the Moscow route can't be worked on them.

As the Oklahoma oil magnate once remarked to an Osage Indian, "If you don't like this country, why don't you go back where you came from?" The Wobblies in Colorado should certainly be deported back to San Francisco, Denver, and Chicago.

Things are altogether too ideal in Mr. Ivy Lee's client's coalfields to have a bunch of rowdy Wobblies disturbing the Colorado paradise. Before the Wobblies got there, the miners, according to Mr. Lee, commended the spirit of fairness and cooperation manifested by the benevolent company, and were apparently very stubborn about going out on strike at all.

However, Mr. Rockefeller has had considerable experience in strike-breaking, and pretty soon, with the assistance of the militia, aeroplanes, tear-gas bombs and the Baptist church, he is supposed to be able to drive his men back to work. Whatever happens, he will come out with some sort of a statement indicating his deeply religious nature, reversing the general rule that oil and holy water do not mix. The Rockefellers are certainly strong when it comes to religion.

They remind us of the two yeggs who were cracking a safe. One of them was holding a candle to light his companion's progress. The candle-holder was nervous and his hand shook. His friend looked around in vexation and exclaimed, "Doncha know how to handle that candle?" "Hell," was the response, "I ought to. I was an altar-boy for eleven years."

We never weary of the picture of the elder Rockefeller arriving at the home of a widow who had been left an independent oil company, which John was anxious to acquire. Rockefeller had his Bible with him, and producing it in the sitting-room of the stricken lady, he read to her several passages concerning death and its sting. Then when she was on the verge of hysteria, he knelt down by the side of the horse-hair sofa, and made her join with him in a prayer to the Almighty. He was thoughtful enough to bring along, enclosed in the Bible, a bill of sale, and after pointing out that the meek should inherit the earth, he had her sign the said bill, handing over her property at about a quarter of the price she could have gotten. In the case of the Rockefellers, the meek have indeed inherited, not only a good part of the earth, but many of the coal-mines and oil-fields thereunder. And they are going to see to it, that, by God, their workers, at any rate, will have to pay no inheritance tax.

Turning to more pleasant topics, we read that last week in the Supreme Court of New York one Chandos Stines, was awarded six cents as the result of \$3,870 suit which he brought against the Western Union Telegraph Company for non-delivery of a message. Our pain over Mr. Stines' failure to collect was considerably alleviated when we discovered that he was an oboe player. It seems that the manager of a show called "The Ten Commandments" had telegraphed him, asking that he go on the road and play the oboe for him. But the Western Union Telegraph Company, with an unusual regard for the public's welfare, had neglected to deliver the message. Don't ever accuse us of not giving credit to great corporations where credit is due. As music-lovers, we are deeply thankful to the company for its negligence.

At the very sound of an oboe we would gladly shatter all ten of the commandments.

In addition to all our other troubles, it now seems that the air which New Yorkers breathe is polluted with carbon monoxide gas. Two hundred tests made in the city streets showed that on Fifth Avenue, for instance, there are 284 parts of carbon monoxide to one million parts of air. If the tests had been made in the Union League Club, where Nicholas Murray Butler and the late lamented Senator, James W. Wadsworth, were speaking last week, the gas proportions would have been even higher. When these two great leaders of Republican liberalism get their feet together under the same table, the atmosphere becomes gaseous indeed. President Butler making a speech about the greatness of Alexander Hamilton and Jimmy Wadsworth declaring his abiding love for the common people, and both parties demanding that we get our liquor back—here is a combination that can put to shame the most pestiferous automobile exhaust.

But cheer up, boys and girls. While carbon monoxide is poisoning our lungs, and Ivy Lee our minds, there is still hope. Calvin Coolidge gives us the glad assurance that he will not run again, and we can now expect to be able to gaze at a Sunday rotogravure section without that feeling of nausea which has hitherto assailed us during our contemplation of "Little Pickleface."

McAlister Coleman.

American History for Workers

An Outline — By James O'neal

Jacksonian Democracy

PARTY Factions. The dissolution of the Federalist Party and the continued prestige of the Jeffersonian Republicans was followed by the appearance of party factions each under the inspiration of some powerful leader. The Republicans had become sullen and conservative, the settled States of the East and South which they controlled making few concessions in the matter of suffrage, imprisonment for debt, etc. The States carved out of the Northwest, Territory came into the Union as individual democracies with manhood suffrage. They were impatient of the social grade and rank of the increasingly capitalistic eastern States.

What was called the "Virginia Dynasty" had ruled over thirty years. Its reign had been interrupted but once since 1789. Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe came from the planting aristocracy of Virginia. Even John Adams of Massachusetts, who succeeded Washington in 1796, constituted no essential change in principles or administration except that his administration had established a temporary autocracy. Presidents were selected by groups of politicians in Congress known as the "caucus" and were elected by a restricted suffrage. The caucus was becoming a symbol of economic, social and political aristocracy. Presidential aspirants had sought the support of the caucus as a sure road to their ambition.

Election of 1824

In the election of 1824 John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, son of the second President, Henry Clay of Kentucky, Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina and William H. Crawford of Georgia, were candidates. Crawford had obtained the support of the caucus but of the electoral votes cast Jackson received 99, Adams 84, Crawford 41 and Clay 37. Calhoun was elected Vice-President.

This is the first election in which we have a fairly accurate record of the popular vote. Jackson received 152,901 votes; Adams, 114,023; Crawford 46,979; Clay, 47,217. The restricted suffrage that still survived is evident from the following figures: Virginia with a white population of 625,000 cast less than 15,000 votes; Pennsylvania with more than a million people cast 47,000 votes; Massachusetts with 600,000 cast 37,000 votes.

No candidate having a majority of the electoral vote the choice for President was thrown into the House. Clay receiving the smallest vote was not eligible and he gave his support to Adams who was elected. Jackson charged a "corrupt bargain" between Adams and Clay and the Jeffersonian chieftains divided into two parties in the ensuing years. Jackson had received the largest electoral and popular vote which forecasted a revolution in politics and a shift of power to other classes.

Adams was unable to do little of importance. His faction later became the National Republicans and the Jacksonian faction soon became known as Democrats.

THE JACKSONVILLE REVOLUTION.

In the election of 1828 Jackson received 178 electoral votes and Adams 83. The popular vote was Jackson 647,000; Adams, 508,064. The "Virginia Dynasty" was overthrown.

The population of the new Western States had been rapidly increasing and railroads and canals during this period were bringing isolated communities into contact with each other. Jackson was a typical product of the western individualist democracy of small farmers and frontiersmen. A hunter, Indian fighter and duelist, with little education, he shared all the prejudices of his class against the aristocracy of moneyed men, their traditions, social pretensions, superior dress and manners. Although he came from a Slave State, his sympathies were close to the free farmers of the interior of the Slave States who resented the class rule of the coast planters. These free farmers were allied in sentiments and interests with the farmers and frontiersmen of the west and both were conspicuous in electing Jackson. The Virginia aristocracy went down in ruin. The caucus was destroyed. The "people" ruled.

Moreover, for many years the economic basis of the coast planters had been decaying. Slavery was extending westward from the coast where the soil was being exhausted and cotton culture of

the lower South slowly challenged the rule of the tobacco planters of the upper South. Wealth was drained from the coast and the "competition of the fertile and low-priced lands of the Gulf basin proved too strong for the outworn lands even of the interior of the South." The revolution was registered in the pathetic circumstances of Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, the three surviving leaders of the "Virginia Dynasty," who in this period became financially embarrassed, Monroe later dying as a dependent of his son-in-law.

