



**TIMELY TOPICS**  
by Norman Thomas

AFTER what you have heard and still hear about high American wages it is interesting to read in the report of the employers' organization, The National Industrial Conference Board, that the average weekly earnings in manufacturing industries in October 1927 was \$27.01 and in November \$28.72. The average index of employment taking June 1920 as a base—that is, 100—was 79.7 in October and 78.3 in November. Moreover the same authority admits that there have been no appreciable changes in wage rates for four years—this in spite of the increase in production. Pretty rough on Coolidge prosperity isn't it? And, so far as the dreadful calamity of unemployment is concerned, these figures and the facts we all know make a mighty plea to the labor movement to begin a vigorous campaign for unemployment insurance.

I am delighted that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. has sent to Charles E. Hughes, head of the American delegation at the Havana Conference so clear cut a declaration against American intervention in Latin American countries. It is in the ranks of the workers that effective opposition to intervention and imperialism generally must be developed. We hope that it will grow mightily in strength, intelligence and courage.

The war of extermination against Sandino in the Nicaraguan jungle goes ruthlessly on. The Administration is deaf to protest. But this is a Presidential year. What do Smith, Lowden and Hoover think? Nobody knows and apparently nobody cares. The Nation in its issue of January 25 outlined in detail the terms of the loan which Diaz was forced to make in order to pay the purchase price of \$10 a gun to the soldiers of General Moncada by the terms of the Stimson settlement. That loan is the grossest form of extortion. Will the next administration enforce its payment by tariffs? What do Smith, Lowden and Hoover say? Nobody knows and apparently nobody cares.

We have some domestic problems. What shall we do with the tragedy of the coal industry? What forms of social insurance, if any, shall we adopt against unemployment and old age? Who shall own the super power of the nation? Has any one of our leading candidates made a clear out statement on any of these issues? Not that we have seen. Hoover's conservative position on some of them is pretty well known from his past utterances. Possibly Gov. Smith's position on super power can be inferred from his stand on water power in New York. But he has made no declaration at all on the other questions. His supposedly progressive supporters are irritated when they are asked where he stands. It seems that we must trust him like God.

And this is the tragedy of American politics: that nobody knows and nobody cares where the parties or the candidates stand on vital issues. At the last moment some nominal issue will have to be found about which the candidates will appear to fight. But there will be little or no reality in the conflict and the people will awake, if at all, too late to make their ballots effective. This is bound to be the case so long as we are controlled by two parties that belong to the same general set of interests.

It is good that the Senate passed the McMaster resolution favoring a reduction in the tariff, even if the Republican House which must initiate all such legislation will have none of it. Nevertheless, Senator Smoot was right in pointing out that most of his low tariff colleagues when the present tariff law was under consideration always voted for the highest possible rate on the particular products of their own district. This is the difficulty in any genuine reduction of tariffs. It is all very well to point out the hypocrisy of the business and its essential greed. We shall not get far merely on denunciation. We shall have to have a genuine education on the effects of the tariff nationally and internationally. Men will have to be taught to see beyond the apparent advantage to them of high rates on some products in which they are interested as employers or workers to their greater interest as consumers and peace lovers. That is the job for tariff reformers.

Trotsky the eloquent defender of dictatorship has been banished to one of the

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## Graft Trail Worries GOP And Al Smith

Census Report Forces Mrs. Knapp to Resign College Job - Sewer Scandal Stench Grows

ALBANY—The Empire State of New York has been having plenty of alarums and excursions. Commissioner LeBoeuf, appointed by Governor Smith to look into the activities of Mrs. Florence E. S. Knapp, the first Woman Secretary of State, a Republican who conducted the 1925 State census, brings in a report urging that Mrs. Knapp be prosecuted on the criminal charges of forgery, the making of false claims in certification, the illegal removal of State records, and grand larceny.

Apparently Mrs. Knapp was saving up the crimes of mayhem, arson, and breaking and entering for her old age. The Commissioner charges that of the \$1,999,902.80 expended on the taking of the census, which, by the way, didn't get much further than Cattaraugus County, \$118,707.76 was illegally expended, and \$79,125.26 was wasted. After the charges were filed Mrs. Knapp resigned as Dean of Home Economics at Syracuse University.

It is not clear to us just why she should do this. Surely any woman who can get her mother, aged eighty, her butler, and her cousins and her sisters and her aunts on the State payroll is well qualified as an expert in Home Economics, and should be of invaluable assistance in training the girls of our capitalist system as to how to get theirs. Mrs. Knapp's lawyer, in a complaint to Governor Smith, says that the Commissioner isn't done right by our Florence, and that Le Boeuf was, really very rude indeed to bring accusations like this against a lady.

### Republicans Feel Guilty!!

All this business naturally upset the delicate sensibilities of the New York State Republicans, who immediately went out to look for a red herring. They found it in the Industrial Survey, a collection of up-State legislators who have been going around for a year or more cooking for some excuse for hitting the labor legislation of the state square in the nose.

One of the moving spirits of this Survey is a politician named Cornairs, who is the fair-haired boy of the power trust in the state, and of the open shop manufacturers. The representative of the public on the Survey is none other than that great statesman, Jimmy Gerard, who rose to diplomatic fame by first teaching Boss Murphy of Tammany Hall not to eat with his knife in Delmonico's. For his noble act he was made Ambassador to Germany, and had the great luck to be there when the war broke. Ever since then he has been telling us all the sassy things he said to the Kaiser, and has intimated that, thanks to him (and undoubtedly the F. M. C. A.) the hun was finally pushed off the gate.

Horried by the Knapp business, Cornairs and other Republicans arose and demanded an investigation of the Workmen's Compensation Department of the State Labor Bureau, the head of which is a Smith appointee. Smith appointed Dr. Lindsey Rogers, a real economist, to make the investigation, which began on Monday. But this didn't suit the Republicans at all. Senator Knight, leader of the Republican majority, wanted the Industrial Survey to make an investigation on its own hook, but Republican McGinnies, of the Assembly, who is self-confessed candidate for Governor, feared that the wily Al might be setting some of his customary traps for innocent Republican feet, and he opposed any independent investigation.

Meanwhile, Governor Al is sitting back enjoying the spectacle—and trying hard to keep the Connolly sewer graft scandal off his mind. Thoughtless citizens of Queens borough, in New York City, produced charges and figures indicating that Mr. Connolly, Tammany power in Queens, let more than a million and a half dollars of the tax-payers' money filter into pockets where it doesn't seem to belong—except by the God-given Tammany right of plain and fancy grafting.

Governor Smith was led by the outcry to appoint an investigator. Max Steuer, on behalf of Connolly, agreed to help "bring out the facts." This has taken the peculiar course of enjoining judges, investigators and everybody else who has anything to do with the investigation. Connolly vitally ignores the public clamor; vital records disappear; important witnesses vanish across the Canadian border.

Now, in face of the palpable attempt to block the probe, a questioning finger is again being pointed at Governor Smith, who is being reminded that he has the power, if he will, to remove Borough President Connolly.

# Worst Depression In Years Stalks The South-West

Entire Families, Homeless, Drift Around in Battered Cars, Searching For Jobs, Homes And Food—Mounting Tide of Resentment Waits For Movement to Crystallize Unrest

By Murray E. King

ROSWELL, New Mexico.—The worst, unemployment condition in years has gripped the agricultural West and South. It has engendered an amount of mass resentment such as the country has not seen for years. The long reign of post-war reaction is cracking on the wide, ragged fringes of Coolidge prosperity and the soil is being prepared for a new planting of Socialist and progressive ideas. These are the inevitable conclusions one forms here in Roswell at the "cross-roads of the Southwest" meeting up with the steady streams of industrial and agricultural derelicts drifting from the North southward in search of that rare combination—jobs and warm weather—drifting from east to west and meeting themselves coming back, baffled, beaten, bitter, desperate.

These doubling crossing streams are composed of two elements—jobless wage earners and uprooted farmers. There is a special point of convergence of them here at an automobile wrecking and junk yard operated by a Socialist comrade. A rare opportunity to sound these very vocal streams is afforded at this yard. Unlike former migrations of workers, which followed the railroad lines, riding when it could and walking when it had to, these new human tides are on wheels. A great change is taking place in the life of the "hobo," or wandering job seeker. Conditions that have filled Amer-

ica with used autos that can be had at almost any price and junk yards in every town where auto parts can be traded in and out for almost a song has made the cheaper used auto accessible to the itinerant workers. It is cheaper and safer now to cover the long distances between jobs in old and patched up autos than to try to follow the railroad lines. Especially is this true in the South where the pedestrian looking for work is regarded as a sort of a criminal at war with society.

### Families On The Move

These conditions have evolved another new element in hobo life—the hobo family. Thousands of worker families now have no homes except the old road-worn auto eternally in pursuit of the elusive job, or the still more elusive "chance" for little patch of land and a fixed habitation that will afford a tolerable living. Many of these families are on wheels the year around. Many of them drift south in the winter to escape cold weather they can no longer resist except by running away from it. Many of these families are getting the incurable road habit. They are becoming permanent dwellers upon the great open road that begins and ends nowhere. They are on the way to degenerating to the tramp class—from the hunter of work to the fugitive from work.

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## Berger Moves to Have U.S. Take Over All Telegraph Lines

Washington, D. C.—Declaring that the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. has destroyed practically all competition in the telephone business, dominates the field in which it operates, and is piling up tremendous profits by purchasing its apparatus from subsidiaries, Representative Victor L. Berger, Socialist, has introduced a bill providing for national acquisition and for government operation of telegraph and telephone lines.

In a statement he issued, Mr. Berger said: "Recent investigations made to determine to what extent, if any, competition still prevails in the telephone business have disclosed that the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. does 72 per cent of the telephone business of the United States and dominates the rest. It is the richest corporation in the world."

"Through its control of the Western Electric Co., of which it owns 98 per cent of the stock, and from which all telephone companies are obliged to purchase telephone apparatus on a cost-plus basis, the telephone trust exacts tribute from the American people from the time the apparatus is made down to and including the time the telephone user is compelled to pay exorbitant rates for the service he gets."

"In addition to squeezing the people for all they are worth by imposing a variety of unnecessary charges, the trust exploits the workers, compelling them to work for ridiculously low wages and for long hours at nerve-racking labor."

"Regulation has failed to deal with the monopoly problem. No one even pretends that the Sherman anti-trust act is enforced or can be enforced. Instead regulation is one of the most fruitful sources of corruption."

"There is no reason why the federal government, which runs the postal business of the nation—and runs it efficiently—should not also be able to operate the telegraph and telephone lines. The rates would be cut to a point where business would increase. The workers could get a living wage. And the people, instead of remaining at the mercy of an irresponsible clique which now runs these lines to suit themselves, could own and operate them for the benefit of all the people through its legally constituted government, very much as the people now run the postal department."

### Speeches of Berger Available to Voters

Readers of The New Leader who wish to obtain copies of recent speeches by Representative Victor L. Berger, Socialist, may do so in writing to their own representative in Congress, to whom they will be furnished by Representative Berger. One of the speeches is entitled "For the Men and Women who are Not Paying the Income Tax," and the other is, "Conditions for World Peace."

### Paste This in Your Hat

Here and there one hears the opinion that we must be careful in choosing the name of a movement for human liberation. FORGET IT!

Whether you choose to name it Socialist Party, American Labor Party, Farmer-Labor Party, it is all the same. You will receive the mud of the enemy. The Working Men's Party of New York in 1829 was called the "Dirty Shirt Party" and the "Infidel Party". The Abolitionists were called "Amalgamationists", that is, that they wanted to mix the races. The Populists were called the "Sockless Party" because it was said that Jerry Simpson did not wear socks. When the American Labor Party was organized in Chicago in 1919 the press referred to it as "Boishevik". The movement to it as "Boishevik". The enemy is of little use. Win the venom of the enemy and it is a tribute. Make your movement loved by the masses and do not expect to escape the snarls of the kept men of the ruling classes. They are paid for calling names.

### Young Socialists Of New York Meet In City Convention

The senior section of the Young People's Socialist League of Greater New York will meet in convention on Feb. 4th and 5th, the eighth since the League was organized. Forty delegates from twelve circles will meet in the Rand School, 7 East 15th street, Saturday, 2:30 p. m., for the first session. Fraternal delegates from the Socialist Party, the New Jersey and Newark Y. P. S. L., the Junior Y. P. S. L., the Young Poale Zion and the Workmen's Circle Youth Group are expected.

The convention will prepare work for the year. Extensive educational and organization work will be the keynote of the convention. Various phases of youth endeavor will be discussed. Child labor, military training and imperialism will be considered.

A complete report of the work of the past year, will be submitted by the Executive and Financial secretaries.

A number of prominent Socialists are expected to address the convention, including Algernon Lee, Chairman of the Socialist Party Committee on Yipsei Affairs; August Claessens, Executive Secretary of the Socialist Party and James Oneal, Editor of the New Leader.

The League invites members of the Socialist Party and kindred organizations to attend this convention. The second session will begin Sunday at 11 a. m.

Our competitive system of industry is a vestigial institution. It is a survival from the militant ages of the past. It is a system of cannibalism. Instead of instilling the feeling of brotherhood, it compels us to eat each other.—J. Howard Moore.

## Gallitzin Miners Parade Attacked; Pledge to Fight on

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
GALLITZIN, Pa.—Local 1056 of the United Mine Workers has been compelled to take notice of propaganda in the newspapers that local members are going back to work and that others have asked coal operators for jobs. Only one member of the union has gone to work and one mine owner is trying to operate a non-union mine.

Recently the miners arranged a parade and thugs of the mine masters appeared on the scene. Without any provocation men, women and children were clubbed in the streets. A young man carried an American flag and he became a target for the thugs. He was cowardly assaulted, his life threatened, and, to the astonishment of the miners, he was arrested and sentenced to pay a heavy fine!

With prostitute journals, thugs and magistrates apparently united in a crusade to crush the fighting spirit of the miners, Local 1056 has adopted resolutions which recite these incidents in the struggle. The concluding sections of the resolution read: "Resolved, That we, the membership of Local Union No. 1056 United Mine Workers of America, 700 strong, and other citizens, have become indignant from this abuse and propaganda, and be it further:

"Resolved, That we serve notice on those who have so abused and lied about us, that we shall not falter in our struggle, and that with our District and National Officers; never shall we go back to work until our fight is won and a living wage is guaranteed, and be it further:

"Resolved, That this resolution be sent to our Journal and to the Johnstown and Altoona papers and to THE NEW LEADER for publication."

The resolution is signed by S. A. Nelson, James Brawley, T. B. McCloskey, of the Resolution Committee.

### Catholic Priest Raps Company Unions

Washington, D. C.—Rev. Francis J. Haas of St. Francis Seminary and Marquette University has written to a prominent manufacturer in protest against a "yellow dog" contract which the manufacturer, a Catholic, has enforced on his employees. Father Haas had been informed of the facts by correspondence with a friend. The letter says:

"I have no first hand acquaintance with the conditions prevailing in your mills, but assume that Mr. — writes is true. He writes that your management has introduced a policy of requiring your employees to sign an agreement making their employment depend on certain conditions, specifically that they will not affiliate or retain affiliation with a trade union. If this information is correct, please do not regard it as impertinent on my part to point out to you that a system of this kind makes employment depend on the surrender of a right which no worker should be asked to forego."

### Me and My Shadow



—Duffy in the Baltimore Sun.

## Reading Opens War On Vice; Notice is Given

Mayor Stump Orders Disorderly Houses to Get Out of Town Immediately

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

READING, Pa.—The Socialist administration is facing three important questions, commercialized vice, revaluation of property for assessments, and the need of a municipal machine shop. There were 6,667 treatments for venereal diseases at the Homeopathic Hospital clinic last year and this figure, according to one official, "is only a small fraction of the number of treatments given by doctors of Reading in their offices."

Mayor Stump has announced his intention of driving houses of commercialized vice out of the city as rapidly as they are uncovered. "I will give them a reasonable time to settle up their affairs and get out," the mayor declared, "and then the raids will begin."

The mayor also considers favorably a suggestion offered by a citizen for a vice commission who would undertake the duty of working with the police and with citizens who have information to divulge regarding houses of prostitution.

Favorable reports from a number of cities which have used the services of real estate appraisers to determine property assessments and tax rates have strengthened the sympathies of the Socialist city officials with that method of procedure. Among the municipalities whose opinions have been secured on this important proposal are Jamestown, N. Y., Cleveland, O., and Perth Amboy, N. J. Another strong endorsement of the plan has been furnished by the Teachers' Federation of the City of Chicago, where an appraisal was made of the property in the loop district, known as the highest priced property district in the world. In each case the work was done by the Manufacturers' Appraisal Company of Philadelphia, with which the local officials have been in communication.

Stump Examining Costs  
"Council will proceed slowly but surely," Mayor Stump said. "We will give the people a scientific assessment and we want to do it in the best possible way."

Councilman James H. Maurer's discovery of reckless expenditures in relation to the city's automobiles brought from him the suggestion of a municipal machine shop. He is convinced that the city can save thousands of dollars by establishing its own shop. His investigation shows that excessive prices were paid to private shops for repairs and the bills were paid without protest by his predecessor. The proposal for a municipal machine shop will be considered by the city council at a future meeting.

### Facts for Farmers

The deterioration of rural communities becomes hopelessly certain. We have reached a point in American agriculture where it is worth while to hold land for its speculative rather than its true economic value. In some of our most prosperous farming states land is slowly but surely passing into the hands of absentee landlords—not merely farmers who can afford to retire to the village or county seat, but to an increasing extent men whose main business is banking, or the law, and whose investment in farm land is purely speculative.—Kenyon L. Butler, President of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, in "The Farmer and the New Day."

