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The New Leader

For President
Robert M. La Follette
For Governor
Norman Thomas

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LA FOLLETTE ELECTION MEANS! A NEW DEAL! BRITISH LABOR'S FOES COMBINE

TORIES, LIBERALS FEAR LABOR STRENGTH

MacDonald Inspires Co-Workers to Great Energy in General Election.

LONDON—Labor is ready. The battle to win a full majority in the House of Commons, to give Ramsay MacDonald and his Socialist and Labor colleagues a ticket to go ahead with the full program of the Labor party, began the moment the great conference of the Labor party adjourned upon motion of MacDonald himself, the very day the dissolution of Parliament was announced.

"Go back home," he called to his comrades, "and carry our message to every worker in the land. Tell them what we have done, and what we can do if we only have a majority."

Then, singing "Auld Lang Syne" and "The Red Flag," the thousand delegates marched out of Queen's Hall with heads high and with determination to fulfill the assignment of their leader.

The election is making political history of Great Britain. It means the end of the Liberal party by the simple process of the union of the more reactionary elements of that historic organization with the Tories, who are willing to sink all differences of opinion to beat the Socialists, and the complete absorption of the more progressive wing in the Labor party, where they now feel at home for the first time. That leaves the official party orphaned and weak.

The Liberals and Tories officially, through their national associations, are calling for fusion in all districts where the Socialist was elected by a minority vote over a divided opposition.

That was tried last year in a few districts. It defeated eighteen of the Labor men—but it also gave scores of others increased majorities over their united opposition.

If this election does no more than wipe out the Liberals and unite all the anti-Socialists into a single party, that alone would make it memorable.

Labor is going forward with indescribable enthusiasm. The fact that Mr. Asquith lent himself to the cheap and shoddy scheme of turning out the Labor Government on the flimsy ground that it refused to play the A. Mitchell Palmer game and persecute a political opponent is reacting on Asquith's party.

He himself was destined to defeat, his margin at Paisley at the last election having been such as to cause him shudders of apprehension. But the Tories are rallying to the support of the leader of the opposition party and are campaigning for him. The result is that if he is re-elected (which is doubtful) he will no longer be a Liberal but a Tory, owing his election solely to that party.

The Liberals will come out of the election the worst beaten major party in British history. Labor will make great gains, and the Tories may gain the votes of Liberals who are deserting their own disappearing party.

Ramsay MacDonald himself is making a triumphal tour of the country. His meetings everywhere are the greatest ever held. It is a royal progress from one industrial center to another. He began his campaign in Glasgow, on his 58th birthday, and from there he will return to South Wales and fight his own constituency of Aberavon. His re-election by a record majority is conceded by all.

Lloyd George, who is the sinister power behind the maneuvers that led to the dissolution, will find a fight on his hands in his home district at Carnarvon. Professor Alfred E. Zimmern of Oxford, leading Greek professor and a noted publicist, is the Labor candidate, and he is giving the Wizard a run for his money.

Dora Russell, beautiful 32-year-old wife of Bertrand Russell, is

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Prof. Dewey to Speak For Senator La Follette

John Dewey and John Haynes Holmes will head an attractive list of speakers for a Youth Rally in the interest of the La Follette-Wheeler ticket, that will be held Thursday, October 23, at the Terrace Garden, 58th street and Lexington avenue. In addition to the main speakers, there will be five minute-speeches, college men and women explaining why they will vote for La Follette. William F. Ogburn, professor at Columbia University, will preside. Admission will be free.

SHIRT MAKERS' UNION DECLARES GENERAL STRIKE

At a mass meeting, which filled Cooper Union on Wednesday afternoon, shirt makers from New York and surrounding towns, by acclamation, voted to strike in order to make the employers live up to their agreements, which they made with the union, several months ago, and to increase the wages of the workers.

The manager of the union, Aldo Cursi, who presided at the meeting, stated, in opening, that the meeting gathered under peculiar circumstances. He stated that, while the employers usually blame the workers for lack of responsibility, this meeting was called for the main purpose of holding each employer responsible for his signature and making him live up to it.

Frank Bellanca, editor of "Il Lavoro," spoke in Italian and urged the workers to stand together, for it was through the union that their interests could be protected and will be protected.

B. C. Vladek, manager of Jewish Daily Forward, who spoke in Yiddish, gave a review of the struggles of the workers for a better future, and closed pledging the support of the paper for the cause of the strikers.

Sidney Hillman, general president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, then spoke in English and in a very forceful manner told the workers that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America industry the same order and the it is determined to bring into the shirt proper relationship between the employers and the workers as it has succeeded in bringing about in the clothing industry.

The speakers were enthusiastically applauded.

The chairman then introduced a resolution which the shop chairmen, who met the night before, requested to be presented to the membership.

The resolution stated that, taking into consideration the repeated violations of the agreement on the part

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THOMAS SPURNS PLEA TO AID SMITH

Probable Increase of Socialist Vote Worries Tammany Hall's Candidate.

Admitting the probability of a heavily increased Socialist vote which will doom Governor Smith's chances of re-election, Smith's supporters this week sent Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for Governor, a plea for assistance. The plea came from J. P. Coughlin, active Smith supporter, in the shape of a letter to Thomas, asking him to throw his strength to Smith.

Coughlin openly admitted his fear that the Tammany candidate would be defeated. He said, "You should advise what following you have to support the Governor and prevent the recurrence of the situation that was caused by the election of Governor Miller."

The situation which brought the election of Miller, Republican, and the defeat of the Tammany Hall idol gave the Socialist candidate for Governor 169,000 votes. The Socialist vote was more than enough to defeat Smith. That was four years ago. In 1922, the Socialist vote for the head of its State ticket was 108,000. The Socialist expectation that they will equal and better the 1920 vote is what is keeping the Tammany bosses awake nights.

Thomas was quick to let Tammany understand that Socialist aid for their candidate was unthinkable. The Socialist pointed out that his was the only ticket supporting La Follette, while Smith has hitched his wagon to the falling star, John W. Davis, Wall Street nominee.

Teddy Roosevelt, Republican nominee, who appears at this stage to have the best chances of election, would, in the face of a big Socialist vote, be as progressive as Al Smith, with Tammany and Davis at his back, ever could be.

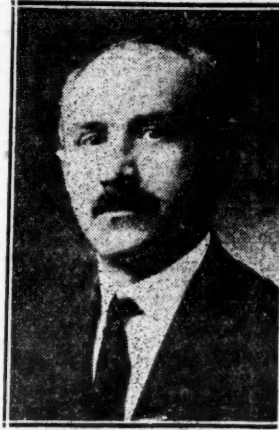
He clearly pointed this out in a letter to Coughlin, which follows: "Dear Mr. Coughlin:

"You suggest that I retire in order to assure the election of Smith over Roosevelt. No candidate of nay party which believes that the most important political task of our time is the formation of a definite and clear-cut party of the plain people, the farmers and workers, in opposition to the combined parties of special privilege, can for one moment consider such a suggestion.

"Please remember that in this

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For Congress



ISRAEL FEINBERG

Israel Feinberg, vice-president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and manager of the Cloakmakers' Union, is candidate for Congress in the 12th Congressional District, represented for six years by Meyer London.

Feinberg, who is one of the best known labor men in the city, and an

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MORRIS HILLQUIT DECLARES G. O. P. AND DEMOCRATS EQUALLY REACTIONARY

Republican Financial Support from Wall Street Matched by Democratic Backing From Ultra-Reactionary Solid South—Both Parties Secured Lawless Injunctions Against Labor.

By MORRIS HILLQUIT

(Following is Morris Hillquit's closing remarks in his debate with Samuel Untermyer on "Davis vs. La Follette." Ten thousand people heard the debate, which was held in Madison Square Garden, New York City last Sunday.)

Mr. Davis is the candidate of the Democratic party. In his speech of acceptance he expressed the "fullest sympathy" with his party and its aims, and candidly avowed: "I have no clients today but the Democratic party." Mr. Davis stands for his party. A vote for him is a vote for the Democratic party, and the Democratic party is on the whole as reactionary as the Republican party and quite as subservient to special privileges.