Jackson was re-elected in 1832. With the caucus destroyed nominations for a number of years had been made by State Legislatures, mass meetings, or delegate bodies of voters. In 1832 all the Presidential candidates were for the first time nominated in national conventions. A third party, the Anti-Monroe, appeared and nominated William Wirt of Maryland. The National Republicans nominated Henry Clay. Jackson received 219 electoral votes, Clay 49 and Wirt 7. John Floyd of Virginia received the eleven votes of South Carolina. The popular vote was for Jackson, 687,502; Clay, 530,189.

JACKSON'S ACHIEVEMENTS. The Jacksonian revolution brought with it the idea that public offices should be as widely shared as possible. This was a logical reaction to the former monopoly of office by a few aristocratic politicians but it also brought the notorious "spoils system" with its corruption and "graft" which has disgraced American politics. It was a revolt of the illiterate democracy of the frontier against the cultured aristocracy of the planting regions and the commercial centers.

The National Bank, established during Washington's Administration, was utterly destroyed after a bitter struggle with its supporters. The bank was regarded as a typical institution of the capitalistic East and it went down with the old order.

When the War of 1812 cut off commerce the United States was thrown upon its own resources for its manufactured articles. This hastened the development of the factory system and increasing demands for more protection of manufactures finally led to the passing of the "Tariff of Abominations" in 1828. The Slave States resented this tariff, especially South Carolina. It meant that northern manufacturers would receive special consideration while the Slave States, which imported heavily from England,

would have to pay most of the tariff duties.

We have seen the Virginia and Kentucky Legislatures insist the assertion of "State rights" as a remedy for what they believed to be an abuse of Federal power. South Carolina went further. John C. Calhoun formulated the doctrine of "nullification," i. e., that a State has the right and the duty to nullify Federal laws which in the judgment of the State are in conflict with the Constitution. A State convention declared the tariff of 1828 null and void and South Carolina prepared to resist collection of duties. President Jackson responded with a vigorous proclamation, announcing that he would use force to enforce the law if necessary. This was the second test of Federal power with a State, the other being the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794. South Carolina yielded, but a compromise tariff was also passed which gradually reduced the tariff rates each year till 1842. In the course of the struggle Calhoun asserted not only the right of nullification but of secession from the Union. Henry Clay was the author of the compromise.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT. The Jacksonian period also corresponds with the general awakening of the workers to the need of organization. From 1806 to 1815 six "conspiracy" cases were recorded against organized shoemakers. By 1827 manhood suffrage was a prominent demand and organization of city labor parties date from this year. The first Labor papers appeared in Philadelphia and New York City. The organized wage workers of Philadelphia also outlined a complete system of public education which years later became the basis of the public school system. Of striking interest is the fact that this proposal was generally opposed by conservatives as "revolutionary." The Philadelphia Workmen's Party elected a number of Labor men in a combination arranged with Jackson men and in New York City one Labor man was elected to the State Assembly. The first City Central organization of trade unions appeared in Philadelphia and in 1834 Ely Moore, union printer, was the first Labor man

to be elected to Congress. In Massachusetts the Workingmen's Party carried ten towns in the election of 1833 and the following year the first National Trades Union was organized in New York City.

Hours of labor still averaged twelve a day, workers were still imprisoned and neglected for small sums they owed, the first employers' organizations to resist working class claims were formed, the Labor parties were bitterly assailed, feared and denounced, and factory corporations in New England assumed charge of the religion, housing, morals and discipline of their "hands." Certainly, the Jacksonian era was one of important changes.

(To Be Continued)

LABOR AND SOCIALISM IDENTICAL

The trade union movement and the Socialist movement are identical. Members of the unions in the United States are the last to learn this.

We assert not a wish but a fact. In England, Belgium, Roumania, Germany, Austria, France, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Hungary, Switzerland, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa the trade unions cooperate with the Labor Party, the Social Democratic Party, or the Socialist Party. Both movements acclaim the same principles.

In this country many sincere trade unionists deny the identity of the two movements. In political action they identify the labor organizations with candidates of the capitalistic parties. Results, the trade unions stagnate, strikes are strangled with injunctions and strikers are cruelly beaten and shot by private thugs of corporations.

Are you a union member? Then work with all your might to emancipate your organization from the spell of Democratic and Republican politics. Thousands of Socialists helped to build the trade unions. Trade unionists should help to build the Socialist Party. The two movements are one in ideals and aims. The two old parties are one in sins against Labor. They are old, bold and sold to your enemies. Smash 'em!

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—Adam Coaldigger.

FOR COLORADO

Go shoot them down like frightened deer! Because they dare assert the right To live like men and claim their share Of clean sweet earth and wholesome light!

Oh, we who plead from love alone The final triumph must be wrong. How can we stem our bitterness That smites the heart, that brands the tongue?

We, who have trust in kindly ways To bring more justice and more ease, How can we stand securely by And watch your shameless blasphemies?

How can we give to these poor folk Only our singing and our tears When lips of honest working men Cry shame upon you through the years?

—Lucia Treat.

ONCE upon a time there lived in the land of Usa a smart bozo named Inbad, the Statistician. Inbad's favorite platitude was "Figures never lie," but he always forgot to add that Figures often do, and that he was some Figurer. He had reason to be proud of it too, for what Inbad could not figure wasn't worth figuring. Provided he was paid enough for it he could figure out anything from \$5 a week being more than enough for a working girl to live luxuriously on to the assertion that the American farmers and workmen were the worst overpaid proletarians society ever pampered. Once he got to figuring everybody got dizzy with the result, but not Inbad. Inbad had many nicknames and aliases, but they were always respectable, which counts for a lot on this Mundane Sphere, I can tell you.

One of Inbad's favorite aliases was "Arthur Bear-brain." Under this nickname, Inbad wrote many wisecracks for a great 3-cent chain paper Muckamuck. As the Muckamuck paid him \$100,000 per year, Arthur always went the limit, especially when he got to figuring factful action. Getting mad one day at a guy named Secretary Labor Davis for saying something would soon have to be done if Machines were not to chase more Men into the Souphouses than the Salvation Army could save, Arthur called in another of Inbad's aliases named Edwin Jap Yapp to testify that S. L. Davis was a bum statistician, which he is, if Arthur is right this time, which he ain't, as usual. Anyhow, this is what Arthur Inbad says.

Edwin Inbad's statistics proved, viz. and to-wit: "In 2,000 plants employing at the present time 8,000,000 workers, the July weekly earnings were 144 per cent ahead of weekly earnings of July 1914," which was a bum year, though Inbad twins forgot to mention it. Neither did they explain whether the "earnings" referred to were the earnings of the workers or the earnings of the plants, which, as you probably know, makes a whaling difference in the wages of the worker. Also the Inbads informed us that the high cost of living was lower and the high scale of wages higher than then or ever. Not satisfied with this remarkable showing Arthur advises us that we "The workers of all kinds in this country produce each year Ten Thousand Million Dollars more than it costs to live." This probably explains why so many of them are having such a helluva time trying to exist. Maybe it's too much prosperity. As the Supreme Justice says, "God knows." I don't. Anyhow, to hear the Inbads figure it, the farmers and workers of this Great Country, especially the volunteers involuntarily joining the Army of Disemployed, don't know a good thing when they see it. True sons of Adam and Eve they are not satisfied to live in Eden without nanking for forbidden fruit dangled before their noses by the Satans of Unionism. Don't it beat hell? It is all too sad for anything, ain't it, Nujol?

