

A Newspaper
Devoted to the Interests
of the
Socialist and Labor
Movement

NEW LEADER

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

One Year \$2.00
Six Months 1.00
Three Months75

VOL. VII—No. 27

Published Weekly at
1 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.

SATURDAY, JUNE 23, 1928

Entered as Second Class Matter, December
8, 1927, at the Post Office at New York,
New York, under act of March 3, 1879.

Price Five Cents

TIMELY TOPICS

By Norman Thomas

Socialist Candidate
for President

IT WASN'T a very good show that the Republicans staged at Kansas City. Imagine any show with Cal Coolidge and Andrew Mellon and Philadelphia "Boss" Vane as its heroes. All that the delegates did was to prove that they knew their master's voice. And their master's voice is the voice of the business interests.

Oh, yes, we know that Hoover is not supposed to be popular in Wall Street. The boys down there seem a little afraid that Herbert may want to tell them how to run things instead of their telling him as they always told little Calvin. But the efficient Herbert is no Bolshevik. On the contrary he is an able and militant defender of capitalist interests. So all the "anybody but Hoover" boys, except may some of the farmers, are now climbing on the bandwagon cursing under their breath our curious little Cal that he kept them off so long by encouraging the "draft Coolidge" idea. Even Senator McNary landed on the wagon with a big running jump.

All that the half-way progressive citizen needs to know about Herbert is that he is the constant apologist for the electric power industry whose propaganda methods are a major scandal even in this age of scandals. In 1925 he gave the National Electric Light Association Convention in Los Angeles a clean bill of health at the very moment they were voting more for money corruption of press and schools. He lent them his authority for the absurdly false statement that they were not earning more than 6% on their dividends. He has consistently opposed public ownership in this and every other field. If not, why would Andy Mellon have supported him?

Contrary to general opinion the Hoover of today, whatever he may have been once, is a vehement economic nationalist, so little pro-British that he was largely responsible for the greatly exaggerated anti-British rubber monopoly scare a few years ago. And that was no credit to him.

Some folks think that if he is elected, Hoover, the engineer, will give our profit seeking capitalist system new energy and vitality and wisdom. We doubt it. We doubt his ability to get along with politicians or ever with a lot of business men whose brains are not proportional to their bank-rolls. Moreover neither Hoover nor anybody else can solve problems of unemployment, imperialism, the coal tragedy or the proper development of super power to save on the theory of production for use and not for profit.

As for Charlie Curtis's nomination for Vice President, what a joke that is! The oldest candidate in the field as a possible substitute for the youngest. The critic of Hoover as his running mate! But Charlie is regular and his jockey training may help him as an expert straddler.

There is nothing to say about the Republican Platform except that it is a typical document designed to hold various party factions together by committing the party to nothing too definite. Some critic has said that the ideal of old party conventions was that of a character in a novel who lived in constant dread that he would not make himself unintelligible. The Republicans have succeeded in making themselves sufficiently unintelligible.

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Large Attendance Is Expected At L.I.D. Conference

JUDGING from applications to the June Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy to be held at Camp Tamiment, Forest Park, Pennsylvania, from June 23 to July 1, inclusive, the attendance this year will be unusually large from the first to the last meeting. The subject, "What Changes Should be Made in Socialist Tactics and Philosophy" is one that is appealing to large groups of men and women in the Socialist, labor and college fields.

The conference will begin with a brilliant discussion of the "Economic Interpretation of History, Is It Valid?" Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes, Professor of Economics and Sociology at Smith College and one of the most prolific writers in the field of history and sociology in the country today, will lead off in this discussion. Dr. Alexander Goldenweiser, for years a member of the faculty of the New School for Social Research, an anthropologist of note and the author of

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Grand Parade Marking Arrival of Road Show in Houston



'No Reduction' Is Slogan Of Textile Union

By Frank J. Manning

NEW BEDFORD.—The New Bedford Textile Council, conducting the strike of 20,000 textile workers, held its tenth mass meeting today. The strikers officially adopted the slogan "No Reduction" as their form of greeting each other until the strike is won. This is heard on every side and has completely replaced the conventional "hello."

The pinch of poverty is beginning to manifest itself in New Bedford. Several families are doubling up and moving into cheaper apartments in preparation for the long struggle which they believe is ahead of them. They are determined to make this such a battle that the employers will not want another for some time to come.

The Socialist Cooperative Society of Quincy sent in a consignment of food for the strikers today. The problem of bread is a serious one as hundreds are being turned away every day without it. A carload of potatoes was donated to the strikers by fourteen local merchants and they are being distributed to the neediest cases.

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Hoover Responsible For All Good Things, Willing Wills Find

Durant, Hard and Irwin Show the Sob-sisters Some Finished Myth-Making on the Subject of G. O. P. Nominee—Will Hays to Handle The Movie End

By Backstairs Spokesman

WASHINGTON.—Now all the Republican shouters are busy getting up the h. i. stuff for Herbert Hoover. H. I. is the newspaper shorthand for human interest. It involves pictures of the old smitely where young Herbert watched the horses being shed, pictures of the early Hoover homes, pictures as a waiter at Stanford, pictures of Herbert working in that mine (it may be rather tough to find these), pictures of Herbert riding on a camel, pictures of Herbert winning the war, pictures of Herbert's elderly aunt and his pet canary and his favorite newdealer and the ninety-eight year-old Mexican War veteran who said that "thet thar Hoover lad will be President some day, b'gosh."

Along with the pictures are words and music provided by those two free and "liberal" Wills, Will Hard and Will Irwin. They are doing the Horatio Alger business for the Republican National Committee, you know what I mean—"From the Blacksmith Shop to the White House, or The Humanizing of Hoover". Still a third Will, Will Durant, has been reeling off some of this smooch for The Scripps Howard papers, with his tongue in his cheek, let us hope.

And when Elder Will Hays gets busy and slams this schmier onto the screens of the country, everyone will be doing patty-cake, patty-cake as Hoover's beamish face appears and the impression will prevail that Herbert is just the sweetest old dear who

loves flowers and little children and dumb animals.

McNary Crawls In
And speaking of dumb animals, did you boys and girls notice how meekly Senator McNary of Oregon ran up the G. O. P. runaway and let his farm relief bill get a good wallop in the nose for the sake of "party harmony."

It was pretty easy pickings that Hooverizing of the erstwhile farmer's champion. No more equalization fees. No more McNary-Haughen ghosts to haunt the White House. It must have been a bad dream that showed the farmers coming to the closed doors of the Republican convention with their

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Hoover Power Trust Aide, Thomas Says

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

WATERBURY, CONN.—Secretary Hoover was denounced as "the apostle and candidate of the power trust," in an address at Buckingham Hall, Grand and Bank street, here Tuesday, by Norman Thomas, Socialist Party candidate for President. Mr. Thomas' address was the first he has delivered in Connecticut since his nomination and marked the opening of what the Socialists expect to make an intensive state-wide drive to roll up a big vote for its national and state candidates.

Thomas deplored the absence of issues in the campaigns of the Republican and Democratic parties.

"It is already clear," the Socialist presidential nominee declared, "that there will be no issue of principle between the two old parties owned by the same general set of interests. The contest will be purely personal and political. The argument against Herbert Hoover at Kansas City had next to nothing to do with issues. It frankly arose from fear that he might not win. The support for Governor Smith in the Democratic Convention will have next to nothing to do with issues. It will arise from hope that possibly he alone among Democratic candidates may win. I do not insult either of the old party candidates when I say that no man is big enough to be a political Messiah in such a party situation. The man who owes his nomination to Vane and Mellon, the apologist and candidate of the power trust, is not likely to be a political Messiah

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Farmers Rally To Thomas at Kansas Meet

Thomas Spurns Appointment By N. Y. Mayor

Socialist Candidate For President Says Tammany Is Mis-using Citizenship Committee

NORMAN THOMAS, Socialist candidate for President, has written to Mayor Walker of N. Y. City withdrawing a previous acceptance he had made to serve on the Mayor's Committee of Citizenship. Mr. Thomas charged that the committee was being used for partisan political purposes. He referred to announcements to the effect that Governor Smith will open his political campaign at a meeting to be sponsored by the Mayor's Committee on Citizenship in City Hall Park, the evening of July 4th.

"Those in charge of the Mayor's Committee must have a peculiar conception indeed of methods to be used in promoting better citizenship," Mr. Thomas declared, commenting on his letter replying to Mayor Walker's invitation. "The whole apparatus of the committee, it appears, is to be used to stage a political rally on the Fourth of July. There is no pretense at non-partisanship in this meeting. Governor Smith is to open his presidential campaign, we are informed, while the other speakers are to be the Mayor, Aldermanic President Joseph V. McKee, Mr. Grover Whalen, all Democrats and Tammany-men, and one inactive Republican, Justice Thomas C. Crane. If I were to concede that a better citizenship rally on the Fourth of July would be the proper time and place to stage a political rally, which I do not concede, I should certainly want to take exception to turning it into a rally for Tammany's presidential aspirations.

"Certainly the present Tammany administration, which stands convicted of gross negligence or worse in the matter of sewer construction, street cleaning, snow removal, school construction, better transit and a half dozen other important public matters, is not the organization to be entrusted to bring our new citizens up in the best American traditions."

The Mayor's invitation to Mr. Thomas received on June 12th, said:

"My dear Mr. Thomas:
"I take pleasure in inviting you to membership on the Mayor's Committee on Citizenship which I am creating to assist the City in its work. I have requested Mr. Nathaniel Phillips to serve as Chairman of this Committee, Mrs. Vincent Astor and Mr. Grover A. Whalen as Honorary Vice-Chairmen, and Mr. Harold Fields to serve as Secretary.

"The Committee will function throughout the year along lines to be laid down at a meeting to be called shortly after its organization. Its first task will be to plan a reception to First Voters, native-born and naturalized citizens of the United States, which will be held at the City Hall Plaza on Wednesday evening, July 4th, at 8:00 o'clock.

"It is my hope that you will accept membership on this Committee. I will be pleased to learn that you can attend our Independence Day Celebration, so that I may forward to you two tickets for the speakers' stand.

"Sincerely yours,

(Signed) JAMES J. WALKER, Mayor."

Thomas' Original Acceptance
Accepting the Mayor's invitation, Mr. Thomas said he did so on the assumption "that the committee is not simply a formal committee for one 4th of July celebration but an actual working and functioning body."

"In fairness to you, myself, and the Committee I should state that my own concepts of citizenship for which I

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Maine Socialist Electors Are Named

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
LIVERMORE FALLS.—The following Socialists in Maine have received the honor of serving for electors of Thomas and Maurer in the 1928 campaign: Hiram E. Taylor, of Anson; Percival J. Parris, of Paris; A. Lincoln Young of Lincolnville; Henry J. Gagnon, Rumford; Melville A. Floyd, of South Waterford, besides the state secretary.

Endorsement of Socialist Candidates Is Unanimous—Literature Grabbed Up by Visiting Farmers

COTTON BELT PARLEY CALLED IN HOUSTON

Five States Are Represented In Conference After Betrayal of G.O.P. Convention

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
KANSAS CITY.—The smouldering revolt in the ranks of working farmers against the betrayal of the Republican party and the indifference of the Democrats took surprising form here after adjournment of the G.O.P. convention in the holding of a "Corn Belt Conference" which voted enthusiastic and unanimous endorsement of Norman Thomas for president and James H. Maurer for Vice-president.

Five states were represented in the conference by large delegations who came in response to a call sent to 5,000 farmers and workers in and near Kansas by Socialist National Campaign Headquarters in New York City. Farmers and farm organizations' representatives from Iowa, Illinois, Kansas, New Mexico and Missouri attended.

It was voted to organize a "Cotton Farm Belt Conference" which is to meet in Houston, Texas, during the week immediately after the Democratic convention in that city. Carl C. Jursek, Western Campaign Manager of the Socialist Party, and Murray E. King, former editor of "The American Appeal," were elected as delegates to the conference in Houston.

"The conference exceeded our most sanguine hopes," Jursek declared here Sunday night after a busy week-end. "Though the conference was not a meeting of Socialist Party members, it gave unanimous endorsement of Thomas and Maurer."

The final conference on Sunday evoked great enthusiasm, ending with a determined spirit to rally to the Socialist Party and its standard bearers.

The attitude of the Kansas City press served as a barometer of the success of the Corn Belt Conference.

At first the papers were sceptical. The conference finally broke into the Kansas City Star, the principal paper in this city, to the extent of half a column. In editions immediately following and on subsequent days,

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Minneapolis To Hear Mayor Hoan This Sunday

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—The rapid return of the Socialist Party to the political map in this state is evident in the formation of a state organization, selection of presidential electors, and arrangements for the big Socialist picnic on July 1.

The State Committee consists of Lynn Thompson of Minneapolis, P. H. Phelps of St. Paul, Sigmund M. Slonim of Duluth, I. C. Strout of Brainerd and Miss Signe Oberg of Crosby. A state constitution will soon be written for the consideration of the members.

The Socialist electoral ticket is also completed. The electors are Albert G. Basile, A. R. Giesler, D. Sherr, A. O. Devold, Marian Sala, Lynn Thompson, all of Minneapolis; P. H. Phelps, St. Paul; Willie Kobi, Frank Westerlund, Duluth; Wallace W. Gamble, Fergus Falls; Ed C. Bauman, Bagley; Dr. C. J. Larsen, Bimidy.

The big picnic on July 1 at 3rd street and West River road, Minneapolis, promises to be a big affair. It is being announced by handbills, by radio, and in thirty daily papers throughout the state. Bill Hicks, the Negro comedian, is on the program with songs and instrumental music and other interesting features will add to the entertainment.

Of course, the big educational features are the addresses to be delivered by Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, of Milwaukee and Thomas E. Latimer of Minneapolis. A. O. Devold will preside at the big meeting. Nomination petitions were ready June 19 and signatures are now being obtained. Minnesota Socialists who want to help should write to the State Secretary, John E. Sala, 1718 Glenwood avenue, Minneapolis.

Hoover Is Next To God, 3 Wills Find

Ballyhoo Artists At Work Constructing Myths About G. O. P. Presidential Hope

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pathetic placards saying, "Anybody except Hoover."

Well what Herbert won't do to swat the farmers below the corn-belt will hardly be worth writing home about. And in the meantime on with the h. l. l.

Of course if the humanizing process doesn't go as well as the press-agents hope, there is always a big rod in pickle to use on those stubborn voters who gag at the mammy-songs.

Along in the last two weeks of the campaign, if old General Apathy seems to have settled down on both old parties' ballyhoo, the Big Business medicine men will come together for a "boo-holler." They use the "boo-holler" on the workers who can't seem to get lathered up over the prospect of seeing either Hoover or Smith in the White House. Both gangs use it when they are in power.

About "Boo-hollering"

In New York State the Democrats use it to elect a Democratic Governor. In Washington the Republicans use it to elect a Republican President.

Do I hear a little boy in the back of the room ask "What is a 'boo-holler'?"

Well, my lad, it is like this. You line up all the capitalist papers, and persons and pamphlets and pictures and get them to holler one, long, loud BOO at the working men and women of the country who may show signs of running off the reservation.

You tell them that if they don't vote right, they'll be out on the streets, or up the tracks, or on the hard roads looking for jobs. If you are a Republican rooting for your national ticket you tell them that, "By God, if you boys don't put the mark under the eagle, you can whistle for your pay-envelope the Saturday after election." If you are a Democratic booster in New York, for example, you say the same thing a bit tougher, substituting the star for the eagle.

And when you've got them scared silly, so that they figure that if they vote Socialist, they'll be pounding the pavements you put the finishing touches on the whole performance by assuring them that Herbert Hoover or Alfred Smith has been selected by a free and sovereign people to be their leader for the next four years.

— Houston Trek Is On

To be sure there's always the chance that some day working folks will just rear up and tell both parties where they head in. It looks from here as though a powerful lot of them were going to do this next November by voting for Norman Thomas.

And by working folks, I mean those who work out on the fields and up in the offices, as well as in the factories and work shops. I mean men and women who can't be fooled by h. l. or rattled by BOO. I mean you who read this and your family and your friends to whom you are going to show this piece and stacks and stacks of real people all across this country who wear long trousers and do something with the spaces above their ears besides growing hair on top of their heads.

And now, it's Houston, with the advance guard of bankers, merchants, contractors and realtors already on the train putting on their proletarian disguises for the next big act.

By the time they hit Texas soil, they will have learned to chew tobacco, spit free, wide and handsome and show you callouses on their hands caused by honest toil handling checks, golf clubs and cocktail shakers.

"Labor" Gets a Free Meal

In the meantime at home, according to The New York Times, Al Smith is throwing parties for his "labor supporters." Under the heading "Smith Host to Labor Men," we read that the Governor received his rank and file cohorts at The North Hills Country Club, Douglaston, Long Island. He plays nine holes of golf with Peter Brady and then sat democratically down with such outstanding plebeians as Charles Denny, Vice President of the Erie Railroad; R. K. Rochester, General Manager of the Long Island Railroad; William J. McCormick, President of the McCormick Sand and Gravel Company; Frank X. Sullivan, Commissioner of the Board of Transportation; Stephen Kelley, Superintendent of the Board of City Records and Major General Hanson Ely.

Farmers Rally To Thomas at Kansas Meet

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the Journal and Post also opened their columns to the conference.

Establishing headquarters at the Snyderhof, Jursk and Socialist Party organizers from nearby states issued a broadside which was distributed with copies of the Socialist platform and an "Address to the Farmers" by Norman Thomas by the tens of thousands. A few days after the call had gone out from New York City.

The broadside said:

"THIRTY MILLION FARMERS CALL TO A CONFERENCE AT SNYDERHOF HOTEL, OAK AND 10th STREETS

FRIDAY SATURDAY SUNDAY 10A. M. to 10 P. M. June 15, 16, 17

"THIRTY MILLION FARMERS WON'T VOTE FOR HOOVER, SMITH, OR ANY OTHER CANDIDATE, who does not declare himself in favor of AGRICULTURE being placed on an equal basis with all other industries. Furthermore, he must declare himself as being in favor of legislation along the lines of the McNary-Haugen bill, with its essential features. Furthermore, even these can mean temporary advantages to the farmer during prosperous times (which for him are rare).

"That means that the candidate (as well as his party) who declares for the above measures must stand for permanent and progressive changes in society, that will guarantee in the near future to the on-coming generations of the workers and farmers, their proper proportion of the boundless wealth of America.

"This means public or government operation of Muscle Shoals, Boulder Dam, ownership of Giant Power by the people. Government ownership of transportation, and other industries essential to the welfare of the workers and the farmers. (Up to the present Norman Thomas, Presidential Candidate of progressive farmers, liberals and Socialists on the Socialist Party ticket, is the only one to have openly declared himself without reservation in favor of these measures).

"If the thirty million farmers are to get justice, it can readily be seen that it can only be obtained by organizing the political power of so large a group.

"Have you forgotten what fear the 5,000,000 votes of the LaFollette campaign threw into the old party leaders? If all workers and farmers would have concentrated their votes on LaFollette they wouldn't today be begging the Republican Convention for justice or talking of going on to Houston to beg for it there.

"BEG FOR NOTHING

"Let us gather our political strength—harness it and get Justice through our own Party—A PARTY OF THE FARMERS AND WORKERS.

"If you are leaving this city before Saturday and can't participate in the final conference, get in touch with the undersigned at the Snyderhof Hotel for an individual conference before you leave.

"Room 412, Snyderhof Hotel, Oak and 10th Streets, Kansas City, Mo. Karl C. Jursk, Member State Executive Committee, Progressive Party 1924; Western Campaign Manager Socialist Party, 1928. Permanent Headquarters after conference, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

"DON'T LEAVE TOWN UNTIL YOU HAVE CALLED AT THE SNYDERHOF HOTEL."

The above appeal and the conference call from National Socialist headquarters had immediate effect. Many who could not come sent telegrams and letters telling of their support and eagerness to join the movement. Thursday night, June 15th, the police put an end to a meeting which was being addressed by Jursk, but he and others active in the conference insisted on their right to hand out the circulars.

Oh, yes, I forgot, William Kohn of the Upholsters was there as was Joseph Weber, President of the International Musicians Union. So after all the party had a fine labor slant and no doubt ended with the singing of "The International."

But after all, there's one thing to be thankful for. No matter who's elected, after next March, we won't have to look at the pictures of Calvin any more. Let us rise and give three loud hallelujahs for this.

The fact that this conference was called by outstanding Socialists did not seem to dampen in the least the ardor of these Republican and progressive farmers. The day before, while addressing an open air meeting near the Republican convention hall, Jursk was greeted by cries from the crowd of listening farmers "If they turn us down at Houston, we will all vote for Thomas and Maurer."

This brought down the crowd. The meeting was stopped by the police for lack of permit and blocking traffic. Thousands of Socialist platforms and addresses of Thomas to the farmer, were gladly taken and read by the farmers, who threw Republican and other literature to the ground almost without hesitation.

The address of Norman Thomas to the farmers was read at this conference. The Socialist delegates were not slow in presenting the advantages offered by their platform and candidates as the best medium for a third party movement this year. As a result, the following resolution was adopted without a dissenting vote:

WHEREAS, the Republican party at its national convention failed to grant the American farmer conditions that would guarantee a decent livelihood, and

WHEREAS, the past performance of both the Republican and Democratic parties have failed to bring relief to the millions of bankrupt farmers, and WHEREAS, the platforms of these parties have failed to offer those permanent changes necessary to assure the American farmer his just share in the boundless wealth of this nation, and

WHEREAS, a new third party will be unable at this late date to place its ticket on the ballot in many states, and

WHEREAS, the Socialist Party is organized in practically every state, and WHEREAS, the Socialist Party platform and the statement of Norman Thomas, Socialist presidential candidate, to this conference present the best opportunity yet offered by any party for the farmer to obtain his demands and rights, and believing that a large vote for these candidates will favorably influence legislation more than anything else, therefore be it

RESOLVED: That we the Delegates of the Corn Belt Farmers Conference, endorse the Socialist Party platform and national candidates, Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer, and advise all other farmer and labor groups to do likewise.

The conference voted to send its chairman, Karl C. Jursk, and its secretary, Murray King, to the Farmer-Labor convention to be held in Chicago July 10th, and to send them to Houston, Texas, to participate in a Cotton Belt Conference, which is to take place at time of the Democratic national convention.

Hoover Power Trust Aide, Thomas Says

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in any sense satisfactory to the people. The candidate of Tammany Hall who appointed a reactionary public service commissioner as his money getter, who vetoed three out of four laws designed to make elections more honest in New York, who gave New York City Jimmy Walker as Mayor and the blundering Transit Commission to imperil the five cent fare is not a man to lead America to plenty, peace and freedom."

Hits Borah In Penn. Address

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

POCONO MANOR, PA., June 18th.—Declaring that the present movement for the outlawry of war by international treaty is "a beginning worth making," Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for president, delivered his first address in Pennsylvania here Monday at the Pocono Manor Conference on "Peace Strategy."

"It is most tragically absurd," Mr. Thomas said, "to advocate the outlawry of war while we prosecute an ignoble war in Nicaragua and are unable even to imagine an honorable substitute for that imperialism born of a marriage of capitalism and nationalism from which inevitably a new world war will arise unless, while we prevent particular wars, we bring about a profound change in the whole system."

Assails Senator Borah Thomas charged that Senator Borah, though one of the original proponents of the movement to outlaw war, has been won over to the "imperialist position on Nicaragua."

Spring Has Come To -- CAMP TAMMENT For Adults at FOREST PARK, PA. (near Delaware Water Gap)

Now open for the season, most beautiful time in June! Mountain lake, fine sport equipment, evening entertainment, good fellowship, famous for excellent food.

Special June Rate: \$32 per week. New York Headquarters 7 East 15th Street, New York City. Phone, ALgonquin 3904

GOP Reduces Farmers To Office Boys

Business and Bankers First, Last and All the Time, Is Republican Dictum

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

KANSAS CITY.—The recent defeat of the farmers at the Republican convention and victory of the great banks and industrial corporations is due notice to the tillers of the soil that their alliance with big bankers and capitalists in that party since the Civil War is henceforth to take a new form. They have always been a lesser partner in this alliance. They are now reduced to the position of office boy. If they can make a few extra pennies out of the waste paper that falls to them, all right; but the rich pickings belong to the fatwadd members of the alliance.

No more humiliating experience has ever come to any class in American politics. Representatives of the farmers fairly crawled before the brokers who controlled the convention. With the Mellons, Butlers and their ilk gorged with the "prosperity" of which Coolidge talks, the distressed farmers were told that the platform belongs to the fatwadds and that the farmers should continue to make the fatwadds happy and ratify their servitude by rolling up more Republican votes.