## A.F.L. Urges U.S. Drop Its Imperialism

Green Writes Hughes Demanding Non-Intervention Policy Be Adopted at Havana

(By International Labor News Service)

MIAMI, Fla.—In a most emphatic letter to Charles Evans Hughes, chairman of the American delegation at the Pan American Congress in Havana, President William Green of the A. F. of L., has just made one of the strongest declarations of American labor policy toward Latin America that he has ever made. It serves notice to the American delegation in Havana that American labor is not in agreement with what has been declared as the official American policy which is, in the words of President Coolidge, that "the person and property of an American citizen are a part of the national domain even when abroad." Labor's policy is declared to be one of self determination, self government, democracy and national freedom, with an absolute guarantee by the United States that it will never encroach upon the sovereignty or the territorial rights of any Latin American nation.

It is accepted here as backing up the Latin American demand in Havana for a policy under which "no state may intervene in the affairs of another state."

Mr. Green's letter to Chairman Hughes of the American delegation in Havana says, in part:

"The working people of the United States are firmly convinced that cordial and friendly relations can be established and maintained between all countries represented in the Pan-American Union through the development of a perfect understanding that the Government of the United States will not, at any time, interfere in the affairs of any Latin American Nation and will not, either directly or indirectly, encroach upon their sovereignty or territorial rights. Such a guarantee should be absolute, without reservations, and should be made in such a way as to remove all doubt in the minds of all people who reside within all countries represented in the Pan-American Union."

"The working people in the Pan American countries should be guaranteed the right to organize and to co-operate within their respective countries in the furtherance of their legitimate, social, industrial and economic interests. The right of free speech, free assembly and free press should not be abridged. Liberty, democracy and justice should triumph over autocracy and unfreedom in any form."

"We deeply regret that the Government of the United States failed to designate a responsible representative of Labor to serve either upon your Delegation or in an advisory capacity. We feel that the highest and best interests of the Pan-American Union could have been better served if the voice of Labor could have been heard in the Councils of this great organization. Your deliberations and your legislation is of transcendent importance to the working people of all the countries represented. They will be greatly affected by the application of such policies as may be determined upon and in many ways will be called upon to assist in giving vitality and force to these policies. It is unfortunate that the great heart and mind of Labor is not present in your exceedingly important Conference."

The American Federation of Labor executive council formally endorsed the Shipstead anti-injunction bill, directed drafting of a bill to prevent future conspiracy suits against labor under the Sherman act and laid plans for a conference of representatives of national and international unions in Washington February 7 to back up the fight in Congress against the injunction.

On the day of final adjournment the council lifted the suspension of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, readmitting that organization with its close to 100,000 members.

President Green also announced that Secretary Morrison's report showed \$220,000 sent to the miners through the Federation.

On the Boulder Canyon Dam issue before the council by order of the Los Angeles convention, the council voted that it is "in favor of the Boulder Dam project," being constructed "with such safeguards thrown around it as to fully protect the interests of all the people, and we favor the distribution of the water for domestic, irrigation and power-generating purposes being placed under the direction, control and authority of the Federal Power Commission created by the Federal Government."



# "Socialism and Soviet Russia" Discussed At Fourth Annual New Leader Dinner

Thomas Hillquit, Maurer, Stolberg, and Lee State Views on the Bolshevik Revolution

WHAT shall be the attitude of Socialists towards Soviet Russia is the question that was raised and answered in diverse ways at the fourth and most successful of the New Leader dinners. Under the witty chairmanship of B. Chazney Vladeck, manager of the Jewish Daily Forward, speeches were delivered by Norman Thomas, Algernon Lee, Benjamin Stolberg, James M. Maurer and Morris Hillquit. The discussion without doubt was the most intriguing in many years. Only the absence of refutation prevented a determination of what constituted the common ground, the insignificant differences and the sharp conflicts.

## Thomas Leads Off

Norman Thomas led off with a plea for a sympathetic and interested attitude towards Soviet Russia. Referring to the article written by Abraham Cahan, editor of the Forward, upon his recent return from Russia, Thomas pointed out that whether a Socialist or Communist state was being developed or not, interesting things were being worked out. A great effort was being made, which was comparatively successful, to create a society where the love of money was not the motivating force in human endeavor. Thomas stressed the great importance of the Russian experiment in conscious planning, the Gosplan, which had won the admiration of such economists as Professor Paul H. Douglas and Stuart Chase. It was a new thing in history. For these reasons alone Soviet Russia deserves our support. It failure grieves its efforts, the Junkers, the reactionaries all over the world will rejoice and the workers will suffer. Not ten per cent of the workers and farmers understand the Socialist antagonism towards Russia. We must not echo the fears of the A. F. of L. hierarchy. It is not enough that we demand recognition of Soviet Russia. The Chase National Bank and Standard Oil will attend to that. We must be friendly and sympathetic. That does not mean that we are to be uncritical. It is a difficult thing to draw distinctions when feelings on the subject are so intense. Yet we ought not, because of our admiration, fail to censure occurrences in which we should not shut our eyes in the United States. It would be the height of madness to say that the only way to progress in America is along the path taken in Russia.

Finally, Thomas made clear his reasons for not operating with the Communists in this country. It was not because of their theory of dictatorship. He could go along with anybody if both were taking the same road up to a certain point. It was the Communists' tactics that repelled him. It was their attitude of "come on, you yellow dogs, let us unite." It was their lack of good faith, of honesty. It was their disdain for internal democracy, as exemplified so dramatically in the Trotsky affair. But our attitude towards the Communists here should not warp our judgment of Russia. Let the disposition of ultimate questions wait. For the present we must give our sympathy to Soviet Russia.

## Algernon Lee Critical

The next speaker should have been Ingerman of the Russian Federation but he was detained by illness. As Chairman Vladeck expressed it, Ingerman's group with true Russian generosity and practicality had delegated their ten minutes to Algernon Lee who, it soon became apparent was imbued with the bitterness of the Russian Social Democrats towards Soviet Russia. Lee explained that he had recently talked the matter over with the Russian Federation and was voicing his sentiments. He regretted very much that he had to take issue. However, it was impossible any longer to ignore, to soft-pedal the differences of opinion between the Social Democrats and the Communists. It reminded him of the old days of anarchist agitation. There were fundamental differences. Social Democrats must learn to discriminate, to see that it is not merely a matter of detail, an incident in Russia of dissatisfaction

## \$3,375 in Birthday Presents Given the New Leader at Dinner

"There are two reasons for this dinner," Chairman B. C. Vladeck told the audience gathered at the Fourth Annual New Leader Dinner Friday night, Jan. 27th, in Beethoven Hall, New York City. "And," he added, "the most important is that of raising funds to boost our paper."

That was all he needed to say. No flowery talk to touch the heart and loosen the purse-strings. The comrades knew the New Leader, what it has done in four years and what it hopes to do in the years to come. The response showed this. Immediately the huge dining hall was the scene of scores of comrades carrying gifts. A Comrade from Washington, D. C., who wishes his name withheld, started it with \$250. Comrades Jacob Halpern and Morris Berman followed suit. Then came an avalanche of bills and checks, in denominations of one to one hundred dollars.

Labor organizations were prominent—\$100 from the Pocketbook Workers' Union, a similar amount from the United Neckwear Makers; \$250 from

the Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; \$50 from the Furriers International Union and Joint Council; \$100 from the Millinery Workers, local 24; \$25 from the Suit Case and Bag Makers; \$25 from the Hebrew Butchers Union; The Socialist Party branches also donated liberally "Isabel," McAllister Coleman's cat gave up \$10 worth of liver, while "Democrat" turned in \$10. A hundred other comrades put their donations into the hat.

The total collected, through cash and pledges, was \$3,375. Though these birthday presents fall short of making up the New Leader's annual deficit, the New Leader staff feels that the spirit behind these contributions indicates a year of successful Socialist propaganda which will exceed anything the paper has accomplished thus far. Among the plans, more of which will be disclosed later, are to publish a daily paper during the National convention of the Socialist party so that comrades throughout the country may be fully and quickly informed on the deliberations.

with Communists here. It is a fundamental question of theory. What the Communists have done here or in Russia is the logical conclusion of the Bolshevik position. Thousands upon thousands of Socialists have been imprisoned or exiled by the Bolsheviks. Russia in these days is typified by the revolutionist who was born of a revolutionary mother in jail, imprisoned by the Bolsheviks and finally committed suicide. This is no incidental feature of the Soviet regime. It is a result of fundamental theory.

## Stolberg Tells a Story

It fell to the lot of Benjamin Stolberg to break the tenseness which the impassioned address of Algernon Lee had produced. Stolberg began by citing a letter published about two weeks ago in the New Leader in which a gentleman from Chicago declared that he had heard Maurer speak on Russia. The Chicagoan said Maurer was a Communist not a Socialist and wanted to know what the true attitude of the Socialist Party was. That reminded the speaker of the story of the Jew who was arrested for blowing a shofar, (a kind of horn used for sacramental purposes on the Jewish New Year.) The judge asked the Jew what a shofar was and failed to elicit an explanation. Again and again the judge put his query until, growing impatient, he threatened to throw the offender into jail forthwith. Thereupon the Jew volunteered a definition.

"A shofar," he said, "is a horn." "Then, why did you not say so in the first place?" asked the judge.

"Because," said the Jew, "a shofar is after all not a horn!"

Thus, Stolberg illustrated his point that there are various brands of Socialists and sometimes one kind will not recognize another. Lee, he said, was a theoretic signer of that Chicagoan's letter. The speaker, then, called attention to Ramsay MacDonald without actually mentioning him by name. MacDonald had refused to comment on the Sacco-Vanzetti case because he was an important foreign visitor to these shores, he supported the British Empire but was opposed to imperialism and he appointed two labor members to a commission to investigate India though no Indian was represented on the body. Yet the Forward honored MacDonald with a dinner, and when Stolberg had had the pleasure to review Harry Laidler's new book on Socialism he did not point out that Ramsay MacDonald was no Socialist. On the contrary the speaker emphasized that the first labor premier of England simply was a manifestation of a certain kind of culture. Socialism is an international attitude towards plutocracy and an expression of a national culture. Therefore, the Russian Revolution could not have been anything else but what it was. The main objection of American Socialists is that the Communists have not been behaving themselves here. The Com-

munist Party in this country has been going from bad to worse. What it does is really not Communism. Communism is what is happening in Russia. Hence, there are two main conclusions: first, Socialists must be sympathetic to Soviet Russia, just as Marx would have been if we can draw inferences from his study of the Paris Commune; and secondly, they must not become so obsessed with Russia instead of with the American labor situation that they are driven into the arms of the A. F. of L. officialdom. Socialists used to throw their influence, and an important one, in the direction of progressive, left wing measures. It is time to do so again. That was the speaker's criticism of the Socialist Party today.

## James Maurer's Views

Vladeck told a Russian-Jewish version of the Anglo-Saxon tale of a person finding in Paris exactly what he was looking for, and then abruptly introduced James Maurer. The introduction may have nettled "Jim" but the subsequent heckling by two or three thoughtless individuals certainly did not. Maurer was not his usual self. He related no pleasant stories, as is his custom. He was deadly earnest and his voice was fraught with emotion. One could forgive the interruptions on the score of politeness but to dam Maurer's anecdotal stream was an unpardonable sin.

The trouble with the Socialist Party, began the President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor and Councilmen of Reading, Pa., is that it has editorialized about Russia and now finds that it does not know what it has been editorializing about. He had gone to Russia with an open mind. He had not expected to measure things by American standards. He had gone to compare New Russia with Old Russia. He was not surprised to find that we did not know what was going on. While he and the unofficial trade union delegation were in Russia the Associated Press correspondent informed them of a riot in Leningrad arising from a strike for the eight hour day. That was impossible, the speaker went on to explain, when he supported the British Empire but was opposed to imperialism and he appointed two labor members to a commission to investigate India though no Indian was represented on the body. Yet the Forward honored MacDonald with a dinner, and when Stolberg had had the pleasure to review Harry Laidler's new book on Socialism he did not point out that Ramsay MacDonald was no Socialist. On the contrary the speaker emphasized that the first labor premier of England simply was a manifestation of a certain kind of culture. Socialism is an international attitude towards plutocracy and an expression of a national culture. Therefore, the Russian Revolution could not have been anything else but what it was. The main objection of American Socialists is that the Communists have not been behaving themselves here. The Com-

He then tried to drive his point home by an illustration. While in Russia he received a clipping from a home town newspaper, telling of the shooting of strikers by Red Guards in a certain small mining town near Moscow. Again some one interfered by volunteering the information that there were no mines there. Maurer turned brusquely and insisted upon telling his own story. As a matter of fact there were no mines in that town where Red Guards had been in the place at the time the shooting was alleged to have taken place and later again. Diligent inquiry revealed that no such incident had taken place and yet American newspapers had run this story with an accompanying picture of a similar condition under the Czarist regime.

Maurer began to tell about the political prisoners. Only dangerous ones were jailed and the conditions in the prisons were excellent.

"I don't believe it!" exclaimed a heckler.

"Because I am a Socialist," it does not mean I must be a hypocrite," retorted the speaker and he resumed his description of the penal institutions of Soviet Russia. There was no prison he saw there that was so unfit for human habitation as those he knew in Pennsylvania. He was in the worst prison in Russia and that was better than any at home.

## Inspection Made Freely

Nobody told the delegation where to go. They were not supplied with interpreters; they had their own. When they wanted to visit the rural regions, they rode out into the country. They did not just go where they were going. They just kept going. They interviewed everybody who should have been interviewed. There were a lot of things which the speaker could not approve. One had to remember that the Communists had inherited a region devastated by war and famine. Seven million at one time were sick because of famine and invasion. From the terrible conditions wonders have been evolved.

Said Maurer: "I am the last man to condemn Soviet Russia. If what they have over there is Communism, I don't care if you call me a Communist. They are working for a better world to live in."

"For twenty years after the revolution in this country we were intolerant. We confiscated, we burned, we chased the loyalists out of the country. Let us point

fingers here first. One cannot risk the success of a revolution. You can't imagine the nervousness of the people there with Poland armed to the teeth and the country infested with spies. If I were there, I'd probably be a Communist. They asked me about the Communists in this country and I told them they were a bunch of darn fools. They wanted to know why the workers didn't sympathize with Russia and I told them because of the darn Communists you have over there. I have seen the Communists in action here. They don't build; they destroy. They tried to destroy the Socialist Party and the labor movement. I told them they couldn't think we should give up so easily what it took a century to build up.

"The Communists there are doing the best under the circumstances. The difference between the Communists and the Socialists is that one says that labor creates all wealth, and the other that all wealth is created by labor. This is a fight of workers, and I don't care what kind of a fight the workers are in, I'm with the workers first, last and all the time."

Vladeck then introduced Morris Hillquit as "the man best qualified to sum up the situation."

**Hillquit Takes Issue**  
Hillquit: "When the first Russian revolution occurred a wave of joy swept over the world. When in November of the same year we learned of the second revolution, we found that our ranks became divided. We have never been able to evolve a consistent Socialist position. My prediction is that we shall still remain divided after tonight's debate. The fault, is not ours. It is not that we are not logical. Socialism is not based upon logic. Here I disagree with Comrade Lee. It is not like engineering or architecture, an exact science. A popular movement like Socialism cannot be that."

"Taking Jim's statement as gospel truth and relying upon the printed word, there are certain facts that are not disputed. We don't have to go to Russia to ascertain them. In the first place, the Soviet government has been the greatest disaster and calamity that has occurred to the Socialist movement. Norman Thomas has expressed fears as to what might happen if the experiment fails. I say the experiment has already failed. I agree with Stolberg. Things happened because they had to happen that way. Up to 1917 the Bolsheviks were but a wing of the Socialist movement. The revolution came in a country least ready for it. Therefore, a Socialist commonwealth could not be worked out step by step. The Communists issued one decree abolishing private property. They had the land nationalized at once. The capitalists may denounce Socialism now. They point to Russia to show how it works. The communal ownership of land has become a myth. Ninety per cent of Russian land is in fact owned privately by an essentially non-proletarian element. Workers' control has been given up. Concessions have been granted to

capitalists. The New Economic Policy is not new, but old middle class capitalism."

"And, by the way, did you meet the dictatorship of the proletariat, Jim? There is no dictatorship of the proletariat. There is a dictatorship of the Communist Party, with the aristocracy of the Communist Party doing the dictating."

"If Jim did not see any Socialists in Russian prisons, I have been many in exile in France and Germany."

"Let us turn to the intellectual and cultural situation. The whole spiritual and intellectual life is in a straight jacket. Many years ago prominent anti-Socialists beginning with Spencer pictured the Socialist state based upon uniformity. Well, that is what you have in Russia today."

"There is no difference between the Soviet government and the Communist movement here. They are one and the same thing. The Communist movement was created by the Soviet government. If the Soviet government ceased in Russia, there would not be ten Communists left in the United States. All the little crazy Communists, little commissars of the Soviet government, as they think themselves to be would go."

**A Suggested Program**  
In retrospect what the Communists did looks like the most insane act. There was a radical party taking hold of a vast country like Russia. Who would have thought they would have lacked favor among the working class? Yet their first act was to try to break up the labor movements of the world and make enemies for themselves among the working class.

"There is a credit side, too. To a great extent the Communists were compelled to do what they did by the conditions existing at the time. They have saved Russia from barbarity and disintegration. At least the majority are honestly trying to rebuild Russia."

"If we must have a program, let it be something like this: Let us disassociate ourselves from the Soviet government and thereby make clear that the Social Democrats have no connection with it, bear no relation to it. Demand recognition of Russia by all means. It is not recognized because Russia represents an attack on private property. When this country recognizes Mussolini, the old Czarist government and Horthy, then, I say, it becomes our duty to stand for the recognition of Soviet Russia. It will be a good thing to break down the Chinese wall. The masses of Russia will come back to the Socialist movement. Every year since 1917 has seen Russia sobering down; it has been a painful process."