Moral: "Some of us drink bootleg liquor, some shoot each other, some dance foolish dances, sing foolish songs, keep foolish hours. But on the whole the country is not going to the dogs" and, in the meantime, it is well to remember that, while the Never Lie, Statisticians can work wonders with the Multiplication Table, and these Inbad twins are some Statisticians.

Chemical warfare is "a blessing, not a curse," if The Literary Digest and J. E. Mills of the United States Chemical Warfare Service are to be believed. To prove it, they quote the American Chemical Society, which it not a labor union, but as I get it, a philanthropic society organized, not for profit, but solely to promote peace, prosperity and more humane methods of committing murder en masse.

Poison gas, I learn, is the only armament befitting "an ideal world." It puts you to sleep eternal so peacefully you just think you are enjoying one long happy dream among the angels. Of course nobody sees the members of the Chemical Society rushing to the front line trenches to take the treatment. That privilege is for heroes, and for heroes alone. No profiteer would dream of denying this exquisite happiness to those who alone deserve what they get, the unknown, unsung heroes of the middle and working classes.

"It is a blessing that makes for the peace of the world." So it is. Already the union pickets and paraders are finding it out, too. All who have gotten a taste of it, tell me there is nothing like tear gas to promote peace and prosperity.

But not only does poison gas promote peace and prosperity, but the "production of cheaper fertilizer," which reminds me of the fact that the fields of Flanders have been producing record-breaking crops ever since the war to end war ended. Knowing this fact, who could be so ignoble and unpatriotic as to refuse to fertilize for the future? Manifestly no one except a Bolshevik or pacifist, and only un-Americans would be so traitorous and disloyal as to "break the heart of the world" thataway. Peace and prosperity by poison gas. What next?

Going back to injunctions reminds me that when the people of the thirteen colonies got ready for independence they formed a union but a judge of King George issued an injunction against the union, and, as the colonists believed in the Divine origin of laws and judges, nothing ever came of it.

Sure, I'm against force and violence. At the same time, I can't help wondering what would have become of American independence if it had not been backed by force and violence.

Apropos of nothing. It used to be free will or preordination. Now it's a job in a mill or starvation. Here is another just as bad. The medieval question was: How many angels can dance on the point of a needle? The modern question: How many children can romp in an efficiency apartment? Answer: Four dolls and one pup.

Goodnight.



Amusements



The Week On Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

NON-EUCLIDIAN LIFE

COMEDY: A once cultured and caustic light with laughter and deep with human significance, plays rapidly across the stage of the Civic Repertory Theatre, in Gustav Wied's "Twice Two Are Five". It is the sort of play one would rather go to see again than write about, for the deft dialog (translation from the Danish by Ernest Boyd and Holger Koppel) evades the scientific pin, as the implications dart away from the net of our words. Bees and butterflies, they are more pleasantly watched than grasped.

The play begins like a picture of domestic tranquility, but it is really, in theme, a contrast of values. "They're all out of step but Jim", is the fond mother's view of the universe. The artist, looking upon the world awry that is the practical man's abiding and self-justified reality, sees that his esthetic standards cannot apply, knows that in the world around him consistency, conviction, principles are easily managed attitudes when personal interest drives, and that by his own conduct and implicit ideals the practical world is a bungle and a mess. The practical world, of course, can easily and with the conviction that is boon of immeasurable superiority in numbers, retort upon the artist that his is the atavism, the warped view, that any schoolboy—much more the practical man—can make his numbers tally, and that the artist has only himself to blame if his two, squared, makes five.

Which is right? We cannot weigh by numbers. But it may be indicated that the artist often misunderstands himself and his neighbor, the practical man. The practical man, on the contrary, does not in the least understand the artist, and is probably saved for his service to the practical world by his inability to see himself. For, as the figures in Wied's play exhibit, it is his power of self-delusion that damns the man whose life is limited by his own desires; it is the power to understand, to smile—even though he must submit—that saves the artist.

To Paul Abel, the author in the play, the world is a comic spectacle, and through his eyes we see it richly colored with sad humor. For while it may be amusing, in each instance, to watch how pride or passion, or mere desire for ease, leads a man to violate his deepest convictions; the spectacle becomes less entertaining when viewed from the standpoint of human progress; and puckers to bitterness when a man watches himself (as Paul Abel does) yielding to the pull of the current. Compromise, in the practical world, is unescapable; to the artist each moment of it is anguish (unless in the continuance, as Pope proclaims, he grow accustomed, sloughing off the sensitivity of the artist); the practical man is unaware of any need of adjustment. What makes the artist also makes his pain.

All this is a lengthy and perhaps heavily developed notion for this light play to carry. For with deft caricature and swift dialog the evening moves across the stage, decorated, borne by skilful acting. Leona Roberts suggests Helen Westley, but the other performers, whether, like Ruth Wilton and Josephine Hutchinson, the "fairy prince" John Eldridge, and Harry Sothern the author, they have individualized roles, or like Paul Leyson and Harold Moulton, they have types to caricature, do original work that meets the tone too easy demands of the play, and blends with the movement of the drama itself to make "Twice Two Are Five" a thoroughly enjoyable evening.

GREEK TRAGEDY

The vast darkness of unbroken night. A shaft of deeper dark across the sky tells of a human habitation. Two faring torches stream up the palace stairs. Twilight shades the dark toward dawn. A form looms upon the way. Two follow. The action has begun.

Out of this dim silence, in atmosphere most eloquent of the rising mood, grows "Last performance of Sophocles' 'Electra'" which Margaret Anglin acts and directs at the Gallo Theatre. Attuned to the full rhythm of the Greek tragedy, the actors move with the majesty of the mood toward the ultimate fulfillment. There is, in Greek drama, no intrusion of vulgar curiosity; no swift view of suspense toward an unknown goal; we see the precipice toward which the torrent drives; we watch the characters move unsuspecting to their fated doom. We are lifted on a calmer but richer welling of beauty, to spiritual heights.

The mood in which Margaret Anglin performs achieves a solemn beauty that reveals the religious origin of the drama and creates an impression rare in the theatre. The singing quality of her own voice, the responsive words of the chorus, and the harmonious groups that it assumes, the draping costumes and elaborate gestures, all combine to suggest a superhuman grandeur, a majesty that is not inhibitive of but heightens pity, a performance that reveals the power of Greek tragedy at its best.

AS THEY PASS

I happened in on "The Centuries", in Joe Bashe's play at the New Playwrights, on the night of the Window

the entertainment, the play should run a while on its rough emotionalism alone. Why Able was left out still puzzles me.

S. A. D.

In Brief

Civic Repertory Theatre Co.'s membership at \$1 a head now totals 8,000 with Eva Le Gallienne's venture now practically self-supporting and but little endowment from Otto H. Kahn, Gerard Dahl or the original backers.

Miss Le Gallienne who aspires to a 100,000 membership has visions of repertory at 25-35-50 instead of the \$1.65 now charged. The 14th St. house has been grossing between \$6,000 and \$7,000, topping last season's intake.

It is known that the leading player in the rep movement turned down \$1,200 a week from Sam Harris and is said to be earning about one-sixth that amount in a movement to firmly establish the repertory theatre.

As a result of her activity, rep activities throughout the country have increased. The Civic Rep Co. has an overhead of about \$5,000 a week at the 14th St. theatre.