A little over a century ago the conditions were reversed and it was the manufacturers who begged of agrarians with cap in hand. This phase of American political and economic history is forgotten and it is well to recall it. Agriculture was the leading interest and power in that period. Manufacturing was in its infancy, but it was growing, and as it developed it was seeking to obtain the upper hand at Washington.

The agricultural interest included the owners of estates in the South, the small farmers of the North, and the pioneer farmers of the West. This interest controlled at Washington and it favored tariff duties just high enough to provide a revenue for the government.

A Humble Plea

The manufacturers wanted high rates as a subsidy for nursing their interests, high rates which the farming interest would have to pay in increased prices for northern manufactures. The early capitalists were humble and abject. Their first systematic propaganda came from Philadelphia where the Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of National Industry began to issue a series of addresses early in 1819. These addresses are very pathetic. They are eloquent pleas to the agrarians to listen to the woes of the manufacturers. They ransacked the history of European nations, mobilized statistics from every available source, and swore by all the gods that their interests were identical with agriculture.

That these early capitalists were then the underdogs was freely admitted by them. In the address of April 12, 1819, for example, they used this humble language: "It is too common, we apprehend, for many of the farmers and planters of the southern states, to regard with disesteem, or in common parlance, to look down on manufacturers as beneath them in point of respectability. To this source may probably be ascribed the inflexible refusal of protection which was so earnestly solicited for the manufacturing interest throughout the Union."

This reads like the humble plea of the farmers to the brokers of manufacturers and bankers at Kansas City. Down in Virginia John Taylor, a powerful agrarian philosopher, was answering the Philadelphia capitalists also in a series of essays. Taylor did not mince words and bared the conflict between the producing and the non-producing classes. He declared that the northern capitalists were reaching for power and that workers would suffer if it was obtained. "We farmers and mechanics have been political slaves in all countries because we are political fools," he said. Protective duties he declared, would fatten this new capitalist interest, make it all-powerful, so that farmers and workers in general would become subservient to it.

Manufacturing continued to develop but not till the Civil War overthrew slavery did the new capitalist interest become dominant in the republic. But it still needed allies and down to a recent period it threw sops to the farmers. Now it is confident of its power and it is the farmers who beg and are spurned. It is they who are regarded with "disesteem" and who have been plundered as though a conquering general had marched through the countryside.

Will the workers go to Houston and beg the Tammany gang or will they turn to the Socialist Party and vote for Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer? They alone can answer.

THE Workmen's Circle The Largest Radical Working-Men's Fraternal Order in Existence

85,000 MEMBERS \$3,200,000 ASSETS

750 Branches All Over the United States and Canada

Insurance from \$100 to \$1,000

Sick benefit, 15 weeks per year, at \$8 per week. Many branches pay additional benefit from \$3 to \$5 per week. Consumption benefit, \$200 or nine months in our own sanatorium, located in the most beautiful region of the Catskill Mountains—besides the regular weekly benefit.

For information, apply to THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE 175 East Broadway, N. Y. City Telephone ORchard 6518-6517

Fall to Left of Him, Sinclair to The Right, But Hoover Never Peeped

"Herbert The Silent" Sat in Cabinet With Daugherty and Denby, But Saw No Evil

By Laurence Todd

WASHINGTON.—Hoover, nominee for the presidency of the United States by grace of Billy Vane, Andy Mellon and the purchasable Southern delegates, is not excessively loved in Washington. True, his subordinates in the Department of Commerce and in the other organizations he has controlled, such as the American Relief Association, are for him. But other people wonder why, if Herbert is so lofty-minded, so keen-sighted and so much the super-statesman, he has remained Herbert The Silent through eight years of scandals in federal administration. Indeed, the question runs back to the Wilson regime.

Examine the record of Hoover as food controller, when the Federal Trade Commission had made its historic expose of the lawlessness and wholesale robbing of farmers and the consuming public by the Big Five Chicago meat packers. When the Commission asked for the criminal indictment of about 20 of the officials of the Big Five companies—the Armour, Swift, Cudahy, Morris and Wilson concerns—Hoover was hostile. Business efficiency must not be interfered with. Not a hair of the head of a millionaire packer was touched. Mitchell Palmer made the Consent Decree compromise with the packers, on behalf of Woodrow Wilson, after Hoover had advised the White House.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from Page 1)

Even the resounding Borah bone-dry plank pledges enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment without mentioning the Volstead Act! And the labor plank makes the astounding discovery that some improper injunctions have been granted and let it go at that!

Yet the repudiation of the farmers' plank and the endorsement of the Coolidge Administration give us a pretty accurate guide to the Republican positions as steadfastly the party of Big Business, thoroughly committed to hypocritical imperialism abroad and to special privilege at home. The declaration for state rather than federal regulation of public utilities can only be interpreted in the light of facts as a victory for utility companies which have successfully made a joke of state regulation. The navy plank can be interpreted as a victory for the big navy advocates who have always claimed, somewhat disingenuously, that all they were trying to do was to build the navy up to the Washington ratio in all classes of ships. How does that match up with the outlawry of war which the platform also endorses?

Now for a little prophecy. The Democratic Platform will be equally unintelligible and about equally satisfactory to Big Business. Such Democratic authorities as Frank Kent of the Baltimore Sun and the editors of the New York World have explained that the Democratic Party will not endorse the McNary-Haugen bill. They don't dare please the farmers at the price of antagonizing business interests. The World suggests that instead the Democrats will help the farmers by advocating a low tariff policy. Doubtless the Democrats will say a few weasel words on the tariff. But when you remember that Smith and Tammany must placate the South and that there are no more passionate protectionists in the whole country than Southern mill owners and cane planters you can guess just how far the Democrats will go towards free trade. And I'll venture a second prophecy. The Democrats won't dare adopt a sincere war plank. What issue will be left them?

The finest, most experienced progressive in Washington is Senator George W. Norris. He got 34 votes in the Republican convention. That is the measure of real progressivism in the so-called Republican farmers' revolt. Most of the rest was personal feeling and the politics that can make a hero out of Charlie Curtis! Senator Norris is properly critical of the Kansas City performance but gives no hint of a third party bolt. Neither from Kansas City nor Houston will there come a third party! If there should it couldn't get on the ticket in important states at this late date. Those whose discontent is more than political must turn to our party.

The Executive Council of the American Federation presented eleven demands at Kansas City and will present the same demands at Houston. The most advanced of them is for the five-day week in government service. Generally speaking labor's demands are sound. Criticism of them is not that they go too far but that they do not go far enough. They represent a step backward from what labor endorsed when it endorsed the LaFollette platform in 1924. There are some serious omissions. Nothing is said about imperialism or about the power trust. Old age pensions and unemployment insurance are not specifically mentioned or endorsed. The plank about coal advocates an impossible harmony between capital and labor in an overdeveloped and chaotic industry. It ought to demand nationalization as the one way out. It is a sufficient commentary on the ownership of our national parties that even these moderate demands of labor as everybody knows, will not be honestly and sincerely endorsed by either of the old parties.

Thomas Spurns Appointment By N. Y. Mayor

(Continued from Page 1)

shall work on the committee is not to create by naturalization or by the education of our own children a lot of professional 'one hundred per cent. Americans' who all cheer alike and think alike, when they think at all. American citizenship will be enriched by the cultural ideals and backgrounds of all countries from which Americans come. We want no standardized type. We want thoughtful citizens whose concept of citizenship means America first in the pursuit of peace, in the establishment of cooperation among nations, in the vindication of the rights of the workers. We want a citizenship which sees in the right to vote a solemn duty to use it for honest elections, clean government and the dedication of all our governmental agencies to the service of the people rather than the forces of special privilege. It is with this understanding that I accept membership of the committee."

Upon learning of plans for the Fourth of July meeting, with the Governor reported as planning to make a political address there, Mr. Thomas yesterday sent Mayor Walker the following letter rescinding his earlier decision:

Withdraws From Committee

June 18, 1928

"Hon. James J. Walker, 'City Hall, New York.

"Dear Sir:

"On June 11th you wrote me, among a large number of other citizens, inviting me to become a member of your Committee on Citizenship. You wrote:

"This Committee will function throughout the year along lines to be laid down at a meeting to be called shortly after its organization. Its first task will be to plan a reception to first voters . . . which will be held at the City Hall Plaza on Wednesday evening, July 4th."

"I accepted your invitation explaining that I assumed that the committee was 'an actual working and functioning body.' I went on to state the conception of citizenship which I held.

"This morning's papers announce the 4th of July meeting with a list of notable Democrats and one Republican Judge as speakers. The World and Times expressly link Governor Smith's appearance to the opening of his campaign. Meanwhile I learn on inquiry that no meeting of the Committee on Citizenship has been held or is contemplated, save, possibly in a vague way, some time next fall. While I approve the theoretical purposes of this meeting and acknowledge the appropriateness of Mr. Smith's appearance as Governor the facts which I have cited give to your committee a purely honorary and semi-political character which make it impossible for me to permit the use of my name. I therefore withdraw my acceptance of your invitation.

"Truly yours, "NORMAN THOMAS."

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Organized 1884

60,000 MEMBERS IN 344 BRANCHES

IN THE U. S. A.

Assets on December 31, 1927, over \$2,830,000

Paid for Sick and Death Benefits, over \$13,440,000

Benefits in case of Sickness or Accident \$6, \$9, or \$15 per week for first 40 weeks, one-half thereof for an additional 40 weeks, or altogether \$360 to \$900. Sick Benefits for Women—\$9 for first 40 weeks, \$4.50 for another 40 weeks, or altogether \$540.

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Parents can insure their children up to the age of 18 years against death.

Workers! Protect Yourselves and Your Families!

For further information write to the Main Office: 9 Seventh St., Cor. Third Ave., New York City, or to the Branch Financial Secretary of your District.

You Cannot Be Beautiful

unless you are healthy, and you cannot be healthy unless you have a good, sound stomach and liver.

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has been recognized as the national family remedy to keep liver and bowels in good working order. An occasional dose of Ex-Lax will relieve you of accumulated, undigested waste matter, will drive out the foul gases, will keep your blood red and pure, and you will always "look your best."

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3 W. 16th St., New York City Chelsea 2148

Wisconsin Expects To Poll Big Vote

Congressman Berger, At Convention, Predicts Successful Socialist Party Campaign

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—The state ticket nominated at the recent Socialist Party convention is headed by Oscar Ameringer of Milwaukee for Governor. His associates include S. S. Walkup, for Kenosha for Lieutenant-Governor; Leo Kryska for Milwaukee for Secretary of State; and Edward Deuss of Sheboygan for State Treasurer. The State Executive Committee was instructed to name thirteen presidential electors.

"We have more hope today than ever," Congressman Victor L. Berger told the delegates. "We know that we cannot be beaten. Unless the United States ceases to exist and unless the race gives up its idea of democracy, we are bound to succeed. Wisconsin is the backbone of a new movement. The great party that will free all workers of all races is taking root right here." A provision for possible political cooperation by the Socialist Party with other organizations with substantially the same aims was adopted. This decision is in accord with one adopted by the national convention of the party in New York in May.

Speaking in favor of this proposal, Mayor Daniel W. Hoan said that "The working class of the United States is ready for political action. The sentiment of the rank and file of the union membership is for a new party of the producing class."

"There is corruption throughout the land, wherever the old parties have made themselves felt; the La Follette party has crumbled; the working people are waiting for a program."

"Now the Socialist Party can expect the best and the biggest vote in its history. The future belongs to us."

In addition to the excellent platform summarized in The New Leader last week, the convention adopted resolutions in favor of the 40-hour week, against American imperialist conquest of other nations with special reference to the war against Nicaragua, expressing the sympathetic relations which have for years existed between the party and the Wisconsin trade unions, urging state legislation for unemployment compensation, approving the work of the Socialist members of the legislature, and calling upon the governor of the State of Washington to pardon the eight victims of the Centralia mob trial who are serving long terms in prison.

The convention also adopted a resolution asking for the transfer of the national campaign headquarters from New York to Chicago. Congressman Berger and Mayor Hoan were instructed to seek this change at the meeting of the National Executive Committee in Baltimore in July.

Reinhold For U. S. Senator In Indiana

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

INDIANAPOLIS.—The recent state convention of the Socialist Party selected a full ticket of Socialist candidates for the November election. Organization work is prospering in the hands of Emma Henry, the State Organizer. Indiana had about a hundred party local organizations before the World War but the war terror and the Klan mania in recent years scattered the members. The movement is now recovering and within a year or two it will be in excellent shape.

The following are the Socialist standard bearers in Indiana:

U. S. Senator: Philip K. Reinhold, Terre Haute; Governor: Clarence E. Bond, Muncie; Lieutenant Governor: Jacob Mueller, Indianapolis; Secretary of State: Mary Fogelson, Indianapolis; Treasurer: Arlington Binford, Westfield; Attorney General: D. Lincoln Orlowski, Indianapolis; Auditor: A. T. Klingbeil, Richmond; Recorder of Deeds: E. F. Mueller, Indianapolis; State Supt. Pub. Instr.: Louis Newlund, Indianapolis; Judge App. Court, 2nd District: A. S. Hodges, Mishawaka.

A full set of electors was selected for the presidential candidates.

BY NOMINATING Oscar Ameringer for Governor, the Wisconsin Socialists have given themselves the benefit of one of the most magnetic speakers and writers in the Socialist movement.



OSCAR AMERINGER

Connecticut Socialists In Session

NEW HAVEN, Ct.—The Connecticut state convention and banquet should prove to be two of the most interesting events held by the Socialist Party in many years.

The banquet will be held Saturday evening, June 23rd at Fitzsimon's Restaurant, 26 Grogan Alley, New Haven where a very fine menu will be provided, and an excellent musical program rendered by two nationally known speakers, George T. Coedel, of Newark, New Jersey, and Attorney Louis Waldman, of New York, will address the guests, and a real enjoyable evening is assured to all.

The price of the banquet tickets are \$1.00. They may be secured from Walter E. Davis, 48 Belmont street, Hamden. The state convention will be held on the following day, Sunday, June 24th, at the Arbeiter Maenner Chor Park, Allingtown, New Haven. The purpose of the convention will be to nominate presidential electors. A candidate for United States Senator also, and a complete state ticket. A state platform will be adopted. A state campaign committee elected, and organization and campaign plans formulated. Other important business will also be transacted.

Usual efforts have been made to create widespread interest in the convention. Invitations to send fraternal delegates have been forwarded to branches of the Workmen's Circle, the Paole Zionists, the Polish Socialist Alliance, labor unions, and other sympathetic organizations and individuals. From present indications a large and enthusiastic delegation will be present.

The Arbeiter Maenner Chor Park is one of the most beautiful parks in the state. It is an ideal place to spend the day and is situated but a short distance from New Haven. All kinds of refreshments can be secured on the grounds, and plans are being made to serve a regular dinner to those who desire it for the moderate charge of fifty cents per person.

In the park are numerous benches and tables, and those who desire to take along lunch with them and make the affair a family picnic are privileged to do so. There is plenty of space for parking automobiles, and no charge will be made for parking cars.

To reach the Arbeiter Maenner Chor Park take a trolley from New Haven marked Congress avenue, and get off at the corner of Orange and Campbell avenue. The park is situated on the top of Allingtown Hill, on New Haven to Bridgeport Bus Line. The fare is one token from New Haven.

Sharts To Speak At Picnic in Cleveland

CLEVELAND.—Local Socialists will get their campaign activities under way with a picnic July 8th at the former May County Home, on the lake front. Joseph W. Sharts, Socialist candidate for Governor of Ohio, will be the main speaker. The local Socialists are working hard to make the picnic a success and they extend an invitation to all Socialists and Socialist sympathizers who want to combine a good time in the open air with Socialist work to attend. The picnic can be reached by taking the Euclid Beach car and getting off at 148th street.

Oklahoma Files Thomas Electors

Candidates For Congress Are Named In Each District — Enthusiasm Is High

By Murray E. King

OKLAHOMA CITY.—Oklahoma, during the week, swung into the column of states that will have a full Socialist ticket on the official ballot this year. A full set of Socialist candidates with the exception of judicial candidates has been filed. The answer that has come back from the election board over the signature of its chairman is, "We find no objection to placing these candidates on the ballot. In lieu of any further word from the candidates their names will be placed on the official ballot."

In addition to the electors who will cast the Oklahoma Socialist vote for Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer, candidates have filed for Congress in all the eight congressional districts. It is significant of the character of the Oklahoma Socialist movement that six of these eight candidates are farmers. Oklahoma is a living denial of the statement that the American farmer will not embrace Socialism. Under instructions of Campaign headquarters in N. Y., I have traveled over portions of the state in assisting State Secretary Bule in completing the ticket. I am convinced that 75 per cent. of the Socialists of Oklahoma are dirt farmers, and 90 per cent. of those who stuck through the post-war terror were of the sturdy breed of American farmers.

The following are the congressional candidates: First district, Philip J. Dickerson, Pawhuska, editor and lawyer; Second district, M. W. More, Henryetta, farmer; Third district, Robert E. Lee, Blocker, farmer; Fourth district, L. A. Stanwood, Stroud, farmer; Fifth district, Philip Kusler, Choctaw, farmer; Sixth district, Joseph T. Dickerson, Lawton, farmer; Seventh district, W. L. Russell, Mountain View, physician; Eighth district, L. Dees, Rosston, farmer.

The conditions are combining to produce a Socialist revival and a vote in Oklahoma this year that will restore the movement to its former activity. One is a new and surprising interest in Socialism among the old Socialists. The State secretary has been receiving a steadily increasing flood of mail from nearly all parts of the state. It was exceptionally big and encouraging the week the ticket was filed.

No doubt of it, an organizer can form locals in many parts of Oklahoma right now for the first time in seven years. The farmers and city workers I met were ready, with but few exceptions, for a state-wide organized movement. A meeting in Oklahoma City drawn together by a scant two days advertising almost filled the Musicians' Union Hall, and were enthusiastic for the immediate restoration of the party.

The other condition contributing toward a revival and big vote is the peculiar political situation in Oklahoma this year. Oklahoma is full of indignant citizens who cannot vote for either Hoover or Smith. Conspicuous among these are the dry Protestant farmers, who are very numerous. Right in the face of this situation it so happens that the Socialist party presents the only outlet for this potential protest vote. The Socialists of Oklahoma keenly sense this exceptional opportunity and are keen to take full advantage of it. Oklahoma has a good Socialist state secretary. Comrade Bule is a trained organizer and field man of long experience. He has a Ford, and with the assistance of National Campaign Headquarters and aid from within he will cover the state with live locals and a live movement. When I left the state he was one of the happiest men over prospects for the movement this year I have seen for a long time.

Oklahoma Socialists cast 72,000 votes in the primary election in August, 1916. The first great break came when 30,000 of these Socialists voted for Wilson in the general election because he had promised to keep us out of war. The vast majority of these Socialists are still alive and they are still Socialists, as I discovered in the portions of the state I visited. The feeling among them that the opportune time has come to restore the movement in Oklahoma seems to be widespread.

Many Organizations Joined With Party At Chicago Banquet

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

CHICAGO.—In connection with the Socialist Party banquet held last Monday night here many organizations took part, which shows the feeling towards the Socialist Party in Chicago. The co-operating organizations included: United Hebrew Trades of Chicago, Amalgamated Joint Board, Cloak Makers Joint Board, City Comm., Workmen's Circle; Central Comm., Jewish Verband; Local 39 Amalgamated, Local 152 Amalgamated, Cloak Makers Union 59; Fur Workers Union 45; Cloak Makers Union 18; Bakers Union 237; Jewish Socialist Women's Club; Douglas Park Socialist Branch; N. W. Branch Socialist Party; National Headquarters Branch, Socialist Party; Y. P. S. L.; Hebrew Typographical Union 903; Workmen's Circle branches 32, 459, 687, 328, 178, 127, 444, 296, 65, 252, 527, 391, 176, 162, 694, 236, 722.

Allegheny County, Pa. Socialists Line Up For Active Campaign

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

PITTSBURGH.—The Socialist Campaign Committee of Local Allegheny met Monday, June 19 and outlined definite and systematic campaign action. The full committee of fifteen were present and many of the comrades for some time, we have aroused their interest and from the interest displayed at that meeting we expect to have a lively campaign.

The Allegheny district has been divided into districts and each member of the committee has been assigned a district of which he is chairman and will be responsible for the distribution of literature and arrangements of meetings in his or her district. We plan to use approximately 25,000 of each leaflet issued by the National Office, besides the special literature we may put out ourselves for local matters.

Sympathizers and members of each district will be solicited for funds and active work. It is planned to make personal calls on each of these and attempt to build some organization to function when the campaign assumes its peak.

A special meeting of the local speakers will be held Monday, July 2, promptly at 8 p.m. to discuss the various issues and how they shall be presented. This will avoid unnecessary repetition of the speakers in their talks which in the past has been one of our faults.

All comrades and sympathizers are requested to get in touch with the county office as important matters in their districts are to be discussed. Please get in touch with the office at once.

Again we desire to call attention to the picnic Sunday, July 15. Tickets are available at the county headquarters. For the price of admission, 35 cents, comrades and friends are assured a pleasant day as this is one of the most beautiful and picturesque natural groves in this vicinity.

Warner of The Nation Endorses Norman Thomas

Arthur Warner, associate editor of The Nation, has sent the following endorsement of Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer, Socialist candidates for president and vice-president, respectively, to Harry W. Laidler, chairman of the Socialist Committee on Outside Contacts.

"It will be a pleasure and an honor to serve on the committee endorsing the candidacy of Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer," Mr. Warner declared. "The control of both the Republican and Democratic parties makes it impossible for either to carry out an adequate and honest program in the interest of the majority of the voters who produce the wealth which a privileged minority consume. No individual, however progressive and democratic, can carry out any lasting programs of reform against existing leaders of the two old parties. There is no choice between the Republicans, dripping with oil corruption, and the Democrats, stained with the graft of Tammany Hall."

"Against the two old parties and the best candidates they can muster, it is inspiring to place Thomas and Maurer. Thomas's opposition to war and imperialism, his brave stand for freedom of speech, and his championship of democracy in industry stamp him as a man of principles and vision. Maurer's long identification with organized labor, and his work for its education and emancipation, mark him as a worthy associate for Thomas."

Big Meeting In Baltimore On July 8th

Demonstration To Have Thomas And Maurer As Speakers—N. E. C. to Meet

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

BALTIMORE.—The meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party in Baltimore on Saturday and Sunday, July 7 and 8, will be the occasion of a big affair, in fact, of two important gatherings. A large mass meeting will be held with Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer as the principal speakers.

On Sunday evening, a banquet will be held, beginning at 7 p.m., in the Emerson Hotel. It is certain that sympathetic organizations like a number of trade unions and branches of the Workmen's Circle will be represented at the banquet. Then there are quite a number of people who worked for the LaFollette campaign four years ago in the hope that it would lead to a union of organizations in a labor party. They will have an opportunity to attend the banquet as it is certain that most of them on the basis of principle cannot support the candidates of the capitalist parties.

Tickets for the banquet are now available and may be obtained from Dr. S. M. Neistadt, 1607 E. Baltimore street, or at the office of the Jewish Daily Forward, 1151 E. Baltimore street.

These big affairs will also serve to initiate the Socialist Party campaign in Maryland. Like other states, the only element of confusion now remaining is the wet and dry issue. The Klan has declined as it has elsewhere and widespread unemployment brings a clear economic organization and a good campaign. Maryland Socialists expect to give a good account of themselves in November.

Large Attendance Is Expected At L.I.D. Conference

(Continued from Page 1)

"The History and Prospects of the Social Sciences" will question in its talk to what extent any interpretation of history can be regarded as strictly scientific. James O'neal, editor of the New Leader, author of the "Workers of American History" and a profound student of historical development in this country, will represent the general Socialist slant on the materialistic conception of history. Franz Longville of the Belgian Labor College will give a brief paper telling something of the progress of Socialist thought abroad.

Papers have also been submitted for this session by Ernest Untermann, the translator of Karl Marx's "Capital" and Henry DeMan, Director of the Belgian Labor College and author of "Psychology of Socialism". These addresses will be summarized at the session and present a number of interesting challenges. The Thursday night session will lay a foundation for discussion at all the succeeding meetings. The subjects of these meetings will be:

"Should Socialists Revise Their Conception of Progress Under Capitalism and Their Theory of Value?" "What of the Class Struggle Theory?" "The Means to Labor or Socialist Control and the Transitional State." "Enlightened Capitalism or Socialism as a Solution?" "The Old Parties or a Labor Party as a Means?" "What the Socialist Society Will Look Like." "Next Steps in American Socialism."

Among the further conference speakers will be Dr. I. M. Rubinow, Solon DeLeon, Algernon Lee, Dr. N. I. Stone, William M. Leiserson, Louis B. Boudin, Paul Blanshard, Robert W. Dunn, Benjamin Stolberg, H. S. Raushenbush, Roger Baldwin, August Claessens, Louis Waldman, Ivy Lee, Arthur Garfield Hays, Norman Thomas, Stuart Chase, Harry W. Laidler, J. S. Woodworth, James H. Maurer, Dr. Jessie W. Huggan, J. B. S. Hardman, McAllister Coleman, Benjamin C. Marsh, Robert Morris Lovett, Jacob Panken, William Karlin and others will be present and participate in various sessions.