"There will come a time when the workers of America, Russia and Europe will unite again. Let us go our own way, hold aloft our own banner. In the last year there has been a lack of criticism. Stolberg is right to a large extent. We have left the field to the crazy Communists. It is time to shake off the lethargy. It is time not merely to theorize, but to work and fight."

## Among Those Present

THE New Leader dinner, celebrating the fourth birthday of our paper, was in the nature of a gala event which brought out more than 500 comrades from all sections of the Socialist and trade union movement. Young and old mingled in an afternoon which was at once a reunion and an occasion for planning the work of the future. There was a representative group of comrades from outside of New York and a large sprinkling of new faces. Here is a partial list—many of the comrades having entertained guests—of those who were present:

A. J. L. Afros, Mr. H. R. Ansell, Mrs. H. R. Ansell, Mr. Jacob Axelrod, Mrs. Jacob Axelrod.  
B. Chas. Ball, Abraham Baroff, Harry Begon, Mrs. Harry Begon, John Bellia, Ben Belsky, Dr. Simon Berlin, Mrs. Simon Berlin, Dr. Berman, Mrs. E. Berman, Morris Berman, Philip Bevilacqua, J. Blaufarb, Mrs. J. Blaufarb, Charlotte Bohlin, Irving Brackman, Emil Bromberg, M. W. Brunn.

W. Cannon, Edward F. Cassidy, William Chermides, Mrs. Hilda G. Claessens, Pamela Cohen, Miss Edith Cohen, Joe Cohen, Lee N. Cohen, Tillie Cohen, McAllister Coleman, Mrs. McAllister Coleman, Frank Connelly, Frieda Cooperman, Lewis Copeland, I. Corn, Carl Cummings.

J. A. M. Dahme, Jennie Davidson, Pierre De Nio, S. DeWitt, Mrs. S. DeWitt, J. Dissin, Jacob Dubno, Julian S. Duncan.

M. M. Elish, Mrs. M. M. Elish, Abraham Epstein.

Samuel Falperin, Arthur Fasburg, Wm. M. Feigenbaum, Miss M. Feldman, Solomon Filler, Mrs. Solomon Filler, Nathan Fine, Warren E. Fitzgerald, Joseph Friedman, Esther Friedman, George I. Friedman, Mrs. George I. Friedman, Samuel H. Friedman, Bella Fruchter, Harry Fruchter.

Julius Garber, Meyer Gills, Arturo Giovanni, Morris Glane, Aida Gittelson, Henry Grockman, Geo. H. Goebel, Clara Goldberg, Edna Goldberg, Louis F. Goldberg, Dr. M. Goldberg, Rita Goldberg, Clinton S. Golden, Israel Golden, M. Goldsmith, Mrs. M. Goldsmith, Raphael Goldstein, Ben Goodman, David Grandtler, Ray Grandtler, Harry Greenfield, Mary Dello Gusar, Vivian Gusar, George Gusar.

Mrs. S. Halman, Sigmund Halman, Albert Halpern, Mrs. Albert Halpern, Dr. J. Halpern, Phil Hamsel, Dr. Leon Harris, Mrs. Leon Harris, Moe Harris, L. Harvey, Wilko Hedman, Adolph Held, Mrs. Adolph Held, S. Herschowitz, J. Hillman, Morris Hillquit, Lawrence Hillquit, Nina Hillquit, Goldine Hillson, Dr. Hoffman, Sylvia Hoffman, D. Horowitz, Mrs. D. Horowitz.

Dr. S. Ingerman, Cy Inselbuch, Mrs. Cy Inselbuch, Mrs. Isaacs, Mrs. Isaacs.

Dr. M. S. Jaffe, Mrs. M. S. Jaffe, Dr. James M. James, Ida Jokianen, Ben Josephson.

Alexander Kahn, Mrs. Alexander Kahn, Philip Kaplowitz, Ida B. Karlin, William Karlin, Mrs. Jennie Karp, Harry Karp, Mrs. Harry Karp, Mrs. Fannie Karsh, Gertrude Weil Klein, Peter Knudsen.

Doris Kostinsky, A. M. Kuntz.

I. Laderman, Harry W. Laidler, R. Lancaster, Harry Lang, Mrs. Harry Lang, Harry Latzer, Dr. Mathilda Lee, Mrs. Lermer, Eleanor L. Levenson, Viola Levenson, A. J. Lever, David Levin, N. Levin, Mrs. B. Levin, Polly Levinson, Edward Levinson, B. Levitan, Mrs. Paul G. Levy, Mathew M. Levy, Dr. S. Lewis, Mrs. S. Lewis, Mr. Simon Libman, Mrs. Simon Libman, Joshua Lieberman, Mrs. Joshua Lieberman, Dr. J. F. Lief, Mr. Liss, Olga Long, Bela Low, Mrs. Bela Low, Mr. Lowenstein, Mrs. Lowenstein, Dr. Luchini, Mrs. Lupp, John Lyons, Mrs. John Lyons.

Chas. Manlinoff, Norman Marguer, Mrs. Mayer Marshall, James H. Maurer, Minnie Meister, I. Monks, Reinhard Meyer, David Mikol, Mrs. Milstein, Jos. Mueller.

Isaac Natkins, Morris Novick.

Dr. Charles Ogar, Mrs. Charles Ogar, James Oneal, Mrs. James Oneal, Olive Oneal.

Jacob Panken, Phillip Pasik, Isidore Phillips, Agnes Piel, Joseph Pomeroy, Mrs. Joseph Pomeroy, Felix Poplawski, Mr. M. Poses, Mrs. M. Poses.

Mrs. Ramut, Dr. Louis Reiss, Mrs. Louis Reiss, Herman Rivkin, Mrs. Herman Rivkin, George E. Roever, H. Rogoff, Mrs. H. Rogoff, Dr. J. Rolnick, Mrs. J. Rolnick, S. Rosenthal, Alex. Rose, Nicholas Rosenauer, Mrs. Nicholas Rosenauer, Arthur Rosenberg, Mrs. Arthur Rosenberg, Cella Rotter, David Rubinoff, Meyer Rubinson, Mrs. Meyer Rubinson, Dominick Ruggieri, Mrs. Goldie Rullash, J. Rutes, Mrs. J. Rutes.

Dr. Louis Sadoff, Mrs. Louis Sadoff, John Sala, Benjamin Schlesinger, Jonas Schriber, Barney Schuch, M. H. Schup, Lucy Serafin, S. Shafer, Mrs. S. Shafer, Joseph Shaplen, Anna R. Shero, Max Sherover, Jos. Shipley, A. I. Shiplooff, Mrs. A. I. Shiplooff, Selmer Shoben, A. H. Shulman, Isaac Siegmelter, Mrs. Isaac Siegmelter, Helen Silverstone, H. Silberberg, Oscar Slote, Mrs. Oscar Slote, Harry T. Smith, Sadie C. Smith, Sophie Solokoff, David T. Sommer, Louis Stanley, J. Stein, Lee Stein, Charles Stetsky, Benjamin Stolberg, Mary Fox Stolberg.

Louis Terr, Mrs. Louis Terr, Norman Thomas, Mr. Tollins, Mrs. Tollins, Dr. Tuck, Mrs. E. Tulman, Morris Tulman, Joseph Turvin, Mrs. Joseph Turvin.

Gerolamo Valenti, Mrs. Vigderson, B. C. Vladeck, Mrs. B. C. Vladeck, Herman Volk, Mrs. Herman Volk.

Louis Waldman, Mrs. Louis Waldman, Louise Waldron, Adolph Warshaw, Rosa Warshaw, Mrs. L. Weiner, S. J. Weiner, Isaac Weitz, Ernest Welsh, Rosa Welsh, Dr. Maurice Williams, Isidore Winnick, Sarah Witkowsky, Mrs. Wolowich.

William Young.  
Z. Abraham Zucker.  
Organizations  
The following organizations were represented by large delegations: Amalgamated Clothing Workers, New York Joint Board; Furriers' Branch, Socialist Verboord; Joint Council of the N. Y. Furriers' Union; International Pocketbook Workers' Union; Millinery Workers' Union, Local 24; United Hebrew Trades, United Neckwear Makers' Union, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

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# Socialist Party Plans and Progress Through The States

## National

Readers in unorganized communities desiring information on how to organize local divisions of the Socialist Party may obtain instructions, leaflets, charter applications, membership cards, application cards and all other necessary information by addressing William E. Henry, National Executive Secretary, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. Information regarding speakers, literature, platforms, etc., may be obtained from the National Office.

**Iceland**  
A big order for Socialist literature arrives from the cold north. The comrades ordering this literature writes that we may expect a warming up in that region as the Socialist movement develops.

**Early Interest Increasing**  
State and District secretaries and comrades in states not organized write of renewed interest in party organization, of plans for state conventions, party organization, and the 1928 campaign. Comrades and friends should realize that the more support we get at national headquarters the better shape we will be in when the big convention meets.

**Literature**  
Orders for literature are on the increase. The second edition of "Walls and Bars" is of the press. This book sells readily wherever comrades make a serious attempt to sell it. The big leaflet, "Party Builders and Thinkers," is being ordered from all parts of the country. A new supply of this leaflet is ready and we expect comrades to use it.

We hope to announce next week the price and make-up of the new farmer pamphlet. Printers are now working on it. This piece of literature can and should be used in large quantities in the farming sections.

## Colorado

**New Local**  
C. A. Bushnell, State Secretary of the party in Colorado, reports the organization of a new local at Boulder. He also orders dues stamps.

## Texas

**State Ticket Sure**  
Comrade Taylor, State Secretary again orders dues stamps and explains the situation confronting them in placing the Socialist ticket on the ballot. They expect to have a full ticket in Texas. Every Socialist who reads this in Texas should be an active cooperator with the state officials.

## New Jersey

**State Convention**  
State Secretary Schwartz sent out a call for the state convention, which will be held in Passaic on Sunday, March 25, when a full state ticket will be named. Schwartz orders a big supply of the leaflet, "Party Builders and Thinkers." He also writes he is pushing the sale of Voluntary Assessment stamps and says the members are all buying them. He expects to make a good showing before he makes his final report.

## Kansas

**Magill at Work**  
State Secretary Magill is still in the field pushing the work of the organization. The National Organization is cooperating with him, and giving him some small financial assistance. Magill's reports show that the party organization can be built up. All it takes is work.

## Kentucky

John J. Thobe, State Secretary, writes that he is getting ready for organization and expects to form several locals in the near future. He reports that the party will have a ticket on the ballot in Kentucky in the fall election.

## Utah

**Nominations Assured**  
O. A. Kennedy, secretary of the Rocky Mountain District and State Secretary of Utah, writes that both Utah and Wyoming will surely have full tickets in the November election. He is not sure about the third state, Arizona. He will do his utmost to cooperate with local Socialists in building up the party in that state and placing our ticket on the ballot.

## Michigan

**Michigan Coming Back**  
Joe Bernstein, State Secretary, orders a big supply of dues stamps. Michigan is going forward and will have a ticket on the ballot. The woman's branch of Detroit has sixty members. They are very active—not only doing propaganda work for the party, but in assisting the striking miners.

## California

The recent mass meeting addressed by Lew Head and Lena Morrow Lewis brought a number of applications for membership and a number of subscribers and renewals for the Socialist weekly, the Labor World.

Local Los Angeles has voted to hold propaganda meetings each Thursday night. The South Park Branch will hold a banquet in the near future and the Central and Jewish branches are holding good meetings.

Local Pasadena has also decided to hold public lectures every third Tuesday night of each month.

## Pennsylvania

**Big Revival in State**  
State Secretary Darlington Hoopes orders \$107.50 worth of dues stamps and supplies. Recent conferences and discussions among liberal trade unions and Socialist groups indicate that the fast growing number unemployed and suffering workers require immediate endorsement of such bills.

The committee urges all Socialists and sympathizers to contribute money and lend clothes to the striking miners at Pittsburgh, Pa. Clothes can be sent to the National Office.

During the coming presidential campaign every Socialist should show his colors by wearing one.

Small, neat, solid gold party buttons (retail \$1.00).....\$8.00 per doz.  
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### 1-28

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#### Pittstown Organized

Local Pittstown, which has been inactive for some time, reorganized with 15 new and old members last week.

The sale of dues stamps at the meeting gave the treasury a fund of \$22.50 and a collection swelled it by \$5.27. Lillith M. Wilson of Reading speaks Thursday night and a public mass meeting will soon be held with Reading Socialist officials as the speakers.

#### Reading

Thursday night of this week a membership meeting of Local Berks County will be held in the Labor Lyceum when political nominations will be made for a number of offices.

The candidates to be nominated are one Congressman, one State Senator, five Assemblymen, and two State Committeemen.

#### 16th Ward Reorganized

The 16th Ward Branch will apply for a renewal of its charter at the meeting of Local Berks Thursday night.

The application will be signed by 32 members and co-members who initiated action for re-affiliation with the party.

The new branch will meet every Sunday afternoon at 2:30 at 538 S. 18th street. All members and friends in the ward are urged to attend.

#### Wisconsin

**Socialist Help for Miners**

Recently a tiny band of Communists in Milwaukee roared that Milwaukee Socialists "betrayed" the striking miners because a "united front" meeting with them was refused. The Milwaukee Leader recently published a picture of a large shipment of clothing and shoes to the miners which weighed two tons. This was the fourth shipment. In addition to this \$681.27 has been gathered for the miners. The Socialists are co-operating with the Federated Trades Council in this work.

#### New England

**Boston**

Frank Crossworth, Special Organizer for the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, will speak at 21 Essex street on Thursday, Feb. 9, at 8:15 p.m. His subject is "Labor's Struggle Against the Company Union." As the porters, under Randolph's and Crossworth's leadership, have put up the best struggle of any trade union in the last few years against company unionism, he will be well worth hearing. Alfred Baker Lewis and Joseph Beardsley have spoken for the Brotherhood in Boston. The Boston local of the union is coming along strong under the leadership of Frank R. Crossworth.

**Worcester**

Joseph Beardsley will speak at the Worcester Central Labor Union's meeting Wednesday, Feb. 1, on the anti-injunction bill introduced by the Socialist Party. Louis Rabinowitz was the speaker representing the Socialist Party at the Anti-Fascist meeting held last week in Seaside Auditorium.

**Brookline**

Frank Crossworth spoke at the Labor Forum in Brookline last Sunday, and Alfred Baker Lewis will be the speaker this Sunday on Unemployment Insurance.

**Lewis' Dates**

Lewis spoke in Dorchester at the Well-fare Centre Feb. 1 on the subject, "Is America a Democracy?"

His subsequent dates are as follows: Friday, Feb. 2, Branch 729 Workmen's Circle at 20 Bryant street, Malden on "Socialism and Americanism." Sunday, Feb. 5, at noon at First Congregational Church of Somerville on "The Economic Basis for Brotherhood." Same day at 3:15 p.m. at the Labor Forum, 47 West Elm street, Brookline, on "Unemployment and Unemployment Insurance." Feb. 19 at 7:30 at the Congregational Church at N. Weymouth on "The Economic Basis for Brotherhood." Monday, Feb. 20, at the Fellowship of Youth for Peace meeting on the same subject. Thursday, Feb. 23, at the Y. M. C. A., 316 Huntington avenue, Boston, at 8:00 p.m. on the same subject.

#### Connecticut

**State Executive Committee**

met Sunday Jan. 29 in New Haven at the Workmen's Circle Educational Center and unanimously voted to support unemployment insurance and old age pension bills. Recent conferences and discussions among liberal trade unions and Socialist groups indicate that the fast growing number unemployed and suffering workers require immediate endorsement of such bills.

The committee urges all Socialists and sympathizers to contribute money and lend clothes to the striking miners at Pittsburgh, Pa. Clothes can be sent to the National Office.

During the coming presidential campaign every Socialist should show his colors by wearing one.

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All locals are urged to sell the Debt Memorial Convention stamp. These stamps are sold for the purpose of helping to finance the National Convention.

A call will be sent out this week for nomination of delegates to the convention. Connecticut is entitled to three delegates.

#### New Haven

The speaker at the Feb. 5 meeting of the Socialist Forum at the Workmen's Circle Educational Center, 438 Oak street, will be Mrs. Joseph Whitney, first woman alderman of New Haven. Her subject is "America and Foreign Relations."

We still have a few of the Debt Memorial Calendars left. Anyone who wants one can send 12c in postage stamps to Walter E. Davis, R-105 Belmont street, New Haven, Ct.

#### Missouri

**St. Louis**

St. Louis Socialists have been inactive for a long time but a call for a recent meeting brought out some old timers. A general discussion was followed by a decision to hold regular meetings and lectures. The subject announced for Jan. 31 is "Government by Injunction and Organized Labor." Meetings are held at Labor Hall, 940 Chouteau avenue, and open at 8 o'clock.

#### New York State

**Buffalo**

Buffalo is rapidly going to the front in organization. Comrade Nees is visiting old timers and receiving encouraging reports. All seem to be ready to get back into the movement.

We are having a very interesting study on evolution conducted by Frank Ehrenfried. These lectures are given first and third Thursdays each month, at the East Side Labor Lyceum, 1644 Genesee street, near Deol (side entrance). This is only the beginning of many activities planned. Readers of The New Leader are cordially invited to attend these affairs; we guarantee them pleasant and interesting evenings.

#### New York City

The branches of Local New York City in the five counties have received a call from the City Office for the nomination of delegates to the National Convention.

which is to meet in New York City April 14 to April 20. There will be 40 delegates representing the State of New York. Eleven will be elected from upstate congressional districts; three by a State referendum as delegates at large and 30 from the five counties in New York City. The apportionment of these 30 delegates is as follows: 15 from New York County; 7 from King County; 3 from the Bronx and one delegate and alternate from Queens and Richmond County. The three remaining delegates will be elected by the City Central Committee at the conclusion of the referendum.