John Barclay of the Winthrop Ames Gilbert and Sullivan Opera company made his debut as a dumb actor in a pantomime by A. A. Milne in London. When next that city saw him he was singing leading roles with Sir Thomas Beecham's grand opera company. He came to America to appear with the important symphony orchestras of this country. When Ames was organizing his Gilbert and Sullivan company he engaged Barclay at the suggestion of Deems Taylor.

Barclay appears in the title role of "The Mikado", as the Pirate King in "The Pirates of Penzance" and as the Earl of Mountararat in "Iolanthe". The company begins its first transcontinental tour in the Walnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia, on January 9. It was in this, the oldest theatre in America, that Ames first produced "The Green Goddess" with George Arliss.

In the interval between the closing of "The Mikado" and the rehearsals of Robert Emmet Schenck's "The Love Nest", which opens at the Comedy Theatre on December 22nd, the Actor-Managers have become legally incorporated, and have concluded plans for a producing program which will carry them through the remainder of the season.

Arrangements have also been effected which insure the Comedy Theatre as the home of the organization during that period. It is therefore possible to announce that immediately after the opening of "The Love Nest" active preparations will begin for the production of "Maya", the play by Simon Gantillon which had so sensational a run at the Champs Elysee Studio Theatre in Paris last year. Ernest Boyd has made the translation and Aline Bernstein is now designing the sets and costumes. The third production will be "Filop", by Jules Lemaitre, to be followed in the spring by the annual "Grand Street Follies", for which, incidentally, another name will have to be found. The tentative one is "Is This Is New York?"

Maurice Schwartz is now presenting Sholem Aleichm's "Goldiggers" at his Jewish Art Theatre, 2nd Avenue and 12th Street, on Friday nights, Saturday afternoon and Sunday evening. The critics are raving about the play and its production, and we know personally that a real treat is in store for anyone who can go and see it.

The third of Max Reinhardt's productions in the current New York season of repertory will be presented Monday, Dec. 12th. It will be "The Servant of Two Masters". The play of the French revolution, "Danton's Death", is now announced for the week of December 19th.

"The Spider" will be on view at the Music Box for but one more week. If you are one of the few who have not seen this enthralling mystery, and if you like that kind of a play, our advice is to make haste. "The Spider" is almost certain to mystify you which, as is well known, few mystery plays do.

MUSIC

Geraldine Farrar and Ignaz Friedman will appear as assisting artists at the concert of the New York Symphony Orchestra this week. Friedman will be the soloist Sunday in Mecca Auditorium. He will play Brahms Concerto in D minor for piano with orchestra. Fritz Busch will open the program with four movements from Gustav Holst's symphonic suite, "The Planets"—Mars, the Bringer of War; Venus, the Bringer of Love.

United Lodge of Theosophists
No. 1 West 6th St.
Free Lecture, Sunday, 8:15 P. M.
"Successful Lives on Earth"
Wednesday, 8:15 to 9:15. Devotional Meeting on Meditation.
No Charges or Collections.

BISHOP PAUL JONES
will speak
Public Lecture—Sunday, December 11, 8:15 P. M.
"CREATING TOMORROW'S WORLD"
Can it be done today?
Does the end justify the means?
GENERAL DISCUSSION QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS
BROOKLYN LODGE—THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY
292 Carlton Avenue, Brooklyn, (near De Kalb Ave.)

JUDGE
BEN B. LINDSEY
of
JUVENILE COURT, DENVER
on
"New Morals for Old"
COOPER UNION
8th Street and 3rd Avenue
THURSDAY EVENING, DEC. 22

Admission Free
YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST LEAGUE
Tickets for sale at RAND SCHOOL, 7 East 15th Street and CIVIC CLUB, 18 East 10th Street

Peace; Mercury, the Winged Messenger; and Jupiter, the Bringer of Jollity.

Miss Farrar will make her first appearance with the orchestra since her return to the concert stage at the concert of the New York Symphony in Carnegie Hall, Thursday afternoon (Dec. 15) and Friday evening (Dec. 16). The program will be all Wagner. Miss Farrar will first be heard in Elsa's Dream from "Lohengrin" and then in a group of songs—"Im Treibhaus", "Schmerzen" and "Traume".

The Russian Symphonic Choir will give a program at the Engineering Auditorium on Saturday evening, January 7th, for the benefit of the American Waldensian Aid Society.

Dusolina Giannini, who sings next week with the Philadelphia Orchestra and during Christmas week with the Schola Cantorum, will give her only New York recital of the season at Carnegie Hall on February first, a few days before sailing for Europe for a year's concert and operatic activities.

Another performance of "Norma", the return after a long absence of Mme. Louise Homer who will sing the role of Amneris in a splendid matinee of "Aida" and the season's first "Die Walkure", will be among the features of next week, the seventh of the season at the Metropolitan Opera House. The repertoire in detail is as follows:

"Norma" on Monday evening with Mmes. Rosa Fonselle, Telva and Egera and Messrs. Lauri-Volpi, Pinza and Paltrinieri. Mr. Serafin will conduct.

"Aida" as a special matinee on Wednesday with Mmes. Stuckgold, Hoffer and Ryan and Messrs. Martinelli, Ruffo, Pinza, MacPherson and Peltinieri. Miss Deleporte will dance and Mr. Serafin will conduct.

"Die Walkure" on Wednesday evening with Mmes. Jeritza, Easton, Matzenauer, Telva, Wakefield, Vettori, Howard, Hanski, Bourskaya, Wells and Paristette and Messrs. Laubenthal, Whitehill and Mayr. Mr. Bodansky will conduct.

The Angelus Allied Arts Club opened its concert season most felicitously at the Provincetown Theatre on Monday, Dec. 5th, with an Ukrainian concert at which Mlle. Bonita Bazar, coloratura soprano, F. L. Ellis, baritone, and Myron Timkivich, violinist and composer, charmed their enthusiastic audience. Mlle. Bazar was particularly entrancing in her Ukrainian folksong. Her skillful trilling explains and justifies richly her title of "Ukrainian nightingale." Madam Minnie Huffman, impresario and leader of the Greenwich Village Social Club, which presents Sunday evenings at 139 MacDougal street, proved herself a sympathetic and talented accompanist.

In Movies

The feature attraction at the Colony Theatre for the week beginning Saturday, December 10, is "Shield of Honor," a Universal melodrama featuring John Hamilton, Dorothy Gulliver and Ralph Lewis.

Others in important roles are Nigel Barrie, Claire MacDowell, Thelma Todd, David Kirby and Fred Esmelton. The picture was directed by Emory Johnson from a story by Emilie Johnson.

Norman Kerry and Pauline Stark have been selected by Edward Laemmle for the leading roles in his production of "Fallen Angels" for Universal. This is an adaptation by Charles Logue of Arthur Somers Roche's serial.

George Sidney will have the leading role in Universal's picture "We Americans", production on which will start this week under the direction of Edward Sloman and the supervision of Carl Laemmle, Jr. "We Americans" is an adaptation by Al Carlton, the feature by Max Siegel which ran at the Eltinge Theatre last season. On a recent visit to New York Sloman took scenes of types and living conditions of immigrants, their arrival in this country and the manner in which they become citizens.

"Ladies Must Dress" is the title of the feature photograph to be offered at the Roxy Theatre beginning tomorrow, Sunday. An unusual attraction will be a "\$250,000 Fashion Show" including 50 mannikins and the Roxy Ballet Corps. Percy Grainger, the famous composer and pianist, will be the soloist at the Sunday morning concert, at 11:30 Sunday, Dec. 11th.