It sounds well in a party platform to hark back to the immortal principles of Thomas Jefferson, the "founder of the Democratic party," but in the present councils of the party Thomas Taggart is infinitely more influential than Thomas Jefferson. The Democratic party is on the whole financed and managed by similar interests as the Republican party and often by the very same.

The Republican financial support in the East is offset by the Democratic support of the ultra reactionary "Solid South."

The lawless injunction against the striking shopmen procured under the Republican administration of Harding can be matched by the crushing of the Pullman strike by the Federal troops sent into Illinois against the protests of the Governor under the Democratic administration of Cleveland.

The despotic antics of the Republican Mr. Daugherty and Mr. Burns were but the continuation of the lawless red raids initiated by Mr. Palmer, the Democrat.

The Espionage law under whose operation not a spy was convicted but scores of honest opponents of the Government policy and hundreds of workers attempting to resist the exploitation of their employers were sent to jail, was enacted and administered by a Democratic Government.

At no time in the history of our country were the constitutional guaranties of freedom of press, speech and assembly about which the Democratic party is now so tenderly concerned, violated more ruthlessly and shamelessly than under the Democratic administration of President Wilson.

The fact is that there is no substantial difference between the Democratic and Republican parties, and there has been none for more than a generation. The tariff and state rights are dead issues and "honesty" and "common sense" are fake issues. Normally both parties operate on the basis of patronage and graft. Normally both are reactionary. It is only in electoral campaigns that one of them assumes the attitude of progressivism, while the other stresses its conservatism, so as to offer the people their choice. And in such cases it is a mere toss-up for position between the old parties. When Roosevelt was the candidate, the Republicans were the radicals and the Democrats the conservatives. When Wilson ran the roles were reversed and it did not hurt either of them.

This brings me to the last point of my argument. A vote for Davis tends to perpetuate the present political parties. A vote for La Follette makes for a political realignment, without which progress is impossible in the United States.

In every advanced country in the world parties correspond to definite political principles and popular interests. Progressive parties, by whatever names known, are the organized instruments of social and political progress. In the United

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Socialist International Hails Labor's Progress

Manifesto of the Labor Socialist International.

COMRADES of All Countries: Sixty years ago today the foundation stone of the International Working Men's Association was laid in St. Martin's Hall, London. On this memorable date the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International is meeting on the spot where the First International working class organization sprang up.

Sixty years ago the Inaugural Address of the International Working Men's Association gave classical expression to the principles for which we still stand. Sixty years ago the deeply rooted solidarity between the political Labor Movement and the industrial effort of the trade unions was recognized for the first time. Today the ideas which inspired those men at St. Martin's Hall have taken shape in the millions of workers who form the ranks of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labor and Socialist International.

Sixty years ago the Inaugural Address declared: "The Ten Hours Bill was not only a great practical success but the victory of a principle." Today the world's workers

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WHERE AND WHEN YOU CAN HEAR THE SOCIALIST PARTY STANDARD BEARERS

Norman Thomas, Oct. 17, Syracuse, C. P. P. A.; Oct. 18, Women's University Club, N. Y. C.; Oct. 19, Albany; Oct. 20, Syracuse, Political Symposium, First Baptist Church; Oct. 21, Schenectady, shop meeting, General Electric; Oct. 22, Richmond County (Staten Island); Oct. 27, Council Jewish Women, N. Y. C.; Oct. 28, League Foreign Born Citizens, N. Y. C.; Oct. 31, New York rally; Nov. 1, Catskill (dinner).

Chas. Solomon: 14, 21, 26, auspices Verband; 16, Kings; 19, Free Youth and White Plains; 20, Civic Club; 24, Kings; 30, Yonkers, (C. P. P. A.).

Frank Crosswaith: 16, Yonkers (C. P. P. A.); Buffalo, part week beginning 20th.

Louis Waldman: 14, 21, 26, auspices Verband; 15, 8th A. D.; 20, Poughkeepsie; 24, Kings.

Scenes of Sordid Misery Among Textile Workers' Families Is Rule in Republican Massachusetts, Coolidge's Home State

By ART SHIELDS

LOWELL, Mass.—For a picture of misery of unorganized textile workers in Republican Massachusetts today the reader is invited to the old town of Lowell, where 25,000 cotton mill workers are entering a winter that promises to be the hardest in two decades. About half the workers are putting in an average of three days a week in the dozen big mills that flank the Concord and Merrimack Rivers.

Times have been hard for a year. They are becoming desperate as savings disappear and debts increase. A Portuguese grocer showed me his credit-books with the bills his customers owed. The first was for \$157.68; the others were, some more, some less. The little day to day entries he compared with those of a year ago. They are ordering less sugar, coffee, bread, macaroni, cheese and necessities generally than a year ago. And the so-called luxuries have almost disappeared from the list. He does not know how he and they will get through the winter unless times get better.

I visited a half dozen homes at random. In the first an Italian

family, with eight children, was crowded into three rooms. A dish of stew, no bread, was on the table before them. One of the kids played a fiddle for desert. Neither father nor mother can get work in the mills. The kids are too small.

In the next place was a middle-aged Belgian couple, with a boy of 16. He left the old country long after his parents; he was in Belgium during the German occupation. He is not eating any more now than he did then. That family lives on credit and the seven dollars a week the boy earns on a three-day a week mill job. Neither of the parents have worked in three months. The father had a chance to get on in a mill that is trying out a few weavers on a new speed-up system, with 38 to 40 looms to a man. "You are an expert weaver," he was told; "we'll give you a chance." He turned it down, considering it a "scab job," and lost an income of \$22 a week.

By "scab job" he meant one exceeding all the traditions of the craft—a job that meant another weaver pushed out of doors. The mills are unorganized—that is no union has job control, but there is a measure

of solidarity anyhow that is resisting the attempt to push the limit of the workers' endurance to the last extreme and to enlarge the unemployed army so enormously. Yet the speed-up system is coming in. Twenty-four to thirty-two looms to the weaver are no longer uncommon. The Draper loom is crowding out old equipment gradually.

When a weaver's looms are doubled the man displaced is sometimes given an unskilled job at loom filling—assisting the weaver. At once he goes on the wages of the unskilled. Fifteen dollars at full time is high for this sort of work in Lowell. There are cases of men working for seven dollars a week. Yet sugar, condensed milk and bread cost as much in Lowell as in other cities.

No general wage cut is coming in Lowell, the manufacturers have announced. The cuts are coming, however, but in more subtle ways. They come by new machinery and speeding up; by putting skilled men on the wages of unskilled and by changing the grades of cloth that individual piece workers have, keeping them on the lower rate when they are given

work that previously called for a higher price. Such tactics do not arouse the mass uprisings that a general wage cut might bring—such a one as the strike of 1912.

The loom fixers' union of the United Textile Workers has a local in Lowell and they have recently held meetings, at one of which Thomas F. McMahon, international president spoke. No other textile union maintains a regular office though the Industrial Workers of the World held two meetings here lately.

Like other New England textile cities the workers are from many lands. French-Canadians lead. The Portuguese come next and there are many Greeks, with Italians, Russians, Poles, Irish, Finns and others. The biggest mill is the Lawrence Manufacturing Company, employing 4,000 workers, when running full. Next comes the Hamilton Mills, with 3,500; the Massachusetts Mills, with 2,800; the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, with 2,500. The American Woolen Company owns two of the smaller mills. The manufacturers are boosting Coolidge and the Fardney-McCumber tariff, which is supposed to safeguard Lowell from cheap European labor.

UMSTADTER IN STRONG FIGHT FOR SEAT

Pressmen's Union Head Only Progressive Candidate for Congress in Bronx and Westchester District

Philip Umstadter, President of Printing Pressmen's Union, Local 51 of this city for about ten years, is the La Follette and Socialist candidate for Congress in the 24th district, which includes the East Bronx, Yonkers, Mt. Vernon, Tuckahoe and Pelham.

The workers in the printing trades are organizing a strong campaign which will make it possible to insure his election. A committee of a hundred active trade unionists in the printing trades, headed by Gottlieb Mess, as chairman, and Jack Knight, secretary, are raising funds and conducting meetings with splendid results.