The branches of all five counties will nominate the quota of delegates from their respective county for 200 members continues with a perceptible slackening for the week ending Jan. 27. Although but one application was received Jan. 27 (thus continuing the unbroken stream of applications at weekly meetings), it simply indicates that this infant branch is getting its second wind.

There are rumors about that the "Memorial House" (Frank Brodsky) and his nearest competitors (Afros, Wolfe and Daublin), have something up their sleeves and will spring an agreeable surprise at the next meeting. We await with eager anticipation the denouncement.

S. Benj. Daublin's talk at the last meeting on "Why I Rejoined the Socialist Party" was extremely interesting and stimulated a most profitable discussion.

J. L. Afros will address the next meeting at 1465 St. Marks avenue on Feb. 3, at 8 p.m. "The Strategy of Socialism." Party members and friends are cordially invited.

#### Brooklyn

**18th A.D.**

This new branch in the Bensonhurst section continues to show progress. It is interesting to know that practically 80 per cent of the members are present at business meetings. The Sunday afternoon forum continues successful and arrangements are being made for an enlarged Socialist voters meeting and an intensive membership drive. The branch meets at the W. C. Center, 731 20th avenue.

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#### Manhattan

**Downtown Branches**

The banquet and get-together of the 1st-2nd A.D. and Jewish Downtown Branch in the last of the biggest branch meetings held for a long time. Keep up the good attendance, comrades.

**23rd A.D.**

A well attended meeting was held last Monday evening. Secretary Claessens was present and spoke on "The Socialist Party and the Presidential Campaign." The Branch nominated delegates to the National Convention and report was made of the successful Friday night forum.

On Saturday evening, March 3, the annual ball of the Brownsville Branch will be held at the Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. This affair promises to be successful. Bertha Bass is doing heroic work in getting ads for the Journal. Bill Lichtrahl is leading in the sale of tickets. A thousand dollar journal is expected every effort is being made to obtain a large sale of tickets.

Branch meetings are held Monday evenings at the Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. On Monday, Feb. 5, L. P. Goldberg gave a talk on Socialism after the business meeting.

#### Ypsilom

**Circle 3, Junior, Bronx**

Last Friday after an interesting literary evening four new members were accepted. This Circle is developing nicely under the leadership of its executive committee consisting of Skurmel, Smilg, Delogot and Bendersky. A splendid course in Socialism has been mapped out covering 12 weeks. The program for the next four weeks is Feb. 10, The Abolition Movement; Abe Lincoln, Lloyd Garrison, etc.; Feb. 17, A Round Table Discussion on the Principles of Socialism with our director, Comrade Dikant, acting as leader; Feb. 24, Discussion on Dr. Harry Laidler's booklet "How America Lives." Each member is supplied with one copy by the organizer, costs only ten cents. March 2, Humor and Musical program.

A committee of Circle 3 elected to co-operate with Party at Hunts Point Palace last Sunday was on the job since 3:30 p.m.

#### FRATERNALLY YOURS

AT THE Beaux Arts ball held in New York last week Mrs. S. Stanwood Menken appeared in a costume that cost \$7,000. It was a one night costume only and can never be worn again. Mrs. S. (the S. is for Solomon, but we won't go into that) Stanwood Menken is the wife of a notorious red-baiter who was President of the National Security League, the crowd that threw fits about admitting Countess Karolyi to this country on the ground that the Countess would overthrow our institutions. This same gang succeeded in cancelling the speaking engagements of Mr. Arthur Henderson, the English M. P., because, forsooth, he was "preaching Socialist doctrines." They also picked on eleven-year-old Leo Grandoff who was suspected of having designs on the government in 1923 and Mr. Menken and his boy friends Major General R. L. Bullard and Haley Fiske are among the Big Boo Men of the Nation.

You know what a Boo Man is. He is the guy who runs down to Wall Street and hollers "BOO, THE BOLSHIEVISTS ARE COMING." This scares the fat boys so that they come across with oodles of jack. Oodles and oodles of it apparently. If Solomon can afford to blow his wife to a seven thousand dollar gown that can only be worn once.

Seven thousand dollars for a dress. Sit down and figure how far that would go with the striking oil-miners in Pennsylvania the union is paying around \$2.50 a week relief for a family of five.

Every time you think of that seven thousand dollars for one dress for one party, get good and mad and go out and get subscribers for The New Leader. You know the psychology shows that it is bad business to let an emotion loose and give it no aim or purpose. The one and only way to end the sort of indecent display put on by the Menkens and their ladies is to build the Socialist Party. And nothing builds a party faster than the strengthening of a militant, constructively radical press. And in the long run, by and large, you, dear reader-comrade, can give us the sticks and stones in the shape of subscriptions and advertisements that will give you the paper you want.

NO NEED FOR SOCIALISM? THE MOVEMENT HAS NO PLACE IN A COUNTRY WHERE EVERYONE IS PROSPEROUS? IS THAT SO? TAKE A LOOK AT THE PICTURE OF MRS. SOLOMON STANWOOD PARADING HER SEVEN THOUSAND DOLLAR GOWN AROUND A DANCE FLOOR FILLED WITH DRUNKEN BABBITTRY AND THEN LOOK AT THE PICTURE OF A COAL-MINER'S WIFE NOT TWO HUNDRED MILES AWAY FROM THAT DANCE FLOOR, SHIVERING IN HER FLIMSY BARRACKS, DRESSED IN PAPER-LIKE, FANTASTIC, MAKE-SHIFT RAGE AND-TELL US ANOTHER.

"The one grand thing about the movement is that when a person gets the mean

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## TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from Page 1)

most remote corners of the great realm under the control of the dictatorship which he helped to establish. Those of us who are convinced of the dangers of dictatorship and who still believe, despite H. L. Mencken, Benito Mussolini and the Third International, that there is something to be said even for our present imperfect and often hypocritical democracy find a good many morals in the fate of Trotsky and his fellow exiles.

Not that we believe that Trotsky's present policy was better for Russia or the world than Stalin's. Probably Stalin's general policy is wiser even though it marks a decided swing to the right no matter how revolutionary the formulas he may employ the better to curse his enemies. In practice he seems more loyal to dictatorship than to other principles of pure Leninism. This swing to the right goes a considerable distance to justify those who have claimed that it is easier in Russia to talk revolutionary formulas than to put them in practice. It robs communist criticism of the caution of Western socialists of some of its sting.

One of the matters in dispute between Stalin and Trotsky had to do with the policy toward the peasants. The dispute, according to Walter Duranty, the well informed correspondent of the New York Times, has not shaken the administration politically but has produced or heightened a difficult economic situation. The peasants want more concessions. They will give grain only for goods, and that pretty much on their own terms. In short, the lack of harmony between agricultural economy and industrial economy which is at present so acute in capitalist America has not been solved in Soviet Russia.

Nevertheless not by the breakdown of the Russian experiment or by bitter attack on it from without but by its healthy evolution from within can we expect victory for what is vital and fine in it. And there is much that is tremendously vital and fine in the Russian experiment. It has already brought immense gains to the workers which cannot all be measured in money. As the critical Keynes has said it is developing a society with some other religion than the love of money. It is providing an opportunity to show what can be done with an ordered and planned scheme of production and distribution instead of the chaos of our profit system. To these things the enthusiastic testimony of shrewd labor leaders like Jim Maurer and other workers who have recently visited Russia and the reports of economists and statisticians like Professor Paul Douglas and Stuart

If any comrade came away from The New Leader dinner last week without new hope and enthusiasm for the movement, then he or she is curiously put together. The liveliness of the discussion, the real fire shown by the speakers, the responsiveness of the audience to the appeal of Comrade Viadek for making The New Leader stronger than ever, all combined to make this a most memorable affair. For his part, at any rate, every member of The New Leader staff found fresh inspiration in this gathering of men and women coming together with the common end in view of creating in America and abroad a genuine cooperative commonwealth. We're on the job, here in the office. How about you, out there on the dining line?

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# HIGH-PRESSURE SALESMANSHIP DEFLATES THE DOLLAR

By Harry W. Laidler

Stuart Chase wrote his first book on "Tragedy of Waste," Ram MacDonald praised it as an outstanding example of the kind of research into the evils of capitalism which has all over the world should be read at the present time, of revealing capitalism. It punctured the argument of the great business men who argued that we were under the most efficient of possible economic systems and showed pretty conclusively that we but organized our economic life with a view to service of their profit, we could produce as much as large quantity of useful goods as at present with but one-half of the labor now expended. In other words, we could work for four hours a day instead of eight and be at least as well off as we are at present.

Chase, who, by the way, is a certified public accountant, formerly senior accountant for the Federal Trade Commission in the investigation of the beef combine, director of the Labor Bureau, Inc., and treasurer of the League for Industrial Democracy, was not, however, content with this analysis of things-as-they-are. Together with F. J. Schlink, formerly of the United States Bureau of Standards, he has, during the last two years been delving into the whole American game of fooling the consumer, and has come out with a brilliantly written and powerful indictment of the whole system of high pressure salesmanship which calculated to fritter away the hard earned dollar of Mr. and Mrs. Average Citizen.

It is an encouraging sign of the times that "Your Money's Worth," (net price, \$2.00) the title of the author's most recent book, is published and widely advertised by the old and conservative house of Macmillan Company and that the Book of the Month Club chose the volume as their book of the month for July, 1927, thus insuring it an immediate distribution of perhaps forty thousand copies.

## Victimizing the Consumer

"Alice in Wonderland" is the title of the first chapter of the book. Alice is the consumer, victim of the modern salesmanship, utterly without knowledge of the relative merits of the various articles advertised as the "very best," "the world's greatest," and with no way as an individual of knowing how to obtain that knowledge.

"We who have to bring in business," the authors quote from a New York advertising agent, "must get out before the beloved customers and shout, search, hallel, promise, concede, coax, be funny, pop, thump, seek, knock, punch, and get the order."

The consumer is thus under mounting pressure to buy, buy, buy, "while few sources are offered him whereby he may make intelligent selection in his buying," declare the authors, "so far as may be, he must not be permitted to think. It is an axiom of the higher salesmanship that his mind must be made up for him in advance. Too much thinking would halt turnover, flatten sales curves, give competitors an opening. Witness the cloud of 'last call' advertisements—this extraordinary offer good for ten days only, 'the last chance of a lifetime,' etc."

Inasmuch as profit through quick turnover is the chief aim of the advertiser, he is under a tremendous temptation, the authors contend, "to adulterate goods, limit their serviceability, shorten their life, and bring the purchaser back the sooner for another sale. The tire business recently issued a warning that tires were being made to last too long for healthy business." While, if we have any conceivable commodity capable of lasting several years, extraordinary efforts are made to get you to buy a new model, and to bring obliquity to bear against any who are so behind the times as not to have the latest model.

Turning to adulteration, the authors quote an authority in the Federal Trade Commission as estimating that there are at least a thousand advertisers of fraudulent schemes advertising through our magazines and journals. The annual loss to the consumer runs into hundreds of millions of dollars.

We are constantly being urged to buy fancy package goods when bulk goods at a tenth of the price would be equally effective.

We are being told that certain commodities are good for a thousand and one uses with which they have no connection; "that Peacnuts are not only good food for the stomach but for the brain; that Blisterine not only eliminates odors but eliminates dandruff . . . that chewing gum . . . is no longer just an exercise for the jaws, it is a dentrifice, a digestion stabilizer, a breath sweetener, an antiseptic. 'Wrigley's, we are assured, 'is a thrice daily routine for people of refinement'."

The authors quote another advertising agency as maintaining that but one-fourth of the business is done as a result of a natural demand, the other three-quarters as a result of salesmanship. While this is probably exaggerated, a staggering total of the nation's purchasing power is so controlled. And the advertising that does the business is not

that dealing with quality, value, utility, reasonable cost or soundness, but repetition.

**Selling the Package**  
There is developing, writes the author, a wonderful technique of getting into the homes, as representative of the school of mothers' club, etc. A growing art of developing of "selling the package," rather than what the package contains. "Gilt paper, shiny nickel boxes, layers of glassine paper and tissue, bright colors, ribbons, fancy and costly printing, the shapes of perfume bottles—all add to the purchasing appeal and with a singular efficacy detract attention from the material which lies embalmed in all this glitter."

**Appeal to Sentiment**  
And then there is the new appeal to sentiment and social prestige. "Here is a soap which 'will bring a new kind of

cleanness.' We have a picture of a young man who uses it dancing with a charming girl. . . 'Of course she likes him better. The other fellow dances well—a fine chap, but—you know—a bit careless. To be frank, not pleasant to dance with.' What is this subduer of charming young ladies; this new kind of cleanliness? A little cresol, a common and cheap disinfectant recommended by the government for disinfecting cars, barns and chicken yards."

**Health, Not Wealth**  
And so the authors expose this new time of higher salesmanship ad infinitum. They debunk the average tooth brush and tooth powder advertisements. "The curative power of mouth washes," they quote from a Medical Association, "has been grossly overestimated. In the chronic case of pyorrhea usually seen, they are ineffective, neither checking or curing

the disease." The best and safest mouth washes are either warm water, a teaspoonful of salt in a pint of water, or a salt solution with a little sodium bicarbonate added.

The American Medical Association reports that the \$117,000,000 a year cosmetic industry is honeycombed with dangerous products. "Scores of women seeking beauty by the jar get for their money unsightly scars and permanent disfigurement." The Bureau of Standards recently found that only nine percent of the wood entering into furniture made very durable furniture, while 56 per cent was dubious or very "non-durable." In fact we are in "a wonderland . . . a wilderness in which we consumers wander without chart or compass. We buy not for the value of the article to meet our specific needs but because the story told on every billboard, every

newspaper and magazine page, every shop window, every sky sign, every other letter we receive, is a pleasing, stimulating and romantic story. . . But whether or not it is a fairy story we do not know save through the bitter and wasteful process of trial and error."

## Increase in Productivity

One of the great reasons for this rate for customers, and the use of every kind of fairy story to induce purchasers is, according to the authors, the great increase in the ability of mankind under modern industry to produce.

"The amazing growth in the technical arts has provided the machines and the organization for turning out goods in incredible quantities. One cotton mill operative is now able to handle more looms than 50 operatives could manage in 1870. One garment worker running

six rib-cutting machines, replaces 25 workers. Two men with an electro-magnet can unload as much pig iron as 128 men could formerly dispose of. One bottle making machine operator replaces 54 machine workers; one cigarette machine tender replaces 100 hand rollers."

**Lag in Purchasing Power**  
Purchasing power lags behind. The plant, however, must be kept busy, "so the best mental effort in the game of business is concentrated on the major problem of securing the customer's dollar before the other fellow gets it. . . The fruits of that urging are national advertising, experts in sales psychology, high pressure closing men, trade association drives, vertical trusts, instalment selling, direct mail appeal, sucker lists, 'contact men,' the 'dumping' of goods in foreign markets, heaven knows what. . . With a capacity to produce perhaps twice the present total of consumption goods, unemployment lingers, poverty remains, two-thirds of all American families live below the budget of health and decency as computed by the United States Department of Labor. . . Our money system is based on the economics of scarcity, while our technological plant is based on the economics of abundance. The two systems fall to interlock, and out of the frantic and largely futile attempts to do so, the new competition emerges."

**The New Main Street**  
Messrs. Chase and Slink give us an enlightening picture of the new competition and the new combinations. They take us along the new Main Street, with the new fangled drug stores and grocery stores, haberdashers, etc. They show us how impossible it is for the Average Citizen to find out from the clerks behind the counter what he is buying. They quote, for instance, Dr. Cramp, of the American Medical Association, maintaining that he knows of no patent medicine that ought to be advertised. They tell us how home builders are constantly being imposed upon in the purchase of every article that goes into the building of a house from cellar to garret, and how even the manufacturer of raw materials is constantly being victimized by the sellers of wood, of leather, of machinery. They give an astounding number of cases of adulteration, of quackery, all verifiable.

## Testing the Product—Let the Consumers Organize

They show what the United States Bureau of Standards has done in testing the ingredients of hundreds of millions of dollars worth of products purchased by the national government in its various departments, and how it has saved the people of the country through their governmental machines millions upon millions. And they ask why the kind of thing that is being done by this agency in the case of commodities purchased by government agencies cannot, as the first step, be done for the people of the United States at large?

Whether consumers will follow the advice of the authors and unite for the purpose of ascertaining the contents of the commodities they buy, it is difficult to tell. The past has not given much evidence of the ability of consumers to make effective demands for fundamental changes. And the high pressure salesmen and their big backers will assuredly fight bitterly against the impartial testing laboratories which the authors urge. Nevertheless, sooner or later the initial steps suggested by the authors must be taken in some form or another to protect the people of the country against the outrages and assaults on their pocketbooks, their health and their general well-being. While ultimately we must put the economic system on an entirely different basis, on a basis of social ownership for common service. In the meanwhile, we are all indebted to the authors for one of the most intelligent, one of the most informative, one of the most vivid, one of the most incisive and one of the most compelling examinations of the unchecked working of the profit motive in modern industry which has yet been written. Every socialist and every progressive should secure and read this book from cover to cover. It provides to Socialists a wealth of argument which they can use with telling effect, particularly with the housewives, with women's organizations and with those who are inclined to think primarily in terms of the rights and the welfare of the consumers—most of whom are, as well, producers of the nation's wealth.