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THE RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
7 EAST 15th STREET ALGONQUIN 3094
Betrand RUSSELL Morris HILLQUIT Norman THOMAS
In a Symposium on
"PEACE, OR FREEDOM: MUST THE WORLD CHOOSE?"
Wednesday Evening, December 14th
at COMMUNITY CHURCH 34th STREET and PARK AVE.
Seats \$1.00 at the RAND SCHOOL, 7 EAST 15th STREET
MORRIS HILLQUIT
Tuesday, December 13
"AWAKENING OF THE EAST"
Saturday, 2 P. M.
Tuesday, December 20
"POST-WAR DIPLOMACY AND THE NEW IMPERIALISM"
Saturday, 2 P. M.
CONTEMPORARY
AMERICAN LITERATURE
(Mr. Hillquit and Mr. Fagin Lecture in the Rand School)

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THE COMMUNITY CHURCH
PARK AVENUE AND 34th STREET
Sunday, December 11
11 A. M.—WILLIAM LYON PHELPS
"The Freedom of Virtue"
Admission Free
8 P. M.—MME. ROSIKA SCHWIMMER
"Rumors, Whispers and Allied Arts of Propaganda"
Questions and Discussions—Admission Free
Thursday, December 15
8:15 P. M.—JOHN FARRAR
"The Religious Angle on Current Literature"
Admission 75c
Friday, December 16
8:15 P. M.—JUDGE BEN LINDSEY
"The Companionate Marriage"
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, Chairman
Reserved Sections 50c, 75c, \$1.00

WEVD Programs

Sunday, December 11

245.8 M WEVD New York City 1220 KC
12:30—Speech Hour.
1:00—Mr. and Mrs. Chatterbox.
2:35—Debs String Quartet.
2:15—Professor Jeannette Marks, Poetry Workshop.
2:35—Debt String Quartet.
2:45—Mayor Stump, Labor political action.
3:00—Debs American Opera Company, Carmen.
3:45—Debs String Quartet.

Monday, December 12

1:00—Scholl Hour.
2:00—Ann Neil, lyric soprano.
2:15—George Rael, bass.
2:30—Anna Siegrist, American poets.
2:45—Laura Skaska, soprano.
3:00—Lydia Mason, piano.
3:15—Laura Skaska, soprano.
3:30—Peter Hugh Reed, tenor.
3:45—Helen Ardelle, soprano.
4:00—Oscar Goldstein, tenor.
4:15—Helen Ardelle, soprano.
4:30—Michel Ingberman, pianist.
4:45—Marie Campbell, contralto.
5:00—Eva Welcher, violin.
5:15—Marie Campbell.
5:30—Rosalia Miller, phonetics.
5:45—Martin Teicholtz, violinist.

Tuesday, December 13

1:00—Speech Hour.
2:00—Lydia Mason, pianist.
2:15—Mary Browne, contralto.
2:30—Dr. Charlotte Pekary, German poet.
2:45—Mary Browne, contralto.
3:00—Lizetta Braddock, soprano.
3:15—A. Berg, violinist.
3:30—Mrs. Julia Glasgow, Topics in Brief.
3:45—Lizetta Braddock, soprano.
4:00—A. Berg, violinist.
4:15—Lillian Dublin, soprano.
4:30—Winifred Harper Cooley, Problem Drama.
4:45—Norman Allen, baritone.
5:00—Lillian Drucker, pianist.
5:15—Variety Boys, violin and piano, popular numbers.
5:45—Ray Porter Miller, coloratura soprano.
9:00—Debs Trio.
9:15—Elsie Gluck, Labor Talk.
9:30—Peter Hugh Reed, enor, Scotch songs.
9:45—Debs Trio.
10:00—Meriel Neida, French Songs.
10:15—Debs Trio.
10:30—Arthur Wedekind, baritone.
10:45—Edythe Ashauer, pianist.
11:00—Orphean Dance Orchestra.

Wednesday, December 14

1:00—Speech Hour.
2:00—Joe Zimmerman, piano.
2:30—Elsie Restell, Lieder.
2:45—American Laboratory Theatre.
3:00—Sol Baroff, violinist.
3:15—Elsie Restell, Lieder.
3:30—Pedro Fernandez, Spanish literature.
3:45—Annie Lee, pianist.
4:00—Gerald Felgar, tenor.
4:15—Conservatory of Musical Art.
4:45—Dorothea Cordley, mezzo soprano.
5:00—Michel Ingberman, pianist.
5:15—Dorothea Cordley, mezzo-soprano.
5:30—String Quartet.

Thursday, December 15

9:00—Justine Roberts and Group, Impersonations.
9:15—McAllister Coleman, Labor's View of the Week.
9:30—Rosalia Miller, contralto.
9:45—Eva Welcher, violinist.
10:00—Peter Hugh Reed, tenor.
10:15—Abe Berg, violinist.
10:30—Excalibur and Ray Porter Miller, coloratura soprano.
11:00—Debs Variety Hour.

Friday, December 16

9:00—Justine Roberts and Group, Impersonations.
9:15—McAllister Coleman, Labor's View of the Week.
9:30—Rosalia Miller, contralto.
9:45—Eva Welcher, violinist.
10:00—Peter Hugh Reed, tenor.
10:15—Abe Berg, violinist.
10:30—Excalibur and Ray Porter Miller, coloratura soprano.
11:00—Debs Variety Hour.

Saturday, December 17

9:00—Justine Roberts and Group, Impersonations.
9:15—McAllister Coleman, Labor's View of the Week.
9:30—Rosalia Miller, contralto.
9:45—Eva Welcher, violinist.
10:00—Peter Hugh Reed, tenor.
10:15—Abe Berg, violinist.
10:30—Excalibur and Ray Porter Miller, coloratura soprano.
11:00—Debs Variety Hour.

THEATRES

Last Performances Today

"JEDERMAN" (Everyman)

at 8:30 sharp

GILBERT MILLER presents

Max Reinhardt's Production of

"SERVANT OF 2 MASTERS"

by von Friedrich Ludwig Schroeder

from the Italian of Carlo Goldoni

For One Week Only—Week Dec. 19—"Danton's Death"

Evenings \$5.00 to \$1.00

Matinees \$3.50 to \$1.00

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UNION DIRECTORY

3 West 16th Street, New York City

For Dressers' Union No. 2

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 of the organized working class. Signed contributions do not necessarily represent the policy of the New Leader. On the other hand, it welcomes a variety of opinion consistent with its declared purpose. Contributors are requested not to write on both sides of the paper and not to use lead pencil or red ink. Manuscripts that cannot be used will not be returned unless return postage is enclosed.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1927

To Our Readers

A WORD to our readers. The New Leader has taken over the American Appeal in the interest of economy as well as to place at its disposal the larger staff of contributors serving The New Leader. The change also enables the National Office to give its sole attention to problems of organization in the states.

In the meantime we are compelled to ask the indulgence of our readers. The heavy increase in mail, renewal of subscriptions, new subscriptions being received, letters of appreciation and readjustment of our mailing lists have nearly overwhelmed the office staff. All indications point to a healthy awakening due to encouraging election returns and anticipation of our national campaign next year.

It will be several weeks before we "get our stride" and meantime The New Leader extends its thanks to the thousands who have helped and are helping to make it what it is. Continued hearty cooperation should make the two papers an increasing power for the Labor and Socialist movement in this country.