The people of this district are disgusted with the present Congressman, Fairchild, Republican, an extreme reactionary.

Umstadter has been endorsed by the New York Central Trades and Labor Council, and by the Interstate Pressroom Council.

Practically all of the unions in Westchester county are interested in Umstadter's election and many members of the Carpenter's Union, Local 493 of Mt. Vernon, are working for his election in that part of the district.

I. W. W. Win a Victory

SAN FRANCISCO.—Another important victory has just been scored by the Industrial Workers of the World in their fight against the State Criminal Syndicalism Law. Cases against five I. W. W. members which have been pending in Fresno have been dismissed. The defendants were Miles McCabe, T. O. MacDonald, Mickey Hurley, John Martin and Emil Staffo.

All of these men had been tried once and the juries in their cases had disagreed as to their guilt. As in every prosecution of an I. W. W. in California under the syndicalism statute, there was no evidence that any of these workers had ever committed any act of sabotage or property destruction. No charge was made against them except that they were members of the I. W. W.

La Follette-Wheeler Campaign Emblem Is Beautiful Bronze Medal

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The managers of the La Follette-Wheeler campaign have invented a brand new method of raising campaign funds. They propose to give the individual contributor something to show for his money.



"The man who puts his dollar in to support the La Follette-Wheeler Campaign," says Herman L. Ekern, director of finance, "will have a chance to hand down to his children a priceless memento of the great battle for liberty that marks this year of 1924. The possession of this emblem will stamp its owner as a lover of freedom and a defender of the right of the people to self-government."

This campaign emblem is made from a design modeled by Gutzon Borglum, the noted sculptor who made the great bust of Lincoln that stands in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington, and who is carving the face of Stone Mountain, near Atlanta, Ga., into a memorial of Robert E. Lee and his generals in the Civil War—the most gigantic piece of sculpture the world has ever known.

Celebration of Karl Kautsky's Seventieth Birthday

LONDON.—In the evening of September 29, the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International came together to fête Karl Kautsky, who will be 70 years of age on October 16. Representatives of all nations congratulated this master of the International Working Class in speeches both serious and humorous. When Vandervelde (Belgium), Cramp (England), Wels (Germany), Adler (Austria), Shaw (England), Wibaut (Holland), Soukup (Czechoslovakia), Bernstein (Germany), Tseretelli (Georgia) and Czech (Czechoslovakia) had spoken, Karl Kautsky rose to reply:

"I feel this evening," he said "that the International makes one young. But this pleasant feeling is associated with a certain melancholy when I consider all the honor which is being paid to me today and then remember how little honor my great leader, Karl Marx had bestowed on him during his lifetime. I am receiving today's honor as something which is due to him rather than to me. Next to Karl Marx, my teacher, I have someone else to thank, and that is my wife.

COMMUNISTS ARE LOSING THEIR LEADERS

Souvarin, Frossard, Hoglund, Serratti, Toman, Newbold and Others Desert Moscow.

BERLIN.—Judging from recent reports from various European countries, the material for organizing what German and Austrian Socialists frequently refer to as "Die Internationale der Hinausgeworfenen," meaning the prominent leaders of Communist parties who have been thrown out during the last few months on orders from Moscow, has become so plentiful that the proposed organization would nearly equal the Communist International itself in numbers and would undoubtedly be better supplied with brains.

A recent distinguished addition to the list, which already embraces Boris Souvarin and L. Frossard of France, Angelica Balabanof of Russia and Italy, G. Serratti of Italy, and others too numerous to mention, is Z. Hoglund of Sweden. Despite the fact that Hoglund is a veteran of the Communist International, having been at the Zimmerwald "Left Wing" conferences during the World War with Lenin and other revolutionary chiefs, Gregory Zinoviev, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, has solemnly excommunicated the Swedish Communist because he, and the majority of the some 12,000 members of the Swedish Communist party, refused to accept a Moscow order spelling the end of their national independence and placing the reins of the party in the hands of a small group of youthful "revolutionaries" who had accused Hoglund of such horrid crimes as being a pacifist, or not accepting the Moscow thesis on religion, and actually asserting that, in the words of Bebel, "religion is a private matter," of supporting the Socialist Government of Denmark, etc.

When Hoglund and his followers denied the authority of the Communist International in all domestic matters, their leading paper, the Stockholm Politiken, edited by Hoglund, was seized by a coup d'etat engineered from Moscow, and the minority of 100 per cent Communists was recognized as the real Swedish Communist party. Hoglund has started another paper called the New Politiken and also begun the organization of another Communist party. This internal row cut the Communist vote in the recent elections to the Riksdag, as the Communists only elected five Deputies, against seven in the old House. In excommunicating Hoglund, Pope Zinoviev averred that it would be only a short while before Hoglund would be lined up with Hjalmar Branting and the rest of the Social Democrats, but in some quarters it is doubted if Branting will be in a hurry to welcome back a man who has been one of his most violent opponents.

In Austria, where the Communist party has always been more or less of a joke, there has been a violent internal row, resulting in the expulsion of Karl Toman and Emil Frey, two of the most prominent Austrian disciples of Zinoviev. The redoubtable Ruth Fischer, an Austrian by birth, was detached from her task of making the most noise of anyone in the Reichstag here and rushed to Vienna to straighten out the situation and, incidentally, to tell the Austrian metal workers how to run their strike. But her trip only resulted in the thinning of the meager ranks of the Austrian Communists, as the metal workers paid little attention to the Communist advice and settled the strike in their own way—and with a victory.

And in England J. T. Walton Newbold, once a Communist member of the House of Commons, recently left the Moscow party, cruelly remarking, in the Glasgow Forward, that "Communist phraseology does not rest upon facts any longer and has become merely a sort of operabouffe.

Little Holland adds her bit to the discord by reporting that Mrs. H. Roland Holst, followed by some of the most able of the handful of Dutch Communists, has quit the regular party and organized a Communist propaganda club independent of the rule of David Wijnkoop, the Moscow pro-consul in the Netherlands. This club had the nerve to ask to be admitted to the Communist International as a sympathizing party, but was turned down hard.

Here in Germany the extreme faction, headed by Deputy Frau Fischer, the youthful Werner Scholem, et al., is on top for the present, with veteran Communists like Clara Zetkin, Heinrich Brandler and Gustave Thalheimer in the shadow. In Hamburg, the other night, when Kitty Guttman, who used to be a Communist member of the local legislative body here and who recently returned from a lengthy visit to Russia, tried to tell a Labor meeting about her experiences in Moscow, she, was howled

General Election Is Near in Norway

CHRISTIANIA, Norway.—A general election is to take place in Norway in October. Norwegian Labor is going to face it, split as it is into three different parties.

The old Norwegian Labor party was built up much in the same way as the British Labor party, organized on collective trade union membership. When the split took place the party institutions, including the party press, remained in the hands of the majority, then under Communist influence, while those who believed in social democracy constituted a new party called the Social Democratic Labor party, and based on individual membership. At the last elections the Labor party polled 192,000 votes, obtaining twenty-nine seats, while the Socialist vote was 83,000, electing eight members.

In the meantime a new split occurred in the ranks of the Labor party, the majority leaving the Communist International, while the staunch supporters of Moscow formed the Communist party. This party, too, is grouping individual members. The respective strength of the three groups is not exactly known.

But Socialists in Norway are reckoning on increasing considerably their representation, and especially on further consolidating and increasing their party. Should they succeed in becoming the strongest of the three proletarian parties, then the psychological moment may have

EDITH CAVELL'S TRUE SENTIMENTS REPLACE JINGO INSCRIPTION

LONDON.—"Patriotism is not enough," said Edith Cavell, the British war nurse who was executed as a spy by the Germans during the war. She had been in the hell of war and had seen what jingo-patriotism had brought the world to, and she had a broader vision than the Jingo who had brought the world to the verge of destruction. As she faced the firing squad, she said, "I hate no man."

The British made much of this brutal execution in whipping up the kind of "patriotism" that Edith loathed, and they erected a monument to her. But they put on the base of the statue, not the words she actually said but "For King and Country," jingo sentiments worthy of Horatio Bottomley.