Those interested in the conference should immediately write to the League for Industrial Democracy, 70 Fifth avenue, New York City.

Hoover Nomination Will Boost Socialist Vote, Hillquit Says

The nomination of Secretary Hoover for the presidency by the Republican party will mean a heavy increase in the Socialist vote, Morris Hillquit, International Secretary of the Socialist Party said Saturday on boarding the Leviathan for South America.

Hillquit will attend the congress of the Labor and Socialist International which will convene in Brussels on August 4. Morris Hillquit with representatives of the Socialist and Labor parties of the world in attendance. He is slated to report to the congress on Post-War Economic Development in North and South America.

"The candidacy of Hoover," Hillquit declared, "will mean a heavy increase in the Socialist vote because the Secretary of Commerce is a typical representative of American capitalism and will be bitterly opposed by a large section of the farming population as well as by the working people. The tying of Mr. Curtis to the Hoover kite is a subterfuge too obvious to fool any of the voters who know what they want."



WEVD Asks For Increased Wave Length

400,000 Californians Join In Protest Against Threatened Closing of Station

APPLICATION for increased wave length, for exclusive use of its wave length and for increased power will be made on behalf of Station WEVD, the Debs Memorial Radio Station, at its hearing July 9th before the Federal Radio Commission. It is announced by G. August Gerber, managing director of the station.

It is at that hearing that WEVD, together with 161 other low-powered stations, is required to make "an affirmative showing that public interest, convenience or necessity will be served by renewing the license."

Mr. Gerber's letter to Judge Ira E. Robinson, chairman of the Federal Radio Commission, follows:

"Dear Judge Robinson: "Radio Station WEVD is cited to appear before your body on July 9th to 'make an affirmative showing that public interest, convenience or necessity will be served by the granting of our application for re-license as of and from August 1st."

"I wonder if it has been called to your attention that Station WEVD, the only station of its kind in the country, is assigned to a wave length of 245.8 meters, with only one evening of broadcasting each week—from 9:00 to 12:00 p.m. on Tuesday. It is erected and maintained as a memorial to the life and work of Eugene V. Debs, the noble Socialist and labor leader of the last generation."

"Station WEVD, dedicated to the purposes of the minority viewpoints of this country, serves these causes and movements at no charge, even though, it has practically no commercial income. It is operated by a non-profit making, non-commercial, quasi public fund supported by voluntary contributions. From the very beginning, WEVD seems to have been assigned to the radio 'graveyard' and has never received from your Commission as much consideration as has been at all times granted to second rate commercial stations with no particular or special functions."

"It seems as though all this was done during the period before your membership on the Commission, and it is for that reason that I take this opportunity to call it to your attention."

"Now that the Commission has definitely embarked upon a program to clear up the radio broadcasting channels and to eliminate the surplus stations that perform no particular, necessary or economic functions, I respectfully herewith make application that WEVD receive its due consideration. If it is proper, at your hearing on July 9th, the Debs Memorial Radio Fund, owners and operators of Station WEVD propose to make the following request:

"1. That the wave length of Station WEVD be increased. 2. That the wave length assigned to WEVD be for its exclusive use. 3. That WEVD be power be increased commensurate with its purposes and needs. "I take it that since July 9th is already set as a formal hearing date with a general citation of stations that no special hearing need be set for this purpose. However, will you please advise me."

Californians Protest Protest against the order of the commission to WEVD to shut down August 1st has been filed by the General Committee of California Progressives representing 400,000 voters. The protest was filed by Lew Head of Los Angeles, chairman of the General Committee of California Progressives.

headquarters of the Socialist Western campaign manager.

Murray King, Hodges and others are busy today notifying active, inactive and prospective members of a meeting called at the Snyderhof to add new members to the Kansas City, Mo. local. Ross Magill, who organized at the Snyderhof a new local for Kansas City, Kan. King and Bule report a complete ticket filed for the S. P. in Oklahoma. Magill reports a complete ticket filed in Kansas. Iowa convention called for July 4th at Des Moines is reported by McCrillis of Iowa.

The committee will meet Tuesday, June 26th to formulate plans for the campaign.

Minnesota Minnesota is coming to the front. Emil Herman finds a wholesome desire on the part of the trained Socialists of that state to get our ticket on the ballot and put over a campaign that will bring a big vote for Thomas and Maurer. The big picnic at Minneapolis July 1 is going to be a hummer. Mayor Hoan, of Milwaukee, Thomas E. Latimer and A. O. Devold, of Minneapolis, will be the speakers. All comrades in Minnesota should get in touch with the State Secretary, John E. Sala, 10th 9th street, Minneapolis, and cooperate with him in putting Minnesota solidly on the Socialist map.

New Jersey The State Committee has appointed Comrade Henry J. Sutton of Verona, State Organizer and he will take up his work July 1. As a starter he sends four subscriptions to The New Leader and writes that when he is at work in the state he will do better.

Hartford A conference of Socialist Party members, Workmen's Circle branches was held in the Central Labor Union Hall, 23 Central Row, Sunday, June 17. The conference was called by the Socialist

Colorado State Secretary Bushnell informs the National Office that the state convention of that state will be held in Howe Hall, 1844 California street, Denver, beginning at 10 a.m., July 4. He urges the comrades from over the state to be present and give their services.

Connecticut The Socialist Party of Hamden, Connecticut has arranged to hold its annual picnic and get to work on those nomination papers. There can be no campaign without candidates, and we want every one to help rush this work through, so that before August these papers can be filed.

Kansas Ross Magill, the hustling State Secretary, reports that the Kirkpatrick meeting for Wichita on June 23rd was a good one. Magill is helping the Wichita comrades in making arrangements. Kirkpatrick, says Magill, is well known

in that section, having spoken there in past campaigns, and the fact that "Kirk" was a teacher in a nearby city lends additional interest to his meeting. There will be a big turnout from nearby places. Not only the workers but also ministers and professional men who are showing an interest in our party's work and are coming into its councils.

Massachusetts The State Secretary, John E. Sala, 10th 9th street, Minneapolis, will be the speakers. All comrades in Minnesota should get in touch with the State Secretary, John E. Sala, 10th 9th street, Minneapolis, and cooperate with him in putting Minnesota solidly on the Socialist map.

Illinois The Socialist Party of Chicago is coming to the front with a vim and is destined to become a power in this big city of pineapples, king killers, political grafters and bootleggers. At a big annual picnic the comrades were congratulating themselves that more than four thousand were present. Norman Thomas, president of the party, and that can be put over if each comrade understands that we build not only for the present but for the future as well.

Georgia R. Kirkpatrick's Dates June 24, St. Louis; June 25, Rest day;

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 instruction leaflets, charter applications, membership cards, application cards and all other necessary information by addressing William H. Henry, National Executive Secretary, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. Information regarding speakers, literature, platforms, etc., may be obtained from the National Office.

A Big Campaign

The Socialist Party is bringing its forces together, drilling them and making ready for the biggest, best and most successful campaign ever put over in the United States. State after state is lining up its organization forces, naming tickets and making ready for the work of propaganda and building powerful organizations. Increasing party membership must not be neglected. Don't forget to apply the work in the light of permanent organization. We want the Party to have the biggest organization it has ever had, and that can be put over if each comrade understands that we build not only for the present but for the future as well.

George R. Kirkpatrick's Dates June 24, St. Louis; June 25, Rest day;

June 26, Wichita; June 27, Colorado Springs; June 28, On road; June 29, Salt Lake City; June 30, Ogden.

West Virginia

State Secretary Higgins informs the National Office that the hustling organizer Comrade Snider of Fairmont, has added fifteen more members to the local there. There is nothing to hinder other comrades from doing what Snider is doing. Others states should please copy.

Iowa

State Secretary McCrillis informs the National Office that replies to his call for the state convention for July 4 are coming in quite satisfactorily. The National Secretary is expecting a big crowd of Socialists from every section of the state to be on hand.

Illinois

The Socialist Party of Chicago is coming to the front with a vim and is destined to become a power in this big city of pineapples, king killers, political grafters and bootleggers. At a big annual picnic the comrades were congratulating themselves that more than four thousand were present. Norman Thomas, president of the party, and that can be put over if each comrade understands that we build not only for the present but for the future as well.

Georgia R. Kirkpatrick's Dates June 24, St. Louis; June 25, Rest day;

than three hundred hungry, but pleasant faces hovered over the good eats that were provided. A big campaign fund was raised, after which Norman Thomas and Mayor Hoan, of Milwaukee, furnished the speeches which were enthusiastically received. National Secretary Henry acted as toastmaster.

Indiana

Indiana's State Party organization is growing rapidly. The state and that great results are expected in the vote for our nominees this year. Emma Henry is the state organizer, and the state secretary pays high tribute to her efforts towards the building of the party.

Kentucky

National Secretary Henry will speak in a hall in Carpenters Building, 809 West Jefferson street, Friday, June 22, at 8 p.m. It is hoped that a big local can be reorganized. Louisville can and should have a good movement.

Idaho

State Secretary Cammans writes that he and comrades Felton and Ribner have organized locals in Jefferson County, Blaine County, Bonville County and Prannock. These locals were organized with a week's time. The Idaho Socialists are doing unusual work, for the population is far more widely scattered

than in the eastern states. Cammans sends clipping to the National Headquarters from every point visited, showing that the press is giving much space to the activities of the Socialists.

Pennsylvania

Party News, the new monthly publication, will be issued this week. If you did not subscribe do so at once. Cost, 25 cents per year. We also have subscription lists for those who want to get new subscribers. Call for a list and support. Philadelphia will soon have an official office of one of the most beautiful and picturesque natural groves in this vicinity.

The Reading Outing North Philadelphia Socialists have all plans complete for the Reading trip. If you own a car, step in and get the details, so that you can trail the bus. If you cannot motor up, reserve a seat in the bus. It's to be a good old fashioned Berk County picnic—plenty of speakers—and Councilman Maurer as the chief speaker. Don't miss the trip. Send in reservations now. Cost for round trip, \$2.00. Apply to Nellie Litgow, 2138 N. Reese street (Regent 5210) or to the Party Office, 808 Locust street.

Nomination Petitions Nomination papers are receiving signatures at a promising rate. The city has been sectioned out; North Philadelphia and West Philadelphia are in the hands of commit, 14, from the North and West Phila. branches; the

Southern section is handled by the Central Jewish branch, and Strawberry Philadelphia is divided between North Philadelphia and the Jewish Central Branch. If you can give us any time or secure any signatures, phone or come to the Party Office, 808 Locust street, Pennsylvania 7454. The Socialist Party office is open daily from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m.

Socialist Book Store The Socialist Book Store at 808 Locust street, Room 3, has some new and interesting books for sale. The latest by Shaw, "An Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism", of course, we also have "Power Control", some special books for children, and in a few weeks hope to have a complete list of all the latest pamphlets to be issued for the campaign. Let us enroll you for house-to-house distribution of literature. We'll need every volunteer we can get.

But whatever else you do, stop everything, and get to work on those nomination papers. There can be no campaign without candidates, and we want every one to help rush this work through, so that before August these papers can be filed.

Kansas Ross Magill, the hustling State Secretary, reports that the Kirkpatrick meeting for Wichita on June 23rd was a good one. Magill is helping the Wichita comrades in making arrangements. Kirkpatrick, says Magill, is well known

in that section, having spoken there in past campaigns, and the fact that "Kirk" was a teacher in a nearby city lends additional interest to his meeting. There will be a big turnout from nearby places. Not only the workers but also ministers and professional men who are showing an interest in our party's work and are coming into its councils.

Colorado

State Secretary Bushnell informs the National Office that the state convention of that state will be held in Howe Hall, 1844 California street, Denver, beginning at 10 a.m., July 4. He urges the comrades from over the state to be present and give their services.

Connecticut

The Socialist Party of Hamden, Connecticut has arranged to hold its annual picnic and get to work on those nomination papers. There can be no campaign without candidates, and we want every one to help rush this work through, so that before August these papers can be filed.

Kansas

Ross Magill, the hustling State Secretary, reports that the Kirkpatrick meeting for Wichita on June 23rd was a good one. Magill is helping the Wichita comrades in making arrangements. Kirkpatrick, says Magill, is well known

THE TAMMANY THAT SPAWNED 'AL' SMITH

A Record of Graft, Extortion and All-Around Venality Unsurpassed in History

By James Oneal

THE capitalism of other nations has never produced organized politics as a profit-making business. It was left to the United States to produce political organizations that are as much business concerns as rubber, steel, railroad, textile companies and Tammany Hall is easily the most extensive concern in the country. Many of its leaders and lieutenants have become millionaires. That Tammany Hall has heaped millions upon leaders since the days of Tweed shows that it is as much a profit-making enterprise as the brothels which contributed to the fortunes of many of its agents.

A number of books have been written on Tammany, but the most extensive and the most readable one that has yet appeared is by M. R. Werner ("Tammany Hall," New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc.; \$5). The chief sources of the author are the numerous investigations that have been made of Tammany in its long criminal career and out of the huge mass of documents he has succeeded in culling the more important phases of the organization. The book itself enables the reader to reconstruct the evolution of Tammany from its origins to the present, revealing the causative factors which have transformed it from a simple organization devoted to patriotic ceremonies and observances into a vampire that fattens upon the life of the largest city in the world.

A Start in Life One Million Stolen

By the time that Jackson came to the Presidency in 1828 Tammany had already assumed two phases which have been conspicuous into the modern period. These are the appearance of the grafter and marketing of "philanthropy" by its leaders. As George W. Olvany, the present leader, recently spilled some sob stuff regarding Tammany's "philanthropy" it will be interesting to observe the evolution of it as we proceed.

In the period of Jacksonian Democracy Tammany was radical and shared the grievances of the workers of the cities against the old suffrage restrictions, but before the end of the thirties this attitude became a compound of demagoguery and an itch for office for the sake of the loot that was available. One of its henchmen, Samuel Swartwout, collector of the port of New York, made a hasty trip to Europe, leaving a shortage of over a million dollars. He was accompanied by another worthy official who had stolen over \$72,000. These first raids were simultaneous with the appearance of "philanthropy" when its leaders distributed food among unemployed workers during the panic year of 1837. Unfortunately for "philanthropy," it was discovered that one of the most prominent Tammany leaders, a Police Justice, "gained his money by extorting it from counterfeiters, thieves and prostitutes who were brought into his court."

By the middle forties brothels into which unfortunate girls of the working class disappeared became a rich source of funds for Tammany "philanthropy." The house of prostitution had become a permanent fixture of the Tammany system of revenue for its leaders. From the evidence one gathers that there was a general schedule of rates collected from madams and inmates while arrests for cause and without cause provided fees for various officials. The police system had by this time been fairly well penetrated by this grafting on brothels while various offenders in jail were released and others permitted to escape for the value



From the jacket of M. L. Werner's "Tammany Hall," published by Doubleday, Doran. The cartoon was drawn by Thomas Nast, the cartoonist who played a leading part in "Boss" Tweed's downfall.

of their votes and services on election day.

The outlines of modern Tammany were fairly complete a decade before the Civil War. The boozing dens had already become an integral part of the system as well as the low dive and the half-savage gangs whose members might be hired to rob a till, cut a throat, or stuff ballot boxes at elections. Occasionally a Tammany leader fell out with the chieftains and annexed a gang of his own and a gang war followed, but as a general rule the insurgent made peace with the chiefs who alone could satisfy the appetites of those who wanted office and the plunder that went with it. Moreover, the type of men who obtained office and wealth like Morrissey, the prize-fighter in the fifties, and Devery, the foul-mouthed vulgarian of the Murphy reign, were often illiterates. Such creatures were spawned by the system and the type has by no means disappeared in these days of the polished Olvany.

The Forty Thieves Blaze The Trail

In the early fifties came the reign of "The Forty Thieves" in the Board of Aldermen, a body where the later notorious Tweed was getting his schooling for the most extensive grafting ever known in the history of politics. The period of old graft survived and it was not to mature as a ripe contribution to municipal science till after the war, but the thieves sold ferry leases and franchises

to the highest bidders. Ever Tammany "patriotism" produced dividends. They raised the bills for fireworks in the city celebration of the Fourth of July in 1852 and dividends were even extracted from corpses. In transporting the body of Henry Clay from the city to Albany the thieves padded the bills for undertaking and included one bill of \$1,400 for liquors and cigars. There was a difference of \$70,000 between the real value and the price paid for a pauper's cemetery. Meantime "philanthropy" was not forgotten. It paid.

Fernando Wood, whom another writer called the "prince of rascals," was elected Mayor in 1854, and then for two successive terms. Street cleaning graft, of which we are again hearing something in Walker's administration, had been a valuable source of profits, but in Wood's administration he and his family raked in quite a bag of cash from it. Tammany was pro-slavery and so was Wood, who complained that New York City investments in Southern slavery would be lost if the South seceded from the Union. The mass of the Irish voters organized by Tammany and influenced by a pro-slavery clergy carried the city against Lincoln in 1860 by a heavy majority.

Wood and the pro-slavery elements paved the way for the Tweed Ring and here we come across some remarkable analogies with the Tammany Hall of 1928. A Oakey Hall was a man with a university education, a capable speaker, on a five cent fare about twenty-five years. It could continue without calamity to operate on that basis until the one who dabbled in drama and poetry, and whose polished manners made him an excellent "shirt front" for the Tweed Ring. He was also unscrupulous and willing to play the game. Hall was Mayor during the looting of the city by the Tweed gang while the New York Herald, which had proposed a war of foreign conquest to obscure the issue of slavery, became the organ of Hall. By the time the gang had become all-powerful they seriously considered moving next to the Federal money vats. The plan was to elect Governor John T. Hoffman President in 1872, send Hall to Albany as Governor and Tweed to the United States Senate, while Controller Sweeney was to remain in New York City to rule the city treasury. Had the plans matured it is said that Hoffman was to send Tweed as American Ambassador to London! Change the names and observe how some of these plans fit with the program of today. For Hoffman read Smith, and for the New York Herald read the New York World. Perhaps Walker is slated for London! Tammany was supreme in New York in 1870 and it is supreme in New York today. The looting and graft were rife then; now, history is never repeated, but analogies occur just the same. It is certain that Smith is the shirt front today as Hall and Hoffman were in the previous period.

Boss Tweed Steals \$700,000 Or So

The Tweed Ring added one accessory to its rule which was essential. It had not been neglected by previous gangs of looters, but Tweed and his associates operated on such an enormous scale that it was more essential than ever. He had filled the courts with his agents, the most conspicuous of whom was Judge Barnard, later impeached for his crimes, but the press was always a source of danger. The following paragraph tells the story: "Six or eight men on almost every newspaper in New York were put upon the city's pay roll at salaries of from \$2,000 to \$2,500 a year. They were en-

gaged in no municipal business, but their duty consisted in writing blubs in favor of Tweed and his associates as part of their newspaper work, for which they also received pay. Another effective method of controlling the press and public opinion was by means of corporation advertising. The Ring gave legal and municipal advertising to twenty-six daily and fifty-four weekly newspapers at exorbitant rates. Writers were also hired to send letters to newspapers in other cities praising the members of the Ring individually, Tammany Hall as an organization, and the administration of the city generally. These were copied by the New York papers after they appeared elsewhere, and they created the impression that the entire nation admired the city government."

Tweed later testified that occasionally an article was brought to the Ring and the writer was paid to kill it. They even arranged for newspaper attacks on the Ring so filled with errors that they were easily answered and the Ring thus added to their prestige. As much as \$5,000 was paid for this type of article. When the Legislature was in session the Albany newspapers enjoyed rich incomes from the Ring for a variety of services. When the storm began to beat around the Ring one of its agents—an eminent lawyer—offered the Times \$50,000 through Controller Connolly and Thomas Nast was offered \$500,000 to abandon the attacks. The two men could not be bribed and the exposures followed. The rats scattered. Tweed died in prison. The real extent of the looting probably never will be known, but the estimates run as high as \$75,000,000.

Enter The Tammany Hall Republicans

The evolution of Tammany had reached the stage of having trusted Republican allies which feature has continued to the present day. Tammany is no more Democratic than Standard Oil is. It is a capitalist business concern handling certain wares and it needs Republicans as well as its own professionals. The Republican State Committee Chairman, Cornell, discovered during the reign of Tweed that "75 per cent of the officers of the Republican County Committee and 75 per cent of the Republican district leaders were either in the pay of the Democrats or held sinecures from Tweed and Tammany Hall." Perhaps this case of Republicans was also a phase of the "philanthropy" which Tweed, like other Tammany leaders, indulged.

While the spotlight was focused on the Tweed Ring John Kelley was enjoying a pious trip to the Holy Land. His letters home dwelt upon "the Mount of Olives, the way of the Cross and the Holy Sepulchre." Kelley had already made a pile out of the office of Sheriff. While abroad he commissioned an artist to execute some religious paintings which he presented to St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York and then ascended the Tammany throne as successor to Tweed. Kelley's contribution to the institution was to perfect a system of assessing candidates and Tammany office holders upon a percentage basis according to the salary the offices paid and the day before election became known as "Dough Day." This was the day for distributing the money to the district leaders for carrying elections. Affectionate co-operation with Republican leaders continued. "There was an unwritten, unmentioned agreement between the Democrats and the Republicans to take care of each other's election district captains with jobs even when one party was not in power," writes Werner. Gangs were employed and election day was a day of thieves in thievery.

"Philanthropy" was never neglected. The leaders kept close to the poor dupes, handing out a dollar with the right hand for some form of relief and with the left taking in a hundred. Kelley's personal fortune was half a million dollars and in 1886 he was buried from the church to which he had given the paintings upon his return from the Holy Land. This combination of plety and plunder runs through the history of many Tammany Hall leaders.

The Era of Honest Graft Begins

Richard Croker was next in line for the Tammany throne and his reign is conspicuous as the period of the rise of the great corporations, the attraction of Tammany leaders to corporation investments, and the beginnings of a system of "honest graft" which George Washington Plunkitt, a Tammany illiterate, expounded with naive candor in the first few years of the present century. Croker himself invested in New York corporations and it was in his reign that alliances between Tammany and large corporate enterprises had their origin. His successor, Murphy, developed the partnership to that quiet mutual understanding which all but the simple-minded know exists today. This also provided another source of revenue for Tammany campaign expenses. The organization had row drifted far from the days of early Jacksonian Democracy when Tammany would purchase an occasional dwelling in the name of a dozen workers so that they could qualify for the franchise. The understanding with Republicans reached high enough at one time to even include Platt, the Republican High Potentate of New York State.

While the pimp, the cadet and the procurer stalked through other eras of Tammany rule they are also conspicuous in the reign of Croker. Here we also get occasional glimpses of forms of vice so foul and disgusting that they are unprintable. The most important source of graft was preying upon prostitutes and levying on brothels and saloons. "There were also side lines of graft which involved the sale of wines and beers to houses of prostitution, and the supply of cigars, cigarettes, food, clothing, jewelry, furniture and medical attendance." They were valuable concessions as "the profits were large, and the purchases could be made compulsory by the threat of the law. There were also abortionists, midwives and baby farmers, who worked with the police and the district leaders, or who paid them for protection from the laws."

This criminal grafting upon misfits and unfortunates extended to the immigrant workers of the East Side. They were "subjected to a brutal and infamous rule by the police, in conjunction with the administration of the local inferior criminal courts, so that it is beyond a doubt that innocent people who have refused to yield to criminal extortion, have been clubbed and harassed and confined in jail, and the extremes of oppression have been applied to them in the separation of parent and child, the blasting of reputation and consignment of innocent people to a convict's cell." So reads one report.

Charlie Murphy, The Man Who Made Smith

The author declares that the complete facts regarding the financial investments of Tammany leaders in houses of prostitution are not available, "because the Tammany men always covered themselves carefully by using their friends' rather than their own names." The reader will remember that the white slave trade about this period had reached world proportions and while the author does not con-

sider the Atlantic traffic we are certain that the Tammany of this period was involved in this inhuman business. The official investigations digested by Mr. Werner reveal Croker to be another of the type of Tweed, although the former was more cautious than his illustrious predecessor. Croker left Tammany Hall for Ireland a millionaire, and, as the author remarks, "New York experienced a period of rule by an absentee landlord, for Croker spent the next few years of his political career in England, Ireland, and on ocean steamers. Government by cable was what some of the newspapers chose to call it." At his death his estate was estimated at \$5,000,000. This was only a small portion of the total gouged out of the people of the city by the vampire of which Croker was a part.