Coolidge to Soothe Victims

HOW to keep the Latin-American peoples from using the Pan-American Union as a stage for broadcasting the offenses of American imperialism is a problem for Coolidge and those who have preceded him in office since the days when Roosevelt declared that the United States was to serve as a policeman in this part of the world. That problem is again before the administration as the sixth convention of the Pan-American Union will soon meet in Havana.

It is reported that Mexico and San Domingo expect to make a protest against our landing armed forces in Latin-American countries. The United States considers such raids "political questions" which have no place in such conventions. This is camouflage. The American invasions are prompted by economic purposes and to classify them as "political questions" is to rub salt into old wounds. Economic penetration and mastery give rise to political domination of the weaker nations which domination is reinforced by military and naval raids.

Years ago Elihu Root was sent on a tour of the nations to the south of us. His mission was to eat dinners and tell the peoples of these nations that our imperialism is really the affection which a big brother feels for his little ones. Battered and bruised and looted as some of these nations were, they listened to Root respectfully but intelligent journalists and Latin-American publicists were not deceived. They continued to attack the "Prussians of the North" as they called us and still call us.

The Latin-Americans are still more aroused at our coercion of Mexico and especially the presence of armed forces in Nicaragua to enforce the will of American imperialism. Now it is expected that Coolidge will go to Havana and entertain the delegates with another message of "good will" and "friendship." Coolidge is expert in peddling "moral forces" as Wilson was in marketing "moral forces" to keep browbeaten Latin-Americans contented while we deprive them of their valuables and reduce their countries to crown colonies. Coolidge will be no more successful than Root. Human beings do not want Christian sermons from those who have robbed them. They want their valuables restored.

"Developing" the Philippines

THE Filipinos will get a little comfort from the annual report of Secretary of War Davis. He declares that "If the United States were to announce the definite determination to remain permanently, or for an extended period, in control of the islands, there would be more rapid development." That cannot be questioned.

No, it cannot. "Development" of the islands means profitable investments for American capitalists and it means nothing else. To get these returns it is essential to maintain United States control. Even this control is not sufficiently thorough to satisfy those who want to "develop" the islands as Mr. Davis points out.

The Philippines are essentially agricultural and small land holdings are the rule. American investors want to break up the system of small holdings and "develop" large estates. Mr. Davis declares that "greater progress might have been attained in agriculture had the land been held by fewer owners and in larger areas." Progress for whom? Not the Filipinos. They want to pre-

serve small holdings and they fear the large estates which, they know, will become the property of Americans.

For years there has been complaint that the Filipinos are content to take life easy with the result that the islands are not "developed." Those who urge "development" do so on the ground that it is necessary to make Philippine resources available for other peoples. The fact is that capitalist enterprise is interested in profits, not in supplying other peoples with goods. If such enterprise restricts production of their large estates if the scarcity will increase their profits. Supplying human wants is not the motive of capitalist enterprise.

Eventually the Filipinos themselves will be "developed" to serve our investors and this report is a step in that direction.

The Dope Peddlers

THE drug habit is not confined to cocaine and other narcotics. Catchy phrases are responsible for more stupor than all the dope consumed by its victims.

Take this phrase of "initiative and private enterprise." It's a potent drug that dulls thinking. Those who peddle it know that it is a drug. It is intended for workers on the farms, in the factories, stores, shops and mines. Coolidge is one of its most active salesmen. Editors market it. No professional politician can be without it. It is our national dope.

Repeated injections of this dope make it impossible for the bankrupt farmer to think rationally. The same is true of workers in other industries.

What it means is that the nation would go to the bow-bows, the farmer would suffer terribly, and the wage worker would not be the fat prosperous and plug-hat aristocrat of the cartoonist if we do not permit a handful of men to own the railroads, elevators and storage plants, textile and steel industries and so on. If we owned them and managed them for the welfare of all it would be a calamity. If a few own them for their private enrichment it is a blessing.

The result is that we have the dope and a jolly band of corporation masters have the industrial powers of the nation. The cost to us is tremendous. Hundreds of thousands of farmers have been stripped of everything but their shirts. Miners and textile workers have been thrust back into miserable poverty.

"Initiative and private enterprise" pays handsome dividends to the upper classes. Collective ownership will not pay them but it will us. Why not abandon the dope for a Socialist democracy in industry that will serve all?

News of One Week

AS Lord Calvin opens the Imperial Diet of steel, oil and finance the press criers announce the news of the week. Tammany makes a bid for political honors with a \$16,000,000 sewer graft and a school salary grab. Oklahoma Democrats propose impeachment of their governor. They removed another from office in 1923. Those noble Democrats, Doheny and Burns, continue in the oil muck up to their ears.

The Republican record is just as inspiring. Fall and Sinclair compete with Doheny and Burns for honors; Smith of Illinois and Vane of Pennsylvania, products of cattle primaries, are challenged in the Senate; Beck, heroic defender of the Constitution, managed to slip into the House over protests. Indiana graft involving Republican officials from the Governor down to constables remains in the headlines.

Now a sentence from Coolidge's sermon to Congress: "Those who are peaceful and law-abiding realize that not only have they nothing to fear from us, but that they can rely on our moral support." That should make us all happy!

Coolidge For Life!

SOME small town Republican Babbitts in Massachusetts have adopted resolutions urging an increase in the salary of President Coolidge and that he be urged to continue in office the rest of his life. The reason? Coolidge is a great man, he has brought "prosperity" and knows how to continue it.

As a matter of fact Harding and Coolidge are about the two dullest men that ever held the office. Then what stupidity to assume that Coolidge can prevent the next general depression. It is already setting in. There are thousands of workers unemployed in the large cities today.

As well expect a barn to stop the onward sweep of a cyclone as to expect Coolidge or any other man in office to prevent the sweep of an industrial stagnation once the economic forces of capitalism set it going.

Prayer in Massachusetts

UPON this soil may no tree ever grow.
In this land may no lips ever again
Speak the word justice, now that all men know
Those lips have too long boasted and in vain.
May never young men hither come to learn
What cruel elders have no power to teach.
May no lights burn here save witch-fires that burn
Along some desolate and abandoned beach.
May this dour land go back now whence it came—
To early granite, to implacable sea.
May there descend on it the cleansing flame
Of some remote supreme catastrophe
Divorcing it forever with its shame
From men who would be generous, wise, and free.
—ARTHUR DAVIDSON FICKE.

The Devil

The Devil, I can safely aver,
Has neither hoof, nor tail, nor sting;
Nor is he, as some sages swear,
A spirit neither here nor there—
In nothing, yet in everything.

He is—what we are: for sometimes
The Devil is a gentleman:
At others a hard bartering rhymes
For sack; a statesman spinning crimes;
A swindler living as he can;

A thief who cometh in the night,
With whole boots and net pantaloons,
Like someone whom it were not right
To mention: or the luckless wight
From whom he steals nine silver spoons.
—Shelley.

Romain Rolland Accuses

"I accuse of high treason against America those men who have soiled her with this judicial crime, the Sacco-Vanzetti murder, before the eyes of the world. . . . they have destroyed the most sacred rights of all humanity."

(Following is a translation of a letter written by the author of "Jean Christophe" to Lucien Price of Boston upon receipt in Switzerland of the news that Sacco and Vanzetti had been executed. Permission to publish the letter has been obtained by cable.)