That inscription, belying the character of that fine woman, remained for years, until a Socialist, Fred W. Jowett, became First Commissioner of Works, in charge of all such monuments. And he has ordered that the two nobler sentiments, "I Hate No Man," and "Patriotism is Not Enough," be placed on the base.

arrived when the majority of Norway's workers will return to the fold of social democracy.

Dane Gov't Approves Disarmament

COPENHAGEN.—The Danish Government, headed by Theodor Stauning, has approved of the plans of Minister of Defense Rasmussen to disarm, and to convert his position to Minister of Disarmament.

The step, if approved by Parliament when it meets in October, will be the first incident of its kind in modern history. In addition to being a gesture for peace, and an invitation to the Swedish people to elect a Socialist Government at their elections that will be held the end of September pledged to a similar policy, the disarmament of the country will save fully three-quarters of the national expenditures, will reduce the national debt and release the energies of the nation for constructive work.

Ten small vessels will be maintained as a fishing patrol, to aid the fishing vessels in and around Danish waters, and there will be a small police force of 1,500 men. These vessels have already been of immense value in aiding the American around-the-world flyers when they were in Icelandic and Greenland waters.

The Cabinet has also prepared plans for a capital levy to pay the national debt. The lower house will approve the plans, but it is feared that the upper house will disapprove. If that is the case, the Socialists will begin a campaign to get a Socialist upper house to put all the disarmament plans into operation, in order to begin at once with the work of social reorganization.

Swedish Socialists Maintain Strongest Position In Country

STOCKHOLM, Sweden.—Hjalmar Branting, veteran Socialist leader and premier from 1921 to 1923, will in all likelihood be called upon to form an all-Socialist ministry, following the fall of the Ministry of Leo Trygger, Conservative Premier, who presented his resignation to King Gustave, October 14.

STOCKHOLM.—The Socialists, under the superb leadership of Hjalmar Branting, maintained their position as the leading party of Sweden with an increased lead, in the recent elections, complete returns of which are only now available, but still fall a few seats short of a clear majority over all. At the same time, the disorganized and disrupted Conservatives are losing heavily, in spite of Sweden's nearness to Russia and undoubted influence of the Russian Communist movement upon the Swedish workers. M. Kilbom, leader of the intransigent wing of Swedish Communism, with a program of absolute subservience to Moscow, was badly beaten in the elections. The Communists had seven in the old House, and now have five. The Socialists have 104.

Under the circumstances, with 121 bourgeois members to 104 Socialists and five Communists, there is no indication at this writing whether the King will call upon Branting to head an all-Socialist ministry to rule with the tacit support of the Liberals, somewhat like the Danish Socialist ministry that has the Parliamentary support of the Radicals, or whether Leo Trygger, the present coalition Premier, will again head a Government of Conservatives, Liberals and Agrarians.

The following is a line up of parties in both the old and new Chambers:

	1924	Old House
Socialists	104	93
Conservatives	64	62
Liberals	33	41
Communists	5	7
Farmers' Union	24	21
Left Socialists (absorbed by Socialists)		6

The election victory this year is the logical result of 35 years of incessant agitation and organization work. Branting is 64 years old, and was the first Socialist elected to the Swedish Parliament, winning his first election in 1895, and sitting continuously ever since. The steady march forward of the party is indicated by the following figures:

Year	Votes	Seats
1902	8,751	4
1905	26,083	17
1908	54,004	33
1911	172,000	64
1914 (spec'l elec'n)	230,000	73
1914 (reg. elec'n)	265,000	87
1917		86*
1920		93*
1924	(not known yet)	104*

"In 1916, there was the usual Communist split in the Swedish movement, the so-called "Young Socialists" being expelled from the party because they had organized a "Left Wing" within the party, with separate membership cards and caucuses. They formed the "Socialist Party" and joined the Communist International. In 1917, they elected 12 Deputies, but shortly after, they split, as usual, over the iron-clad rules of the Communist International. At the 1920 elections, the Socialists elected 93, the out-and-out Communists seven and the Left Socialists six. The latter are now re-absorbed in the Socialist Party, while the Communists have had a violent internal controversy, resulting in the complete disruption of the movement that set out under the influence of the Russian Revolution to establish a Dictatorship of the proletariat on the ruins of the Socialist movement.

The Socialists became the largest party in 1914, and have held that position ever since, the gulf between them and the next largest party widening year by year.

Cooper Union Rally This Monday Night

The East Side campaign will reach its climax Monday night with a huge mass meeting and rally at Cooper Union to support the candidacy of Norman Thomas, William Karlin and the national ticket of the Congress Party.

Congressman Victor L. Berger of Milwaukee will speak, as will his fellow campaigner from Wisconsin, Mrs. Robert M. La Follette. In addition, Karlin will deliver one of his characteristic campaign orations, and the local Assembly candidates will also speak.

A Leader in Clothes and a Friend of The New Leader

SUITS

FOR THE NEW SEASON

The Latest and Smartest Styles for Fall are already here. Tailored of fine material; a varied assortment of attractive patterns and colorings. Just the Suits you can depend upon for service and appearance.

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under the auspices of
Conference of Youth Organizations
ON
Sunday, October 19th
AT THE
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SPEAKERS:
Charles Solomon
FOR LA FOLLETTE
Ex-Congressman MacLafferty
FOR COOLIDGE
George R. Lunn
FOR DAVIS
William Weinstone
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Meeting Starts at 2:15 P. M.
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EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT
FREE LECTURE
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J. F. HORRABIN
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on
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Saturday, October 18
AT 1:15 P. M.
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Bishops' Report Upholds Federal Child Labor Law

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Friends of the Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution point out that the Bishops' Program of Social Reconstruction advocated a Federal child labor law. They add that the only way now to secure a Federal law is by an amendment to the Constitution. The Bishops' program is so called because it was issued by the bishops who formed the Administrative Committee of the National Catholic War Council, an organization composed of the Catholic archbishops of the United States.

The Bishops' Program asserts that "the abolition of child labor in certain sections seems unlikely to be brought about by the Legislatures of those states." It calls those states "stagnant." It refers them to the earlier Keating-Owen Federal law, which was declared unconstitutional, and, speaking of what seemed pos-

sible under the Constitution, it advocated a new Federal law taxing child labor out of existence as the only means by which "this reproach to our country can be removed." This law was later passed, but was likewise declared unconstitutional. The only way now that a Federal law on child labor can be passed is by changing the Constitution.

A Federal law on child labor is necessary, not alone to protect the children of the stagnant states; it is necessary also to defend the children of states where the child labor laws are now satisfactory and well enforced; it is necessary to protect manufacturers in those states from the unfair competition of manufacturers in the stagnant states. The competition is keener than is realized. There is danger that the mills of the South will so harm Northern manufacturers by the low wages they pay child labor that the protection to Northern children will be broken down.

The Child Labor Amendment permits only a nation-wide minimum standard. Any state may exceed the standard. This is done so as not to hamper the states whose conscience is awake and so as to avoid centralization. It is the stagnant and backward states, remaining obdurate in the face of a Federal law, that will have their child labor conditions regulated much by the Federal Government, and it is expected that there will be few or none of these after the national amendment is passed and a child labor law is put on the Federal statutes.

While the amendment gives the Federal Government power to regulate the labor of children under eighteen years of age, no one seriously thinks that it will be exercised to the full limit unless our country undergoes tremendous changes. Eighteen years was specified because no one knows what industrial changes may come over our country in the future, and it was held that

BROOKLYN RED NIGHT FRIDAY, OCTOBER 17

Friday, October 17, is Red Night in Brooklyn, and all speakers in Greater New York, at least 100 in number, will travel over the Bridge and take part in the party's drive there.

Meetings will be held in every Assembly District, in some cases the meetings assuming the shape of huge rallies.

Speakers will report to 167 Tompkins avenue, and there they will be assigned to their proper corners. In most cases they will be taken there in automobiles.

Following is a tentative list of the meetings thus far scheduled: 1st A. D.—Court & Remsen. 2nd A. D.—Hinsdale & Sutter; New Lots & Williams; Kings Highway & E. 17 St.