Lewis Nixon took charge of Tammany Hall in January, 1902, but in May he summoned the district leaders and resigned. "I could not retain the leadership of Tammany Hall and at the same time retain my self-respect," Nixon told them, "and there is no political preference that I would take in exchange for that." After a short experiment with a triumvirate of three leaders, including Charles F. Murphy, the latter became leader. It was under the Murphy regime that "Al" Smith blossomed into a "statesman," that the "New Tammany" came into being, that "honest graft" eventually emerged as a system, and that relations with corporations became established on a basis of mutual respect.

Big-Hearted Tim Sullivan—He Left Only \$2,000,000

Murphy had been Dock Commissioner and had organized a contracting and trucking company which leased docks from the city and "made 5,000 per cent on its investment." Of the corporation opportunities and investments of the leaders of the "New Tammany" the author writes: "In the twentieth century the leaders of Tammany Hall were in the contracting business or were interested in water, gas, electricity or railroads rather than prostitution, liquor, gambling, or extortion; for it was Murphy's great and lasting contribution to the philosophy of Tammany Hall that he taught the organization that more money can be made by a legal contract than by petty blackmail." Of course, the old forms of graft survive as we know from the current milk, sewer and street cleaning scandals, but the larger forms of income are derived from inside connections with capitalist enterprises.

Tammany must continue to receive the support of the voters if its leaders are to fatten on the millions who live in the disease-breeding fire traps which they call homes, so the leaders continue to toss "philanthropy" to the dupes. "Big Tim" Sullivan worked "philanthropy" on a large scale, his distribution of food, clothing and money to the Bowery wretches of his district was estimated at \$25,000 annually, but, as Werner observes, "the political profits of his district were estimated between seven and eight times as much as he gave away." Political returns were also reaped when Sullivan headed gangs of Bowery thugs from one polling place to another on election days. When he died Sullivan's estate was estimated at between two and three millions. The poor wretches whom the Tammany leaders have exploited for decades still live from hand to mouth while the leaders live in ease and comfort.

Tammany's Charity and Tammany's Thievery

Here we may pause to consider Leader George W. Olvany's view of Tammany "philanthropy" as presented in the New

Governor Of N. Y. Received Schooling Under "Charlie" Murphy, the Most Recent "Boss"

York Times Magazine of May 20, this year: "The amount of charity that Tammany does will never be known," he said. "Each district leader is responsible for the people of his district, and it is up to him to see that the needy ones get coal, food and clothes, and that they are not dispossessed when the wage earner of the family is out of work. Moreover, the leader uses his best efforts to get the idle man a job."

This is true, but it does not apply to the man who is known to vote against Tammany. If he is a small storekeeper or a pushcart peddler he is hounded, often arrested and frequently fined for the slightest infraction of regulations which are overlooked in the case of one who supports Tammany. The "charity" given by Tammany leaders costs them nothing. It is an investment that pays dividends in cash and votes. The poor devils who are swindled by this sob stuff pay the cost in disease and often death. Professor Merriam of Chicago University makes this striking and truthful comment regarding Tammany "charity":

He points out that the boss "gives \$100 to charity, but accepts \$1,000 for voting against any ordinance for better housing. He pays the funeral expenses of the man who dies because the boss killed the law to safeguard the machinery on which he worked. He helps the widow, whose suit for damages was blocked under a system he was paid to perpetuate."

We may add that the worker goes to his death in fire-trap buildings because fire hazards are ignored by Tammany inspectors who are close to real estate interests. The worker's family is the prey of disease because Tammany contractors are opposed to municipal housing. One may add to these illustrations to show that Tammany "charity" is a tiny part of the profits derived from distress, disease and death which afflict the working class families of the city.

Murphy Puts Smith Through Tammany's School

Murphy passed to his reward in April, 1924, with a big funeral ceremony in St. Patrick's Cathedral. His estate was estimated at over two million dollars.

The book ends with the passing of the sainted Murphy, but we also get a glimpse of "Al" Smith in the closing pages. Smith, it must be remembered, is the modern "shirt front" behind which Tammany hopes to enter Washington as the Ohio Gang used Harding for the same purpose. Smith would have no chance if he had wallowed in the dirt as the other leaders have so he has been groomed for the job with the knowledge that he must be "clean." He is, except for his acquiescence in election steals, for responsibility for these crimes is inevitably shared by all leaders, including Smith.

But Smith's share in the impeachment of Governor Sulzer in 1913 shows that he is just as capable of going along in a dirty political job as any other of the leaders. Of course Sulzer was not a saint. No man who bears the imprint of Tammany can be wholly decent, but Sulzer had a clean record in politics as a Tammany Congressman. He became obsessed with the idea that he was Governor when he was elected to that office. Murphy insisted that Sulzer was wrong, that he (Murphy) was Governor. Sulzer persisted with the result that Murphy over the telephone from New York ordered the Tammany dummies in the Legislature at Albany to impeach Sulzer and he was removed from office.

"Al" Smith was Speaker of the House and Robert F. Wagner, now U. S. Senator, was the Tammany leader in the Senate. Smith took orders and played Murphy's game. So did Wagner. Sulzer was not proven guilty of any offense in office that would warrant his removal. Every count against him had reference to his actions before he was elected Governor! The removal of Sulzer was a legislative crime and Smith shares in that crime. Moreover, Sulzer could have looted the state treasury with the consent of Murphy if he (Sulzer) had consented to obey the vulgarian Murphy. Werner declares, "Governor Sulzer was impeached because Charles F. Murphy wished to avoid exposure of Tammany graft in the State government, Murphy also wanted to make money for himself and his friends out of the State contracts."

From 14th Street To Washington?

Shortly before the impeachment of Sulzer, State Senator Stilwell was being tried for accepting a bribe and Murphy told Sulzer that Stilwell would be acquitted. Murphy added, "How do you expect a senator to live on \$1,500 a year? That is only chicken feed." In other words, Murphy told the man he later threw out of office that Tammany senators were expected to accept bribes because their salary was only "chicken feed!"

Stilwell was being tried by a Tammany-controlled Senate and he was acquitted of the charge by a vote of 28 to 21. Now for the sequel. Stilwell was later indicted in New York County for bribery upon substantially the same evidence which was rejected by the Tammany senators and was convicted and sentenced to two years in prison! Certainly, the sainted "Al" Smith and the "New Tammany" are entitled to move next to the Federal money vats and the "liberal" New York World may be congratulated on selling Smith to the nation as a "progressive" and "liberal."

Here is the story of the evolution of Tammany Hall by way of the booming and the brothel, through decades of "philanthropy" for its dupes, through debauching of elections, enriching of vul-

(Continued on Page 5)

The Tammany Idea

HARPER'S WEEKLY (April 14, 1912)



THE CREEK SLAVE.

One of the cartoons with which M. R. Werner illustrates his history of New York's mightiest and most picturesque institution, "Tammany Hall" (Doubleday, Doran.)

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

MR. JIMPSON GETS MODERNIZED

MR. JIMPSON, who is the assistant advertising manager of the Dr. Walrus Tooth-paste Company, came into our place the other day, looking very gloomy. He flopped into a chair without saying, "How do you do?" to Jacob Panken or The Bear, two of the most attractive cats on the East Side, and groaned like anything.

It always irritates us to hear great, big grown up men groan. It seems to us that they ought to save that sort of stuff for the ladies. It is plain enough that it is the function of women to have men groan around them. A man who under no circumstances would let another man see him cry, often sheds quarts of tears when there is some feminine shoulder handy. The same should hold for groaning. As a matter of fact, the ladies just eat up this sorrow line. I have never yet met a woman who, in her secret heart, didn't really adore it when a great, huge male started sobbing all over the sofa. But let me hasten to warn my younger readers who may get the idea that I am tipping them off to a sure-fire technique. If you are not a natural crier, don't try the tear business. It is only recently that men have taken it up. For years it has been a monopoly with the (heh! heh!) weaker sex.

Well, anyhow there was Mr. Jimpson groaning and there was I peevish at him. And I said: "For the love of Herbert Hoover and Mrs. Moskowitz, stop that awful noise. What have you got to be low in your mind about anyhow? Aren't you one of the fine flowers of the middle classes? Hasn't Bruce Barton been telling you for years that you and yours are the hope of this Republic? Don't you know that because of your firm refusal to accept the strange doctrines of the radicals, this glorious land of ours leads all the world in the production of pig-iron, tripe and funny Mayors? Isn't the Dr. Walrus Tooth-paste Company giving all their employees a free boat-ride to Bear Mountain so that they can get out under God's canopy and enjoy the beautiful sunshine and come home all brisk and healthy, just in time to take their summer wage-out? Why you are just a low-lived schlemel. What's the matter with you anyhow?"

Mr. Jimpson with a great effort tore his hands from before his face and looked at me with startlingly disconsolate eyes. Then he spoke after the manner of that old bore, The Ancient Mariner, hollow-like and funeral:

"If you knew what had happened, you wouldn't be so cruel to me."

After all, even a Socialist has his human moments, so I went over to him and patted him on the shoulder and said:

"There, there, tell popper all your your little bourgeois troubles. Did some, horrid, nasty man beat you at golf?"

This brought Mr. Jimpson up to an indignant denial. "Certainly not," he said, "you know very well that I own the Advertisers' Class C Championship two years running. No, it is something far more important than golf. He bent towards me and almost whispered, "Mac, I've been modernized."

I sprang back startled. "Impossible," I cried. "You have the nerve to sit there and tell me that a tried and true defender of the status quo like yourself, a believer in the competitive system, a man who voted for Coolidge and will vote for Hoover has been modernized. Go on. Get out."

Now it was Mr. Jimpson's turn to get mad. He turned on me and snarled: "You are always dragging your damned politics into everything. You don't know a thing about the finer side of life. There is no tenderness and sweetness and light in you. I haven't changed my politics. Time and again I've told you that you can't change human nature and that Socialism is nothing but an Utopian dream. So don't let's go into that. No. It's my house that's been modernized. Not me."

"You see," he went on with pathetic haste as though fearing I would interrupt his long sought-for opportunity of expression. "My wife has been going to a lot of these here fancy art shows lately. You, of course, haven't the faintest idea how many there are. It seems that all the artists who used to paint woolly clouds and sheep and dead fish and models holding up sheets, have just found out that there is a hell of a lot more jack in making dining-room tables and book-cases and kitchen chairs. So they've all gone into the interior decorating business and they have the whole-souled support of every furniture store in town. They call this new stuff 'modernistic' and tell you that it reflects the spirit of this machine age. If you weren't so busy running around hollering for Norman Thomas, even you might have noticed that there was something mighty queer in the looks of every other store window. Haven't you seen those new chairs without any legs on them, set up against a background of painted paper triangles and goosy red and blue and green circles that look like those old-fashioned kaleidoscopes we used to have when we were kids? Well, my boy, that is 'modernism' and they have sold the Miss 'modernism' just about one hundred per cent."

"You see the idea is that once you are bitten with this modernism thing, nothing in the house that was there before last Tuesday is any damned good. You got to throw everything out and start from scratch. You remember my book-case in the living-room that it took me so long to make? Well that's gone. In place of it we've got something that reflects the spirit of the new Consolidated Gas Company Building on Fourteenth Street. At least that is what the fancy decorator told the Missus. It is built along the lines of a step-back skyscraper. You put the books on the terraces and kind of balance them on the towers. And you ought to see how wistful my set of Dickens looks perched up there on the fifty-first floor."

"Then there was that Morris chair in my den, the one with the nice soft, leather seat that you could sort of scrunch around in, all comfortable and cosy. That was one of the first things to go. In its place the wife has a chair with arms as sharp as razor blades, painted up like a Sioux warrior and naturally, with no legs. As a matter of fact, I do get this no legs stuff. To begin with, when you sit down you feel as though you were going into one of those trick things at Coney Island where they let you down a shock to the vast amusement of the by-standers. And then if they are really going to reflect the spirit of this age, it seems as though they should build chairs with nothing but legs. However it isn't up to me to criticize. My wife says I'm still a novice at this 'modernistic' game. And when I go and take a peek at the kitchen, I figure she's right. Everything in there except the cat is zig-zaggy and lately I've noticed that even the cat's tail is developing a notable crook. Yes, sir, I've been modernized to a fare-you-well and I'm here to state that in spite of the fact that Queen Victoria may not have had much of it, she was a dame who knew how to make folks comfortable and the boys who made the furniture for her are good enough to me. But don't tell my wife I said so."

McAlister Coleman.

Book Review

Smith As A Progressive

By Norman Thomas

(Progressive Democracy: Speeches and State Papers of Alfred E. Smith, Edited by Henry Moskowitz. (Harcourt, Brace and Company, \$2.00).

EVERY Alfred E. Smith were not the almost certain candidate of his party for President of the United States this authoritative selection from his addresses would be a document of importance because of the role the Governor has played in the life of the most populous state in the union. The speeches reveal reasonably well the man whom New Yorkers know—an able administrator thoroughly conversant with state affairs, and a pungent speaker with a gift of making the state's business interesting to the electorate.

But the editor, and presumably the Governor himself, by his choice of the title, does not want this collection of addresses judged on the basis I have suggested but rather as a statement of "progressive democracy." And that's another story. Even a friendly critic must be amazed that a democracy which demands so little for the workers should be called progressive. It is only by comparison with a very stark reaction that the Governor's record, even on the time warfare measures, can be called genuinely progressive. Praise can indeed be given to him for his opposition to the Lusk laws and his pardon of Larkin, Gilroy and others. (Curiously enough this latter document is not included in the book. But trying to catch up with Thomas Jefferson is scarcely a proof of progress.)

Of course, addresses are quoted showing the Governor's stand on housing and water power control, which some of his admirers regard as supreme evidence of progressiveness. Readers from other states ought to bear in mind that the housing law reform has so far accomplished next to nothing in New York City and on the face of it cannot accomplish much of importance. Something more can be said in favor of the Governor's water power policy, but it also is open to the very serious criticism that at no time has he provided for the protection of the people on the distribution of the hydro electric business. Without much provision, mere state development of water power might conceivably fall into the hands of existing distributing companies like the New York Edison.

It is, however, the omissions which constitute the most striking criticism of "Progressive Democracy." This distinguished progressive has said nothing which the editor found worth quoting about injunctions; nothing about such elementary matters of progressivism as unemployment and old age insurance; nothing that is important about taxation or the tariff; nothing about the role of Tammany Hall in New York City; nothing about the child labor amendment to which the Governor was committed by a pledge which he very cleverly evaded; nothing, save in the most general way, about imperialism. And the list of omissions can be lengthened.

In short, Governor Smith's progressiveness

The Tammany Of "Al" Smith

(Continued from Page 4)

garillates, preying upon the misfits of humanity, and eventually emerging as the political ally of corporations with which the leaders have important connections. A "shirt front" is found in Smith as Tweed found one in A. Oakes Hall.

If the full significance of what all this means for the millions living in New York, especially the men and women of the working class, could be made vivid, the tollers would soon take over the city in a political revolution and make it over into a city beautiful as the workers of Vienna have for their municipality. New York City is today a rotten cesspool compared with the capital of Austria. We pay a heavy price for being ruled by political footpads who serve corporation masters and whose leader drools about the "heavenly" which Tammany hands to its victims.

READERS OF THE NEW LEADER ARE INVITED TO THE JUNE CONFERENCE OF THE LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

to be held at

CAMP TANNIUM, FOREST PARK, PA.

Thursday, June 28 to Sunday, July 1, 1928

Subject: "WHAT CHANGES SHOULD BE MADE IN SOCIALIST PHILOSOPHY AND TACTICS?"

Chairman of Conference Meetings, NORMAN THOMAS

THURSDAY EVENING, JUNE 28—Economic Interpretation of History. Harry Elmer Claiborne, James C. Hays, Alexander Goldenweiser, Frank Longville

FRIDAY MORNING, JUNE 29—Socialist View of Progress Under Capitalism. Dr. L. M. Robinson, Helen DeLoon, Almeron Lee, Dr. L. N. Stone

FRIDAY AFTERNOON—Student Session

FRIDAY EVENING—What of the Class Struggle? Dr. William M. Leiserson, Louis B. Boudin, Paul Blanshard, Robert W. Dunn

SATURDAY MORNING, JUNE 30—Means to Socialist Control. H. S. Raushenbush, Roger Baldwin, August Claessens, Louis Waldman

SATURDAY EVENING—Enlightened Capitalism or Socialism? Dr. L. M. Robinson, Helen DeLoon, Almeron Lee, Dr. L. N. Stone

SUNDAY MORNING, JULY 1—The Nature of the Socialist State. Stuart Chase, Harry W. Laidler, J. S. Woodworth, Labor Member of Canadian Parliament, Prof. Vladimir Karapet, Prof. Vladimir Karapet

SUNDAY AFTERNOON—Next Steps in American Socialism. James H. Maurer, Dr. Jesse W. Houghan, J. B. S. Hardman, Other Conference Speakers: McAlister Coleman, Jacob Panken, Robert Morris Lovett, William Karlin, Benjamin C. Marsh, et al.

Those interested should make reservations at once with HARRY W. LAIDLER, League for Industrial Democracy, 76 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY, ALGONQUIN 5865

but with many wise comments along the way, such as this on our country: "The American nation was born of the desire for a more perfect freedom than was obtainable in England; and one of its first actions was to get freedom fixed, to define and express it in a constitution. It might seem impossible that freedom should ever be a chain, but stronger things have happened; and a chain that passes under the name of freedom is particularly galling."

Joseph T. Shipley.

"Our Liberties" (??)

QUITE a number of books the past few months are devoted to civil liberties which implies that it is not well with us. Books are not written on what we take for granted. They are written on matters that are in dispute. To speak and write your opinions is becoming a state of sin in the United States and the present trend may yet see the return of the stocks, the ducking stool, and the lash for offenders. Perhaps we may even carry our license, paying for one at the beginning of each year, showing that we do not harbor any ideas that would disturb a right-thinking moron.

Another volume of this type is by Lucius B. Swift (How We Got Our Liberties. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co. \$2.50), who devotes thirteen chapters to telling his readers how we got 'em. Swift is a lawyer and writes of representative government, the American courts, trial by jury, the Charter of the House of Commons, the right of petition, the bill of rights, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Supreme Court, freedom of speech, and religious liberty. He writes as we should expect the average lawyer to write. It is the legalist and political history with which he is concerned, the more substantial social and economic roots hardly receiving any recognition.

The result is a book written for popular consumption, easily read and not hard to understand, but leaving much to be desired because the deeper forces which explain the evolution of political rights are largely ignored. He repeats the explanation of the New England town meeting in terms of the Anglo-Saxon mood and follows writers like Freeman who are out of date. Nevertheless, the book has its value because of its popular style which may lead some readers to take up some more substantial studies which probe much deeper into the origins of civil liberties and political rights.

Dill Circulates Facts on Cuba

Washington.—Sen. Dill of Washington, is circulating a leave-to-print document which he placed in the Congressional Record on the day before adjournment, dealing with "Our Cuban Colony."

Organization
Education
Solidarity

FREE Y.P.S.L. YOUTH
JACK WASSERMAN EDITOR

Young People's
Socialist League,
21 Essex Street,
Boston, Mass.

Published Every Week By The New Leader for the Young Peoples Socialist League

Y.P.S.L. Philadelphia Branch No. 1 Progresses

PHILADELPHIA.—23 new members joined at the first meeting of the local Yipsels now conducting a membership drive. On Friday, June 22nd, another membership meeting was held. If you took to Zerk Kuzma and if you will live in Philadelphia—come up and get acquainted. The director, Louis J. Sussman, can be reached at the Labor Institute, 808 Locust street.

Philadelphia Junior
Philadelphia.—Due to vacation plans, the Junior League will not meet until September. But we plan to keep in touch with one another during the summer by corresponding. Each Yipsel will send in a letter a month to the Party office, telling us about plans for the summer and general news notes. These letters are to be sent out as a "Bulletin" to all members of the League during the two months we are not meet. If you are between 15 and 18, and would like to join our "corresponding league," send a letter to the Socialist Party office, 808 Locust street, Room 2. In September we will arrange for our indoor meetings and we will do what we can to help along the work of the campaign. Our Secretary is Zerk Kuzma and if you will write her, 1427 West Toronto street, Philadelphia, she will tell you more about us.

At its meeting on Friday evening, June 22, the circle 3, N. Y. C., will have a talk by Comrade Abe Dobkin on Herbert Hoover and the Republican Party Platform. At its next meeting the circle will be addressed by its Director, Winston Dancis.

N. Y. City League To Go On Boat-Ride to Sunset Park

This Sunday, June 24, the N. Y. City League, in conjunction with the Bronx Free Fellowship and the Rand School Fellowship, will go on its annual boat ride to Sunset Park. The excursionists will assemble at the pier of the Central Hudson Navigation Co., at 125th street, at 9:30 a.m. At ten o'clock they will board the "Benj. B. Odell" for the day's enjoyment. The fare is one dollar for the round trip. Tickets should be purchased only from the committee in charge. Tickets can be obtained at circulations and from Yipsels. Tickets should not be purchased from the steamship company. There will be dancing on board the boat. There are rides at the park and a ball field. There are facilities for swimming, also. Large delegations of Bronx and Brownsville Yipsels will be on the trip. In an effort to combine business with pleasure the Board of Directors of the Yipsel Publishing Association will hold a meeting on board the steamer.

Yipsels at Porters' Dance
About twenty-five N. Y. Yipsels attended the dance given by the Pullman Porters' Union in Harlem last Saturday evening. Representatives of Circles Eight and Six, Manhattan; Six, Brooklyn; and One, Bronx, were there. An enjoyable time was had by all.

Emanuel Switkes will be the acting financial secretary. He requests circles to send in a complete list of their members, with complete financial and other data at once.

Circle Six, Brooklyn, To Reorganize
Circle Six, Brooklyn, will hold a reorganization meeting Saturday, June 23, at 167 Tompkins avenue. All Yipsels are invited and urged to attend this affair.

Circle Two, Brownsville Debates
On June 17, Circle Two listened to a debate between Comrades George Guss and Jack Altman on the question of recognizing Soviet Russia. The debate was won by Lester Shulman. The circle held a special meeting yesterday.

Dr. Land at Joint Meeting
Yesterday evening, at 8:30 p.m. Dr. Leon Rosser Land of the Bronx Free Fellowship spoke on "Marriage; Mind, Freedom" to an assemblage composed of members of Circles Nine, Seniors, and One, Juniors, at 218 Van Sicklen avenue. Members of Circle Two, Seniors were also present.

Circle Six, Manhattan, Meets Friday
Circle Six, Manhattan, meets every Friday evening, at 8:30 p.m. at 62 East 106th street. Its recent social and educational meetings have shown it to be an enterprising and energetic circle. Circle Six, supposed to have been held a week ago, were postponed to yesterday evening. At this time, also, Mandel Freed spoke on "Free Trade."

City League Represented at Socialist Party Activities

At the Labriola Banquet held last Friday evening, the N. Y. City League was represented by Comrades Julius Umanovsky and Emanuel Switkes. Julius Umanovsky, the Executive Secretary, will be the Yipsels' Prater delegate at the coming New York State Convention to be held July 13, 14, 15 at Albany.

THE CHATTER BOX

NOW, spitting isn't an altogether proper subject to write home about, and surely not for a nice family home-companion like The New Leader. But since it quite conforms with the deep purposes of this most serious discussion, and since most of our readers are quite fond of profound analysis on any subject that affects the human race, and moreover since spitting is an international habit, including the Third, I'll loosen up a bit on my usual excellent manners, and spout forth.

About twenty-five years ago, a certain Anarchist acquaintance of my father's used to visit with us and expound his forceful convictions about free will. Father would put in a quiet interjection of approval or doubt every half hour or so, in order to allow his guest to catch up with wind.

Then the lad would take up the interrupted weaving of his harangue, until even pop would nod off into blissful dozing. What used to keep us in a state of enforced wakefulness for a time however, was his terrific way of ending every one of his paragraphs with the words, "Ich spy auf doas . . ." Which translated from the corrupt Celtic means, "I spit on that!" For instance, he might talk about marriage and its customs, and after he had sufficiently battered down the towers of that ancient and appalling institution, he would raise it altogether with . . . "Ha! marriage, I spit on that!" And so all the great men of the ages, all the presidents of the States, all kings, lords, landlords, rules, schemes, bills, clothes, manners, frills and usages of all things beyond the windows of our Ludlow Street tenement home were incessantly outraged by our expectorating visitor. . . . His contempt for things athwart his concepts was as limitless as his poverty and as ungovernable as his self-made free will. . . .