My Dear Friend:

I am writing to you under the crushing burden of the impression produced by the judicial murder of Sacco and Vanzetti. I have no doubt that you and I—share my sentiments but I wish to express them to you because it may be of some use if you can manage to make them known in your country. My testimony will perhaps have a certain value, because it is that of a man who has long held himself aloof from political parties; who has acquired the habit of looking and thinking "au dessus des siecles" and beyond the passions of the day; and, I may add, of a man who is by certain traits of race as well as of temperament more akin to the Anglo-Saxon than to the Mediterranean.

That which seems to me the most terrible side of the tragedy of last evening is not the frightful fate of the two unhappy men, whom death has delivered, finally, from the long torture which drained them of their blood, drop by drop, at the hands of their judicial murderers. (The names of two of these latter—Judge Thayer and Governor Fuller—will be inscribed imperishably among the reprobates of history.) No. It is not their fate. It is rather the abyss which this offense has now dug between the United States and the rest of the world. You don't suspect that, perhaps, in your country. You cannot have any idea either of its depth or of its causes.

"Most Barbarous Cruelty"

The question of the guilt of Sacco and Vanzetti had become secondary—although, if now their innocence should ever be demonstrated, the revelation would mean the moral crumbling of all official prestige of the representatives of the United States, and of their country with them, for centuries. Guilty or not, one no longer saw in them anything but two unfortunate men, subjected for years to a refinement of cruelty such as the most barbarous in our world today, Bolshevik, Balkan, or Fascist, would have thought too cowardly, too inhuman. One simple solution was demanded: mercy. And it was this that I called to Governor

Fuller on the 20th of August: "A friend of America entreates you to spare Sacco and Vanzetti. Even if guilty, humanity would demand it."

For in any case they had atoned up to the final limits of human endurance. One must have a savage soul indeed not to have been satisfied before snatching away the last breath of these wretched, palpitating human fragments. But I am not at all astonished that these blood-thirsty souls exist. We knew similar ones in our Dreyfus affair. The great judges, lay or military, are both of the same species. And the great judges, after passing judgment, would have let the whole world crumble rather than admit that they had made a mistake. This pride, monstrously more cruel than cruelty itself, implacable and stupid, remained obstinate in its error, with jaws clenched. If there exists a Hell, the place of honor in it is reserved for such pride as that.

But the crime of such men involves only themselves. It does not involve their nation and community. And it is the duty of these latter to dissociate themselves from it. Thus did the better France in the Dreyfus affair. The better France, after years of struggle and suffering, snatched the victim from the torturers. It was this that the Defense Committee for Sacco and Vanzetti tried to do—without success—for the United States.

America's Statesmen Silent

And the most overwhelming and heart-breaking event of all this drama, this disaster in the eyes of the world, is this: not one of the notable official personages who represent the Government of the United States intervened to give audible expression to the voice of humanity. Coolidge found that hour propitious for his annual vacation (perish the thought of disturbing him!) while they were assassinating Sacco and Vanzetti. Taft didn't find it worth the trouble to return from Canada for two men—more or less—who were merely being killed. Borah—and this is the bitterest of all—said (if the words are correctly reported here) that it was merely a question of facing down the insolent clamor from abroad, rather than a question of doing justice as far as these two men were concerned. Thus the most vulgar sentiment of amour propre, of national pride, tramples humanity under foot!

We know well that it is not pleasant for a nation to receive the oburgations of foreigners. We also have known (and we deplore it) that in too many cases the indignation and grief of the multitude are translated abroad into acts of violence, threats, and insult. So, naturally, communists and anarchists have tried to fish in troubled waters.

But you know well, all of you in America, that those most overwhelmed by the judicial crime of America have not been the violent in Europe. They have been the liberals, the Christians—all the saner and better balanced elements of Europe. And the majority of the protests which have come to you came from sincere friends of the United States, who, like myself, were heartbroken when they saw such a crime, soil the honor of the great nation they love, and destroy the ideal image which they had made it.

A National Calamity

A strong nation possesses imagination. It takes thought. Yours should have done so. For your nation owes to itself and to the world to scorn the threats made against it; but not the supplications of his friends, not enlightened counsel. Of itself it should have taken the initiative in some exceptional measure which would have given the unfortunate men mercy or, at least, reduced their sentences to life imprisonment. Thus at least it would have fortified itself in advance against the rigors of a mistake which would be nothing less than a national calamity.

The pitiless hardness of heart of all the leading public officials in America, their absolute insensibility toward the question, have produced a most sinister impression throughout the entire world. It was a question not of justice, but a question rather of simple, humble, divine humanity. Not one of you in America can have an idea of that corrosive thought which has now been given vitality abroad by this act. During almost a decade there has been spreading throughout the world the idea that such was, indeed, the new mentality emergent in the United States; and a deep hostility has been stirring in the hearts of all other peoples. We struggled against this current. We knew that there were, with you as with us all, two natures, two Americas, like the two Frances of "Jean Christophe": the France of "La Foire sur La Place,"

and the France of "And we live in the town." And now, here is this calamity, which has shown the crushing supremacy—far from afar one might almost say the manliness—of this frightful America whose heart is stone, of this America for whom humanity does not exist, for whom there exists only legalism, of this America which insists on having condemned men re-judged by the same judges who have already condemned them, this scandalous derision of all real justice which allies justice with hypocrisy!

What Is To Be Done?

What is to be done? The abyss yawns. I know too well the peoples of Europe, and the travail that is going on within them, not to perceive that from this day on a state of moral warfare exists between them and the United States. And, should it be six years, or twenty, or fifty, or a century, this state of moral warfare will be realized one day indeed. For the conscience of the world has received a blow. And, alas! a blow received in history is always sooner or later given back.

The brilliant result of the satanic tenacity of Judge Thayer and Governor Fuller in crushing out these two victims is that, henceforth, these poor Italian immigrants take their places in the pantheon of the martyrs of the civilized world. There, for centuries, one will still speak of Sacco and Vanzetti as one speaks still of Jean Calas. But Sacco and Vanzetti have not found in America their Voltair!

I am not an American; but I love America. And I accuse of high treason against America the men who have soiled her with this judicial crime before the eyes of the world. Their abominable parody on justice has destroyed the most sacred rights of all humanity.

Romain Rolland

From A Veteran's Wife

Editor, The New Leader:

I have a story to tell you in plain English and I promise to make it short as possible.

My husband and I are now both Socialists. He served in the war. He received an honorable discharge and was also decorated for bravery in action. He returned home a physical wreck and has been operated on five times. Last year he United States Veteran's Bureau decided he was insane. They had a guardian appointed over him. They refused me, the lawful wife, my right to be my husband's guardian.

Well, the guardian took charge of every cent my husband owned and also his little "dab" of compensation, which the great and rich United States finally decided to pay him. The enormous sum of sixty-five dollars per month for total disability.

A few months ago I called on this guardian for money to pay a doctor's bill. He refused my request, saying he was "holding" my husband's money for "emergencies." Shortly after that, I asked for a few dollars to buy shoes for me or my babies and also some clothes. Again he refused. The result was, my baby lay near death from pneumonia, caused from little bare feet and scanty clothes.

A few days ago, I asked my lawyer to call on the guardian and find out why my babies have to go hungry or cold while their father owns the money to make them comfortable. Now, here is the climax of the story:

My lawyer discovered the guardian had taken our small sum and without our consent, or even our knowledge had spent it on Liberty Bonds and arranged it so we can't touch it for years to come.