3rd A. D.—President & Court St. 4th A. D.—Division & Bedford Av. 5th A. D.—Howard & Monroe. 6th A. D.—Hart & Tompkins Av.; DeKalb & Throop; Stockton & Lewis.

7th A. D.—50 St. & Fifth Av. 8th A. D.—President & Court St. 9th A. D.—42 St. & Thirteenth Avenue.

12th A. D.—Greenwood & Prospect; Fifth Avenue & 9 St. 13th A. D.—Seige & Bushwick Av. 14th A. D.—Havemeyer & So. 4 St.; So. 2 St. & Union Av.

16th A. D.—25 St. & Mermaid Av., Coney Island.

17th A. D.—Corner, to be announced.

18th A. D.—St. John's & Albany Av.

19th A. D.—Varet & Graham Av.; Stockholm & Knickerbocker.

21st A. D.—Flatbush Av. & Beverly Rd.

22nd A. D.—Sheffield & Sutter Av.

23rd A. D.—Hopkinson & Pitkin Av.; Fulton & Howard Av.

the age limit should be set high enough to never need another Federal amendment on child labor.

A campaign is now being conducted to secure endorsements of the amendment in the various states. The stagnant states are already lining up against the amendment. Politics in those states is controlled by a small minority of the people. The same motives that have kept them from passing and enforcing good state laws on child labor are now preventing them from approving the Federal amendment. Because of this the campaign needs to be all the better united in the other states to save the amendment for the country as a whole.

JOHN LANGDON-DAVIES TELLS OF BRITISH LABOR

John Langdon-Davies, who arrived in this country on October 15th, will lecture on "Why Trotsky Hates MacDonald; or, How Labor Rules England," on Sunday night, October 19, at 8:30 p. m.

Mr. Davies, who left England just before the crisis overtook the Labor party, is a Labor parliamentary candidate and will give the inside facts of the present upset. He also has many interesting reminiscences of the movement and he tells of a time when the present Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald, all but gave up politics.

"I was lunching with him," Mr. Davies says, "one day in 1919 just after his terrible defeat when his old constituency threw him out by a colossal majority. He was worn out by years of unpopularity and the future seemed dark indeed. I remember him saying that he was carefully considering whether he would not abandon politics altogether; he wanted to devote the rest of his life to working-class education instead."

"However," continues Mr. Davies, "the change came quickly and within four years he was Prime Minister—it is interesting to speculate what would have happened if he had chosen his other alternative."

Mr. Langdon-Davies will particularly emphasize in his lecture the basis for the condemnation of communism made by the Prime Minister at the recent Labor conference. This lecture is under the auspices of the League for Public Discussion, 500 Fifth avenue.

Schenectady Holds La Follette Rally

Schenectady.—The La Follette-Wheeler rally held in Crescent Park last Saturday night was attended by from one to two thousand people. The principal speaker was Abraham Lefkowitz of New York, and he was preceded by John M. O'Hanlon of Troy, secretary of the State Federation of Labor, and James P. Boyle, Democratic and Progressive candidate for Congress. Ex-Congressman Theron Akin presided and kept the large audience in good humor by his witty allusions to the old gangs. All the speakers, with the exception of Mr. Boyle, took occasion to laud Robert M. La Follette. Boyle confined himself to strictly congressional issues, and never once mentioned the name of La Follette. Mr. Boyle, it is recalled, opened the Davis meeting recently held in Schenectady for the benefit of the employees of the General Electric Company there.

If citizens of Schenectady vote in November as they are reported to be talking today, Coolidge and Davis will have two votes out of every ten to divide between them.

LA FOLLETTE-WHEELER CAMPAIGN BALL
Saturday Evening, October 18th
at McKinley Square Gardens
1258 Boston Road
near 169th Street
Music by Schiller's Jazz Symphony Band
Admission 50c.
Auspices Socialist Party and Y. P. S. L.

THOMAS SPURNS PLEA TO AID SMITH

(Continued from Page 1)

State only the ticket of which I am the head is supporting La Follette, only that ticket has taken a clear-cut position on injunctions and other vitally important demands of Labor. Under these circumstances a vote for Smith is inevitably in part a vote for Davis and altogether a vote for the Democratic machine. It is better to endure such minor disadvantages as possibly, though not certainly, would be entailed by the election of Roosevelt rather than Smith, than to give

Sheet Metal Workers Win Further Victories in Strike

All the independent employers in the tinware industry have granted the demands of the workers organized in the Sheet Metal Workers' Union, Local 137. The workers in the association shops are still on strike as the association broke off the negotiations refusing to grant the workers' demands. The shops of the association employers are completely tied up. A large meeting of the strikers was held a few days ago at the union's headquarters, 12 St. Mark's place, at which John J. Hynes, international president of the Sheet Metal Workers' International Association, addressed the meeting assuring the strikers of all the moral and financial backing of the international union. He said that he would bring the entire treasury of the international union to bring the strike to a successful conclusion, if necessary. Moe Rosen, president of the local union, pointed out that it would probably not be necessary to expect a prolonged fight, as the bosses realize that the union has the upper hand of the situation, all the workers being out of the shops, including all of the former open shops. The union has gained many new members and is now thoroughly organized in this city.

HILLQUIT HITS AT TWO OLD PARTIES

(Continued from Page 1)

States alone the two dominant parties stand for the same thing and therefore stand for nothing.

The bulk of the leadership in both parties are frankly reactionary, and if a chance progressive happens to break through the ranks he is as likely to come from one party as the other. Thus we happen to witness the curious spectacle of "progressive bloc" in Congress composed of Republicans and Democrats alike, working together and against their parties, although they are nominally members of these parties.

This makes for confusion and impedes the course of political progress. If the forces of idealism and progress in American politics are to assert themselves effectively and lastingly, they must be organized into a definite and permanent party of their own. That does not necessarily mean the creation of a third party. If the progressives of all parties will unite into one organization, the reactionaries of both old parties will likewise unite into one, and the issues between the parties will be clear and honest.

When the Socialist party developed substantial political strength in some districts of this city and in other sections of the country the Republicans and Democratic parties sank their alleged differences and united on candidates against their common Socialist opponents. That was a perfectly natural development and that is precisely what will happen to the two old parties as a with a well organized and powerful whole when they are confronted party of genuine progressives.

The La Follette-Wheeler campaign is the beginning of such a new party. I hope the La Follette vote in the coming election will be large enough to elect him. I know it will be large enough to demonstrate to the people the necessity and feasibility of building a permanent and virile progressive political party to combat privilege and reaction as represented by both old parties, separate and combined, and to reconquer the Government for the people in keeping with the trend of political development in all other advanced countries of the world.

The "Literary Digest" Third Week

By UPTON SINCLAIR
The straw vote poll of the "Literary Digest" continues to give evidence that it is reaching the conservative and standpat elements of the population to a far greater proportion than the radical elements.
In the figures showing how the persons listed voted in 1920 there are reports from approximately 550,000 persons, and of these approximately 5,000 state that they voted for Debs; that is,

up the chance in this campaign to urge that strong new party which is the essential tool of our emancipation.
"Even while that party is in a minority its existence and growth will be an effective club over the head of Roosevelt and the Republicans. Roosevelt, with such a club over his head, could probably give us about as progressive measures as Smith with John W. Davis and Tammany Hall tugging back at it: coat tails. The history of every European country shows that social legislation of considerable value has been wrung from a reluctant conservative party by the threat of the rise of strong Labor parties."

SHIRT MAKERS' UNION DECLARES GENERAL STRIKE

(Continued from Page 1)

of the manufacturers and the contractors during the last eight or nine months, the only step left was to stop work until sufficient assurance could be gotten from the manufacturers and the contractors that the agreement will be lived up to.

It also called for an increase of wages and a pledge on the part of the workers, whose employers will

about eight-tenths of one per cent of the total. But the actual vote cast for Debs in 1920 was approximately 3%; per cent of the total. Thus it appears that the "Literary Digest" is reaching but a very small proportion of the Socialist vote, less than one-fourth. If it is reaching the same portion of the La Follette vote we shall find La Follette overwhelmingly defeating Coolidge next month.