Pat the cop was walking along Grand Street one evening in July. The pushcarts occupied his attention. Perhaps some newcomer had horned in at the curb and was "getting away with it." In those days, pushcarts and bordellos took the place of modern spunk-easies and Central Park West Apartments. . . . if you know what I mean. . . . Pat, for all of his freckles and brogue, was quite a linguist. From Yiddish to Gaelic isn't much of a lingual broad jump, and since the Irish have been accused at times of having intentionally wandered away from the original tribes of Judea, Pat found it a pleasure and a sine-cure to acquire an argumentative knowledge of his original tongue. . . . Such gentle names and phrases, as one fish minger charitably called another who was interfering with his trade, or such questions and answers as were necessary to ask or direct newcome immigrants to sundry streets, were all quickly and firmly barnacled upon his memory. In fact Pat became a sort of village goodfellow at all weddings and religious festivals all along Orchard Street. . . . And so it happened that July evening, just as Pat was poking a non-taxpayer away from the curb with fierce threats of "Essex Market Court", that our salivary-sputting St. George ventured on the scene. The open injustice of the law against the pushcart peddler provoked him into a grumble and then into open revolt.

He picked me out as a fit audience for his angered words. . . . And when Pat the cop came within earshot, the free-will fellow launched forth against the police, against graft, and so on. . . . The orator imagined himself secure within the walls of his idiomatic Yiddish. . . . "What will that Irish of a cop know what I'm saying anyhow," he thought as he came to the more unprintable part of the outburst. . . . Pat stood and listened with amused imperturbability. Suddenly the speaker turned away from the collected crowd and me, and walked to the curb. He did not face Pat, but turned his eyes to a tenement roof, raised an imprecatory hand and shouted . . . in fine Jewish . . . "America is a Siberia . . . I spit on that . . . and her police . . . I spit on them too . . ."

I hardly remember whether he actually made any gesture befitting his explosive words, but I do know that Pat grabbed him by the collar, yanked him around face to face with his own freckles . . . and said to him "In no uncertain Yiddish . . . 'Spit, will you, on the police will you . . . well take that . . .'" And Pat could spit . . . accurately. . . . This is the dreadful part of a tale necessary to the pleasant moral I have to hang out for all to read. . . .

A large number of intellectual and even well-read thinkers have developed a sense of careless insolence against the still larger number of non-intellectual and unlettered common folk. Some times, quite openly, as in the case of Mencken, and more often with a definite mental attitude, they clique themselves together and void their spittle on the heads of the "moronic millions". . . . And with the same untoughtful contempt that our old anarchic visitor employed. . . .

For the last twenty years that I can recall with any intelligence, this has been developing into a plague of endemic persistence. Until all the half-baked thinkers of the college campuses fling forth "moron" or "Babbitt" with the all drenching inclusiveness of Gargantuan sputum on the heads of all those who just manage to live in this impossible life. . . .

With that gesture they enter into the sacred Blue Grotto of wise-acredom. With that attitude they form the intelligentsia. . . . Never does any thought enter why there are "morons" at all, or how the horde of dollar chasing gnomes become fenced in by the dull habits of Babbitt?

And outside of scorn, and beyond vicious sneering, they never go towards helping the masses out of the mental mud.

Sometimes, I try to make out in my mind why the Bolsheviks ousted the lettered cynics, and wise cracking critics, and started to grow up in their place, a lot of young proletarian singers and litterati. . . .

The Russian Communists have given these old intellectual sniffers a pretty rough deal. I do not know whether they deserve half the sympathy we kind hearted folks give them. Because, I can understand what subtle forces and repressed passions even a dumb moujik can store up for those who have laughed and jeered at them with such supercilious superiority all through the old embittering years. And small wonder then, that here in a land where there is no little freedom of feeling and its expression, that the slower mentalities gather up resentment, and install mechanisms of unreasoning defense against the constant bombardment of ridicule from the "upper thinking classes". . . .

This is one phase of Socialist educational work that we who carry on should look into with a great patience. . . . Let the pin-pricking gent go their ways of aristocratic insolence. . . . The people are what they are, and we for all of our knowledge and understanding, should make them feel that we are not at all too holy or removed from their lesser status as thinkers. Ours is a task that becomes increasingly difficult because the great masses shy off from us. To get them to believe, that we will not call them names, but that we are happy to become part and whole of their lives and dreams. . . . is our task, our only hope for the ultimate deed. . . .

S. A. de Witt.

MR. HAYS, author of "Let Freedom Ring", an account of some of the free speech, free press, free assemblage cases in which he has taken part, is here pictured busy at his favorite occupation.



ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS
A Caricature by Sugar.

Prof. Harlow of Smith Gives Support to Thomas

Prof. S. Ralph Harlow, of the Department of religion, Smith College, Northampton, Mass., finds the Socialist national platform "nearer to the New Testament ideal" than any platform he has ever seen, he writes in a letter to Harry W. Laidler, chairman of the Socialist Committee on Outside Contacts. Prof. Harlow endorses Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate for president. In his statement to Dr. Laidler, Prof. Harlow writes:

"For twenty years I have known Norman Thomas and watched his increasing efforts to serve humanity. For complete and utter devotion to the welfare of the people, for willingness to stand for unpopular causes against entrenched power in high places, no man before the public eye can equal the record of Norman Thomas. Wherever men and women and children have needed a defender against oppressive measures employed by those who had wealth and power behind them, there Norman Thomas has always come to the help of the weak against the strong. I have read the platform on which Mr. Thomas proposes to run and it is nearer the New Testament ideal of what a party platform ought to be than any such platform I have ever read. I propose to support Norman Thomas."

THE TAMMANY THAT SPAWNED 'AL' SMITH

A Record of Graft, Extortion and All-Around Venality Unsurpassed in History

By James Oneal

THE capitalism of other nations has never produced organized politics as a profit-making business. It was left to the United States to produce political organizations that are as much business concerns as rubber, steel, railroad and textile companies and Tammany Hall is easily the most extensive concern in the country. Many of its leaders and lieutenants have become millionaires. That Tammany Hall has heaped millions upon leaders since the days of Tweed shows that it is as much a profit-making enterprise as the brothels which contributed to the fortunes of many of its agents.

A number of books have been written on Tammany, but the most extensive and the most readable one that has yet appeared is by M. R. Werner ("Tammany Hall," New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc.; \$5). The chief sources of the author are the numerous investigations that have been made of Tammany in its long criminal career and out of the huge mass of documents he has succeeded in cutting the more important phases of the organization. The book itself enables the reader to reconstruct the evolution of Tammany in terms of historical change, revealing the causative factors which have transformed it from a simple organization devoted to patriotic ceremonials and observances into a vampire that fattens upon the life of the largest city in the world.

A Start in Life One Million Stolen

By the time that Jackson came to the Presidency in 1828 Tammany had already assumed two phases which have been conspicuous into the modern period. These are the appearance of the grifter and marketing of "philanthropy" by its leaders. As George W. Olvany, the present leader, recently spilled some sob story regarding Tammany's "philanthropy" it will be interesting to observe the evolution of it as we proceed.

In the period of Jacksonian Democracy Tammany was radical and shared the grievances of the workers of the cities against the old suffrage restrictions, but before the end of the thirties this attitude became a compound of demagoguery and an itch for office for the sake of the loot that was available. One of its henchmen, Samuel Swartwout, collector of the port of New York, made a hasty trip to Europe, leaving a shortage of over a million dollars. He was accompanied by another worthy official who had stolen over \$72,000. These first raids were simultaneous with the appearance of "philanthropy" when its leaders distributed food among unemployed workers during the panic year of 1837. Unfortunately for "philanthropy," it was discovered that one of the most prominent Tammany leaders, a Police Justice, "gained his money by extorting it from counterfeiters, thieves and prostitutes who were brought into his court."

By the middle forties brothels into which unfortunate girls of the working class disappeared became a rich source of funds for Tammany "philanthropy." The house of prostitution had become a permanent fixture of the Tammany system of revenue for its leaders. From the evidence one gathers that there was a general schedule of rates collected from madams and inmates while arrests for cause and without cause provided fees for various officials. The police system had by this time been fairly well penetrated by this grafting on brothels while various offenders in jail were released and others permitted to escape for the value



From the jacket of M. L. Werner's "Tammany Hall," published by Doubleday, Doran. The cartoon was drawn by Thomas Nast, the cartoonist who played a leading part in "Boss" Tweed's downfall.

of their votes and services on election day.

The outlines of modern Tammany were fairly complete a decade before the Civil War. The boozing dens had already become an integral part of the system as well as the low dive and the half-savage gangs whose members might be hired to rob a till, cut a throat, or stuff ballot boxes at elections. Occasionally a Tammany leader fell out with the chieftains and annexed a gang of his own and a gang war followed, but as a general rule the insurgent made peace with the chiefs who alone could satisfy the appetites of those who wanted office and the plunder that went with it. Moreover, the type of men who obtained office and wealth like Morrissey, the prize-fighter in the fifties, and Devery, the foul-mouthed vulgarian of the Murphy reign, were often illiterates. Such creatures were spawned by the system and the type has by no means disappeared in these days of the polished Olvany.

The Forty Thieves Blaze Trail

In the early fifties came the reign of "The Forty Thieves" in the Board of Aldermen, a body where the later notorious Tweed was getting his schooling for the most extensive grafting ever known in the history of politics. The period of old graft survived and it was not to mature as a ripe contribution to municipal science till after the war, but the thieves sold ferry leases and franchises

to the highest bidders. Ever Tammany "patronism" produced dividends. They raised the bills for fireworks in the city celebration of the Fourth of July in 1852 and dividends were even extracted from corpses. In transporting the body of Henry Clay from the city to Albany the thieves padded the bills for undertaking and included one bill of \$1,400 for liquors and cigars. There was a difference of \$70,000 between the real value and the price paid for a paupers' cemetery. Meantime "philanthropy" was not forgotten. It paid.

Fernando Wood, whom another writer called the "prince of rascals," was elected Mayor in 1854, and then for two successive terms. Street cleaning graft, of which we are again hearing something in Walker's administration, had been a valuable source of profits, but in Wood's administration he and his family raked in quite a bag of cash from it. Tammany was pro-slavery and so was Wood, who complained that New York City investments in Southern slavery would be lost if the South seceded from the Union. The mass of the Irish workers organized by Tammany and influenced by a pro-slavery clergy carried the city against Lincoln in 1860 by a heavy majority.

Wood and the pro-slavery elements paved the way for the Tweed Ring and here we come across some remarkable analogies with the Tammany Hall of 1928. A Oakey Hall was a man with a university education, a capable speaker, on a five cent fare about twenty-five years. It could continue without calamity to operate on that basis until the one who dabbled in drama and poetry, and whose polished manners made him an excellent "shirt front" for the Tweed Ring. He was also unscrupulous and willing to play the game. Hall was Mayor during the looting of the city by the Tweed gang while the New York Herald, which had proposed a war of foreign conquest to obscure the issue of slavery, became the organ of Hall. By the time the gang had become all-powerful they seriously considered moving next to the Federal money vaults. The plan was to elect Governor John T. Hoffman President in 1872, send Hall to Albany as Governor and Tweed to the United States Senate, while Controller Sweeney was to remain in New York City to rule the city treasury. Had the plans matured it is said that Hoffman was to send Tweed as American Ambassador to London! Change the names and observe how some of these plans fit with the program of today. For Hoffman read Smith, and for the New York Herald read the New York World. Perhaps Walker is slated for London! Tammany was supreme in New York in 1870 and it is supreme in New York today. The looting and graft were rife then now. History is never repeated, but analogies occur just the same. It is certain that Smith is the shirt front today as Hall and Hoffman were in the previous period.

Boss Tweed Steals \$70,000,000 Or So

The Tweed Ring added one accessory to its rule which was essential. It had not been neglected by previous gangs of looters, but Tweed and his associates operated on such an enormous scale that it was more essential than ever. He had filled the courts with his agents, the most conspicuous of whom was Judge Barnard, later impeached for his crimes, but the press was always a source of danger. The following paragraph tells the story: "Six or eight men on almost every newspaper in New York were put upon the city's pay roll at salaries of from \$2,000 to \$2,500 a year. They were en-

gaged in no municipal business, but their duty consisted in writing blurbs in favor of Tweed and his associates as part of their newspaper work, for which they also received pay. Another effective method of controlling the press and public opinion was by means of corporation advertising. The Ring gave legal and municipal advertising to twenty-six daily and fifty-four weekly newspapers at exorbitant rates. Writers were also hired to send letters to newspapers in other cities praising the members of the Ring individually, Tammany Hall as an organization, and the administration of the city generally. These were copied by the New York papers after they appeared elsewhere, and they created the impression that the entire nation admired the city government."

Tweed later testified that occasionally an article was brought to the Ring and the writer was paid to kill it. They even arranged for newspaper attacks on the Ring so filled with errors that they were easily answered and the Ring thus added to their prestige. As much as \$5,000 was paid for this type of article. When the Legislature was in session the Albany newspapers enjoyed rich incomes from the Ring for a variety of services. When the storm began to beat around the Ring one of its agents—an eminent lawyer—offered the Times \$50,000 through Controller Connolly and Thomas Nast was offered \$500,000 to abandon the attacks. The two men could not be bribed and the exposures followed. The rats scattered. Tweed died in prison. The reality of the looting probably never will be known, but the estimates run as high as \$75,000,000.

Enter The Tammany Hall Republicans

The evolution of Tammany had reached the stage of having trusted Republican allies which feature has continued to the present day. Tammany is no more Democratic than Standard Oil is. It is a capitalist business concern handling certain wares and it needs Republicans as well as its own professionals. The Republican State Committee Chairman, Cornell, discovered during the reign of Tweed that "75 per cent of the officers of the Republican County Committee and 75 per cent of the Republican district leaders were either in the pay of the Democrats or held sinecures from Tweed and Tammany Hall." Perhaps this case of Republicans was also a phase of the "philanthropy" which Tweed, like other Tammany leaders, indulged.

While the spotlight was focused on the Tweed Ring John Kelley was enjoying a pious trip to the Holy Land. His letters home dwell upon "the Mount of Olives, the way of the Cross and the Holy Sepulchre." Kelley had already made a pile out of the office of Sheriff. While abroad he commissioned an artist to execute some religious paintings which he presented to St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York and then ascended the Tammany throne as successor to Tweed. Kelley's contribution to the institution was to perfect a system of assessing candidates and Tammany office holders upon a percentage basis according to the salary the offices paid and the day before election became known as "Dough Day." This was the day for distributing the money to the district leaders for carrying elections. Affectionate co-operation with Republican leaders continued. "There was an unwritten, unmentioned agreement between the Democrats and the Republicans to take care of each other's election district captains with jobs even when one party was not in power," writes Werner. Gangs were employed and election day was a day of thieves in thievery.

"Philanthropy" was never neglected. The leaders kept close to the poor dupes, handing out a dollar with the right hand for some form of relief and with the left taking in a hundred. Kelley's personal fortune was half a million dollars and in 1886 he was buried from the church to which he had given the paintings upon his return from the Holy Land. This combination of piety and plunder runs through the history of many Tammany Hall leaders.

The Era of Honest Craft Begins

Richard Croker was next in line for the Tammany throne and his reign is conspicuous as the period of the rise of the great corporations, the attraction of Tammany leaders to corporation investments, and the beginnings of a system of "honest graft" which George Washington Plunkitt, a Tammany illiterate, expounded with naive candor in the first few years of the present century. Croker himself invested in New York corporations and it was in his reign that alliances between Tammany and large corporate enterprises had their origin. His successor, Murphy, developed the partnership to that quiet mutual understanding which all but the simple-minded know exists today. This also provided another source of revenue for Tammany campaign expenses. The organization had now drifted far from the days of early Jacksonian Democracy when Tammany would purchase an occasional dwelling in the name of a dozen workers so that they could qualify for the franchise. The understanding with Republicans reached high enough at one time to even include Platt, the Republican High Potentate of New York State.

While the pimp, the cadet and the procurer stalked through other eras of Tammany rule they are also conspicuous in the reign of Croker. Here we also get occasional glimpses of forms of vice so foul and disgusting that they are unprintable. The most important source of graft was underlying upon prostitutes and lewdness on brothels and saloons. "There were also side lines of graft which involved the sale of wines and beers to houses of prostitution, and the supply of cigars, cigarettes, food, clothing, jewelry, furniture and medical attendance." They were valuable concessions as "the profits were large, and the purchases could be made compulsory by the threat of the law. There were also abortions, midwives and baby farmers, who worked with the police and the district leaders, or who paid them for protection from the laws."

This criminal grafting upon misfits and unfortunates extended to the immigrant workers of the East Side. They were "subjected to a brutal and infamous rule by the police, in conjunction with the administration of the local inferior criminal courts, so that it is beyond a doubt that innocent people who have refused to yield to criminal extortion, have been clubbed and harassed and confined in jail, and the extremes of oppression have been applied to them in the separation of parent and child, the blasting of reputation and consignment of innocent people to a convict's cell." So reads one report.

Charlie Murphy, The Man Who Made Smith

The author declares that the complete facts regarding the financial investments of Tammany leaders in houses of prostitution are not available, "because the Tammany men always covered themselves carefully by using their friends' rather than their own names." The reader will remember that the white slave trade about this period had reached world proportions and while the author does not con-

sider the Atlantic traffic we are certain that the Tammany of this period was involved in this inhuman business. The official investigations digested by Mr. Werner reveal Croker to be another of the type of Tweed, although the former was more cautious than his illustrious predecessor. Croker left Tammany Hall for Ireland a millionaire, and, as the author remarks, "New York experienced a period of rule by an absentee landlord, for Croker spent the next few years of his political career in England, Ireland, and on ocean steamers. Government by cable was what some of the newspapers chose to call it."

At his death his estate was estimated at \$5,000,000. This was only a small portion of the total gouged out of the people of the city by the vampire of which Croker was a part.

Big-Hearted Tim Sullivan—He Left Only \$2,000,000

Murphy had been Dock Commissioner and had organized a contracting and trucking company which leased docks from the city and "made 5,000 per cent on its investment." Of the corporation opportunities and investments of the leaders of the "New Tammany" the author writes: "In the twentieth century the leaders of Tammany Hall were in the contracting business or were interested in water, gas, electricity or railroads rather than prostitution, liquor, gambling, or extortion; for it was Murphy's great and lasting contribution to the philosophy of Tammany Hall that he taught the organization that more money can be made by a legal contract than by petty blackmail." Of course, the old forms of graft survive as we know from the current milk, sewer and street cleaning scandals, but the larger forms of income are derived from inside connections with capitalist enterprises.

Tammany must continue to receive the support of the voters if its leaders are to fatten on the millions who live in the disease-breeding fire traps which they call homes, so the leaders continue to toss "philanthropy" to the dupes. "Big Tim" Sullivan worked "philanthropy" on a large scale, his distribution of food, clothing and money to the Bowery wretches of his district were estimated at \$25,000 annually, but, as Werner observes, "the political profits of his district were estimated between seven and eight times as much as he gave away." Political returns were also reaped when Sullivan headed gangs of Bowery thugs from one polling place to another on election days. When he died Sullivan's estate was estimated at between two and three millions. The poor wretches whom the Tammany leaders have exploited for decades still live from hand to mouth while the leaders live in ease and comfort.

Tammany's Charity and Tammany's Thievery

Here we may pause to consider Leader George W. Olvany's view of Tammany "philanthropy" as presented in the New

Governor Of N. Y. Received Schooling Under "Charlie" Murphy, the Most Recent "Boss"

York Times Magazine of May 20, this year: "The amount of charity that Tammany does will never be known," he said. "Each district leader is responsible for the people of his district, and it is up to him to see that the needy ones get coal, food and clothes, and that they are not dispossessed when the wage earner of the family is out of work. Moreover, the leader uses his best efforts to get the idle man a job."

This is true, but it does not apply to the man who is known to vote against Tammany. If he is a small storekeeper or a pushcart peddler he is hounded, often arrested and frequently fined for the slightest infraction of regulations which are overlooked in the case of one who supports Tammany. The "charity" given by Tammany leaders costs them nothing. It is an investment that pays dividends in cash and votes. The poor devils who are swindled by this sob stuff pay the cost in disease and often death. Professor Merriam of Chicago University makes this striking and truthful comment regarding Tammany "charity":

He points out that the boss "gives \$100 to charity, but accepts \$1,000 for voting against any ordinance for better housing. He pays the funeral expenses of the man who dies because the boss killed the law to safeguard the machinery on which he worked. He helps the widow, whose suit for damages was blocked under a system he was paid to perpetuate."

We may add that the worker goes to his death in fire-trap buildings because fire hazards are ignored by Tammany inspectors who are close to real estate interests. The worker's family is the prey of disease because Tammany contractors are opposed to municipal housing. One may add to these illustrations to show that Tammany "charity" is a tiny part of the profits derived from distress, disease and death which afflict the working class families of the city.

Murphy Puts Smith Through Tammany's School

Murphy passed to his reward in April, 1924, with a big funeral ceremony in St. Patrick's Cathedral. His estate was estimated at over two million dollars.

The book ends with the passing of the sainted Murphy, but we also get a glimpse of "Al" Smith in the closing pages. Smith, it must be remembered, is the modern "shirt front" behind which Tammany hopes to enter Washington as the Ohio Gang used Harding for the same purpose. Smith would have no chance if he had wallowed in the dirt as the other leaders have so he has been groomed for the job with the knowledge that he must be "clean." He is, except for his acquiescence in election steals, for responsibility for these crimes is inevitably shared by all leaders, including Smith.

But Smith's share in the impeachment of Governor Sulzer in 1913 shows that he is just as capable of going along in a dirty political job as any other of the leaders. Of course Sulzer was not a saint. No man who bears the imprint of Tammany can be wholly decent, but Sulzer had a clean record in politics as a Tammany Congressman. He became obsessed with the idea that he was Governor when he was elected to that office. Murphy insisted that Sulzer was wrong, that he (Murphy) was Governor. Sulzer persisted with the result that Murphy over the telephone from New York ordered the Tammany machine in the Legislature at Albany to impeach Sulzer and he was removed from office.

"Al" Smith was Speaker of the House and Robert F. Wagner, now U. S. Senator, was the Tammany leader in the Senate. Smith took orders and played Murphy's game. So did Wagner. Sulzer was not proven guilty of any offense in office that would warrant his removal. Every count against him had reference to his actions before he was elected Governor! The removal of Sulzer was a legislative crime and Smith shares in that crime. Moreover, Sulzer could have looted the state treasury with the consent of Murphy if he (Sulzer) had consented to obey the vulgarian Murphy. Werner declares, "Governor Sulzer was impeached because Charles F. Murphy wished to avoid exposure of his graft in the State government. Murphy also wanted to make money for himself and his friends out of the State contracts."

From 14th Street To Washington?

Shortly before the impeachment of Sulzer, State Senator Stilwell was being tried for accepting a bribe and Murphy told Sulzer that Stilwell would be acquitted. Murphy added, "How do you expect a senator to live on \$1,500 a year? That is only chicken feed." In other words, Murphy told the man he later threw out of office that Tammany senators were expected to accept bribes because their salary was only "chicken feed!"

Stilwell was being tried by a Tammany-controlled Senate and he was acquitted of the charge by a vote of 28 to 21. Now for the sequel. Stilwell was later indicted in New York County for bribery upon substantially the same evidence which was rejected by the Tammany senators and was convicted and sentenced to two years in prison! Certainly, the sainted "Al" Smith and the "New Tammany" are entitled to move next to the Federal money vats and the "liberal" New York World may be congratulated on selling Smith to the nation as a "progressive" and "liberal."

Here is the story of the evolution of Tammany Hall by way of the boozing den and the brothel, through decades of "philanthropy" for its dupes, through debauching of elections, enriching of vul-

(Continued on Page 3)

The Tammany Idea



THE CREEK SLAVE.



One of the cartoons with which M. R. Werner illustrates his history of New York's mightiest and most picturesque institution, "Tammany Hall" (Doubleday, Doran.)

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

MR. JIMPSON GETS MODERNIZED

MR. JIMPSON, who is the assistant advertising manager of the Dr. Walrus Tooth-paste Company, came into our place the other day, looking very gloomy. He flopped into a chair without saying, "How do you do?" to Jacob Panken or The Bear, two of the most attractive cats on the East Side, and groaned like anything.

It always irritates us to hear great, big grown up men groan. It seems to us that they ought to save that sort of stuff for the ladies. It is plain enough that it is the function of women to have men groan around them. A man who under no circumstances would let another man see him cry, often sheds quarts of tears when there is some feminine shoulder handy. The same should hold for groaning. As a matter of fact, the ladies just eat up this sorrow line. I have never yet met a woman who, in her secret heart, didn't really adore it when a great, huge male started sobbing all over the sofa. But let me hasten to warn my younger readers who may get the idea that I am tipping them off to a sure-fire technique. If you are not a natural crier, don't try the tear business. It is only recently that men have taken it up. For years it has been a monopoly with the (heh! heh!) weaker sex.