# GARY PASSES, MORGAN RULES ON

By Louis Stanley

WILL the Steel Trust reform its attitude towards labor? The announcement that a triumvirate has replaced the little lamented Elbert H. Gary as the managing genius of the United States Steel Corporation must be taken with two or three grains of salt. Not only was Gary's intellect not so capacious as to demand the substitution of three brains for his mentality but his power and responsibility were so insignificant that he will be but little missed—except by the newspaper men. His locquacity was a boon to every reporter. He was a facile prophet of industrial conditions, including steel; he could resound with political economic and moral platitudes; and he was a preacher of the open shop as an antidote to radicalism. When Judge Gary died last August he was chairman of the board of directors, chairman of the finance committee and chief executive officer. Nevertheless, despite his decease the two and a half billion dollar corporation did not stop functioning. James A. Farrell, president since 1911 and identified with U. S. Steel practically from the start, continued to run the far-flung enterprise as he had been doing right along. The directors and the finance committee kept on taking orders from J. P. Morgan and from George F. Baker of the First National Bank, both of whom dominated the corporation. What could be more natural, therefore, but that when the period of mourning, so to speak, had elapsed, that James A. Farrell should be named officially chief executive officer in addition to president, that J. P. Morgan should become chairman of the board of directors without executive duties and that a representative of Baker, Myron C. Taylor by name, should be made chairman of the finance committee. No fundamental change whatsoever! The Morgan and Baker interests continue to dictate policies. Labor can look forward to no lessened pressure of the iron and steel hell. Only the fulfillment of the predictions that Calvin Coolidge of Boston police strike fame will eventually become the dummy chairman of the board of directors remains to complete the picture of a Mammon, fed with helpless workers.

**Not Even Company Unions**  
The United States Steel Corporation does not even deign to establish company unions. That smacks too much of labor organization. It feels powerful enough to lay down the rules and establish the conditions for its workers without any pretense of democracy. Its welfare work has seemed to it sufficient to ornament its autocratic control. The United States Steel Corporation was formed in April, 1901, as a merger of the all-important Carnegie Company and several other iron, steel and tin corporations. The Carnegie Company had become notorious in the bitterly fought Home-

stead strike of 1892, when the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers went down to defeat. H. C. Frick, chairman of the company, had issued his defiance: "I can say with greatest emphasis that under no circumstances will we have any further dealings with the Amalgamated Association as an organization. This is final."

It was final and the U. S. Steel inherited this policy with the iron and steel assets of Andrew Carnegie, philanthropist, par excellence.

**Morgan Gives Approval**  
On June 17, 1901, the executive committee of the first billion dollar corporation passed the following resolution:

"That we are unalterably opposed to any extension of union labor and advise subsidiary companies to take firm position when these questions come up and say that they are not going to recognize it, that is, any extension of unions in mills where they do not exist, that great care should be used to prevent trouble and that they promptly report and confer with this Corporation."

Nor is there any doubt as to the placing of responsibility for this position. Great pains were taken to make it appear that the labor policy was not centralized. On July 6, 1901, we have this entry:

"The chairman stated that it should be clearly understood that the United States Steel Corporation has nothing whatever to do with it (meaning the question of unionism) that the representatives of the three subsidiary companies are not to state that they are acting in concert or even by consultation, with any of the officials of the United States Steel Corporation."

And also this illuminating bit: "The president stated that he had been assured by the head of the financial house (Morgan's) that he will stand by whatever action the president thinks best."

What follows therefore, must be looked upon in the light of this central control. In 1901 a strike occurred against the three subsidiary corporations, the American Sheet Steel, American Steel Hoop and the American Tin Plate Companies. The Amalgamated Association was glad to emerge from the struggle with the retention of some mills even if it gave up the right to organize. In 1904 a strike in behalf of the workers in the American Steel Hoop Company, which had been absorbed by the Carnegie Steel Company, proved a failure and ended the last vestige of unionism in the Carnegie mills. No strikes occurred for five years before the union surrendered peacefully after mill after mill it had previously unionized. Finally, in the middle of 1909 the Amalgamated Association

had to fight or die for the company had declared a general wage reduction and the abolition of the sliding-scale, while the unionized subsidiaries declared for "open-shop." When the strike was formally called off a year later the union was completely smashed.

**The Strike of 1919**  
The steel strike of 1919 is still fresh in our memories. It was a grand opportunity, unfortunately let slip by. After almost a year of delay by the American Federation of Labor at a time when labor had the strategic advantage some sort of federation of forces of the craft unions involved was achieved and the strike opened on September 22, 1919. More than a third of a million workers responded to the call. Surprising as it may seem, it was the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, timid and broken in spirit, interested only in the highly skilled worker, seeking and bargaining for its own separate advantage, that was most responsible for the failure of the strike. The United States Steel Corporation took the lead in the combat, raising a smoke-screen of Bolshevism for which it never presented one iota of evidence, conducting a pernicious propaganda to stir up national animosities among the workers, importing negro strike-breakers, evicting strikers from company homes, trampling upon civil liberties, and utilizing spies, detectives and armed guards to the full extent of its financial resources. The strike was crushed by the beginning of 1920. U. S. Steel remained non-union, anti-union.

Said Gary triumphantly to the stockholders in April 1921: "As stated and repeated publicly, we do not combat, the we do not contract or deal with labor unions as such."

"But whatever may have been the conditions of employment in the long past, and whatever may have been the results of unionism, concerning which there is at least much uncertainty, there is at present in the opinion of the large majority of both employers and employees, no necessity for labor advantages and that no benefit or advantage through them will accrue to any one except the union labor leaders."

It is of such gems of thought as this that the decease of the Judge deprives us. Morgan, Farrell, Taylor—one of these like to talk but they are one in the conviction that unionism must be eliminated.

**The Mill Refrain**  
No examination of the labor policy of U. S. Steel is complete without a reference to the resistance of the corporation to the demand of the public, the technicians and minority stockholders for the elimination of the twelve hour day in the mills. Work-

ers were too cheap for the company to bother about changing methods that had never failed to produce profits. As the old refrain in the mills went:

"Kill a nigger, hire another."  
"Hire a nigger, hire another."

In 1922 good-natured President Harding urged upon Judge Gary as president of the American Iron and Steel Institute to appoint a committee to consider the abolition of the two shift day. Gary complied and on May 25, 1923 a report was made. The Judge and our new hero, John A. Farrell, signed for U. S. Steel. It was gravely predicted that

"If the twelve hour day in the iron and steel industry should be abandoned at present, it would increase the cost of production on the average about fifteen per cent, and there would be needed at least 60,000 additional employees."

Nobody was convinced and on August 3 Judge Gary announced that "Manufacturers of iron and steel representing the entire industry of this country will now begin the total elimination of the twelve hour day."

At the same time an extra divi-

## Japanese Labor Prepares For Fight In Feb. Election

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

TOKIO.—For the first time in Japanese history the working class will have an opportunity to test its strength in a general election which will occur the middle of February. Heavy filing fees may eliminate some candidates and it is certain that the Government will exert its influence for the Government party. The Eta outcasts have also announced their intention to run nine candidates with the slogan "Equality for all." The Eta consists of the lowest strata in Japan, a caste that for centuries has not been permitted to marry into any other class, and which has been consigned to the most menial occupations. The awakening of this class is a significant phase of Japanese history.

It is necessary to remember that while anybody can be a candidate until Feb. 13, those who by that date have failed to deposit 2,000 yen will drop out, so that many who are now enjoying the limelight as candidates will then become mere voters.

Labor's platform, as expounded by Professor Abe, leader of the Social Democrats, now includes a capital levy, death duties, remission of taxes on necessities, and utilization of the State railroad profits for better third class carriages. All except the last mean little for Japanese labor's cry is still one of discontent rather than a conscious political movement.

Churches	28,216
Schools	27
Restaurants and lunch rooms	32
Playgrounds	66
Sanitary drinking fountains	169
Comfort stations	4,689
Water closet bowls	2,130
Washing faucets or basins	10,375
Clothes lockers	24,930
Base hospitals	179,581
Dwellings and boarding houses	11

Speaking at that time of its safety program in which the corporation takes the greatest pride, it said officially:

"These expenditures for labor have not been, as might appear, at the expense of the stockholders. For instance, calculations show that had accidents continued at the 1906 rate the Corporation under various State compensation laws, would have paid to those who would have been injured or to their families, a sum far exceeding the amount spent in preventing accidents. The Steel Corporation is not an eleemosynary institution. All its activities for the good of the worker, apart from consideration of humanity, have been amply justified by plain business reasons—they paid eventually. The men who direct the policy of the Corporation have never lost sight of the fact that the first object of any company is to make money for its stockholders."

The trio of Morgan, Farrell and Taylor will live up to this noble ideal—at least so long as the trade unions will remain craft-divided and limp in spirit.

# St. Colomba and the River — By Theodore Dreiser

(Continued from Last Week)

BUT, at that, as it stood, there was no immediate danger of work being offered. The cave-in had cost the contractors thousands and in addition had taught them that mere air pressure and bracing as heretofore followed were not sufficient for successful tunneling. Some new system would have to be devised. Work on both halves of the tunnel was suspended for over a year and a half, during which time McGlathery married, a baby was born to him, and his six hundred had long since diminished to nothing. The difference between two and five dollars a day is considerable. Incidentally, he had not gone near his old foreman in all this time, being somehow ashamed of himself, and in consequence he had not fared so well. Previously Cavanaugh had kept him almost constantly employed, finding him faithful and hard-working, now owing to stranger associations there were weeks when he had no work at all and others when he had to work for as little as one-fifty a day, no pleasant. Besides,

had behaved a little more courageously at that time, gone and talked to his old foreman afterward or at the time, he might now be working for good pay. Alas, he had not done so, and if he went now Cavanaugh would be sure to want to know why he had disappeared so utterly. Then, in spite of his marital happiness, poverty began to press him so. A second and a third child were born—only they were twins.

In the meantime, Henderson, the engineer whom Cavanaugh had wanted to consult with at the time, had devised a new system of tunneling, namely, what subsequently came to be known as the pilot tunnel. This was an iron tube ten feet in length and fifteen feet in diameter—the width of the tunnel, which was carried forward on a line and the axis of the tunnel into the ground ahead. When it was driven in far enough to be completely concealed by the earth about, then the earth within was removed. The space so cleared was then used exactly as a hub is used on a wagon wheel. Beams like spokes were radiated from its sides to its centre, and the surrounding earth

this plan the old company had decided to undertake the work again.

One evening, sitting in his doorway thumbing his way through an evening paper which he could barely read, McGlathery had made all this out. Mr. Henderson was to be in charge as before. Incidentally it was stated that Thomas Cavanaugh was going to return as one of the two chief foremen. Work was to be started at once. In spite of himself, McGlathery was impressed. If Cavanaugh would only take him back! To be sure, he had come very near losing his life, as he thought, but then he had not. No one had, not a soul. Why should he be so fearful if Cavanaugh could take such chances as he had? Where else could he make five dollars a day? Still, there was this haunting sensation that the sea and all of its arms and branches, wherever situated, were inimical to him and that one day one of them would surely do him a great injury—kill him, perhaps. He had a recurring sensation of being drawn up into water or down, he could not tell which, and of being submerged in ooze and choking slowly. It was horrible.

As has been indicated, a prominent element in McGlathery's nature was superstition. While he believed in the inimical nature of water to him, he also believed in the power of water to help him.

one-fifty or two or none at all (seven, once he became proficient) and an assured future as a tunnel worker, a "sand-hog," as he had now learned such men as himself were called, was a luring as well as a disturbing thought. After all, he had no trade other than this he had begun to learn under Cavanaugh. Worse he was not a union man, and the money he had once saved was gone and he had a wife and three children. With the former he had various and sundry tasks. To be sure, tunneling was dangerous, but still! She agreed with him that he had better not, but—after all, the difference that five, maybe seven, instead of two a day would make in their living expenses was in both their minds. McGlathery saw it. He decided after a long period of hesitation that perhaps he had better return. After all, nothing had happened to him that other time, and might it ever again, really? He meditated.

As has been indicated, a prominent element in McGlathery's nature was superstition. While he believed in the inimical nature of water to him, he also believed in the power of water to help him.

or hinder. In the Catholic Church of St. Colomba of South Brooklyn, at which McGlathery and his young wife were faithful attendants, there was a plaster statue of a saint of this same name, a co-worker with St. Patrick in Ireland, it appears, who was McGlathery's native town of Kilrush, County of Clare on the water's edge of Shannon, had been worshipped for centuries past, or at least highly esteemed, as having some merit in protecting people at sea, or in adventures connected with water. This was due, perhaps, to the fact that Kilrush was directly on the water and had to have a saint of that kind. At any rate, among other things, he had occasionally been implored for protection in that realm when McGlathery was a boy. On his setting out for America, for instance, some few years before the suggestion of his mother, he had made a novena before this very saint, craving of him a safe conduct in crossing the sea, as well as prosperity once he had arrived in America. Well, he had crossed in safety, and prospered well enough, he thought. At least he had not been killed in any tunnel. In consequence, on bended knees, two blessed candles burning before him in the rack, a half dollar deposited in the box labeled "St. Colomba's Orphans," he finally asked of this saint whether, in case he returned to this underground tunnel work, seeing that necessity was driving him, would he be so kind as to protect him? He felt sure that Cavanaugh, once he applied to him and seeing that he had been a favorite worker, would not begrudge him a place if he had one. In fact he knew that Cavanaugh had always favored him as a good useful helper.

After seven "Our Fathers" and seven "Hail Marys," said on his knees, and a litany of the Blessed Virgin for good measure, he crossed himself and arose greatly refreshed. There was a pleasant conviction in his mind now, newly come there before this image, that he would never come to real harm by any power of water. It was a revelation—a direct communication, perhaps. At any rate, something told him to go see Cavanaugh at once, before the work was well under way and not be afraid, as no harm would come to him, and besides, he might not get anything even though he desired it so much. If he delayed, he bustle out of the

church and over to the waterfront where the deserted shaft was still standing, and sure enough, there was Cavanaugh, conversing with Mr. Henderson.

"Yis—an' what arr ye here fer?" he now demanded to know of McGlathery rather amusedly, for he had sensed the cause of his desertion.

"I was readin' that ye was about to start work on the tunnel again." "An' so we arr. What av it?"

"I was thinkin' maybe ye'd have a place fer me. I'm married now an' have three children."

"Ah' ye're thinkin' that's a reason fer givin' ye something, is it?" demanded the big foreman rather cynically, with a trace of amusement. "I the ight ye said ye was shut av the sea—that ye was through now, once an' fer all?"

"So I did, but I've changed me mind. It's needin' the work I am."

"Very well, then," said Cavanaugh. "We're beginnin' in the mornin'. See that ye're here at seven sharp. An' mind ye, no worryin' or lookin' around. We've a safe way now. It's different. There's no danger."

(To be Continued Next Week)



# A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

## A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF BOWLING

AS A member of the Dr. John Roach Straton Sunday Morning Bowling and Breakfast Club, Inc., I rise to say a few good words in favor of the ancient and honorable game of bowls.

I have been a member of this Association for several months. I think that I am a member in good standing, although that matter will have to be referred to Kingpin Morris Ernst, who is also secretary of the club. At any rate, I have now reached the stage where I can qualify as a veteran bowler, and I want to urge my radical friends to take up this sport seriously.

It is particularly delightful in that the more strikes there are, the more liable one is to win. Furthermore, the costume required is not elaborate. For men players, a vest, lavender suspenders, and a cigar-butt constitute the correct apparel. The ladies should appear in proper sports costume, in our case, wearing across the front the initials D. J. R. S. S. M. B. B.

As success in this game requires that the players should lean far over, some care should be taken by its feminine followers in regard to undies, but we will not go into that.

It is out of our own experience that we recommend that the suspenders be lavender. Ours, which were purchased at Dayton, Tennessee, during the Scopes trial, had been laid away against the time when we should acquire a genuine English pair of pants, which as everyone knows, has no use whatever for American belts.

It was not until this Christmas that we achieved our Anglican ambition. Now we have an English country gentleman's suit, with lovefly pleats in the trousers and a huge hunting pocket. When we inquired of our friend who presented us with this suit as to the functions of a hunting pocket, he informed us that the English use it for the stowing away of such foxes, grouse and wild boar as they come upon in the course of their travels.

It is now apparently the open season for English lecturers, who come these days by the shipload to tell us provincials all about Art and culture and the infinite superiority of the mind of Britain under Baldwin.

There may be some use for our hunting pocket other than as a depository for dumb animals, if we have to listen to any more of these tame bores. But to repress our Anglophobia, and to get back to the good old American game of bowling, we hereby print for the benefit of the layman certain rules and regulations for his observance.

In the first place, bowling is very beneficial from a health standpoint. It is usually done in a dark basement, which is not a real bowling alley unless the cigar smoke is so thick that it is with difficulty you can descry your nearest neighbor through its enveloping mists.

At the further end of the alleys stand disconsolately, a number of elderly gentlemen who are known in the jargon of the game as pin-boys. It is their duty to set up in place the pins which you knock down with your bowling ball. We have noticed that whenever we appear in an alley the faces of the pin-boys perceptibly brighten. They realize that while we are about there will only be a part-time job, and that there will be opportunities for them to indulge in caustic side-comments, such as, "Here comes the poor fish with glasses again." If he is a bowler, I am Queen Marie of Roumania.

Hanging near the racks which contain the balls, you will discover a towel, a sponge and a large piece of chalk. Contrary to what you might think, the towel and sponge are not for the purpose of reviving exhausted players but are there for you to wash off paddy with. You do this in the manner of acrobats at the old Hippodrome. Tossing the towel to your towel-bearer, and selecting your favorite ball from among the many on the rack, you stagger off with the mammoth thing, and if the ladies are present, you make a somewhat feeble attempt to swing this weighty object. Care should be taken not to let go on your backward swing, as this sends the ball into the audience and yourself down the alley. Even if you should make a strike at the end, it would count you practically nothing, as it is the ball, not the player, which must hit the pins.

Swinging the ball, then, in a cautious manner, you crouch over and advance in the fashion of a Greek discus-player. Though it may be difficult to picture a Greek discus-player in lavender suspenders and a vest, the illusion must be maintained until you reach the foul line. At this point you drop the ball with a sigh of relief, and a prayer for its successful journey. It is here too, that you discover that all good bowling alleys are equipped with gutters which run along the side of the alley proper, and for which the bowling balls of the amateur seem to have a fatal penchant.