The strikers who are meeting in the following halls are enthusiastic, and through their chosen officers received daily reports of the progress of the strike:

Cutters—Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th street, N. Y. Pressers—Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th street, New York. Operators—Bronx: Di Orio's Hall, 608 East 187th street; Cavalluzzo Hall, 688 Morris avenue. Harlem—Harlem Terrace Hall, 210 East 104th street. Downtown—Astoria Hall, 62 East 4th street. Brooklyn—Vienna Hall, 105 Montrose avenue. Brownsville—Krieger's Hall, 430 Blake avenue. Ridgewood—John's Hall, 196 Wilson avenue. Greenpoint—Union Hill, 319 Grand street; New National Gallery, 361 Driggs avenue. Jamaica—62 Globe avenue, corner Atlantic street. Middle Village—Workingmen's Circle. West Hoboken—Cooperative Hall, 345 West street. Fresh Pond Road—Harris Hall, 71 Halleck avenue. B. yonne—Labor Lyceum, 72 West 25th street.

If under the present system the poor are made prisoners by their poverty, the rich are made no less so by their wealth.—Keir Hardie.
The fear of Socialism is the beginning of social reform.—Hardie.



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The Largest Retailer of STETSON HATS in the World

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A WORUMBO OVERCOAT TO ORDER
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106 East 14th St., bet 3d & 4th Aves. 83 Delancey St., corner Orchard St. 98 Second Ave., near 6th St.
112 West 116th St., bet Lenox & 7th Aves. 58 University Place, near 12th St. 953 Southern Blvd., near 163rd St.
2391 SEVENTH AVENUE (between 139th-140th Streets). 138 WEST 14th STREET. (Between Sixth and Seventh Avenues.)

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EX-LAX
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CAPITAL PUNISHMENT?
CLARENCE DARROW vs. JUDGE ALFRED J. TALLEY
Famous Lawyer of Leopold-Loeb Case AGAINST N. Y. Court of General Sessions FOR
Chairman—LOUIS MARSHALL
Temp. Chairman: LEWIS E. LAWES, Warden of Sing Sing
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What A La Follette Victory Would Mean to the World

A Triumph for Progressivism Here Would Set Ahead the World Movement for International Peace and Brotherhood.

By JOSEPH E. COHEN

Not in many Presidential campaigns in our time have the issues been so broad and clear as in the present contest.

Of course, there is no difference between the Republican and Democratic parties. They alike stand for things to remain as they are.

So open is the conservative nature of both old parties that their own spokesmen admit it. Thus, when Coolidge and Dawes were nominated, Robert Barry wired this to the Philadelphia Public Ledger, a Republican organ:

"The Republican party goes to the American people as a straight-out party of conservatism. The President has stood as a bulwark of conservative theory in government against an obstreperous Congress, General Dawes has been one of the leaders in conservatism. As one of the organizers of the minute men of the Constitution, he has bucked organized Labor by contending for the open shop. . . . Yet, had President Harding lived, there was good reason for believing, Mr. Coolidge would not have been nominated for the Vice-Presidency."

"Speaking of the nomination of John W. Davis for President, the New York World, a Democratic paper, had this to say under the caption of 'Wall Street Sees Much to Applaud in Nominee':

"Wall Street takes sincere comfort in the reflection that should the Democratic party confound the Wall Street vote by winning, the White House will be occupied by perhaps the one Democrat in the country most highly regarded by big business."

Not to be outdone, the Democratic New York American made this comment:

"The proud old Democratic party proposes to substitute the House of Morgan for the White House. After spending more than two weeks in deliberations the Democrats decided to commit political suicide."

This year, of all years, there should be no doubt that the two old parties have alike sold whatever public principles they ever had for a highly-flavored Wall Street stew. If either party wins, the predatory interests will go on plundering the producers of the nation's wealth:

For what have the two old parties done while in office during and since the war?

Democrats and Republicans alike engaged in a riot of reaction. The rights of free speech, free press and peaceable assembly were ruthlessly overthrown. The usurped power of injunction was wielded to shatter Labor strikes against onerous conditions. The Constitution of the United States was treated like a scrap of paper by old party office-holders. To add the final touch of insult to the injury thus done, the American people, the Republican and Democratic parties, now pretend to stand by the Constitution. What they are doing is to try to hide their un-American, autocratic and despotic purposes behind its cover. They are the arch-enemies of the American people.

Both old parties act for the money masters who prey upon the masses of the nation.

Mr. Coolidge, in breaking the police strike, showed that he had no sympathy for the men who risk their lives to safeguard the people.

Mr. Dawes, in leading the open-shop drive, showed that he would like to crush the Labor movement and force the workers into slavery.

Mr. Davis, pet attorney of Wall Street, amiably goes along.

Everyone knows that if either the Republican or Democratic party wins, the masses will face the hardest kind of hard times.

While the old parties drove one fist into the stomach of Labor, with the other they tried to beat down the farmer.

Following the war, Wall Street tightened its clutch on the money of the nation. Agriculture was "deflated." Those who tilled the soil

these many years and thought they saw daylight ahead were ruined.

Wall Street added billions to its unearned fortunes. Thousands of new millionaires arose in the financial world. The wealth of the country was caught in their grasp.

To show what complete tools the old parties are to Wall Street, President Coolidge, Secretary of the Treasury Mellon, and leading spokesmen of both parties, tried to put over a steep cut in the taxes of the plunderers.

At the same time the two parties stripped the mask of false patriotism from their faces when they sold out the soldiers' bonus.

By way of confessing their brazen hypocrisy in pretending concern for the people, they support the monarchical power usurped by the Supreme Court to veto absolutely Acts of Congress.

In every chance to smash the people the two parties have had only contempt for the Constitution. This is especially outrageous in disfranchising the Negro in the South. Neither party, when it had the chance, showed the slightest consid-

eration for the Constitutional rights of the people.

Both parties, when in power, helped the plunderers all they could to tighten their stranglehold on the nation.

As a direct result of the nefarious rule of the old parties, those who work in field and factory have a constant struggle against poverty, while the unearned incomes of the predatory corporations continue to swell. Whether as producers or consumers, the bulk of the people pay tribute to the financial ring which centres in Wall Street. Worse still, foreign fields of investment have been captured by our commercial pirates, aided by old party agencies of the Government.

To the growing difficulties of the masses, there always hangs overhead the menace of war that will be world slaughter.

This is the certain future should either the Republican or Democratic party continue in power.

Faced with this grave crisis in the affairs of the nation, the men and women of the Labor unions, the farms and every useful walk in life, have come together and formed a

political movement of their own, backing Robert M. La Follette and Burton K. Wheeler, acknowledged champions of the people.

Representing the people, this movement is the only one demanding the preservation of Constitutional rights. It is the only movement which will collect taxes from those who get most from the nation's industrial activity.

It is the only movement which will put an end to the monarchical usurpation of power by the courts. It is the only movement which will take the child of tender years out of the mill, and ease the lot of the men and women who labor.

It is the only movement which will use the nation's credit for the support of agriculture.

It is the only movement which will safeguard the nation's resources. It is the only movement which will put the railroads, packing yards, mines and other gigantic industries to the service of the public.

It is the only movement which will lend a helping hand to the stricken people of war-wrecked Europe, bring peace and keep the future bright with hope.

In calling themselves conserva-

An Ex-Slave's Challenge to the Ku Klux Klan

The following article was written by a Negro Comrade of Indiana who was born in the South before the abolition of slavery. He has been a Socialist for many years and has frequently spoken for the movement in that and other States.

Many good citizens have joined the Klan conspiracy without knowledge of its history. It was originally organized to oppose the authority of the United States Government. Its public announcements of its purposes were of the highest order. It claimed that it was needed to protect white women of the South against ignorant and vicious Negroes.

I challenge any Kluxer to show that any white woman, old or young, required protection from Negroes during the war of the rebellion or in the period when the Klan was organized, in 1866 or 1871, when it was suppressed by the Government. On the other hand thousands of whites in the South will testify to the deeds of heroism by Negroes in caring for white women and children while the men were at the front. There is no record of any Negro taking advantage of his opportunity to wreak vengeance upon the family of his owner.