Well, anyhow there was Mr. Jimpson groaning and there was I peevish at him. And I said:

"For the love of Herbert Hoover and Mrs. Moskowitz, stop that awful noise. What have you got to be low in your mind about anyhow? Aren't you one of the fine flowers of the middle classes? Hasn't Bruce Barton been telling you for years that you and yours are the hope of this Republic? Don't you know that because of your firm refusal to accept the strange doctrines of the radicals, this glorious land of ours leads all the world in the production of pig-iron, tripe and funny Mayors? Isn't the Dr. Walrus Tooth-paste Company giving all its employees a free boat-ride to Bear Mountain so that they can get out under God's canopy and enjoy the beautiful sunshine and come home all brisk and healthy, just in time to take their summer wage-cut? Why you are just a low-lived scoundrel. What's the matter with you anyhow?"

Mr. Jimpson with a great effort tore his hands from before his face and looked at me with startlingly disconsolate eyes. Then he spoke after the manner of that old bore, The Ancient Mariner, hollow-like and funeral:

"If you knew what had happened, you wouldn't be so cruel to me."

After all, even a Socialist has his human moments, so I went over to him and patted him on the shoulder and said:

"There, there, tell popper all your your little bourgeois troubles. Did some, horrid, nasty man beat you at golf?"

This brought Mr. Jimpson up to an indignant denial. "Certainly not," he said, "you know very well that I own the Advertisers' Class C Championship two years running. No, it is something far more important than golf. He bent towards me and almost whispered, "Mac, I've been modernized."

I sprang back startled. "Impossible," I cried. "You have the nerve to sit there and tell me that a tried and true defender of the status quo like yourself, a believer in the competitive system, a man who voted for Coolidge and will vote for Hoover has been modernized. Go on. Get out."

Now it was Mr. Jimpson's turn to get mad. He turned on me and snarled: "You are always dragging your damned politics into everything. You don't know a thing about the finer side of life. There is no tenderness and sweetness and light in you. I haven't changed my politics. Time and again I've told you that you can't change human nature and that Socialism is nothing but an Utopian dream. So don't let's go into that. No. It's my house that's been modernized. Not me."

"You see," he went on with pathetic haste as though fearing I would interrupt his long sought-for opportunity of expression. "My wife has been going to a lot of these here fancy art shows lately. You, of course, haven't the faintest idea how many there are. It seems that all the artists who used to paint woolly clouds and sheep and dead fish and models holding up sheets, have just found out that there is a hell of a lot more jack in making dining-room tables and book-cases and kitchen chairs. So they've all gone into the interior decorating business and they have the whole-souled support of every furniture store in town. They call this new stuff 'modernistic' and tell you that 'it reflects the spirit of this machine age.' If you weren't so busy running around hollering for Norman Thomas, even you might have noticed that there was something mighty queer in the looks of every other store window. Haven't you seen those new chairs without any legs on them, set up against a background of painted paper triangles and googly red and blue and green circles that look like those old-fashioned kaleidoscopes we used to have when we were kids? Well, my boy, that is 'modernism' and they have sold the Miss 'modernism' just about one hundred per cent."

"You see the idea is that once you are bitten with this modernism thing, nothing in the house that was there before last Tuesday is any damned good. You got to throw everything out and start from scratch. You remember my book-case in the living-room that it took me so long to make? Well that's gone. In place of it we've got something that reflects the spirit of the new Consolidated Gas Company Building on Fourteenth Street. At least that is what the fancy decorator told the Missus. It is built along the lines of a step-back skyscraper. You put the books on the terraces and kind of balance them on the towers. And you ought to see how wistful my set of Dickens looks perched up there on the fifty-first floor."

"Then there was that Morris chair in my den, the one with the nice soft, leather seat that you could sort of scrunch around in, all comfortable and cosy. That was one of the first things to go. In its place the wife has a chair with arms as sharp as razor blades, painted up like a Sioux warrior and naturally, with no legs. As a matter of fact, I don't get this no legs stuff. To begin with, when you sit down you feel as though you were going into one of those trick things at Coney Island where they let you down a shoot to the vast amusement of the by-standers. And then if they are really going to reflect the spirit of this age, it seems as though they should build chairs with nothing but legs. However it isn't up to me to criticize. My wife says I'm still a novice at this 'modernistic' game. And when I go and take a peek at the kitchen, I figure she's right. Everything in there except the cat is zig-zaggy and lately I've noticed that even the cat's tail is developing a notable crook. Yes, sir, I've been modernized to a fare-you-well and I'm here to state that in spite of the fact that Queen Victoria may not have had much it, she was a dame who knew how to make folks comfortable and the boys who made the furniture for her are good enough for me. But don't tell my wife I said so."

McAlister Coleman.

Book Review

Smith As A Progressive

By Norman Thomas

(Progressive Democracy: Speeches and State Papers of Alfred E. Smith, Edited by Henry Moskowitz. (Harcourt, Brace and Company, \$5.00).

EVEN if Alfred E. Smith were not the almost certain candidate of his party for President of the United States, this authoritative selection from his addresses would be a document of importance because of the role the Governor has played in the life of the most populous state in the union. The speeches reveal reasonably well the man whom New Yorkers know—an able administrator thoroughly conversant with state affairs, and a pungent speaker with a gift of making the state's business interesting to the electorate.

But the editor, and presumably the Governor himself, by his choice of the title, does not want this collection of addresses judged on the basis I have suggested but rather as a statement of "progressive democracy." And that's another story. Even a friendly critic must be amazed that a democracy which demands so little for the workers should be called progressive. It is only by comparison with a very stark reaction that the Governor's record, even on routine welfare measures, can be called genuinely progressive. Praise can indeed be given to him for his opposition to the Lusk laws and his pardon of Larkin, Gilroy and others. Curiously enough this latter document is not included in the book. But trying to catch up with Thomas Jefferson is scarcely a proof of progress!

Of course, addresses are quoted showing the Governor's stand on housing and water power control, which some of his admirers regard as supreme evidence of progressiveness. Readers from other states ought to bear in mind that the housing law reform has so far accomplished next to nothing in New York City and on the face of it cannot accomplish much of importance. Something more can be said in favor of the Governor's water power policy, but it also is open to the very serious criticism that at no time has he provided for the protection of the people on the distributing end of the hydro electric business. Without much provision made for development of water power might conceivably play into the hands of existing distributing companies like the New York Edison.

It is, however, the omission which constitutes the most striking criticism of "Progressive Democracy." This distinguished progressive has said nothing which the editor found worth quoting about injunctions; nothing about such elementary matters of progressivism as unemployment and old age insurance; nothing that is important about taxation or the tariff; nothing about the role of Tammany Hall in New York City; nothing about the child labor amendment to which the Governor was committed by a pledge which he very cleverly evaded; nothing, save in the most general way, about imperialism. And the list of omissions can be lengthened.

In short, Governor Smith's progressiveness

The Tammany Of "Al" Smith

(Continued from Page 1)

gar illiterates, preying upon the misdeeds of humanity, and eventually emerging as the political ally of corporations with which the leaders have important connections. A "shirt front" is found in Smith as Tweed found one in A. Oakley Hall.

If the full significance of what all this means for the millions living in New York, especially the men and women of the working class, could be made vivid, the toilers would soon take over the city in a political revolution and make it over into a city beautiful as the workers of Vienna have for their municipality. New York City is today a rotten cesspool compared with the capital of Austria. We pay a heavy price for being ruled by political footpads who serve corporation masters and whose leader drools about the "charity" which Tammany hands to its victims.

READERS OF THE NEW LEADER ARE INVITED TO THE JUNE CONFERENCE OF THE LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

to be held at

CAMP TANNIMENT, FOREST PARK, PA.

Thursday, June 28 to Sunday, July 1, 1928

Subject: "WHAT CHANGES SHOULD BE MADE IN SOCIALIST PHILOSOPHY AND TACTICS?"

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THURSDAY EVENING, JUNE 28—Economic Interpretation of History.

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SATURDAY MORNING, JUNE 30—Means to Socialist Control.

SATURDAY EVENING, JUNE 30—Enlightened Capitalism or Socialism?

SUNDAY MORNING, JULY 1—The Nature of the Socialist State.

SUNDAY AFTERNOON, JULY 1—Next Steps in American Socialism.

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Those interested should make reservations at once with

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but with many wise comments along the way, such as this on our country: "The American nation was born of the desire for a more perfect freedom than was obtainable in England; and one of its first actions was to get freedom fixed, to define and express it in a constitution. It might seem impossible that freedom should ever be a chain, but stronger things have happened; and a chain that passes under the name of freedom is particularly galling."

Joseph T. Shipley.

"Our Liberties" (??)

QUITE a number of books the past few months are devoted to civil liberties which implies that all is not well with us. Books are not written on what we take for granted. They are written on matters that are in dispute. To speak and write your opinions is becoming a state of sin in the United States and the present trend may yet see the return of the stocks, the ducking stool, and the lash for offenders. Perhaps we may even carry our license, paying for one at the beginning of each year, showing that we do not harbor any ideas that would disturb a right-thinking moron.

Another volume of this type is by Lucius B. Swift (How We Got Our Liberties. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., \$2.50), who devotes thirteen chapters to telling his readers how we got 'em. Swift is a lawyer and writes of representative government, the American courts, trial by jury, Magna Charta, the House of Commons, the right of petition, the bill of rights, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Supreme Court, freedom of speech, and religious liberty. He writes as we should expect the average lawyer to write. It is the legalist and political history with which he is concerned, the more substantial social and economic roots hardly receiving any recognition.

The result is a book written for popular consumption, easily read and not hard to understand, but leaving much to be desired because the deeper forces which explain the evolution of political rights are largely ignored. He repeats the explanation of the New England town meeting in terms of the Anglo-Saxon mood and follows writers like Freeman who are out of date. Nevertheless, the book has its value because of its popular style which may lead some readers to take up some more substantial studies which probe much deeper into the origins of civil liberties and political rights.

Dill Circulates Facts on Cuba

Washington.—Sen. Dill of Washington, is circulating a leave-to-print document which he placed in the Congressional Record on the day before adjournment, dealing with "Our Cuban Colony."

MR. HAYS, author of "Let Freedom Ring," an account of some of the free speech, free press, free assemblage cases in which he has taken part, is here pictured busy at his favorite occupation.



ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS
A Caricature by Sugar.

Prof. Harlow of Smith Gives Support to Thomas

Prof. S. Ralph Harlow, of the Department of Religion, Smith College, Northampton, Mass., finds the Socialist national platform "near to the New Testament ideal" than any platform he has ever seen, he writes in a letter to Harry W. Laidler, chairman of the Socialist Committee on Outside Contacts. Prof. Harlow endorses Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate for president. In his statement to Dr. Laidler, Prof. Harlow writes:

"For twenty years I have known Norman Thomas and watched his increasing efforts to serve humanity. For complete and utter devotion to the welfare of the people, for willingness to stand for unpopular causes against entrenched power in high places, no man before the public eye can equal the record of Norman Thomas. Whether men and women and children have needed a defender against oppressive measures employed by those who had wealth and power behind them, there Norman Thomas has always come to the help of the weak against the strong. I have read the platform on which Mr. Thomas proposes to run and it is nearer the New Testament ideal of what a party platform ought to be than any such platform I have ever read. I propose to support Norman Thomas."

Organization Education Solidarity

FREE YOUTH

JACK WASSERMAN EDITOR

Published Every Week By The New Leader for the Young Peoples Socialist League

Y.P.S.L. Philadelphia Branch No. 1 Progresses

PHILADELPHIA.—33 new members joined at the first meeting of the local Yipsels now conducting a membership drive. On Friday, June 22nd, another membership meeting was held. If you are between the ages of 16 and 25, and live in Philadelphia—come up and get acquainted. The director, Louis J. Sussman, can be reached at the Labor Institute, 308 Locust street.

Philadelphia Junior League.—Due to vacation plans, the Junior League will not meet until September. But we plan to keep in touch with one another during the summer by corresponding. Each Yipsel will send in a letter to the Party office, telling all about plans for the summer and general news notes. These letters are to be sent out as a "Bulletin" to all members of the League during the two months we are not met. If you are between 16 and 19, and would like to join our "corresponding league," send a letter to the Socialist Party office, 808 Locust street.

At its meeting on Friday evening, June 22, the circle 3, N. Y. C., will have a talk by Comrade Abe Dobkin on Herbert Hoover and the Republican Party Platform. At its next meeting the circle will be addressed by its Director, Winston Danics.

N. Y. City League To Go On Boat-Ride to Sunset Park

This Sunday, June 24, the N. Y. City League in conjunction with the Bronx Y.P.S.L. Fellowship and the Hand School will go on its annual boat ride to Sunset Park. The excursionists will assemble at the pier of the Central Hudson Navigation Co., at 129th street, at 9:30 a.m. At ten o'clock they will board the "Benj. B. Odell" for the day's enjoyment. The fare is one dollar for the round trip. Tickets should be purchased only from the committee in charge. Tickets can be obtained at circle meetings and from Yipsels. Tickets should not be purchased from the steamship company. There will be dancing on board the boat. There are rides at the park and a ball field. There are facilities for swimming, also. Large delegations of Bronx and Brownsville Yipsels will be on the trip. In an effort to combine business with pleasure, the Board of Directors of the Yipsel Publishing Association will hold a meeting on board the steamer.

Yipsels at Porters' Dance.—About twenty-five N. Y. Yipsels attended the dance given by the Porters' Union in Harlem last Saturday evening. Representatives of Circles Eight, Nine, Manhattan, Six, Brooklyn, and One, Bronx, were there. An enjoyable time was had by all.

Emanuel Switkes will be the acting Financial Secretary for the summer. He has received in a complete list of their members, with complete financial and other data at once.

Circle Six, Brooklyn, To Reorganize.—Circle Six, Brooklyn, will hold a reorganization meeting Saturday, June 23, at 167 Tompkins avenue. All Yipsels are invited and urged to attend this affair.

Circle Two, Brownsville Debate.—On June 17, Circle 2 listened to a debate between Comrades George Guss and Jack Altman on the question of recognizing Soviet Russia. The debate was won by Lester Shulman. The circle held a special meeting yesterday.

Dr. Land at Joint Meeting.—Yesterday evening, at 8:30 p.m., Dr. Leon Rosser Land and the Bronx Yipsel Fellowship spoke on "Marriage: Mind, Freedom" to an assemblage composed of members of Circles Nine, Seniors; and One, Juniors, and Van Siclen's assembly. Members of Circle Two, Seniors, were also present.

Circle Six, Manhattan, Meets Friday.—Circle Six, Seniors meets every Friday evening, at 8:30 p.m., at 67 East 106th street. Its recent social and educational meetings have shown it to be an enterprising and energetic circle. Circle elections, supposed to have been held a week ago, were postponed to yesterday evening. At this time, also, Mandel Freed spoke on "Free Trade."

City League Represented at Socialist Party Activities

At the Labriola Banquet held last Friday evening, the N. Y. City League was represented by Comrades Julius Umanovsky and Emanuel Switkes. Julius Umanovsky, the Executive Secretary, will be the Yipsels' Fraternal delegate at the coming New York State Convention to be held July 13, 14, 15 at Albany.

THE CHATTER BOX

NOW, spitting isn't an altogether proper subject to write home about, and surely not for a nice family home-companion like The New Leader. But since it quite conforms with the deep purposes of this most serious discussion, and since most of our readers are quite fond of profound analysis on any subject that affects the human race, and moreover since spitting is an international habit, including the Third, I'll loosen up a bit on my usual excellent manners, and spout forth.

About twenty-five years ago, a certain Anarchist acquaintance of my father's used to visit with us and expound his forceful convictions about free will. Father would put in a quiet interjection of approval or doubt every half hour or so, in order to allow his guest to catch up with wind.

Then the lad would take up the interrupted weaving of his harangue, until even pop would nod off into blissful dozing. What used to keep us in a state of enforced wakefulness for a time however, was his terrific way of ending every one of his paragraphs with the words, "Ich spy auf doss . . ." Which translated from the corrupt Celtic means . . . "I spit on that!" For instance, he might talk about marriage and its customs, and after he had sufficiently battered down the towers of that ancient and appalling institution, he would raise it altogether with . . . "Ha! marriage, I spit on that!" And so all the great men of the ages, all the presidents of the States, all kings, lords, landlords, rules, schemes, bills, clothes, manners, frills and usages of all things beyond the windows of our Ludlow Street tenement home were incessantly outraged by our expectorating visitor. . . . His contempt for things athwart his concepts was as limitless as his poverty and as ungovernable as his self-made free will. . . .

Pat the cop was walking along Grand Street one evening in July. The pushcarts occupied his attention. Perhaps some newcomer had horned in at the curb and was "getting away with it." In those days, pushcarts and bordellos took the place of modern speak-easies and Central Park West Apartments. . . . If you know what is meant. . . . Pat, for all of his freckles and brogue, was quite a linguist. From Yiddish to Gaelic isn't much of a lingual broadjump, and since the Irish have been accused at times of having intentionally wandered away from the original tribes of Judea, Pat found it a pleasure and a sinecure to acquire an argumentative knowledge of his original tongue. . . . Such gentle names and phrases, as one fish monger charitably called another who was interfering with his trade, or such questions and answers as were necessary to ask or direct newcome immigrants to sundry streets, were all quickly and firmly barnacled upon his memory. In fact Pat became a sort of village goodfellow at all weddings and religious festivals all along Orchard Street. . . . And so it happened that July evening, just as Pat was poking a non-taxpayer away from the curb with fierce threats of "Essex Market Court," that our salivating St. George ventured on the scene. The unprovoked injustice of the law against the pushcart peddler provoked him into a grumble and then into open revolt.

He picked me out as a fit audience for his angered words. . . . And when Pat the cop came within earshot, the free-will fellow launched forth against the police, against graft, and so on. . . . The orator imagined himself secure within the walls of his idiomatic Yiddish. . . . "What will that Irisher of a cop know what I'm saying anyhow," he thought as he came to the more unprintable part of the outburst. . . . Pat stood and listened with amused imperturbability. Suddenly the speaker turned away from the collected crowd and me, and walked to the curb. He did not face Pat, but turned his eyes to a tenement roof, raised an imprecatory hand and shouted . . . in fine Jewish . . . "America is a Siberia . . . I spit on that . . . and her police . . . I spit on them too . . ."

I hardly remember whether he actually made any gesture befitting his explosive words, but I do know that Pat grabbed him by the collar, yanked him around face to face with his own freckles . . . and said to him in no uncertain Yiddish . . .

"Spit, will you, on the police will you . . . well take that . . ." And Pat could spit . . . accurately. . . . This is the dreadful part of a tale necessary to the pleasant moral I have to hang out for all to read. . . .

A large number of intellectual and even well-read thinkers have developed a sense of careless insolence against the still larger number of non-intellectual and unlettered common folk. Some times, quite openly, as in the case of Menckens, more often with a definite mental attitude, they clique themselves together and void their spittle on the heads of the "moronic millions." . . . And with the same untoward contempt that our old anarchic visitor employed. . . .

For the last twenty years that I can recall with any intelligence, this has been developing into a plague of endemic persistence. Until all the half-baked thinkers of the college campuses fling forth "moron" or "Babbitt" with the all drenching inclusiveness of Gargantuan sputum on the heads of all those who just manage to live in this impossible life. . . .

With that gesture they enter into the sacred Blue Grotto of wise-acredom. With that attitude they form the intelligentsia. . . . Never does any thought enter why there are "morons" at all, or how the horde of dollar chasing gnomes become fenced in by the dull habits of Babbitt?

And outside of scorn, and beyond vicious sneering, they never go towards helping the masses out of the mental mud.

Sometimes, I try to make out in my mind why the Bolsheviks ousted the lettered cynics, and wise cracking critics, and started to grow up in their place, a lot of young proletarian singers and literati. . . .

The Russian Communists have given these old intellectual sniffers a pretty rough deal. I do not know whether they deserve half the sympathy we kind hearted folks give them. Because, I can understand what subtle forces and repressed passions even a dumb moujik can store up for those who have laughed and jeered at them with such supercilious superiority all through the old embittering years. And small wonder then, that here in a land where there is no little freedom of feeling and its expression, that the sterner mentalities gather up resentment, and install mechanisms of unreasoning defense against the constant bombardment of ridicule from the "upper thinking classes"

This is one phase of Socialist educational work that we who carry on should look into with great patience. . . . Let the pin-pricking gentry go their ways of aristocratic insolence. . . . The people are what they are, and we for all of our knowledge and understanding, should make them feel that we are not at all too holy or removed from their lesser status as thinkers. Ours is a task that becomes increasingly difficult because the great masses shy off from us. To get them to believe, that we will not let them name, but that we are happy to become part and whole of their lives and dreams . . . is our task, our only hope for the ultimate deed. . . .

S. A. de Witt.

Thomas To Speak in Albany, N.Y.

Maurer and Claessens Will Also Address Convention Mass Meeting

The event extraordinary of the 1928 State Convention of the Socialist Party of New York at Albany July 13, 14 and 15th will be the big mass meeting at Odd Fellows' Temple to be addressed by both the Socialist Party candidates for president and vice-president of the United States respectively. The chairman of the meeting will be August Claessens.

Another big feature in connection with the 1928 State Convention will be a banquet at the Ten Eyck Hotel on Saturday evening, July 14th. The speakers at the banquet will include some of the most prominent Socialists in the state and nation and there will be a short musical program directed by Mrs. Helen Koble in which Miss Alice Noonan of Schenectady, the Misses Myers and Prof. Vladimir Karapetoff of Cornell University will participate.

Reservations at the banquet will be necessarily limited by the capacity of the dining room, and the charge will be \$2.50 per plate. Reservations for the banquet should be made early by communication and remittance to the undersigned.

Delegates and convention visitors desiring to stop at the convention headquarters, the Ten Eyck Hotel, should communicate with the undersigned as soon as possible in regard to the accommodations desired. It will be possible to take care of many delegates and visitors at the Ten Eyck if sufficient advance notice is given but not otherwise. The number of single rooms with bath is limited, and it is a case of "first come, first served." The price of these is \$3.50 up. Double rooms with twin beds and bath will cost \$7.00 to \$8.00 for two and for three (with a cot for the third person) \$10.00 additional.

While delegates are privileged to stop at other hotels, such as the Wellington and De Witt Clinton, they will find it much more convenient if they can locate at the Ten Eyck.

Those requesting reservations should state the nature of the accommodations desired, and whether the room is wanted for two nights (July 13th and 14th) or for only one night (July 14th).

Write to Herbert M. Merrill, State Secretary, Socialist Party, Rooms 213, 214, Dolan Bldg., 467 Broadway, Albany, N.Y.

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Workers Bring Their Problems To The Union Health Center

By Pauline M. Newman

PEOPLE, workers, come to the Union Health Center, not alone to receive examinations and treatment—they come to ask for solutions of their various problems which, as yet, the Health Center is unable to solve. Their problems, however, are not unsolvable. The organizations to which they belong can—if they care to—face them and find a way out. Here are only a few. It is only for lack of space that I omit the rest.

A small man, very shabbily dressed; the worried expression, his nervousness indicate his state of mind. He stops at the desk, hesitates, attempts to turn back, stops and comes back again. "What can we do for you, brother?" he is asked. "I was wondering," said he, rather hesitatingly, "if you—I mean, if this Health Center, could send my little girl to the country. You see," he continued, "I have been suffering from tuberculosis many years; we have always been poor, but for the last two years we have been living in a basement where it is wet and no sun, and I am so afraid that my little girl will get tubercular, too. She looks bad now—can't you do something for her?" He is a cloakmaker. Has had very little work, if any. His wife has been sick and in a hospital all winter. The fear for the little girl's health, his poverty and worry do not help his own shattered condition.

Alas! As yet the Union Health Center is unable to solve such problems as described above. But, Unity House, Pioneer Youth, Manumit School, Workmens Circle Camp, Brookwood College might consider the question of scholarships for the children whose parents are unable to pay. I believe a movement of that sort among the strong union would meet with a better response than we are accustomed to think. It seems to me, if properly manipulated it should prove worthy of consideration—and timely.

I first noticed her when I heard her talking to the nurse. It seems that while she was relating her difficulties she broke down completely. She was nervous and emotionally upset. From her

conversation I gathered that one of her children is, what modern educators would term a "problem child". He lies, steals, spends his days everywhere but in school; he does not obey her; he laughs at her irritations; in short, she can no longer control her own temper and as a result, she is beating him. But even she had found that method useless. And so, she asked the Union Health Center to send the boy "somewhere out of my sight". She is even willing to pay "a little" if someone will only take him away.

Again, the Union Health Center is not as yet equipped with the kind of facilities that would take care of such difficult situations. Of course, this sort of problem is not unique. It can be solved. But it requires money—and lots of it. And where is a cloakmaker, who has been out of work for almost a year, to find money for the kind of treatment this child required? There are ample schools where such a boy could be sent, providing there were means with which to do it. So, that, in the end, much as we appreciate the new education, in child problems, they are not yet within reach of the poor.