There is probably no more depressing experience in a world full of such than to watch a ball which you had despatched with great accuracy down the center of the alley take a sharp turn to the right and fall dismally into the gutter. It reminds you of so many former friends in the radical movement who have done the same thing.

On the other hand, there is nothing more satisfactory than to watch a good bowler, like Morris Ernst or Walter Frank, for example, hit the pins just right and send them crashing down into oblivion. At a time of complete apathy along other lines, you say to yourself by way of vicarious enjoyment "Attabo!" There goes the Open Shop, the American Plan, the Company Union, the American Defense Society, the National Security League, the National Electric Light Association, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, John Spargo, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and Nicholas Murray Butler, all in one gorgeous swoop!

As we bowl a perfect 38, our experience in the game has not been striking. But by naming the headline to ourselves after some of our pet hates, we hope to achieve the soul-satisfying proficiency of some of our conferees.

McAlister Coleman.

### The Summons

Gather you, gather you, angels of God  
Freedom and Mercy and Truth;  
Come, for the earth has grown coward and old,  
Come down, and renew us her youth.  
Wisdom, Self-sacrifice, Daring, and Love,  
Haste to the battlefield, stoop from above,  
To the day of the Lord at hand.

Gather you, gather you hounds of hell,  
Famine and Plague and War;  
Idleness, Bigotry, Cant and Miserie;  
Gather and fall in the snare!  
Hireling and Mammonite, Bigot and Knave,  
Crawl to the battlefield, sneak to your grave,  
In the day of the Lord at hand.

## Scanning The New Books

### Isadora Duncan

ISADORA DUNCAN'S "My Life" (Boni & Liveright) belongs among the few great classics of autobiography. I never saw her dance and know but little about her except what is to be found in this book. And this book places her with the superwomen. Mary Wollstonecraft, George Sand, Bernhardt, the few who make us humbly proud to be the sons and lovers of the sex and not ashamed to be men. Regard this book first simply as literature. Here is an exciting, rich, varied career, splendid material. The best material can be ruined by inadequate presentation. Duncan is expressive, articulate, even eloquent and beautiful, compellingly honest and sincere. Of course she is an egotist. If she were not, there would have been no original dancer, no Duncan to write about. It is dignified egotism, without a fatal gesture. Her dancing, according to her own account and many accounts by others, was free from conventional poses, it expressed herself and an idea. It is not fanciful to assimilate that natural, posturing quality in her dancing to the literary, the intellectual quality of her book. She groans under the difficulty of trying to put herself into words. So does every honest writer. It is only the charlatans, the uncritical, who are ever satisfied.

Mark Twain set out to write a candid autobiography and found, what forty years of experience as reader and writer might have taught him, that it cannot be done. Duncan produces the effect of having done it better than even the best of those books that are called "Confessions"—a word that connotes the revelation of something unfavorable or reprehensible, something that ought to be concealed. Duncan's book is not a confession, it is an assertion. She takes herself for granted, naked and unashamed as a goddess, but with an unshakably self-critical appreciation of her mistakes. Note that the worst sorrows and failures in her life were not her fault, not tragedies of character, defects of nature, sins of will, but sheer accidents. The death of her children and her own death were calamities not of her making, but inflicted on her by Hardy's inscrutable "President of the Immortals." The closing of her school in Paris was not due to her mismanagement or to lack of support but solely to the Wicked War which converted her beautiful temple of art into a hospital.

Of course she knows how to write. I am not quite sure that I know what I mean by that, of course, but the training, the sources of expression are all evident, accounted for, so far as the art of words can be accounted for. "She read endlessly," "devoured everything." Literary men in Europe brought her the treasures of their languages, fed her with beautiful words, read aloud to her by the hour. How many people have had the privilege of such an opulent incessant education?

I would not lose a word of this book; but I would rather give up some of the more passionate episodes than the image of that eager groping child trying to find inspiration for the dance in Kant's "Kritik." It is simply gorgeous! And those splendidly crazy children building a house on a hill in Greece miles from running water, sinking gold in an artesian well that never welled—here is romantic comedy enacted by people in this very day of the world, at least as romantic as dancing in the Parthenon by moonlight. Hardy and Meredith working together could not have invented this woman, but she could have taught them more (and certainly teaches us lesser fellows still more) than they ever imagined about what a woman is and how she thinks—if that woman happens to be a genius and to be the singular individual genius, Isadora Duncan.

John Macy.

### Very, Very British

FORD MADOX FORD finishes up his series of novels on what has happened to the English Tory before, during, and since the war, with a book which he calls "The Last Post," published by Albert and Charles Boni, New York. If you read "Some Do Not," "No More Parades," and "A Man Could Stand Up," you naturally want to know what became of that almost incredible Christopher Tietjens, who believed himself to be "the last Tory in England," and his Latinist mistress, Valentine Wannop, and his amazingly vindictive wife Sylvia. I think

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you will be a bit disappointed that "The Last Post" contains so little of the solid Christopher and so much of his brother Mark, who distinguishes himself by going to bed out of doors under a thatch and refusing to talk to anyone, partly through Tory obstinacy, and partly through the shock that was his when he discovered that by the terms of the Armistice the Allies were not to go one and devastate Berlin.

Certainly "The Last Post" is the least interesting of the four books, though certainly, too, Mr. Ford has a style, a queer, tight, compact way of writing that makes most anything he puts on paper memorable.

The book has to do with the "mopping up" of the old furniture in the old houses of England by hordes of invading Americans. Such Americans as never were on sea or land, and I am sure, in Oklahoma either, whence one of the most odious of them is supposed to hail. This is a lady who goes about England patronizing the aristocracy, and boasting that she is a descendant of the Mainstemon. Now I have been in Oklahoma, and if that state is capable of producing a woman who has ever heard of the Mainstemon, and who can at the same time beat the English aristocracy at their own game, it has possibilities which I have overlooked. Incidentally, why do British authors select such strange names for their American characters? In "Meanwhile," Mr. Wells' American is called Mrs. Plantagenet-Buchan. In "The Last Post," the overseas victim of Mr. Ford's rather labored satire is a Mrs. de Bray Pape.

On the whole, "The Last Post" seems rather an afterthought, a filling in of certain details connected with those tremendous days when the Tory went to bed under Christopher Tietjens, and the good old Tory virtues, come down straight from the Middle Ages, were blown to pieces by the high explosives concocted by British blundering, German ambition, and American avarice. It is difficult to conceive what a reader who has not followed Tietjens through the first three books, will make of this last. But it is also difficult to conceive how anyone who has done so will fail to go out and buy "The Last Post," so haunting a portrait has Ford done in this outstanding saga of the hell that the Great War was and is still.

McAlister Coleman.

### Literary Rough-neck

IMAGINE a child of H. L. Mencken and T. S. Eliot (if such a biological feat could be achieved); visualize this child with Dos Passos for a wet nurse and Joyce as a governess; educate it in a newspaper office; throw it out into the hobo world of Jack London for a spell; ripen it in the army, and, after thirty years you have (no, not Lon Chaney) but Don Ryan.

This incredible heritage of Ryan's plasters itself over each page of his "Angel's Flight," published by Boni and Liveright. Perhaps an injustice is done in saying that he has acquired so many characteristics from his mythical parents, but passages in this strange book are so like those of the parent work that the circumstantial evidence of an inherited style will not deny.

Nevertheless, there is some grand writing here and despite its strong similarity to so many dissimilar authors, it has the feel of a new book and a strong book. Ryan has great descriptive powers and his style is peculiarly adapted to the story of that mad town Los Angeles, where the scene is laid chiefly with intermittent glimpses of staid old New York.

There is much that is autobiographical in "Angel's Flight" but there is enough fertile imagination in it to blast away the dullness which must creep into every life. Ryan has, it is suspected, a strong leaning to the mock heroics of the old wobbly crowd who wore gray shirts when they had the price of white ones because it was so romantic. But there is enough good stuff in him to overcome that phase of a happily forgotten era.

Bert MacDonald.

### Voices of Revolt

A SERIES of small books bearing the title of "Voices of Revolt" (New York: International Publishers, 50 cents each) is introduced by four volumes. Robespierre is presented in the initial volume, Marat in the second, Lassalle in the third, and Liebknecht the younger in the fourth. Other volumes announced will present Danton, Blanqui, Jaures, Louise Michel, William Morris, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Lenin, Ferrer and Sun Yat-Sen. Among Americans to be included in the series are Thomas Paine, Frances Wright, Susan B. Anthony, Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, Albert Parsons, Johann Most, Daniel DeLeon and Jack London.

The aim is to present typical selections from the writings or addresses of leaders in revolutionary thought and action. The first four books fulfill the promise. The books are attractively bound in board covers and printed in type large enough to make reading pleasant. Each volume carries less than a hundred pages and can be read within an hour.

The introduction to each book, however, reveals a studied attempt to make each notable "Voice of Revolt" serve the Communist movement. Considering a recent "history" of the American working people brought out by the same house and reviewed in these columns, it is necessary for the reader to be cautious in accepting the introductions as models of history.

### Sinclair's "Boston"

THERE is appearing in this month's BOOKMAN a story to which all who contemplate the present social order with mingled wonder and dismay, should turn. It is the opening of Upton Sinclair's novel, "Boston," which will grow into a searing and searching study of the men and the system that produce such things as the judicial murder of Sacco and Vanzetti. Sinclair has, in his past few books, been learning the difference between propaganda and art; he has perhaps recognized that truth is the best propaganda, when clothed in the grace of art. In "Boston," the movement starts with the funeral of an ex-governor, one of the old Boston society, and the satire is as spirited and rich as it is subtle and restrained. In the second chapter, these enter a group of Italian laborers, including Bert Vanzetti; we see them through the quiet gaze of the "first-family widow who has come to live among them. The first instalment of "Boston" is the handshake on the promise of what should be as forceful a study of American industrial society as has yet been made.

J. T. S.

### Fleeing Unfortunates

ONE of the most notorious and revolting phases of the period immediately following the Civil War was the philanthropic gesture of the Republican leaders toward the emancipated slaves. This attitude found expression in the organization of an institution for gathering in the few pennies Negroes might have by way of teaching them the virtues of thrift and saving. A study of this institution by Walter L. Fleming, Ph.D., has now appeared (The Freedmen's Savings Bank, University of North Carolina Press, \$2) and it makes very interesting reading.

The work is an expansion of an article on the same theme contributed to the Yale Review in 1906 and it will serve as an authority on this phase of economic and political history. Readers of the history of this period are more or less familiar with this shocking episode but the details with considerable documentation presented in this study are for the first time gathered into one narrative. In brief, it is the story of graft and betrayal of unfortunate Negroes just released from bondage, a plundering of their savings and the final wrecking of the institution by the grafters. It dovetails with the period of the looting of the public domain, the plundering of New York City by the Tweed Ring, the railroad and franchise steals, the debauching of bench, bar, judiciary and press, and the rise of capitalism to power after its release from the duty of sharing power with the owners of slaves.

It is a sordid story and reveals the "spiritual values" of capitalism in a light that President Coolidge shuns when he broadcasts this theme to the loyal subjects of King Capital.

### Sacco and Vanzetti

THE sensational murder trials of recent date, the sentimental outcry at the execution of a woman, are developing a public drift toward the abolition of capital punishment far stronger (one is ashamed to say) than that carried on the wave of indignation at the Massachusetts legal murder of Sacco and Vanzetti. But, with the calm determination that marked the warriors who, at Thermopylae or at Belleau Woods, declared "They shall not pass"; so is there in this country a small group to whom the two Italian victims of prejudice and pride have become a symbol of what is rotten in our land, and who declare "They shall not pass from memory."

One expression of the resolve that the

names of Sacco and Vanzetti will be held high until not merely is their innocence established, but the system that permitted their death itself put down, is the anthology "America Arraigned," edited by Lucia Trent and Ralph Cheyne. This American "I accuse!" is prefaced by the clear words of John Haynes Holmes, and contains protesting songs of many of the nation's noted poets. The poet is preeminently the forward-looker; his sympathetic imagination makes him leader of lost causes—and the "lost causes" of a generation's ideals are the base of the world's salvation, and shall succeed tomorrow.

Many of the poems in this volume (Dean & Co. \$1, on sale in the Rand School Book Store) appeared in the heat of the struggle; all are strong tokens of spirits firm for truth and justice. Merely to call the roll, the editors, Sam de Witt, David E. Berenbaum, David Gould Fletcher, Louis Ginsberg, Ernest Hartsock, Benjamin Musser, Lola Ridge, E. Merrill Root, Countee Cullen, Babette Deutsch, Henry Alan Potamkin, James Rorty, Clement Cullen, Witter Byner, Arthur Davison Ficke, Alfred Kreymborg, Jeanette Marks, Kathleen and Edna St. Vincent Millay, John Dos Passos, and a score more—with a letter from William Ellery Leonard, who had no poem, but "would not seem by silence to give consent to this terrible deed," and a prose picture of Miss Vanzetta in Paris by Professor W. P. Trent, whose present stricken condition is largely the result of his efforts for the two victims—merely to list some of the names is to indicate the geographical sweep and the spiritual power that are gathered into this volume, in the resolve that the shock felt round the world on the 23rd of August, 1927 will prove to have lighted a fuse that ultimately will blow from their vaulted chambers the smug, blind rulers who know not that justice reaches always to its goal, if even by the sudden blaze of revolution.

Joseph T. Shipley.

### On Cooperatives

Under the title of "The Woman with the Basket" Catherine Webb has published a history of the rise of the women's cooperative movement from a membership of 50 in 1882 to its 37,000 of to-day, when it forms one of the links in the international organization of working-class women. As long as fifteen years ago the British section of the Women's Cooperative Guild was calling for an alliance between Cooperative and Labor forces in England, which has at last been achieved during recent months. The book contains a preface by Margaret Llewellyn Davies, and is published by the Cooperative Women's Guild, 38, Downshire Hill, Hampstead, London, N.W.3, at the price of 3/6.

"Cooperation in Sweden" is the title of a translation in English of a book by Axel Gjeras, intended primarily for the student of the cooperative movement, but containing much matter of general interest. It can be obtained from the Cooperative Union, Limited, Manchester and costs 3/6.

If the people could be persuaded to cease taking the papers controlled by privilege and take only papers devoted to their real interest, it would not be long before they could abolish privilege.—W. E. Brokaw.

Christendom has other ends.

Than creating lust and greed  
And the ugly things they breed—  
Millionaires and dividends.

—Dolly Vidal.

The chattel slave owner got not all the slave's time for nothing. Whoever gets any of another's time for nothing has that much of a slave—"Equisit."

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## AN OPEN LETTER TO COOLIDGE

DEAR CAL:

I haven't written you for quite a spell and thought that maybe you'd think I'm huffy about something you've done. But I ain't. Fact is, the nearer you come to the end of your term the better I like you. I'm especially tickled the way you settled the trouble with Mexico. Sending Lindy and Will Rogers down there was a master stroke. Those two boys did more good in two weeks than the marines can undo in two years, and they are some undoers, believe me.

But that ain't what I'm writing about. It's some good advice I want to give you about the \$750,000,000 navy program that boy Wilbur is putting up to Congress. I know steel production fell off 16 per cent last year and the steel trust may need a little paternalism to help it declare the customary dividends on the aqua pura of its stock, as we Latins say. But I'd a heap rather make an outright present of those \$750,000,000 to the boys, or, better yet, spend it to make the Mississippi safe for democracy, than to waste them on floating liabilities like battleships, cruisers, destroyers and submarines.

It would take me too long to tell you what disastrous consequences a naval race with Johnny Bull may bring. Germany took that game and if you write to the ex-Kaiser and ex-Admiral Tirpitz they can tell you all about how it worked out. I'm sure they will answer you gladly and in great detail because the last I heard of them they didn't have a thing to do but write memorials.

However, that's neither here nor there. What I'm trying to get you to see is that it takes two things to make a first-class naval power and that is men and ships. When these two requirements are fulfilled then a nation is prepared to fight to its finish. I again refer you to England and Germany.

Now when it comes to building war ships there is not a country that can hold a candle to us. We've got the mechanics, we've got the machinery and the steel industry is willing to take our last dollar. But when it comes to men to command ships I'm afraid you're going to be up a stump unless you decide to put civilians like this man Charles Shambaugh in the place of professional admirals, front admirals and rear admirals. But maybe you don't know Brother Shambaugh so I'll start at the beginning.

Well, Cal, I guess you remember when Submarine S-4 went down with all hands on board and all the Annapolis admirals could do was to throw up their hands and say "We did the best we could," which is proven by the fact that S-4 is still on the bottom of the ocean.

Well, up to that crucial moment in the naval history of our country, Charles Shambaugh was a plain, unassuming citizen running a garage in Lafayette, Ind. Winter coming on, the old Fords being mostly beyond recovery and the new ones not out yet, the garage business was middling bad and so it happened that Brother Shambaugh got to reading about the noble efforts Admiral Brumley was making to raise that submarine and the more he read the more he became interested. So one day when the garage business was worse than usual he wired Admiral Brumley that he'd like to have a conference with him about that submerged sub. And the admiral being at his wit's end—which was right close at home—wired back: "Come on Shambaugh, the Navy needs you." Whereupon Shambaugh, like a true patriot, threw down his monkey wrench and started for Boston.

I may add here that up to this point Brother Shambaugh's nautical experience had been rather limited. Once, as a boy, when the Wabash had backed into the back yard of his home, he had taken a sail in his mother's best wash tub and got a licking for it which so discouraged him that he gave up the idea of going to Annapolis to become an admiral. But the far had entered the soul of that boy and stayed there until the day came when the Navy called him. When Shambaugh landed in Boston he found the very cream of Annapolis naval experts waiting for him with thumping bosoms. He had answered his country's call in such a hurry that there had been no time to recall Sousa's marine band to head a naval review in honor of the super naval expert from the banks of the Wabash. However, the boys did their best considering the shortness of time. The commandment of the Charlestown navy yard escorted Shambaugh to the naval brig Majava and shipped him to Provincetown with all the honors due the white hope of the Navy.