I believe if this story was laid before the readers of our paper, it would make every Socialist, a greater, stronger soldier of the cause. We asked two Judges in Cincinnati to investigate the case and they said they were not interested. I called on a prominent attorney and asked to file suit against the guardian and he says it can't be done. The guardian says the Judge of Probate Court ordered him to spend our money on Liberty Bonds.

Instead of investing the money on a little home or even a business of some kind it has been thrown to the four winds and we are supposed to be pleased over it.

Imagine, if you can, a family owning Liberty Bonds, and the children huddled over a small stove in bare feet and scanty clothes and the Liberty Bonds "invested" arranged so we can't draw or realize a cent out of them.

This is an ex-soldier's reward from the "Noble Democracy" he fought for and from the capitalists of America. Sincere good wishes to you and Long Live Socialism!

LEONA HAIGHT
Route 2,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Are there not some Ohio Socialists who can help these victims of government neglect?—Editor.

A SONG OF CONFUSION

Here is a popular jingle which we recommend to Republican and Democratic voters after each election: Oh, that I were where I would be. Then would I be where I am not. But here am I where I must be, And where I would be I cannot.

Isn't it just a little queer that so many in the underlying population want political power and cannot get it while a few in the upper range always have it? The few with a handful of votes rule while the many with millions of votes are ruled. Isn't it just a little queer?

S. A. de Witt.

THE CHATTER BOX

AND just because Upton Sinclair has included me in his latest book, "Money Writes", published by Albert and Charles Boni, you would imagine I would just get up on my big toes and yelp "Hooray, Whoopee! Read the Book of the Century!" For therein, after wallowing the jaws, and lapping the hides of every best selling scribbler in English of the day, he picks me up out of my three little volumes of verse, and places me among his regulars. I belong, says Upton, and I would be a lying dubb not to admit how it just tickles me all over. I can forgive his gloating over the method whereby he won my verses from me. He mentions them on page 202 how he trimmed me at tennis and carried my poems back to California in triumph. He does not hint at all how after I had licked him in the first set, an ancient herring that I had devoured an hour before our match swam or crept or crawled up from the dungeon wherein I had doomed him, and wreaked a fearful vengeance for my gluttony. All this description is as confused and incoherent as I felt during the next two sets of tennis. Alibi or no alibi, Sinclair licked me fairly, that is as fairly as he could considering he had a herring as his accomplice before the fact. You see, folks, that herring business is something brand new in athletic excuse, so I am making the most of it. A few however, my next time Upton plays tennis with me. I will try his fasting formula for at least two days before the match takes place. And if he beats me then, it will only be because I broke down an hour before the battle and swallowed a sturgeon. Excepting the tennis episode he is more than decent with my humble verses. He even says I am a preacher like himself, and quotes my March Wind poem as evidence that I would propagandize even the elements to the Cause. For which much thanks.

As to the book itself, I fully believe Sinclair has done a much needed work ably, and with his usual clear courage.

He is not always indisputably correct in judgment against individuals; as in the case of Cabell, whom he denounces as a perverter of our youth with "Jürgen." He is however aligned against the prevailing market pandering indulged in by most of the literateurs of the day, in this world of Success Sniffers. A lone figure and a stalwart one, he ventures forth against his own Knighthood of the Pen, convinced that most of them have fallen from the high estate of creative errantry. And doubtfully does he hew about with might and main. The heads of Hergesheimer, Huxley, Van Vechten, Patterson, Mencken and Cabell among other lights and stars are either slashed off at one mighty sweep, or battered and bruised sorely. Edwin Arlington Robinson, the peer of American poetry comes in for a spearing that should disturb Sir Edwin and his retinue not lightly, I wot. The manner in which Sinclair builds up his case against the literary masters of our land is fundamentally sound on economic premise and surely well fortified by his own experience with the book market for the last twenty-five years. Money dictates what is written by even the most unimpeachable of our literary giants. Greed for money turned them into sausage meat for the dining table. Upton proved that in the "Jungle" twenty years or so ago. Need for money and greed, determine the creative efforts of our best writers. The masters have shekels to give to those who write nothing to disturb or threaten their mastery. And devils indeed are the means whereby our glorified geniuses are corrupted with ugly pieces of silver. I read through the book with galloping speed. It carried me at that clip because Sinclair's style is propulsive. He thinks and writes in high gear. He takes every hill with the ease of flying. You don't have to look back either. Lots of mighty interesting scenery ahead. Yet I must stop to disagree with him on Cabell in particular. Now Upton is hitting on all eight when he takes the high road to social and economic determinism on any of our high-batters in bookdom. But when he steps into the

pulpit and starts in to give us a mid-Victorian lecture on immorality, sex excitement, and general all around immorality, then I am happy to have been born twenty years after Upton's advent into Weltanschmerz. It is just this dozen years' handicap that gives me tolerance for the sex extravaganza of James Branch Cabell. Yes, more than mere tolerance; genuine joy in his work. A Victorian cannot help but still notice with half-shocked and inwardly amorous eyes the exposed limbs of modern tapperdom. It took me the best part of a few years to become calloused to the universal shortening of skirts. The Puritanical aversion is etched into Sinclair's being, and so he thunders against Sodom and Gomorrah's abominations. In Cabell, in "Jürgen" he finds a seductive viciousness that has turned the limp current of undergarment thought into the whirlpool of loose living wherein our youth has flung itself, these sinful days. Well, it would take two months of Sundays to set up here all the proofs against Sinclair's broadside theory. It was a pretty ripe mind among our young 'uns that grabbed at Freud fifteen years ago, learned all about phallic symbols and their dream years after Upton's advent into Weltanschmerz. It takes a well prepared mind to follow the delicate intricacies of "Jürgen," and when followed with understanding the reader is left only with a sense of having passed through a delectably intellectual feast. The physical senses are never touched to grossness. Real hearty laughter, albeit erudite, is the lowest plane to which I fell when reading the book. The average college dumbbell would have to go through the arabesque jungledom of Cabelliana with a "pony" and a full set of diagrams to even get the first hint of the wit and wisdom of the book. But then, even Sinclair has a right to his reactions, I hope, and so, for this breach in an otherwise impregnable offense, my forgiveness. It's a book to be read and re-read for its stimulating value alone. And we who are lowly and aspiring in the world of books and thinking, having read how puny the great are in the light of valid criticism, will walk the ways of our ideals with new strength and perhaps needful self-esteem.

As Ever

Last night, the dream died . . .
The body danced in pagan rhythm
With another body.
Morning falls upon the flesh.
It is still a tune
With music of the ritual.
But, to-night, to-night,
The body will be beging
Through the black brush
Calling, shrieking, weeping
For the dream.

—GOLDINE HILLSON.

Jean Starr Untermyer's "Steep Ascent", published by MacMillan is much more than a second, or third, or fourth book of verse by a contemporary American poet. It is a vividly revealing personal document, in which grief, over a lost son and devastating anguish over a lost lover gaze out in raw wounds from every page. The skill and poise that have marked all her work in the present book add only to the poignancy of the pain it contains. Next to Leonard's "Two Lives" no recent book of poetry has so stirred up such emotional reaction in me after having read through it sympathetically. One is quickened into faith in God with her opening lines, but hastily droops to doubt and question whether he is not a "mumbling ghoul" for having battered her dreams into a shambles, and given her a shell of courage with which to face inevitable disaster. To go any further into the content of the book would smack of intentional exposure of somebody's own private business. A poem is after all a sanctuary whereto our intimate feelings go for solace or rest. I for one have experienced through Jean Starr's "Steep Ascent" the cruel anguish of sensing another's pain.