Sad but true. He was operated upon by a "great" doctor several times, but, "I still feel sick". On investigation the operation was found to be unnecessary. It cost him \$800.00, and when the money was gone—he came to the Union Health Center. It seems to me that he would have saved a great deal of his money had he come to this institution in the first place.

She had cancer of the breast, and was treated by a "great" doctor who told her that she must, if she wants to get well, live on raw carrots!

The above will indicate clearly what the Health Center "sees and hears" during hours. It is also an indication of the confidence and faith the workers have in at least one institution! And while the Health Center cannot find a solution to their many and difficult problems, it certainly does all it can—and who can do more?

Cooperators' Institute at Brookwood Aug. 19

At the Cooperators' Institute to be held at Brookwood Labor College during the week of August 19, recreation will play an important part. Mountain walks, tennis, rowing, and swimming will afford ample opportunities to the members for a week's wholesome fun. Discussions around camp fire will be convincing proof that intellectual activity is not incongruous with a touch of the romantic and the beautiful. In short, all the activities associated with one's vacation will be in abundance at the Cooperators' Institute.

But the eastern cooperators and their friends will get something at Brookwood which they will not be able to get in any other vacation resort, an opportunity to get acquainted with the leaders of cooperative thought and activities in the United States. It is quite certain that some of the foremost exponents of co-operation will help to make the time allotted for study memorable to those fortunate enough to be accommodated at the Institute.

As Brookwood Labor College can take care of only a limited number of applicants those contemplating to spend a very interesting vacation there during the week of August 19, at the very moderate rate of \$20 should get in touch at once with the secretary of the Cooperative Institute, 167 West 12th street, New York City.

"Irate Reader" complains that he missed his N. L. last week because his newsdealer was sold out. It is not the intention to do anything that would be in restraint of trade, but to prevent a recurrence of the difficulty, it is suggested that I. R. ride five flights up, subscribe, and save temper and money.

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Swedish Industrial Court Voted
Stockholm.—Despite protests, including a strike, by the labor movement, and vigorous opposition by the Socialist and Communist parties, the Liberal government has driven through parliament its two bills establishing an industrial court and making compulsory the exact observance of all labor agreements now in existence.

Fire Fighters' Secretary Stricken
Washington.—Sec'y. Treasurer Richardson of the International Association of Fire Fighters, with headquarters in Washington, is gravely ill with pleural pneumonia.

Another Communist Shoe Workers Union

True to their slogan "rule or destroy" the Communists in the shoe trade of Brooklyn and New York have decided to form a "new" independent union for the shoe workers. This "new" union will be known as the "Independent Shoe Workers of Greater New York", and no doubt is to follow the footsteps of all the organizations the Communists can get hold of.

The Moscow disciples did all they could to destroy the "American Shoe Workers Union" and when they succeeded they got hold of the local Shoe Workers Protective Union, reducing the latter to impotency until the General Executive Board finally expelled them. Once they were expelled from the Shoe Workers Protective Union they established themselves in 51 East 10th street, New York, one of the Communist headquarters, and announced a new baby union, the Associated Shoe and Slipper Workers' Union.

The baby grew a few months old but could not deceive any intelligent shoe workers aware of the Communist tactics. It remained nothing else but a Communist Party subsidized office ever ready to join Communist demonstrations and nominating conventions by means of "delegations" representing the "Associated Shoe and Slipper Workers' Union".

But they had to show Moscow some progress in the shoe trade. Failing to make any impression, whatever, they have decided to baptize a "new" baby, the "Independent Shoe Workers Union of Greater New York", with the same Moscow disciples, the same officers, the same program and the same every thing except the name.

There are at the present two national organizations of shoe workers in Greater New York: the "Boot and Shoe Workers' Union", affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and the "Shoe Workers Protective Union". After the failure of the "Associated Shoe and Slipper Workers' Union" the Communists could not go back to the organization that had expelled them, the Protective nor they could go to the "Boot and Shoe Workers' Union", too strong to be either ruled or destroyed by Communists; for this reason they have launched the "new" Independent Shoe Workers Union of Greater New York. Will they fool the shoe workers?

Bronx Socialists Are Bound for Camp Eden

Camp Eden Cold Spring, New York, will be the destination for members of the Socialist Party branches in the Bronx who gather there to celebrate their annual outing this Sunday, June 24th.

A special dinner and a fine program of social activities will be features of the day besides the regular sport facilities of the camp such as boating, bathing in Lake Eden, tennis, baseball, basketball, etc.

Other comrades who wish to join in the festivities of the day are invited. Reservations may be made by phoning Lehigh 1734, Harlem Educational Center, 32 East 106th street, or Room 505, 7 East 15th street. There is a moderate charge for Sunday dinner.

The camp can be reached by boat via Central Hudson Line 6:15 round trip Stop at Cold Spring. By motor follow Albany Post Road to 12 miles above Peekskill, or 1-1-2 hours by train from Grand Central.

Camp Eden's gala opening takes place the weekend of Friday, June 23. Special rates are in effect for union and Socialist party members.

The low rates, however, is but one of many reasons for the popularity of this ideal summer retreat for comrades in the movement.

MURPHY AGAIN

Tim Murphy's recent somersault from the arena of economics to that of sexology was attended with remarkable success says an announcement of the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism, Inc. The hall of the Ingersoll Forum was jammed to the doors when he gave his famous lecture on "Beauty, Sex, and Love."

Next Sunday evening, June 24th, he lectures in the same hall, 113 West 57th street, on "An Evaluation of the Sexologists: Havelock Ellis, Long, and Freud." But the "Firebrand" swears he won't open his mouth if anybody under eighteen is permitted to enter.

The following Sunday, July 1st, there will be a debate at the Forum of special interest to Socialists on "Collectivism vs. Individualism" between Dr. Wolf Adler and Mr. John T. Kewish. Admission free at all meetings.

On WEVD

Monday, June 25, 1928, from 1 p. m. to 6 p. m.: 2:20, Paragraphs from The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism; 4:20, New Leader Clippings; 4:30, Life of Beethoven.

Tuesday, June 26, from 1 p. m. to 6 p. m., and from 9 p. m. to 11 p. m.: 3:00, Paul Harris, Jr., National Council for Prevention of War; 9:00, Meeting of Social Justice Committee of Community Church to Protest Cancellation of WEVD License, Community Church. Speakers: Hon. F. H. La Guardia, Arthur Garfield Hayes, Prof. George W. Kirchway, G. August Gerber.

Wednesday, June 27, from 1 p. m. to 6 p. m., and from 1 to 12 p. m.: 1:20, The Necessity for a Third Party, Samuel C. Beardsley; 4:00, Rev. Leon Rosser Land, "The Cost of War."

Thursday, June 28, from 1 to 6 p. m. and from 11 p. m. to 12 m.: 1:40, Anton Romatka, Labor Temple Poetry Forum; 3:20, Peace Hour, Annie E. Gray, Secretary, Women's Peace Society; 4:40, "Trying to Become a Citizen", Mrs. Rosika Schwimmer.

Friday, June 29, from 1 p. m. to 6 p. m., and from 11 to 12 p. m.: 2:00, Mary Siegrist, "Poems of the New Humanity"; 2:20, William M. Feigenbaum, "Democratic Convention"; 4:40, Norman Thomas, Timely Topics.

AMUSEMENTS

The Week On Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

ONE of the most popular comedies in the theatre of the American colonies, played as a benefit for the Hessians by the British troops quartered in New York in 1777, has been chosen by The Players for this season's revival, at Hampden's Theatre. "The Beaux' Stratagem", by George Farquhar, was written in 1707, when the twenty-nine year old playwright, penniless and with two young children to support, knew himself upon his death-bed; yet it moves with a buoyant humor that held it long a favorite, and in the recent excellent performance seems still fresh as new.

The all-star cast that stirs in the play lacks the harmonious interplay of practiced repertoire, but provides several excellent individual performances. Of these the outstanding work is that of James T. Powers, who raises the part of the servant Scrub (often lifted by comedians in the past) until it holds the center of the stage. With his "pious, benevolent, unobtrusive desire to squeeze" the pretty Gipsy, his Scotch accent, and his lubberly, droll ways, Powers maintains an exuberant buoyancy that has not recently been matched save by Reinhardt's presentation of Thimble in the pudding scene, in "The Servant of Two Masters". Raymond Hitchcock, as the landlady, is another source of frequent smiles, while a dozen more, whose welcomes checked the flow of the dialogue, boldly or graciously carried their gallant parts.

IN BRIEF

Al Jolson, Raymond Hitchcock and Richard Carle, is to appear in the fall in "Just a Minute".

When the Play-Arts Guild revival of "Patience" opens at the Ambassador Theatre, June 25, it will be conducted by T. M. Cushing, whose list of previous accomplishments includes the post of instructor in English at the Johns Hopkins University, the job of dramatic and movie critic of the Baltimore Sun and the ordeal of pageant director of the recent "Colonial Day" celebration at Annapolis.

"Uncle Tom's Cabin", Carl Laemmle's production, opens at the Rivoli Theatre Saturday. The picture will be presented in the same manner and length in which it was shown at the Central Theatre here, where it recently ended a six months engagement at two dollars admission charge.

Florence Vidor comes to the Paramount Saturday in her latest picture, "The Magificent Flirt". The setting is in Paris and gives Miss Vidor the opportunity to wear her usual beautiful gowns. Miss Vidor, often classed as the female Menjou, because her pictures are those of sophisticated society—and like Menjou, takes part in amorous plots, goes to Paris for her settings and is a very popular actress.

George Bancroft is living up to all expectations in "The Dragnet" at the Rivoli Theatre. The picture is a drawing of his business according to the management is the fact that the clientele particularly during the first show in the evening, is made up of types which might have stepped out of the picture, and the ushers and the rest of the staff have seen so much gun fire on the screen that the shure drop of a camera almost brings them to nervous prostration. Incidentally no one has been invited out on the fire escape during the run for neckties in the lobby seats. Where it is a matter of no necktie—or no interference, a matter for conjecture.

The first American showing of Erick Weascheck's film-drama, "Love Is A Lie", will take place at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse beginning Saturday, June 23d and will remain for the entire week. Weascheck is the director of several successful films, notably, "Aftermath", which played in New York recently.

The East Side Stock Company will open its summer season at 222 East 54th street on June 23rd with "The Belia". The management states that its plan is to bring the spoken drama back to fifth the means of all. Prices are put at 35 cents and 50 cents so that everyone may have a chance to see popular plays more vividly portrayed than in moving pictures, yet not charging the Broadway prices.

A new play will be given each week during the limited summer engagement. The management has recruited a company whose repertory includes many old favorites of the American stage. Later productions will include "Married for Money", "Frou-Frou", "The Iron Mask", "Robert Macaire", "Camille", and "East Lynne".

The company will play every night including Sunday, with an 8:30 curtain. After the first week there will be no Monday performance and the new plays will open on Tuesdays. There will be no matinees.

The opening play, "The Bells", or "The Murder of the Polish Jew", achieved a record run when it was first brought to London by Sir Henry Irving. In Russia, Stanislawski, later director of the Moscow Art Theatre, starred as Mathias, in Germany, Bernay, and in France, Moutet.

In the current production, this part is played by Byron McGrath, "Catherine" by Lisa Rembova, the "Miserable" by Howard Clancy, and "Annette" by Smily Floyd. The chief members of the supporting cast are Marion Crowne, Lydia Cortese, Helen Grayson, Walter Ellsberg, Karol Rembova and Herbert Ratner. The play is directed by Helen Grayson.

Mae West was the first to accept the invitation to attend the professional matinee of The Grand St. Follies given at the Booth Theatre Friday afternoon in honor of those players who are being impersonated in the revue. Her acceptance came by return mail. Others who saw themselves depicted on the stage of the Booth yesterday are Helen Hayes, Andrew Lawlor, Jr., Constance Collier, Ina Claire, Una Merkel, Frank Wilson and Rose McClendon.

A special surrounding program has been arranged for "Mechanics of the Brain", Prof. Pavlov's exposition of the "conditioned reflex", which will have a special subscription performance on Monday evening, July 9th, at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse. Seats are reserved.

Margaret Mack, known through her excellent character work, especially with

"The Beaux' Stratagem" occupies an interesting position in the history of the English drama. It shows the "Comedy of Manners", the cynical city byplay of the Restoration, in process of transition to the "Genteel Comedy" of the Eighteenth Century. A few modern touches are bold in its design, for a more prominent person of today is foreshadowed in the villain who "says little, thinks less and does nothing", and the decision of the Sullen family to part without troubling the divorce court, is foreshadowed through a discussion that might be heard today. But the body of the play, from the stratagem of the two London beaux, to the device of Mrs. Sullen to put her hand to the final test, wears all the glitter of language and unmoral wit, all the direct darts of the Restoration Comedy while the close is honeyed with the sentimentalism soon to over-sweeten the theatre. For Mrs. Sullen turns out to be a serious, respectable woman; her sister properly rewards the deceptive beat by loving him the more for his final confession, capping his honesty, indeed, with an admission of her own—after which the kindly deus ex machina crowns them both with a title.

A prologue by Edgar Lee Masters, of the usual quality of Eighteenth Century prologues, is delivered by Walter Hampden, president of The Players; whereafter one of the first plays produced in this city proves itself able to hold the boards most of the latest.

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"The Domino Parlor", a new play of the southwest, by Lynn Riggs, Oklahoma poet and dramatist, will have its first performance at Springdale, Conn., tonight (Friday). The cast is headed by Irene Fenwick. The play was staged by Edward Massey under the supervision of Zoe Akins. It will be shown at the Playhouse, Great Neck, Saturday night, after which it opens a week's engagement in Newark the following Monday and will come to New York in September.

With the presentation in Atlantic City of the new Chopin operetta, "The Charming", the Messrs. Shubert announce the preparation of a cycle of operettas about famous composers. The first, which is their production of "Blossom Time", an operetta based on Franz Schubert. After six years, "Blossom Time" finds appeal and is still being presented. After this operetta came "The Love Song", which Edward Kunkne and Harry B. Smith drafted from the music and loves of Offenbach. The Shuberts find, lend themselves to this purpose, not only for their music but for the actual story of their romantic lives. It is to be understood that the Shuberts find, lend themselves to be given to the music of these masters by presenting substantially the theme of their work in modern, operetta form. Among some of the composers listed are: Paganini, Liszt and Beethoven.

"Values," the new American play which Gustav Blum has acquired for production next season, was written by Goldsmith-Riley.

MENKES SCHOOL ENTERTAINS

The recent recital given by the pupils of Sidney and Henrietta Menkes at the Gallo Theatre revealed the work of a school whose work is deserving of the praise of the discriminate. The Menkes sisters aim to combine in their instruction not only graceful dancing, delightful comedy and tuneful singing. Their work also shows a sympathetic attitude toward the ideals of the Socialist movement.

One of the bright numbers on a long but nevertheless at all times interesting program was the performance of Laura Gennes in "The Song of the Sewing Machine". To list all of the capable little mimics who have been attending the Menkes School of Dancing and Dramatic Art at the Hotel McAlpin in Manhattan and the Bedford Mansion in Brooklyn, would mean reprinting of the entire program. There are some numbers which stood out, pleasing as all the others were. Deserving of particular mention are Sylvia Tucker, Teddy Snook,

ATTENTION ORGANIZATIONS!

Workers' Circle Branches, Trade Unions, Socialist Party Branches, Progressive, Fraternal and Benevolent Associations, KKKKK, KKKKK, Sport and Athletic Clubs, Liberal Organizations, Facilit Societies, etc., are invited to participate in the

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Unity House Celebrates 10th Year

Festivities To Mark Anniversary of Garment Workers' Summer Home in Pennsylvania

By Fannia M. Cohn

IT WILL be ten years this summer since the International Ladies Garment Workers Union acquired Unity House in Forest Park, Pa. Many who were familiar with the grandeur of this place doubted whether the management of such an estate could be entrusted to a trade union. This scepticism was evoked by the fact that Unity House was built not for workers but for the well-to-do, those who enjoy all the comforts and beauty of life that money affords. And although our ambition to provide such a vacation home for the workers on a non-profit basis and thus demonstrate to our members and friends that service is a more effective incentive than profit was appreciated by many, their scepticism prevailed. But we were animated with a desire to offer to the workers a place as a vacation home that has been built not for them—most of the time the workers build for themselves ugly houses while for others they provide beauty—a home in surroundings that will be an encouragement to them and inspire them to work for a better life and to a realization that convenience, comfort, and beauty is not the monopoly of the few and that the workers have a right to share in the pleasure of life.

But now, ten years later, we proudly look upon Unity House as a great achievement for a trade union. With an efficient management, with additional improvements that were effected by our union, we have convinced the workers that they can efficiently manage their own affairs through their union—and this is very important because the worker suffers more from a lack of self-confidence than from a lack of ability. After ten years' management of Unity House by our International we have convinced our members, the labor movement, and our friends that the workers through their union are willing to spend time and money to keep up an estate as beautiful as Unity. Unity House has become the Mecca of the labor and radical movements of New York City and vicinity, and henceforth it will be opened all year round.

The Young Come

The latest development in Unity is most encouraging to us. This is that the children of our members, too, are beginning to come to Unity for their vacation. Many of these are professionals, and they live in another world than that of their parents, and they know little of the influence of the union on the lives of their parents. They were not interested in the union which gave their parents a standing in the community. But now, at Unity House, they are coming in touch with our International and with the labor movement as a whole.

Here, in the free and easy-going atmosphere of Unity, the skilled workers who used to consider themselves aristocrats in the trades, spend their vacation with the unskilled workers and with professional men and women who identify themselves with the labor movement. At Unity House, all sing and play and rest together.

No wonder Unity House is becoming more and more popular with the young people. It is a 750-acre estate, situated in the Blue Ridge Mountains, in a dense forest that stretches for miles around. It offers all the comforts of a luxurious hotel, and all the delightful activities of camp life. The food is delicious, and is scientifically prepared under the supervision of a dietitian. There is a lake a mile and a half long. There is boating, swimming, tennis, baseball, basketball, bowling, physical exercises—all under the direction of skillful instructors. All these are offered at a minimum rate because Unity House is owned and operated by the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union on a non-profit basis.

Festivities Planned

A three-day festival, starting Friday, June 22nd and continuing Saturday and Sunday, will be held at Unity House to celebrate the reopening of the tenth season. For this occasion representatives of the International local unions, men and women active in the labor movement and in the social and radical movements, will assemble there to express their satisfaction in the success of a labor union enterprise.

An excellent entertainment and musical program has been arranged for tonight, Saturday evening.

A three-day festival has been arranged for Saturday evening, June 23rd. An excellent entertainment and musical program has been arranged. Among the artists participating are the celebrated actors Maurice Schwartz, Bina Abramowitz, Lazar Fried, the well-known operatic soprano, Mrs. Siroka, and the talented violinist, Abraham Berg.

To Vacationists

Our idea of a vacation is a rainy day in camp with the only thing better in sight consisting of your own holiday of any other kind—endless peace and quiet. Here, are you going to keep in touch with the Movement while you are vacationing? Are you going to get yourself off from thinking with Mr. Cohn and Adam Coudiguer, rhapsodizing with Sam Davis, pondering with Jim O'Neil, miss Norman Thomas searching slants on men and events? Are you going to miss the backscratcher, the inside stuff of the "Backscatterer" magazine, and most important of all, who is going to replace you as a sub-bustler? Send for a few sub cards today.

SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

New York City

State Convention Delegates

The balloting by the branches will close Saturday, June 23. Reports and tally sheets of Kings and Bronx counties must be in the city office no later than June 25. The remaining delegates for the counties will be elected by the Central Committee June 27. Queens County elected Edward Levenson and James O'Neil as delegates and alternates.

Reservations for Boat and Hotel

Delegates and alternates to the State Convention and other comrades who intend to go to Albany on July 14 and 15, are informed that reservations are being made for the night boat leaving New York City, Pier 32, North River, Friday evening, July 13 and returning, leaving Albany Saturday evening, July 15. The City Office will take charge of reservations. It is absolutely necessary to know who is going and how many before July 13. Unless reservations are made in advance, difficulties may be faced by those who wait till the last minute. The same is true relative to hotel reservations. The convention will be held in the Hotel Ten Eyck. A great number of comrades must probably stay at this hotel. Those who want accommodations elsewhere must let us know. All such details are being taken care of by August Claessens, Executive Secretary, City Office, 7 E. 15th St. Phone, ALgonquin 4620.

A special meeting of the City Central Committee

will be held Wednesday, June 27, at 8:30 p. m., in room 402, People's House, 7 E. 15th Street. Important items will include the election of delegates to the State Convention.

MANHATTAN

6-8-12 A. D. On Saturday, June 16, this branch held a little social gathering in honor of Hilda G. and August Claessens. Comrades Claessens have moved downtown from 19th and 20th Streets to the 6-8-12th, where so delighted to have them again members of the branch that they planned this welcome. The membership turned out in full force to do honor to the Executive Secretary and his wife and family and everybody thoroughly enjoyed the evening.

Upper West Side

At the last meeting, June 14, the following nominations were made: Congress, 19th District, Edward F. Cassidy; 17th District, Simon Berlin; State Senate, 18th District, Mrs. Marianne Hanson; 19th District, Marcus Hanson; Assembly, 7th District, J. Harrison Horman; 9th District, Pierre De Nece; 11th District, Walter Karp; 13th District, Andrew Regardt; 19th District, Dr. M. Caspe.

17-18-20th A. D.

The branch will meet Monday evening, June 25, at the Harlem Socialist Educational Center, 62 East 100th St. The

Meeting To Protest Ban On WEVD

Ervin, Hays and Others to Speak at Community Church Tuesday

A MASS meeting of protest against the threatened action of the Federal Radio Commission in shutting off Station W E V D, the Debs Memorial Radio Station, will be held this Tuesday night (June 26th) at the Community Church, 34th street and Park avenue. The meeting is being arranged by the Socialist Justice Committee of the Community Church as part of its regular work in battling for elementary American political liberties. Speakers will represent every section of American life: Congressman Emanuel Celler (Dem.) of Brooklyn, who has enlisted in the fight for W E V D, will be unable to attend because of the Democratic convention in Houston, but he will be represented by a statement to be read. Congressman LaGuardia (Rep.) writes that he will try to arrange his engagements to be able to attend, since he is in full sympathy with the purposes of the meeting. The speakers will include Arthur Garfield Hays, liberal attorney and author of "Let Freedom Ring", Charles W. Ervin of Advance, McAlister Coleman, Norman Thomas, Chairman of the Debs Memorial Radio Fund, and others. Oswald Garrison Villard and Robert Moras Lovett are among those who endorse the purpose of the meeting and who will be represented by written statements. Heywood Brown is another who endorses the objects of the meeting.

Representatives of the Federal Radio Commission will be invited to be present and explain why, in their opinion, public interest, convenience and necessity requires the closing of W E V D. The meeting is open to the public without charge. The speeches will be broadcast over W E V D at 9 p. m.

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principal business will be the election of delegates to the State Convention and nomination of candidates for Congress, State Senate and Assembly. The Harlem branches will lend their aid to make the picnic on August 4 a success.

22-23rd A. D.

This branch continues to make splendid headway. The meeting held June 19 was also very successful. More than 30 members were present and a number of sympathizers were invited. Louis Williams gave an interesting talk on "Giant Waterpower" which provoked an interesting and instructive discussion. Thanks to a number of new comrades and old timers who have returned our Washington Heights organization is functioning better now than for several years. Effective work will be done during the coming campaign.

BRONX

Brooklyn Auto Excursion Sunday, June 24 The automobile outing to the beautiful Camp Eden takes place Sunday, June 24. The starting point is from headquarters, 1167 Boston Road (168th Street) at 9 a. m. sharp. This outing is arranged to raise enough money to rent the rental headquarters for July and August. The committee wishes to express its deep appreciation to all those fine-spirited comrades who contributed their cars to the excursion.

Special mention must be made of the splendid cooperation given by Mr. and Mrs. Max Goldsmith, Lillian Teplitz and Mr. and Mrs. Morris Ginet, and Louis Selden, the chairman of the outing committee.

A few tickets are still available. We charge for the round trip by auto, all privileges of the beautiful camp (rowing, fishing, bathing, tennis, dancing, etc.), a substantial lunch served by the camp, all complete for \$3.50. Comrades must provide themselves with tickets immediately, as we must order the exact number of covers for the dinner in advance. Telephone for tickets to Ed Patrick 7457. The names of all who contributed their cars will be published next week.

Branch Seven

This branch will meet Tuesday evening, June 26, in the clubrooms, 4215 Third Avenue.

Branch Seven East

This branch will meet Thursday evening, June 28, at the Workmen's Circle School, 2093 Daly Avenue, near 180th Street.

5th A. D.