Arrived there Shambaugh dined in secluded privacy with Admiral Brumley, inspected the spot on the ocean below which S-4 was supposed to lie, spent the night in the officers' quarters of the mine sweeper Bushnell, shook hands with the divers and complimented them on their good work. And then he returned to Boston aboard a U. S. destroyer.

So deep an impression had Shambaugh made on Admiral Brumley and his staff of Annapolis naval experts that they forgot to ask him if he had ever been on a ship before. And they might never have learned that he hadn't except for the fact that some bright Boston newspaper reporter asked that very question when Shambaugh re-entered the Charlestown navy yard surrounded by anxious and gold-brained captains.

So I guess by now the Navy may know all about the garage man from Indiana and if it isn't asking too much from a busy man like you, Cal, I wish you'd send me the report of Admiral Brumley on the raising of S-4. It ain't that I'm curious, but my pet goat died last Friday and I think reading the exchange of expert opinion between Admiral Brumley and that Hoosier monkey wrench slinger would cheer me up a heap.

Anyhow, if we're held bound by way of a bigger and better Navy, we won't get there so prematurely if you bounce the Admirals and hand their jobs to civilians like this man Shambaugh. And don't forget, we got the money, we got the ships and we got the garage men.

Well, Cal, that's all for today. Tell Kellogg to appoint Will Rogers ambassador to Nicaragua. He's the only fellow that can tell it to the marines in the only manner it can be told right.

Ever your friend and buddy,

ADAM.

P. S. If you should think it advisable to replace your iron men of War with wooden ships, you'll find some good timber in the heads of the Navy.

Adam Coolidigger.

### The Might of Right

God bless ye, brothers!—in the fight  
Ye're waging now ye cannot fail,  
Far better is your sense of right  
Than kingcraft's triple mail.  
Than tyrant's blow or bigot's ban  
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## Worst Crisis Stalks Entire South-West

(Continued from Page 1)

This class is being recruited not only from wage earners, but largely from the enormous population that has been uprooted from the soil during past six years. During that period 31,000,000 acres of land has gone out of cultivation and the agricultural population has declined more than 2,600,000. Fully two-thirds of the hobo families I have encountered here are from this new element of uprooted and landless farmers. Their immediate concern is any kind of a job, but they have not yet lost the farmer psychology, for most of them still see as a distant vision beyond the immediate job the favored patch of land somewhere where they will yet find a life that is not altogether intolerable.

This endless procession of auto-riding job-seekers, crossing and re-crossing itself has left with us here a vivid and, I believe, accurate impression of widespread conditions. The universal tale they tell is that of job-hungry hordes everywhere in the big agricultural region—in the villages, in the towns, in the cities. The universal note they sound is deep-seated resentment, disgust, rebellion toward those in power. The message that many of them have left is that the down most elements are ready for the movement that will unite the wage earners and farmers for the control of this country.

**Two Bitter Dilemmas**  
Here is a typical example: Two unshaven men in soiled and worn overalls stopped the writer and asked where they might find some place in Roswell where they could shave and make themselves sufficiently presentable to ask for a job. They were broke. Had arrived the night before in an old car in company with the mother of one and the wife and son of the other. They had travelled in an open car from Leadville, South Dakota, through the exceptionally cold weather that swept over the prairie states last December. In passing through the states of Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Arkansas and part of Texas in a desperate hunt for work, they had not been able to find anything to do. Hordes of hungry unemployed were ahead of them and a cent and were taken care of overnight by the Salvation Army. The wife of one of the men, he told me, was within two months of becoming a mother.

These men were bitter, desperate, rebellious. They had found bitter, desperate, rebellious men everywhere they had travelled. "Believe me," said one of them, "before we see our women and boy die, we will know what to do. We have done everything we could do to get work. We have nearly perished from cold weather. Now we have not a cent left to buy food or gasoline and can't go any further, but we are not going to lie down tamely and die."

To the idea of a great line-up of workers and farmers this year they responded enthusiastically. "We will sure join such an organization, wherever we are," said one of them. "We have had our lesson and are ready to go just as far as the working class will go. The idea ought to be carried to the people we have met. Thousands are ready to join such a movement now."

**From the Cotton-Fields**  
Here is another case: a thinly clad mother with a baby in arms and another child about three years old, after spending the cotton season here picking cotton, found herself at the end of the work season absolutely without means. In sheer desperation she started to walk with these two infants during the cold spell in December to Clarksburg, West Virginia, where she had relatives. A charitable organization is now taking care of her.

Another cotton picker with five children ranging in age from 10 to three, traded an old horse for a broken-down auto and left for Oklahoma during the coldest season. The car was open—without even side-curtains. She did not have any tools for repairs or tire punctures. Three of her children had worked with her picking cotton during the season, but their condition was so desperate that she could not be dissuaded from this perilous venture.

Farmers from this vicinity—raisers of 20 to 40 bales of cotton—have aided a year of hard and fruitless work by joining the procession of the swelling army of job hunting worker-families on wheels. One farmer family—the farmer had raised 40 bales of cotton at a rental—passed through the yard here on the way to the great open road of the drifters. He was travelling on wheels without tires—traveling on the rims of his wheels. He was too far gone in poverty to buy or trade tires of any description, and too poverty-stricken to stop moving.

In the organization work here in the Pecos Valley I have talked with hundreds of farmers. Only those who, on account of exceptional advantages are exceptionally prosperous, attempt to defend present conditions. The attitude of nine-tenths of the farmers is that of resentment and discouragement. They will all tell you that something is radically wrong—that something must be done. The big majority of them will agree that widespread farmer organization is necessary. A good majority have reached the point where they are convinced that political action and control of the government by

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the farmers and wage workers alone will solve the problem. The majority I have met readily assent to the proposition of government ownership or control of railroads, banking and marketing facilities. The one thing left that still stands in the way of a movement that would set the prairies on fire is discouragement, fear of the powers that control this country, mistrust of their own class. They have not reached the point of rebellion of the uprooted farmer and worker, but they are undoubtedly on the way.

## WEVD to Broadcast Debate on American Policy in Nicaragua

American policy in Nicaragua will be debated over Station WEVD, the Dobs Memorial radio station, Saturday evening, February 4th, at 9:10 P. M. The debate has been arranged by G. August Corber, manager of WEVD at the suggestion of the S. Rankin Drew Post of the American Legion.

The American Legion post has designated J. Robert O'Brien, who has lectured scores of times on political and social topics, to uphold the course of the Coolidge administration in dealing with the Latin-American republic. Mr. O'Brien is the chairman of the Americanism Committee of the S. Rankin Drew Post and attracted attention two weeks ago when he demanded that the Government deport Socrates Sandino, brother of the rebel general who is resisting the American forces in Nicaragua.

Horace G. Knowles, well known in recent years as a defender of the rights of the small Central-American countries, and an ardent anti-imperialist, will oppose Mr. O'Brien. Mr. Knowles has been in the United States diplomatic service, serving as United States consul in Bordeaux, France, under President Harrison. During 1905 and 1906, he edited and owned the Wilmington (Del.) Evening Journal. Under President Roosevelt, in 1907-8-9 he served as minister to Roumania, Serbia and Bulgaria. He was appointed United States minister to Nicaragua in 1909. Mr. Knowles was transferred in 1910 to Santo Domingo and from there to Bolivia where he remained until 1913. Since 1913 he has been active in his private law firm.

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The Tremont Educational Forum, conducted under the auspices of the 7th and 8th A. Ds. Socialist Party, Bronx, N. Y. C., presents a series of four consecutive Friday evening lectures, on "Methods of Psychology," by Dr. Mortimer J. Adler, author of "Dialectic" (now in press), and a member of the Department of Psychology, at Columbia University, commencing this Friday, February 3rd, at 8:30 sharp, with the subject: "The Mind under the Microscope—Brass Instrument"

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GENERAL OFFICE: 11 WEST 18th STREET, N. Y. Phone Chelsea 3094  
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**MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL 24**  
Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union  
Downtown Office, 410 Broadway, Phone Spring 4118  
Uptown Office: 20 West 31st Street, Phone WILSON 1270  
Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening  
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ORGANIZERS: L. H. GOLDBERG, MAX GOODMAN, A. MENDELWITZ

**N. Y. Joint Board, Shirt and Boys' Waist Makers' Union**  
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA  
Headquarters: 621 BROADWAY (Room 225) G. GOOZE, Manager  
Joint Board meets every Second and Fourth Monday.  
Board of Directors meet every Second and Fourth Monday.  
Local 543—Executive Board meets every Tuesday.  
Local 544—Executive Board meets every Thursday.  
Local 248—Executive Board meets every Wednesday.  
These Meetings Are Held in the Office of the Union

**FUR DRESSERS' UNION**  
Local 2, Internat'l Fur Workers' Union  
Office and Headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn, Phone FULMINT 0798  
Reg. Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays  
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**Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20, I. L. G. W. U.**  
130 East 16th St. Madison Square 1888  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M.  
D. GINGOLD, A. WEINGART, Manager. Sec'y-Treas.

**INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS' UNION**  
OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA  
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor  
9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. Hunters Point 65  
PHILIP A. SILBERSTEIN, General Pres. HARRY HEGGON, General Sec'y-Treas.

**New York Clothing Cutters' Union**  
A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four."  
Office: 44 East 12th Street, Stuyvesant 5508.  
Regular meetings every Friday night at 110 East Fifth Street.  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M. in the office.  
PHILIP ORLOFFSKY, Manager. I. NACHLIN, Sec'y-Treas.

**Amalgamated Lithographers of America, New York Local No. 1**  
Office: AMALITHONE BLDG. 185 WEST 14th ST. Phone WAT 5th 770  
Regular Meetings Every Second and Fourth Tuesday at ARLINGTON HALL, 11 ST. MARK'S PLACE  
Pat'l Hazlan, Vice-Pres. A. J. KESSELOWITZ, Frank J. Fines, Frank Reed, Pres. Sec'y-Treas. Bus. Agent

**U. A. Plumbers, Gas Fitters and Marine Plumbers**  
LOCAL UNION No. 48, of NEW YORK CITY  
Office 303 Fifth Avenue, Phone HARLEM 4275  
Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M., at 243 East 64th Street  
NATHAN J. MURRAY, President. TIMOTHY HOPKINS, Secretary. GEORGE MEANY, DAVID HOLBORN, JOHN BARRETT, FAY DREW.

**N.Y. TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6**  
Offices and Headquarters, 24 W. 16 St., N. Y.  
Meet every 2nd Sunday of Every Month at SHIELD'S HALL, 61 SMITH ST., BROOKLYN  
Phone Watkins 9188  
LEON H. ROUSE, President. John Sullivan, Vice-President. Joe J. McDevitt, Secretary-Treas. Theodore E. Deigan, Organizer

**JOURNEYMEN PLUMBERS' UNION, LOCAL 418**  
Of Queens County, New York. Telephone, SUFVILL 0841  
Office and Headquarters, 250 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City  
Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M.  
MICHAEL J. MCGRAVE, President. JOHN W. GILLILAN, Financial Secretary. WILLIAM SEIBERTSON, Recording Secretary. CHARLES MADDAMS and GEORGE FRASER, Business Agents



## NEW LEADER

Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement  
Published Every Saturday by the New Leader Association  
People's House, 7 East 15th Street, New York City  
Telephone ALgonquin 4622-3

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**SUBSCRIPTION RATES**  
United States  
One Year.....\$2.00  
Six Months.....1.00  
Three Months......75  
To Foreign Countries  
One Year.....\$3.00  
Six Months.....1.50  
Three Months......75

The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the program 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, FEBRUARY 4, 1928

## An Appeal to Socialists

THE NEW LEADER believes it is important to call attention to one division of the Socialist Party that is too often neglected. We frequently become so absorbed in our local activities that we forget the needs of the national organization and through it the needs of weak states and sections. This is the year of a national campaign and election. There are states that must be helped and there are many party members who can help them.

The attention of our readers is directed to the frightful economic conditions that confront millions in the West and the Southwest as told by a New Leader correspondent on another page. It is folly to expect Socialists in this vast region to bear the burden of nominations and organization work alone. They simply cannot do it. They do not have the funds and they must have help if they are to do the work which they want to do.

The national office of the party has called attention to this situation and has appealed for financial aid. There have been some good responses but not enough. More contributions are needed. A few members are pledged to generous contributions each week or month to the end of the campaign. These pledges are being paid, but many more must be on this pledge list if even the bare expenses of collecting signatures and filing state nominations in some states are paid.

Now it may happen that while we are taking care of our own local needs we will have neglected a very important section of the movement. We repeat, there are many who can help, especially in the East. We urge those who can, to pledge a certain sum to the national office each week or month for this work and, above all, see to it that your pledge is met promptly each time it comes due. Our Socialist perspective should not be a parochial one. It should be national and international. Send your pledge with your first installment to the National Office, Socialist Party, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. Help those Socialists who are almost helpless through no fault of their own.

## A Dangerous Proposal

IT is a curious and dangerous proposal made public this week by a sub-committee of the American Bar Association with the approval of Matthew Woll of the American Federation of Labor. This formula to end industrial war rejects compulsory arbitration but would make labor-capital contracts binding by legal force. Further discussions will take place with a number of employers' organizations before any final proposal is made.

What occurs to us as striking is the fact that compulsory arbitration has always been rejected—and rightly we believe—by the A. F. of L. but this tentative proposal of enforcement of wage agreements by the courts is similar in character to compulsory arbitration. The A. F. of L. has worked out a philosophy of no interference by government agencies in industrial relations but how judicial enforcement of wage agreements can be reconciled with this philosophy is beyond our comprehension.

Not that we believe that a policy of no interference by government in industrial relations serves the working class. On the contrary we believe this policy to be harmful to the organized workers and that they are suffering from it. It is the police individualism of Herbert Spencer and it is based on the assumption that the workers are never to wrest control of governing powers from the banking and capitalist class. It assumes that we are to forever remain voting stock of the two major parties and not have a party of our own as bankers and capitalists have theirs.

With the experience the workers have had with courts throughout our history, we believe that it would be fatal to lodge with them the power to enforce wage agreements. This does not mean a general policy of breaking agreements for trivial reasons, but it does mean that the organized workers should never permit their hands to be tied by courts when changes warrant new agreements before the expiration of old ones. The judiciary is the most conservative department of the government and it has this character because the organized working class has not organized its voting power for its own welfare. Beware of any court magic that is offered as a solution for the struggle in industry.

## Some Terrible News!

WELL boys and girls, as Mac Coleman would say, the Socialist Party is doomed for a slide into oblivion. It developed at *The New Leader* dinner and we can no longer conceal it from our readers as the organ of our burlesque Bolsheviks has told the whole story in all its sad details.

It all came out in the speeches regarding Russia and our American Bolsheviks. Then things began to happen. The "compromising Norman Thomas" heaved a brick which struck the "petty-bourgeois" Hillquit on the ear and he took the count. "Jim" Maurer entered the ring. His deviations offered "no program" of support "of the Soviet Union" but "hostilities" immediately followed his remarks. The militant Algermon Lee entered the fray but a

on the blood-stained floor brought his "counter-revolutionary" effort to an inglorious end. In the meantime with the application of smelling salts, Hillquit was restored to consciousness and he landed a vicious right to Thomas's nose. While Maurer was sympathizing with Thomas a clip on the right eye sent him reeling into a neutral corner. Benjamin Stolberg landed an uppercut to Hillquit's chin and Toastmaster Vladeck stopped the bout.

It was a terrible night and it revealed that the Socialist Party is to "take a Tammany form." Hillquit is to lead a Czarist army against Russia, Thomas will organize a Red Cross, Lee will watch Hillquit to see that he executes no deviation from the program, and "Jim" Maurer will play the role of conscientious objector. And there you have the terrible story of the "fierce fighting" in the Socialist Party. See the Bolshevik organ. Price three cents on some newsstands and all garbage carts.

Perhaps that story in the Bolshevik organ will bring a few thousand kopecks from Moscow as pickings here are now rather lean. "Defense" of Sacco and Vanzetti brought in a big fund to pay salaries of Bolsheviks, but "aid" for the miners and prohibiting use of an "anti-imperialist" stamp by the postoffice, which promised some ready cash, have not proven productive of funds. We pass the story on to Moscow in the hope that it will bring alms to our Bolsheviks who must eat if they are to roar.

## Illuminati Frightens Rotary

WHAT the Rotary clubs are being served by military officers is evident from an address by Major Hall G. Van Vlack to the Jamestown Rotary last week on "The Menace of Facismism." The address is stereotyped stuff prepared by officers higher up and passed down to the smaller fry for distribution to Rotaries and Kiwanis. The lesser officers are ignorant of the "history" they are asked to pass on to frightened Babbitts. They are not expected to think but to obey.

Here is what Van Vlack received from his superiors and rationed out to Rotary. Socialism was a "well-knit, well-organized, well-managed and apparently well-financed movement" in 1776. It had its origin in the Bavarian Illuminati in that year. Now isn't it amazing that in the first year of organized Socialism it became "well-knit" and so on? The absurdity is apparent the moment it is stated, but it impresses those who have not learned to think.

Then the identification of Socialism with the Bavarian Illuminati is rich humor to those who have any acquaintance with history. Van Vlack is blissfully ignorant of the fact that the Illuminati was an offshoot of the Masons and had no connection whatever with the working class movement. Its secrets were discovered and the organization practically destroyed by the Bavarian Government and Van Vlack regards this as a service to progress and civilization.