The slave-holder was a hard loser. What he lost in battle he attempted to recover through secret and treasonable actions through the Ku Klux Klan. To make a bad thing look good he hailed the Klan as the savior of white womanhood. While these aristocrats were zealously guarding their women they were surrounded by thousands of mulattoes whose fathers were white. The latter were the industrial and political rulers of the South. They were pillars of the Church and the props of society. They talked of pure morals and ideals of womanhood while their illegitimate mulatto children gave the lie to what they professed. They ascribed their own sins to the helpless Negroes.

Just as barren was their professed democracy and their appeals to Jefferson and Jackson. Jefferson did not organize a conspiracy to wreck the peace and happiness of others. Neither did Jackson. They did not conspire against the civil liberties guaranteed by the Constitution. They did not attack the citizenship of Jews, Catholics and the foreign-born.

Before the Federal Constitution was adopted the fourth article of the Articles of Confederation provided that every free inhabitant of the colonies was a citizen. No color distinction was drawn. Negroes

The Lives of the Great Leaders of the American Nation Cannot Be Reconciled to the Ideas and Activities of the Night-Riders.

By S. C. GARRISON

voted by the side of Washington and Jefferson. Here the question arises: If the Negro was good enough to vote for these men, is a Kluxer good enough to vote by the side of a Negro in 1924? The fathers permitted the Negro to fight and Negro troops were recruited for the war. They fought for the independence of the colonies. They gave the Negro slave his freedom and the right to vote for serving in the army.

The first man to fall in the war was a Negro. In 1770 the soldiers of King George were stationed on Boston Common. In the evening of March 5 a squad of soldiers were sent to arrest some citizens who were demonstrating against the presence of soldiers in their city. The soldiers fired and the leader fell with five bullets in his body.

Who was this leader? His name was Crispus Attucks, a mulatto born in slavery. His was the first blood shed for American independence. His body laid in Faneuil Hall, "the cradle of American liberty," before it was buried. Although he was a fugitive slave he was accorded all the honors of a martyr. Today a monument stands on Boston Common dedicated to the memory of this Negro. This is one of many historical facts which the Kluxer ignores in his hatred of the Negro.

Nor were the Negroes without honor in the second war for independence, 1812-1814. At first slave-owners were reluctant to give their slaves military training, fearing that they might revolt. But as disasters came to American troops the masters permitted their slaves to volunteer. They were even urged by retelling the story of Crispus Attucks. Many a slave master was saved from the rigors of war by the valor of black Americans.

The menace of the British in the Gulf of Mexico induced General Jackson to issue a proclamation to the "Free Colored Inhabitants of Louisiana" on September 21, 1814. He placed confidence in them by inviting them to join his army. Every "noble-hearted, generous, free man of color" was offered "the same bounty in money and lands now received by white soldiers of the Uni-

ed States Army." Non-commissioned officers and privates were also entitled "to the same monthly pay and daily rations furnished to any American soldier."

The call was responded to by thousands of Negroes. When victory perched on Jackson's banner he issued an address to the Negro soldiers thanking them for their great services. "I have found in you," said Jackson, "a noble enthusiasm which impels to great deeds. Soldiers, the President of the United States shall be informed of your conduct in the war and the representatives of the nation shall applaud your valor as your General now praises your ardor."

Mary E. Garbutt, A Tribute

By AGNES H. DOWNING

Mrs. Mary E. Garbutt, widely known as a Socialist writer, speaker and organizer, passed away at her home in Los Angeles, California, on August 13, 1924.

Mrs. Garbutt was an outstanding personality in the radical movement on the Pacific Coast. Graduated when young from an Eastern academy, a life-long student, she possessed the fine grace and social prestige that made her sought after in many circles; she chose to devote her life to making the world happier and more worth-while for all mankind.

She joined the Socialist Party in 1903 and to the last day of her life was a devoted worker therein. She served on the State executive board, on various county and city committees, and was often the party's candidate for important offices. In 1912 she was a delegate to the National Socialist convention at Indianapolis.

She was a devoted worker for peace and in the years preceding the World War tried to secure a statue of peace to the entrance of the Panama Canal. In 1917 she was one of the organizers and an active member of the People's Council. After that organization was broken up and free speech stifled, she helped to organize the Woman's Shelley Club which was one of the few (if not the only) group in the country that held meetings during the war without a four-minute speaker.

Mrs. Garbutt was a factor in securing woman suffrage and for many years she was a worker and sustainer of a society to abolish child marriages in India. In 1904, with Wenona Stevens Abbott she organized the Woman's Socialist Union in

California, the first society of its kind in the United States.

She was nearly eighty years of age at her death but she had the courage, the militancy and even the appearance of youth. Her last illness was very brief and she worked for the things that her heart loved to the very last. Her closest friends were among the younger generation.

In integrity of character, in devotion to a great cause and in love for humanity, Mary E. Garbutt towered above her time. Those who knew her felt in her presence something essentially fine, strong and beautiful—a stimulus for the spirit. She will live long in memory as a sustaining power in the struggle for social justice and human brotherhood.

May the people have patience and the truth will prevail.

"WELLS AND WORLD HISTORY"

Mr. J. F. Horrabin will lecture on "Wells and World History" for the Educational Department of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Saturday afternoon, October 18, at 1:15, in the auditorium of the I. L. G. W. U. Building, 3 West 16th street.

Mr. Horrabin, who is the illustrator of H. G. Wells' "Outline of History" and a lecturer at the Labor College in London, is coming to this country for a few weeks only and this will be his first lecture.

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AMERICAN SOCIALISM

KARL KAUTSKY

By MORRIS HILLQUIT

(Written for the Special Kautsky edition of the Vienna "Zukunft")

The Socialists of the United States offer their congratulations to Comrade Kautsky upon the attainment of the seventieth year of his fertile life with a deep feeling of affection and gratitude.

Karl Kautsky is the most commanding surviving figure of the immortal group of pioneers who formulated the program, evolved the methods and directed the growth of the international Socialist movement.

Like Karl Marx and Frederick Engels before him, he does not belong to any particular country but to the Socialist movement of the world, and that is why our movement in practically every advanced country claims special kinship with him.

We American Socialists have a very substantial justification for that claim. For Karl Kautsky has influenced the course of the intellectual development of our movement more directly and intimately than any other thinker or writer.

The modern Socialist movement was first brought to the United States in the early seventies and eighties of the last century by groups of immigrant German workmen, schooled in the Marxian or Lassallean social philosophy, and for almost a generation they remained the backbone of the movement. Until the close of the last century, the movement in the United States was for all practical purposes a foreign offshoot of the German Social Democracy. Its language and literature, its methods and mode of thought were German and its interests centered largely on the Socialist struggles in Germany.

When Socialism finally began taking root in native American soil it met extraordinary difficulties not only in the problems of organization and physical growth, but also, and above all, in its efforts to educate the new and often raw recruits to an understanding of the fundamental principles of international Socialism, to create a sound theoretical basis for the nascent movement.

The difficulties arose from the peculiar conditions of Socialist development in the United States. While the Socialist movement in every industrial country of Europe was largely composed of the industrial workers and was always fairly homogeneous in its make-up and ideology, the bulk of the American workers, organized and unorganized, remained non-Socialist and largely non-political.

The movement of the United States, in so far as it was not foreign, was constituted of three main groups, of which the industrial workers were the center. The other two things were comprised on the one hand of agricultural elements of the West and Middle-West and of the industrially undeveloped South, all strongly affected with a species of middle-class radicalism largely inherited from the Populist movement, and on the other hand, of a literary and professional "Intelligentsia" attracted to the movement primarily by its ethical aspect and emotional appeal, oscillating between extreme radicalism and crass opportunism and, on the whole, quite unreliable.

It was the writings of Karl Kautsky, and particularly his popular booklet on programmatic questions, that furnished the principal ammunition in the much needed campaign of education among American Socialists in the early days of the movement. The works of Marx and Engels were reserved to the select few. An American literature on theoretical Socialism had not yet developed, and what little there was of it, was quite mediocre. Kautsky's pamphlets were translated into English, circulated by the tens of thousands and extensively read and discussed. His lucid style, logic of exposition and convincing argumentation easily won for him the position of the foremost Socialist authority in the American movement.