This branch will meet at the County Headquarters, 1167 Boston Road on Friday evening, June 22.

Central Branch

A fairly well attended meeting was held last Tuesday evening and a number of new members were accepted by this group. Three new members were accepted. Plans were received. Plans were received for holding street meetings and for an energetic campaign. A. C. Dobson was nominated for Assembly in the Fourth Assembly District. The next meeting will be held Tuesday evening, July 10. A speaker will discuss the situation in Germany regarding the Coalition Cabinet.

BROOKLYN

1-3-8th A. D. A well attended meeting was held last Tuesday evening. Abraham Zucker led an interesting discussion as to the work of the Party in this section.

The next meeting will be held on Friday evening, June 22, at the headquarters, 420 Hindsdale Street. The principal items will be the election of delegates to the State Convention, nomination and election of new branch officers.

2nd A. D.

A very fine meeting was held last Monday evening. Eleanor Levenson was doing excellent work in giving a resume of the public speaking class held every Tuesday at the East School and the members are enjoying the talks. The street meetings with Frank Crossworth continue to be very successful.

18th A. D.

At the next meeting in Rockaway Mansion, 695 Rockaway Avenue, Room 4, J. L. A. will speak on the "Kansas City Fair".

Bernard J. Riley, candidate for Congress in the 6th Congressional District (taking in the 18th A. D.) spoke Thursday evening, June 21, at Sutter and Ralph Avenues. J. L. A. and S. Benjamin Daublin also spoke.

A well attended meeting of the branches within the 8th Congressional District was held last Thursday evening in the headquarters of the Coney Island branch. The following nominations were made: Congress, Wm. M. Feigenbaum; State Senate, 4th Senatorial District, Carl Cummings. Plans were made for carrying on a lively campaign.

Williamsburg A well attended meeting was held Tuesday evening in the Amalgamated Temple. The people attending Viadec's forum were invited and about 100 responded to the call. B. C. Viadec, Jacob Panken, Louis P. Goldberg and Harry Krieger addressed the meeting. Following the general meeting, the membership of the "O U F" Williamsburg branches engaged in a discussion of plans of work to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of our organization and campaign work in the Williamsburg District.

QUEENS COUNTY

This branch held its regular meeting last Friday evening. The attendance was almost 100 per cent. James O'Neil delivered an interesting talk. Thanks to the efforts of our energetic and efficient organizer, Israel Braverman, new members are being obtained weekly and the branch is growing splendidly.

The next meeting will be held Friday evening, June 29, at the W. C. Center, 158 Beach 85th Street, Hammels. A prominent speaker will be present.

Branch Jackson Heights

Another meeting of this new organization was held last Friday evening, in the home of Comrade Palm and all members were present. They have decided to

elect officers at the next meeting and by that time will have several members to the requirements of branch organization.

Branch Astoria

Another meeting of our new organization was held last Friday evening. The progress of this branch is very slow, as this territory has been neglected for some years. Nevertheless new members are being obtained.

Street Meetings

MANHATTAN

Friday, June 22, 8:30 p. m. Rivington and Pitt Streets. Speakers, Samuel P. Ulanoff, L. Lieberman, Harry Ulanoff.

Saturday, June 23, 8:30 p. m. 137th Street and Seventh Avenue. Speakers, Ethelred Brown and others.

Tuesday, June 26, 8:30 p. m. 115th Street and Lenox Avenue. Speakers, Ethelred Brown, Louis Weil.

Thursday, June 28, 8:30 p. m. 5th Street and Avenue B. Speakers, Leonard C. Kaye, Harry Diamond.

Friday, June 29th, 8:30 p. m. Rivington and Pitt Streets. Speakers, Carl Cummings, S. P. Ulanoff.

Wednesday, June 27, 8:30 p. m. 133rd Street and Lenox Avenue. Speaker, Ethelred Brown.

BRONX

Friday, June 22, 8:30 p. m. Wilkins and Intervale Avenues. Speakers, Ethelred Brown, I. George Dobsevage.

Saturday, June 23, 8:30 p. m. 180th Street and Ely Avenue. Speaker, August Claessens and others.

Tuesday, June 26, 8:30 p. m. McKinley Square. Speaker, George Dobsevage, Philip Paik.

Saturday, June 29, 8:30 p. m. 180th Street and Harry Avenue. Speaker, Ethelred Brown, Harry Diamond.

KINGS

Friday, June 22, 8:30 p. m. Bristol and Pitkin Avenues. Speaker, Frank Crossworth.

Friday, June 22, 8:30 p. m. Sutter Avenue and Vermont Street. Speakers, August Claessens and Samuel Block.

Monday, June 25, 8:30 p. m. Hindsdale and Sutter Avenues. Speakers, Jos. A. Weil, Carl Cummings, Leonard C. Kaye.

Thursday, June 28, 8:30 p. m. Ralph and Sutter Avenues. Speakers, Ethelred Brown and others.

Friday, June 29, 8:30 p. m. Sutter and Vermont Avenues. Speakers, Samuel Block and others.

Friday, June 29, 8:30 p. m. Bristol Street and Pitkin Avenue. Speaker, Frank Crossworth.

Friday, June 29, 8:30 p. m. Arion Place and Bushwick Avenue. Speakers, Ethelred Brown, Jos. A. Weil.

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7 East 10th St. Phone: BUREAU 7000

Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30 o'clock, in the office

LOUIS WELDMAN, President

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Bonnay Embroiderers' Union, Local 66, I. L. G. W. U.

7 East 15th Street Tel. STUYVESANT 3857

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Local 62 of I. L. G. W. U.

NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement.

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The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the struggles 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, JUNE 23, 1928

The Convention Orator

GENERAL comment on the addresses delivered at the Kansas City convention agrees that they were a competition in dullness. Nothing was said that will be remembered or that is worth remembering. It was all bombast and drivel and yet the "best minds" of the Republican party were all there. We predict that, with the possible exception of the speech of Claude G. Bowers at Houston, the Democratic convention's oratory will measure down to this low level.

The disappearance of the old impassioned oratory of the days of Calhoun, Webster and Clay is of special significance. Even the politicians of the slave South like Hammond, Calhoun, Yancey, Cobb and others were magnificent orators. They were men of profound convictions and their earnestness burst into impassioned speech which compelled attention however much one might disagree with their views. The same was true of the northern politicians like Lincoln, Chase and others.

The reason for this is that these men profoundly believed in themselves and their cause. Oratory is a great art which cannot be won by the huckster and the charlatan. It is the gift of sincerity and earnestness, of conviction and ideals. The man whose soul is on fire, who has profound convictions, and who is in deadly earnest, may become a great speaker. The charlatan only succeeds in making himself a bore.

The radio may yet prove a big aid in exposing the empty-heads and professional brokers of both parties who have no issue, no convictions, no culture and no ideals. The bunting and flags, the yawns of claqueurs, and the mass psychology of meetings are absent. The radio audience can take the measure of the charlatans who know nothing and who say nothing, whose only interest is office and administering power for the banking and capitalist organizations that rule the republic today.

Fascist Thuggery

GREAT Britain and the United States are two powers that have contributed most to the enslavement of the Italian people by their support of Mussolini. This friendship for Mussolini's Slave State is being repaid England by secret agents of the black shirt dictator slugging a British diplomatic agent in Italy. The British Foreign Office apparently has cooperated with Mussolini in attempting to hush up the affair but the facts have leaked out and the matter will be threshed out in Parliament.

The Labor Party members will rise to the occasion as the Labor members of the London County Council have by refusing to participate in the official welcome to Prince Potenzi, the Governor of Rome. This action by the labor members may be commended to the spats and cane Mayor of New York who some months ago paid his respects to the assassin of Italian liberty when in Rome and a few weeks ago entertained one of his footpads here in New York.

The Kettle Offends the Pot

UNDER the caption of "Mr. Moses Throws A Boomerang" the New York World takes Moses to task. Hear ye:

"In his address as Permanent Chairman of the Republican Convention Senator Moses took occasion to discuss the issue of corruption. And this is what he said:

"We know our people will not turn to the party whose most recent and most outstanding achievement in this year of grace is the revealed grafting of \$20,000,000 from a single city.

"This is careless language, even for a convention. For what it implies is that the people of the country will turn the other way, to a party one of whose recent and outstanding achievements is the selling out to Edward L. Doheny and Harry F. Sinclair of the navy's reserves."

Mr. Lippmann who presides over the World editorial page is the author of the theory that we are living in a very complex world, so complex that it is very difficult to understand it. Can he inform us if there is any precise way of telling the difference between the layers of soot on the kettle and the pot?

The Political Show

IT is possible that the next few years may witness the rise of a powerful working class political movement in the United States. The marked recovery of the Socialist Party all over the country would indicate this. It comes at a time when agriculture is bankrupt and plundered by the urban capitalism which has sapped its vitality for nearly ten years. Unemployment of millions also haunts the two capitalist parties. Their main problem is to soothe the distressed, not to find solutions for the problems that face rural and urban labor.

The official representatives of the trade unions have been to the Kansas City convention and will also go to the Houston convention. They received nothing at Kansas City and will get little more at Houston. The Democratic convention will in part represent the new textile capitalism of the South with its sweatshop standard for women and children. Tammany will be represented with its public utility allies, especially the notorious company union Interborough Rapid Transit Company, and drag its sewer, milk, paving, and street cleaning graft into the convention hall. It will go to Houston with its long record of debauched elections and theft of public offices at the polls. In the East it must try to satisfy finance and capital that it is "safe" and at the same time play the role of "friend of labor." We predict that it will hand out the usual line of promises to the trade union committee and that, no matter what the outcome of the election, the workers of the nation with a majority of the votes will be disfranchised at Washington for another four years.

But the show staged by the two parties is an old one. Fifty percent of the voters for years have refused to patronize it. The Socialists are the only national party in the field that offers a refuge for the men and women who consider voting to be something more than rewarding one of two sets of professional agents of the masters of the United States. Loyal and devoted service should bring a splendid Socialist vote in November.

The Corporation Farm

IT IS significant that in recent years there is serious discussion as to whether the corporation farm and creation of an American peasantry are to be offshoots of agriculture. Many years ago the corporation farm appeared but it has not made much headway. Since the end of the World War the small farmer, especially in the West, has been plundered with ease. His "independence" has been revealed as an illusion. He holds nothing which the capitalist and banking classes cannot take when they want it.

Of course, these classes or their representatives do not confer and then decide at a given moment that they will raid the countryside like a conquering general. What we mean is that the small farmer occupies such a precarious position in modern society that he can be and is looted by the urban vandals who exploit all useful labor. This occurs in periods of "deflation" when the farmer's savings of a lifetime flow into the vats of the masters of banking, transportation and industry.

It is possible that future development of farming may bring the great corporate farm. One writer in Wallace's Farmer urged the necessity of "putting corporate methods into agricultural production" and the same suggestion was made by another writer in Farm and Fireside. The latter believes that corporation farming "will be a distinct improvement, both for the individual farmer and for agriculture in general."

Should agriculture become a matter of corporation investment and organization it will revolutionize rural life. The farmer will tend to become a wage worker. He will be relieved of the worries of management, uncertain weather, and fluctuation of markets, but he will also be dependent upon the whim and profiteering motive of the corporation owners for employment. He will not cease to be a dependent. His dependence will assume another form.

Moreover, it is not likely that he will display the habit of chasing after the politicians of capitalism for farm relief. He will be interested in wages and working hours. The illusive prospect of rising some day into the privileged classes which his present precarious position fosters will be wiped out. Economically he will be in no better position and he may be worse off, but he may think more intelligently in politics than he does today.

The Bankers and Industry

IT is a long road from the time when the individual capitalist owned his manufacturing plant and today when the absentee bankers are acquiring an increasing control over production. The problem of the former was increasing the output but for the bankers it is often one of limiting the output to the current demand. Whether the financial spiders are aware of one phase of this economic trend we do not know, but Arthur T. Hadley, President Emeritus of Yale University, considers it in the current number of the Yale Review.

Professor Hadley declares that the ascension of the banker to the throne of industry "has tended to take control of industrial policy out of the hands of operating men and to place it in the hands of moneyed men—either bankers who collect the capital or merchants who sell the goods and services. This tends to widen still further the gulf that was already opening between employers and employed."

In other words, the bankers by their absentee mastery make the contrast between useless ownership and useful labor quite conspicuous. Hadley declares that the workers come to instinctively regard these bankers "as parasites and their gains as ill earned." He adds that "This distrust paves the way for the development of class consciousness and easily leads to open antagonism."

Then what? Hadley does not say. If open antagonism develops between parasitic masters of industry and the useful workers in industry it is likely that the useful will attempt to displace the useless. That appears logical, does it not? Very well. And if useless masters give way to useful workers the end is Socialism, is it not? Sure. Then why does Hadley stop half way in his analysis? He cannot afford to go farther. We can.

Shake, Professor. You passed the ball to us and we have carried it to the goal.

Maxims; 12 Volumes Full

"Imagine yourself invited to sit in at a conference with successful men of affairs. Imagine the purpose of the conference to be a discussion of your BUSINESS. Imagine that YOU are to have the selection of the business before the meeting and their time is UNLIMITEDLY at YOUR disposal."

THE paragraph is taken from an ad for The Forbes Business Library and shows that this is still a land of opportunities. More than that, it proves that men of affairs, such as Forbes, Babson, Moody, Bassett and others, are eager to give you a place in the world of business and finance. This may be a materialistic world but when you stop to think of the altruism of these men of affairs, it will have to be admitted that the men at the top are not the selfish creatures pictured by the radicals. The ad for the twelve volume set points out that "Success in business today is based upon knowledge." In "the daily battle of business," "Success is an open road." You have but to absorb the contents of the twelve volumes and a veritable "Aladdin's Cave" will be open to you.

Opportunity is knocking at your door. You have only to read volume one, "Keys To Success" in order to be equipped to get into the big push. If the second knock should be that of the rent or installment collector, invite the victor into your library and cheer him up by reading to him a few pages of "Tips On Finance" or "Assuring Business Profits". If you are doubtful as to making the next payment on the flivver, it might be profitable to turn to volume nine, "The Automotive Giants of America". The sparkling inspirational bit "How To Get The Job You Want", will prepare you for the day when you get the yellow envelope and don't forget that the reason for receiving the rather commonplace "billet doux", may be found in the book by Babson, "Business Fundamentals". Top off the literary feast with "Business Maxims" by Forbes and Dreier and rejoice that this is the day of big things—of large scale production; whereas, one volume was formerly sufficient to contain the bunk of business, now twelve volumes are required.

SWEET LAND OF LIBERTY!

Editor, The New Leader:

Please send The New Leader for a short time yet as I am not in a position at present to send the money for my renewal. I will try to get the money later on. I have a family of six children and work just about every other day but money is a thing seldom seen here as we have to trade in company stores.

I was at the new union meeting in Yukon, Pa., on Sunday a week ago. That is the union John Drophly is starting and when I went to work on Monday the boss told me that if I wanted to work here I would have to stay away from these meetings for he was about to discharge me for talking too much unionism. I was the only one from this place that attended that meeting. When I went to the primary election to vote they told me that I could not vote because they did not have any Socialist ballots and that the Socialist Party had gone off the map. They also said that if I wanted to vote at primary elections I would have to turn over to one of the old parties.

I answered never, if I was the last Socialist on earth. The coal company has deputies, or, rather, yellow dogs guarding the scabs and after the meeting of the new union on Sunday, April 15, some hundred or more thought they would parade from Yukon to Wyano but as the parade was passing my house the yellow dogs started trouble. The strikers were going along the highway about their business. A yellow dog struck a woman or two and then tear gas and then arrested a bunch of paraders. A preacher went to the squire's office and swore to a lie for the coal company and the strikers had a heavy fine to pay.

A MINER.

Wyano, Pa.



"The Spirit of Peter", Drawn by James Jenkins, for his book of that name, published by McBride and Co.

"Sport Means Life; Militarism Death"



From a poster issued by the Labor and Socialist Sport International, with headquarters in Amsterdam.

Why I am for Norman Thomas

By Leonard W. Doob

"BUSINESS as usual" is the banner flying high above Washington, and beneath it social justice starves unnoticed at the door of Commerce. No doubt I am expected to voice sentiments like the above when I write my reasons for supporting a Socialist candidate—but I shall assume that my readers are able to discern the difference between political buncombe and political fact. Consequently I shall eliminate as much emotion as possible and state quite simply why I am for Norman Thomas.

I am for Norman Thomas because I am in favor of the principles for which Norman Thomas fights and because I approve of Norman Thomas as an individual.

What are the principles under which the Socialist Party is conducting its campaign? First, I am willing to admit that the name Socialist Party is an unfortunate one. People have a tendency to confuse the term. Hence let me say definitely that the Socialist Party is not a party of Communism—it believes that its reforms can be achieved not through revolution but by gradual evolution. The Socialist Party has a definite program, copies of which may be secured from Representative Berger in Washington, D. C., if your morning paper has omitted to print its text.

The platform emphasizes a fundamental Socialist doctrine—our society should be organized for the purpose of satisfying people's needs, and not for individual profit. We must take advantage of the progress science has been able to bring about by applying the fruits of this progress to the general population in order to make more people happy. To this end, the party strives toward public ownership and the conservation of our resources. We must utilize the means at our disposal and work toward unemployment relief and toward labor legislation. Our civil liberties must be more closely guarded—the Espionage Law and Interstate Detective Agencies should be cast out. People who lynch their fellow men should be dealt with severely. Our farmers need relief. Finally, we must abandon our idiotic policy of imperialism (in off-mentioned places like Nicaragua and Mexico), loans of American citizens in foreign countries must be made at the lender's own risk.

Mr. Doob is one of the Dartmouth students who have inaugurated the "Thomas for President" Clubs among the colleges, more than 10 of which have been formed and many more of which are in the process of formation.

America should enter the League of Nations with certain provisions, Russia must be recognized—all this and more in the interest of world peace.

The brief and inadequate outline of the platform of the Socialist Party that I have just given is the positive reason why I am for the principles of Norman Thomas. My negative reason is just as important, if not more so. I feel that the Socialist Party furnishes me with the only opportunity to voice my protest against the two major parties in this country.

After seeing the entire country showered with oil, after witnessing some of our purile international policies, and after regarding the clever manipulating and belly-aching that is leading up to the conventions in Houston and Kansas City, I have grown a bit disgusted with the state of affairs. It's almost platitudinous to state that to attempt to bring about change through the Republican and Democratic Parties is futile—the campaign will simply bring before the uncritical public limelight two different types of personalities. Issues will be submerged—personal biographies will be belched forth from every soap box. Hence my need for the third party, which will be the Socialist Party.

I have no illusions about the coming election. I know that if Norman Thomas were elected he would have a difficult task before him, due to a hostile congress. I am willing to admit that his chances of being elected are awfully slim. But I do know this: every vote for Norman Thomas will be a vote in opposition to the two major parties. If the vote is sufficiently strong and even if the Socialist candidate is not elected, all political powers will be impressed. And then two things will happen—either the Socialist Party will continue to grow in power or else some of the reforms advocated by Mr. Thomas will be adopted by the other parties to gain the country's approval. I care not which procedure is adopted—I am interested in the reforms and not in their means of enactment. In a word, I am for Norman Thomas to bring about his program—directly or indirectly.

And now the man himself. Norman Thomas has had experience—he has started as minister, he has championed the cause of labor in important strikes, he has helped the Irish win their freedom, he has written books and pamphlets and has contributed to magazines, he has been a candidate for public office. The man as a personality is attractive to me—he remains cool and logical in debate, he never swerves from his pacifistic views in his love for mankind, he is sincere and straight-forward. He is a friend of the student and the intellectual—his work with the League for Industrial Democracy is evidence of this. He could take his place beside men like Jefferson and Lincoln—as far as character and qualifications go.

Yes, I am for Norman Thomas—I favor him and his principles. And I desire to cry out against the "status quo" by using the Socialist Party as a mouthpiece.

Intelligent Woman's (and Man's Guide)

If we hadn't thought of it first, Shaw would undoubtedly have spoken of The New Leader as "The Intelligent Woman's (and Man's) Guide To An Understanding Of Present Day Socialism."

Two subs from Comrade Bord, Philadelphia. "Am just starting out to solicit subs."

"The New Leader is sure a grand paper", writes S. T. Daggett of Oregon, an enthusiast 21 years young.

That friend can be "converted" by having the "message" reach him every week. GET HIS SUB TODAY.

Another booster for the N. L. is W. C. Kennedy of Mississippi. He renews and urges the Socialists to work harder for subscriptions among the disillusioned farmers.

Oscar Dreams A Bit

LAST night I dreamed I died. It wasn't long, of course, before I found out I was a dead one. It felt pretty queer for me to feel that way, but, being a new experience, it was something else again.

So, deciding to make the best of the bargain, as all sensible people do when they can't do otherwise, I looks down at me and says: "Well, old stiff, it looks like you and I had come to the parting of the ways. I'm sure sorry for you, too. You did a lot of things you had not ought to have done. Also you left undone a heap of things you ought to and might have done, both to your own and the common good. But I ain't complaining. I forgive you. What's done is done, and what can't be helped is a lesson not to do it again. By and large you were a good, old scout and, as far as I am concerned, all thy sins are forgiven thee."

After shuddering a few tears, I turned and left the funeral parlors. I didn't know where I was going or why.

About ten seconds later—a ghost can sure cover space fast—I lit on the Look-out Mountain in Tennessee. I was standing there, fanning myself with my wings just like you've seen a rooster do, when who should walk up to me but Gene Debs!

He came towards me holding out both hands as of old—you all know how he used to do it—and saying: "Well, well, well, if it ain't Oscar! My, my, but I am glad to see you! I was so happy I felt good all over, if I was dead."

Then we got to talking about old times and how we got where we were. I was so surprised, I didn't know where I was at, but Gene pretty soon explained it all, which I never could and can't.

After telling me where and what I was, Gene says: "Well, where do you want to go from here?" "How much will the ticket cost?" I ask. "Nothing," he says. "You don't have to bother with railroads, autos or airplanes over here. All you got to do is to wish you were where you wished you were, and you'll be there."

"Then," I says, "so long as it doesn't cost anything, I want to go to the White House."

"My God," gasps Gene, "what on earth do you want to go there for?" "Well," I said, "all my life I wanted to round out the ambitions of all American boys and be President."

"But you can't be that now," says Gene, his eyes twinkling. "The White House is no place for a living spirit."

"All right," I says, "have it your way. You're the same old Gene. But, anyhow, I want to go to the White House, and what I want to go for is to see the man who said, 'I don't choose to run for President in 1928.' And, if I can't see him, I want to interview the Official Spokesman. He must be a wonder."

"You bet he is," says Gene. "I think you are as crazy as ever, but come on." And we went.

We lit on the lawn, but Gene wouldn't go in. Said something that sounded like he'd rather play with pollywogs than listen to Presidents. So I went alone.

When I got in the study—nobody could stop me—I saw the President. He seemed more silent than ever, looked like he was thinking he was thinking. "Good day, Cal," I says. "What's hurting you now?"

"Everything," he says. "Here I go and veto a bill subsidizing the lazy, good-for-nothing farmers and they threaten to march on the Republican party and hand it to Hoover. Then, to satisfy them and prove there are no privileged classes in this country, I turn around and sign another bill subsidizing the shipping trust. But does that satisfy the Hicks Paw from Pa. No matter how long and lousy I explain that what is unconstitutional for the farmers is according to Hingle for the plutocrats, the imbecile lawyers won't understand. I'm worn out, sick and disgusted. I don't choose to run, no matter what happens to Herbert. I wish I was dead."

And with that he started to sob, being a sympathetic soul, I cried too. After a while, as soon as I could control my emotion, I said: "There, there now, Cal, keep cool with Coolidge and all will yet be well with the best of all worlds."

"I know it, Oscar," he sobbed. "But it is hard to think a willing conscript can't be drafted."

It was awful. His sorrow was so sickening, I just couldn't stand it to the finish. I fled, or rather, flew.

When I woke up, I wasn't dead after all. But the tears were still in my eyes, and I still kept saying: "Poor Cal, poor Cal, he's dead and don't know it."

Oscar Ameringer.

Upholsterers Try Injunction

Upholsterers Local 76 is seeking an injunction to force the Continental Upholstering Co. to live up to its agreement. \$25,000 is also asked for damages arising from the broken contract.

A renewal from Charles Ruth, an old schoolmate of our presidential candidate.

Many a subscriber has been secured as a result of having read a stray copy of The New Leader. Pass your copy on.

Under "good and welfare", there is no more important activity than securing subscriptions to your paper. Make it part of your order of business.

"I know that it is a hard job to run a Socialist paper and feel that I must do my part in renewing", writes a reader from Mellonsville, sometimes known as Pittsburg.

The New Leader Business Office, Room 508 People's House, 7 East 15th street, New York.