The facts are that Bavaria was a medieval dictatorship with a union of Church and State, the saddest period in the history of this German kingdom. Education was controlled by the church and the intellectual awakening of Europe expressed in essays, history, science and philosophy was denied access to Bavaria. Works of European scholars were prohibited circulation in Bavaria. Free discussion was unknown and all intellectual life was shrouded in medieval obscurantism.

The Illuminati was a faint torch of knowledge raised by a handful of men in Bavaria, a signal to awakening Europe that civilization had penetrated this cave of bats. Unfortunately, the Illuminati gave rise to a few questionable leaders, but that it was expressive of the hunger for intellectual knowledge denied to thinking men and women no student of the movement can deny. It had no program of social reorganization of society like that of Socialism but it did seek emancipation of Bavaria from an intolerable medievalism.

It is this movement which our illiterate militarists drag before Rotary lunches and utterly damn as an imp of perdition. In 1798 the Reverend Jedidiah Morse of Boston delivered three sermons in which he portrayed the Illuminati as a secret criminal conspiracy with thousands of branches in the United States. It was the period of the infamous Alien and Sedition Acts which, for the time, transformed the Adams Administration into an intolerant oligarchy of the clerical-Federalist coalition. New England had a union of Church and State just as Bavaria did and Morse's sermons were aimed at the "Anti-Christ," Jefferson, who had disestablished the Church in Virginia.

Investigation of Morse's statements showed that they were based upon a letter in French issued by Wisdom Lodge of the Masons in Virginia! The American Illuminati died an inglorious death, the Jeffersonians roared with laughter, and the Calvinist pastor retired from the scene. One-hundred and fifty years later our militarists are serving the same stuff at Rotary lunches. If ignorance is to rule the world they qualify for the job.

## A New Coxey Army

NO more piteous tale of economic affliction has been told in years than the story related by *The New Leader* correspondent in New Mexico on another page. Capitalism has been a hideous failure in the West for years while the Coolidge ballyhoos have been shouting "prosperity."

What has appeared in the West is a Coxey Army, a mass of "uprooted" farmers and jobless workers of the cities and towns. This army differs from the march of the Jacobins in 1893-94 in one respect. It is wandering through the West in aimless streams, each stream crossing the other. The jobless of the early nineties consisted of three main lines with their objective the city of Washington. This earlier army was afoot except when it could seize a freight train and at every camp there were meetings and addresses reviewing the misery of the marchers.

The present army has enlisted the flivver and its aimless roaming, often on tireless wheels, is a sort of anti-climax to the "prosperity" sermons of the radio bores and the editorial police of capitalist journalism. "Millions of automobiles in use" is the text of these sermons. Certainly, but how many are being used to haul hopeless men and women and children through the desolate West, a region capable of supporting its millions in comfort but rendered a hideous mockery by exploitation and the rule of bankrupt parties?

Here is human driftwood cast aside because the mechanism of capitalist production has broken down. It is the price paid for the dominion of two political parties that should have been cast on the dump heap ere this calamity came to overwhelm these unfortunates. What has Smith, and Lowden, and Hoover, and Reed and the rest of the political brokers to say to these derelicts? Nothing but the holism that contributed to their suffering. Who is breaking up the home and making the family a

## Why Are We in Nicaragua—And What In Hell Are We Doing There?—

WILL ROGERS

## THE BRAY OF THE ASS IS HEARD

Pages From a Washington Diary

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE air has been filled of late with the braying of two types of jackasses. One the bigot, and the other the jingo. The Senator from Alabama has added a new word to the American vocabulary, namely to heffe. He has been heffing around all week, with his attack on the Catholic Church and Mr. Hearst. From our standpoint it is most unfortunate that such a man as Senator Heflin should be the spokesman for those who are opposed to the sort of propaganda against Mexico which the Catholic Church in this country is undoubtedly putting out. Everyone knows that the Knights of Columbus, the chief propaganda organ of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in this country, is conducting a large-scale campaign against the labor government in Mexico, both over the radio and in the shape of printed pamphlets, accusing President Calles of being in the pay of the Bolsheviks and fomenting disturbances against the United States in Nicaragua and other Latin-American countries. I myself have seen some of these pamphlets, which are full of attacks on Socialists, Communists, and other radical organizations in this country. They are full of half-truths and are prepared by a rather clever publicity man who was himself formerly a Socialist but found that the Catholic pay-envelopes were satisfactorily fat.

The recent attempts to evade the article in the Mexican constitution which prohibits the teaching of religion in Mexican schools have no doubt been encouraged by this propaganda. They are being met with customary firmness by President Calles, and there is no doubt that any fresh attempt to start a counter-revolution in which Mexico will be suppressed as vigorously as was the last one. Those of us who are peace-lovers may well abhor the methods employed by Calles in getting rid of his opponents, but we must always keep in mind the fact that revolutions anywhere are no pink tea parties, and that the welfare of the masses of

Mexican workers was gravely menaced by the activities of Calles' opponents.

One of the most alarming features of recent years is the new attempt of the jingoes to put over a naval building program that would cost the taxpayers a cool three billion dollars. Rear Admiral Plunkett, who, thank God, is now retiring from the Navy, appropriately enough chose the dinner of the National Republican Club, here in Washington, for giving vent to his warlike propensities, and incidentally, giving the rest of us the lowdown on what is back of this big navy crusade.

The bellicose Admiral said that we would have wars sure as shooting, with some of our "trade rivals." And when he was asked what nation he had particularly in mind, he said, "Great Britain." He made further remarks to the effect that if we weren't ready to fight we might as well make up our minds that we were worms and crawl into the nearest hole and die. Whereupon Senator Borah arose and spoke his mind out in meeting about the Admiral and his bully-boys. The Senator said that unless the taxpayers make themselves heard they may well prepare for a deluge in the way of additional tax burden, and that not only will there be no reduction of taxes, but there necessarily will be an increase in the future, if this program goes through.

Now as reduction of taxes and national economy are going to be the main points on which the Republicans will campaign this year, even Cautious Calvin became alarmed at the bellowing of Plunkett, and slapped the Admiral mildly on the wrist by giving out one of those ghost interviews from the White House, in which, he intimated that, all things considered, it might be just as well if high officers of the army and navy didn't go around the country hollering "WAR, WAR" when there was no war.

Always excepting Nicaragua, of course.

which, in the terms of the military trade, is regarded as only an odd-lots, ladies' and misses' size war.

And speaking of Nicaragua, it looks as if that unhappy subject would be successfully eliminated from all the discussion of the Pan-American conference at Havana. Whenever it threatens to come up, Charles Evans Hughes, our chief spokesman in Cuba, arises, parts his whiskers, and assures the hand-picked delegates present that like Tiny Tim in Dickens, the United States loves everybody. We love Cuba, (did not Mr. Coolidge himself say so in his opening address, in which he spoke highly of Christopher Columbus?) We are infatuated with Panama, and we are just crazy about Nicaragua. If certain rebellious Nicaraguans respond, in the words of the poem,

"I know that you wish to dissemble your love."

But why do you kick me downstairs?" Our answer is that we are doing it for their own good, and that it really hurts Father more to spank than it hurts the spankee.

Frederick J. Libby, Secretary of the National Council for Prevention of War, was rude enough to suggest that the entire proceedings of the Pan-American Conference are being rigorously censored by the United States and Cuban secret police, that those who had the great privilege of hearing President Coolidge's thoughts on Columbus had to be stamped kosh by the authorities before they were allowed to listen, and that any delegation such as the Haitian, for example, which might be suspected of harboring resentment towards the United States, was not allowed to land in Cuba. That Mr. Libby is undoubtedly right is evidenced from an interview with President Machado, a two-fisted dictator if there ever was one, who says that he isn't going to stand for any agitators at this conference.

Back-stairs Spokesman

## THE CHATTER BOX

## Injunction

Abraham Lincoln, turn in your grave!  
The time is come: the Masters of the Whip  
Have swindled you of your most precious dream!

Caliban, laugh!  
It's your own joke—enjoy it!

There is pain in the coal fields, pain  
In the factories. Everywhere is pain where laborers are.  
Everywhere is hell where beast-men sweat!

There is pain in the coal fields! Of course!  
Philosophers know that suffering belongs there!

Slaves, to your work! Back to the pits!  
Down into the dark with you again!  
To your places in the mills! To the mines!  
Who are you to complain!

O Emancipator!

Miner, here is your coal dust!  
Midas, take your gold!  
Choke over your shares.  
Each of you!

—CARL JOHN BOSTELMANN.

I KNOW this Trotsky banishment is a touchy matter for any lover of Russia's revolution to discuss. I notice how reticent the most hardboiled ones of our leftwing American barricade-contractors are about even breathing the name of Leon the Magnificent, or Zinoviev the Maker of Manifestos. For the first time since the foreign language branches of the Socialist Party veered off into the now populous Workers Party of America, I have felt genuine pity for the "Tovarisches". This banishment of the irreconcilable Left out of the Kremlin is sheer tragedy. It is also perfectly good history. Look down and up the whole aisle of human experience since recordings have been made, and see for yourself if what has happened in Russia the other day is not a perfect fulfillment of man's ingratitude to his recurrent saviours. Danton phrased it quite aptly. There is more justification for one to tend to swine and pasture cows on a lonely farm, than to lead men or nations into destiny. Nicolai Lenin died too soon for the fate that overtook his surviving colleague. There is such a thing as dying too soon for obliquity, especially in a revolution.

Had Lenin lived on perhaps he might have followed Stalin's course of compromise with capitalism, and so he, the Father of the Revolution, might have been the hard-fisted tyrant to send Trotsky and his crew of Simon pure Communards to the wilds. Who knows? This big bear that walks like a man, is still a big bear even if he now walks like an arrant rebel. And that particular bear is not given to gentleness. It has a strange way of clumsiness in its stride, and a crushing brutality in its innocent hug. The peasant is still a petit bourgeois, for all of the ukases and Communist propaganda poured into his ears for ten years by the Kremmites. His land is still his land, and his wheat is still his wheat, and all the Red Army and all the Moscovites cannot convince him otherwise. Therein lieth the great flaw of the Russian Experiment. Therein it must fail as a pure Socialist experiment. So why get all het up about it? What has happened to Trotsky, is what happens to any die-hard, right or left, when the great Juggernaut of Human Fact and Immediate Need happens to come his way.

The peasants of Russia are tough business birds. They work and grow wheat and produce. They will exchange that wealth of theirs for manufactured goods, machinery and all such material as their lives are barren of, right now. Ten years is a long time particularly for such people as Russian moujik, who have known only starvation, war, disease and aqua-

for that length. All the Communist Party of Russia has been able to give to these farmers is propaganda. But reasons the moujik, you cannot make shoes out of leaflets, or build plows out of manifestos. So you have the answer right here, why Stalin is entrenched in power at present, and the propaganda boys are out in the Siberian cold. Stalin has promised the Russian baby a pair of shoes. He is rolling dice right now with all the gusto of a Harlem Sambo. I am afraid he won't roll as successfully as he dreams, at this late hour. Although for the sake of the Revolution, I pray that he turns up a natural at the first throw. But now I am wandering into a technical discussion of a subject that will require the best part of a twenty volume edition to thoroughly discuss. All I started in to say, and all I really wanted to express here, is that Trotsky going into banishment, while Stalin rides the storm strikes me as pathetic, genuinely sad and tragic. And yet so true to life, as the tabloids say it. . . .

## Aftermath

The magic of the night has fled,  
The moon has lost its shimmer;  
And all the velvet stars are dead.

The magic of the night has fled,  
While weird regret looms large, instead,  
And hope grows dim, and dimmer.

The magic of the night has fled,  
The moon has lost its shimmer!

—KATE HERMAN.

And now to continue in disturbing thought. Last week, a woman singer committed suicide after reading the newspaper reviews of her concert debut. It appears that this lady had given up her life as a married woman, and all the conventional comforts etc., accruing to housewifery in order to perfect her voice, and dramatic talent. I shall not go into the old story of how she must have slaved and drugged and hounded herself into a sort of artistic perfection. At last the night of all nights came. She stood before her audience. The lights, the amphitheatre of seats and faces, the whole newness of the scene before her gripped on her throat. The accompanist started a few opening chords, and then she entered on her hour of trial.

It was one of those nights when two or three other artists, well-known and popular, were giving concerts in other halls of the city. Naturally, the big newspapers sent their most competent critics to the famous ones, for their performance, undergraduate lads were assigned. These thoughtless, and perhaps brainless lads sat before her ordeal and made note of her work. I personally would not have sent any of them out to judge a basketball game. Our big newspapers entrusted the life-work and dream of an honest, earnest artist to the critical puerility of their cub reporters. After reading the reviews of these nincompoops, I am convinced that the lady had performed exceedingly well. That her voice cracked a bit here and there was undoubtedly due to an attack of nerves. This young sniper-snappers had neither the brain nor the heart to understand. They wisecracked a few non-committal remarks about her performance and let it go at that. The next morning their silly judgments appeared in the press. A heartbroken woman saw her world of effort and sacrifice shattered. And in a moment of grief, killed herself. Here is a murder no district attorney will ever get a chance to thunder about before the law and the tabloid cameras. Some day I hope to tell the story of the CRITICS, after I have gotten a few licks in against the rest of the knaves and fools of this dizzy, busy day of ours.

S. A. de Witt.

## A FOOL LOOKS AT MANHATTAN

By Francis Blake

AS SOON as I had been admitted to the sacred soil of Manhattan as related in my first report, with Arabella my wife and Althea my daughter and a few trunks containing the appurtenances of a Marionette theatre by which I hoped to earn an honest living in this palest of all cities, I bethought myself of what a wise American had told me on the journey across the waters. He had said: "Manhattan is owned by the Jews and ruled by the Irish." This had filled me with the liveliest anticipations. Being above all things an ardent patriot I therefore inquired of the owner of the "Spotted Cow," an elegant hotel in Second Avenue where we had taken lodgment for the first few days, how I might get a glimpse of the authorities of the city. For it was always by addressing the governors and men of wealth first that Herodotus was able to gain access to the sights and wonders of a new place. I was advised to direct my steps toward Tammany Hall which I was told stood in Fourteenth Street last night, though there was always the possibility of its removal to a fifty story skyscraper by the next morning. But I might inquire. Any one would be able to show me the way.

I sauntered forth, bidding my wife an affectionate farewell. Arabella was all agog with the sights and sounds of the turbulent metropolis and I could see that she was itching with impatience to explore the stores and bazaar that are a delight to females. Besides, she has nothing but the utmost contempt for all constituted authority, deeming that my desire to set eyes upon the famous Mayor of Manhattan was nothing short of imbecility on my part.

Having come to the corner of Second Avenue and Fourteenth Street I espied a small and neat booth inside which sat a man in blue uniform who was pressing a telephone receiver to his red ear and gazing fixedly into a book with figures. I timidly knocked at the window pane and asked him where Tammany Hall might be found. He jerked his receiver to the left and pointed with it up Fourteenth Street. As his head was evidently full of figures and numbers he could not and time to speak.

I turned to the left and sauntered in the direction indicated. I passed various shops selling Victrola records and gaily colored socks. I hesitated in several cases. Occasionally a male voice boomed out of an open shop door protesting with a nasal twang: "I love my baby girl." This seemed to me an obvious sentiment for a man to express toward his daughter, the child of his loins. Why so much noise about an obvious fact? For a moment I lingered pondering in front of a magnificent display of brown records a dozen of which were below for sale at the same time. This might very well be Tammany Hall. Practical Americans would certainly think of the clever device of sending records to the voters instead of engaging the costly services of orators who are not always to be depended upon. But then my eyes fell upon a sight which, in a flash of intuition, revealed to me that I had found Tammany Hall, the object of my quest.

Tammany Hall Found  
There was no door to this building. You just walked in and walked round and interview whom you liked. At the entrance sat an old Irish Grandmother in a glass-box, upon whose shoulder writhed a cat with amber eyes. Her lips were moving silently while her shriveled hands were gliding over a row of cards spread on the table before her. A wonderful piece of waxwork mechanism. What imagination on the part of the authorities to choose this decrepit old fortune teller as the symbol and slogan of their political ideals. You slipped a coin in he old woman's box and straightforth he wagled her head and READ YOUR CARDS FOR YOU. I could no longer doubt that this was Tammany Hall. In he rear were some lively young fellows tracking rifles at moving targets. At the sides of the hall were dainty little boxes inscribed APPROVED BY THE STATE CENSOR granting peeps at the pretty adios of the city who no doubt are busy at election time. What a marvelous conception of political pedagogy!

But if there had been the slightest doubt left in my mind that this was he famous Tammany Hall, the gentleman standing leisurely at the door, wearing a smart bowler hat cocked on one side of his head, swinging a slender cane, and crossing his one leg over the other, his shoes covered with the most elegant gray spats while his left thumb was gallantly playing with the button-hole in the lapel of his coat, the sight of this smart boy about town with merry brown eyes and good humor twinkling from every line of his juvenile face would have dispelled that doubt. He swung his cane in the direction of a little box-panorama in which tiny trains were running in a most bewildering fashion into and out of innumerable black holes, repeating to all who cared to listen: "Five cents, only five cents, up and down and round about the old town, no matter which train you happen to get pushed into and indifferent through whichever hole you happen to be milled into daylight again."

I took off my hat and bowed obsequiously. "Mr. Walker, I presume, the immortal Mr. Walker."

He smiled in a mysterious fashion. I was just going to congratulate him on this marvelous way of doing political business which is made up of fortune telling, five cent peepshows of the truth, training in the arts of gunmanship, including practice on moving targets (which explains how the Manhattan police never fail to hit a stray dog or a cunning innocent pedestrian when pursuing a bandit over the housetops who has got away with it) when I suddenly heard shrieks of laughter and noticed that a huge mob had collected outside a milliner's store on the opposite side of the street. I saw a bonnet glimmering through the surging crowd that looked suspiciously like Arabella's to me. Supposing she had gone shopping all alone in this strange city and had got herself into trouble? I dashed across to investigate.