To the influence of his writings it is largely due that a considerable section of our movement has passed from the sterile attitude of vapid sentimentalism to the sound conception of Socialism as a movement based primarily on the economic needs of the working classes. It was this group of Socialists that ultimately saved the movement in the United States from annihilation.

The last ten years have been years of unusually hard trial for the Socialist movement in America. At the outbreak of the World War, and particularly upon our entry in it, thousands of its half-baked followers deserted because of the anti-war attitude of the Socialist Party, and the relentless Government persecutions completely wiped out the party organization in many parts of the country. The neo-Communist movement, which reached its height in the United States around 1920, had an irresistible charm of the immature and romantic "radicals" with whom the ranks of American Socialism abounded. The only section of the movement that remained steadfast, sober and true was the one

Generals, Coal Diggers and Pensions

I see by the papers that General Pershing has retired on a pension of \$13,500 per year. Now, I am not opposed to soldiers' pensions. I believe that the marine who stood on the burning deck, when all around the shrapnel cracked, is entitled to more than the thirty silverings per month. I believe that the doughboys, who faced elimination, extermination, hell and damnation, to say nothing about hard tacks, trench rats, cooties and Y. M. C. A. secretaries ought to get more than a life insurance policy. To pay a man with a due bill, payable after death, is the kind of a joke that his undertaker may enjoy but it don't buy beans for living heroes.

Therefore, I say, give the common soldiers who bled and died for their country all that is coming to them, but for heaven's sake don't pension generals.

Being a general is the softest job that ever was handed out by Providence. If there is anything in reincarnation, I hope they let me come back a general. Nothing would suit me better than to sit on a prancing steed, point a brave sword toward the blue horizon and shout over the

long-distance telephone: "Soldiers, the enemy is before you. Go and die like heroes."

The general is the first gentleman of the army. He's the first man you meet when following an army in advance and he is the first again when the army is coming back from a rout. When an army is defeated the common soldier gets the wooden cross, and when the army is victorious the general is decorated with the Congressional cross.

Generalizing in war-time is the safest and healthiest trade on record. During the late unpleasantness, 50,000 of our doughboys were killed and 200,000 were wounded; but the experience table of thirty-nine American life and accident insurance companies show that not a single general was killed, wounded or even missed.

There is a rumor that one general was seriously injured by the premature explosion of a champagne bottle. Another, I heard, contracted gout in a French wine cellar and a third, so they say, succumbed to an attack of sleeping sickness while listening to a four-minute speaker in Cincinnati. But outside of the

above-mentioned casualties, our generals had a royal time fighting for democracy and the abolition of their trade. They had good pay, short hours and pleasant working conditions, in tranquil and refined surroundings far from the tumult and carnage of war. They had free board, lodging, laundry and transportation. If their chauffeur kicked for a raise, they sent him to the guard-house. When the cook threatened to leave, they called in the firing squad, and when a bill collector came around they had him shot for a spy.

Of course, there were air raids and sometimes an enemy plane would penetrate so far to the rear as to disturb the sleep of a general, but no opposing commander was ever mean enough to break the "gentlemen's agreement" and drop a bomb on a slumbering colleague. So everything was smooth and pleasant and comfy around general headquarters until the armistice broke out and overwhelmed the general with peace.

To save my life, I can't see why we should pension a hale and hearty general like Pershing and deny a

pension to my old buddy, Sam Cartwright, who is vegetating down Hermin way. Sam entered the mine when he was nine years old. He has faced death a thousand times and gladly would face it again if they'd let him. But Sam is too old to dig coal and, besides, he's all "stove up" and rheumatic and wheezy with asthma; and he is blind in one eye and has blinkers in the other, and a fall of rock dislocated one hip and misplaced the spinal column, and he is a little wobbly on his legs, being that he was shell-shocked by gas explosions and one of his lungs is gone on account of the poison gas he inhaled for fifty-nine years. And besides, Sam wouldn't look well in a modern mine nohow, because his face is all scarred up and blue from powder marks.

But we can't pension Sam Cartwright. We even forget to give him the Croix de Guerre, when he battled for three days and nights without sleep or eats after the Cherry Mine disaster, trying to rescue his fallen comrades down in that black hell hole. When they found Sam ten days later, he was unconscious with a rotting corpse in his arms. But no hero medal nor pension for Sam.

By ADAM COALDIGGER

Well, I suppose it's all on account of Sam's being nothing but a coal digger, who toiled and slaved and faced death for half a century for no better purpose than to make the world a liveable place to hang on in. Besides, I see in the papers that pensions, especially old-age pensions, are degrading because they pauperize the recipient, and they also say that if a fellow saved his money he would have to accept charity in his old age.

Well, Sam did try to save in the old days when the day rate was a dollar and a half, but what with a large family and a sickly woman and accidents and lay-offs and strikes, he never could save enough in one stretch to get set in the habit.

Now, if Sam had been a general with a salary of \$5,000 per annum, including free board, lodging, laundry, transportation, medical attention, sundries and incidentals, he might find himself in the humiliating position of having to accept an old-age pension of \$13,500 per year. But as it is, he can hold up his head and proudly march to the Potters Field by the way of the poor-house and nobody can accuse him of being a pensioned pauper.

WORKING-CLASS ART

The proletarian motif has introduced a new psychological element into art. Artistic substance becomes imbued with a freshness and a universality that classical art could never attain. The interwoven dependence of one form of life upon another, the collective unity of the human race, becomes a reality pregnant with esthetic as well as social significance. The distinction of caste, a vestigial characteristic of contemporary civilization, is already fading with the progress of the proletarian concept. In clear and definite contrast, bourgeois concepts are starting to shake and totter as the civilization which created them is gradually approaching its destruction. The uncertainties and irrational strangeness of modern art, the wild, frenetic and unrhymical flow of line, color and verse, the distorted visions of the modern mystic, are all unequivocal manifestations of the moribund state of the prevailing bourgeois society and culture. The febrile revolt against the slavishly acquisitive economics of the bourgeois system, its hypocritical political principle, its stultifying puritanic ethics, headed by a wing of the bourgeoisie itself, men sick with the ennui of inadequacy and unredeeming failure, as well as the faggleman of the proletariat, is further illustration of just how this trend is shaping itself in literature and philosophy. The superficiality of this anti-bourgeois criticism, fostered in America by men like Menckel and Babbitt, does not obscure its importance as an index to our social disintegration. It is no less signal than the cry of the small bourgeois, caught in the vice of a rapidly centralizing society, against the oppression of their rights and the usurpation of their enterprise by the higher strata of their own class. All point inevitably in the same direction.

"Hatred of the bourgeoisie is the beginning or virtue," the Flaubertian proclamation of the nineteenth century, vigorously expresses the rebellious attitude of at least two generations. With the present generation the meaning of the proclamation has become more clarified; social concentration has given it a more crystallized form, a sharp, forceful definiteness, and an expression clearer if not more refined, subtler if not more powerful. Professor Sherman, the W. D. Howells of our generation, in his essay "The National Genius," has contended that contemporary divergences from the bourgeois conceptions are but the manifestations of a recalcitrant youth—futile "bucking of the National genius." This is a blind and shallow evasion. The violent anti-bourgeois attack of men like Dreiser and Anderson in America, Joyce in Ireland, Verhaeren in Belgium, Toller in Germany, not to mention a host of others, does not express the vaporous eccentricity of the immature or the undefined aspirations of the utopian. There is a social-consciousness, imperceptible perhaps to the artists themselves, present in the works of these men that is more

moving than the anaemic art of the fading bourgeois. The soft, purring music of an Emily Dickinson could no more express the spirit of our age than the staccato rhythms, the vivid literalities, the rhyemless clamorings of a Sandburg could have expressed the attitude of hers. The Lizette Reeses, gentle, one-stringed artists of an evanescent genre, are retreating before the rushing cadences of a changing civilization.

It is not the function of a critic to declare the poetry of a Lizette Reese infinitesimal in value because it is unskillful of the spirit of the rising generation, but to point out that it should be studied in relation to its own class, of which it is a part, and evaluated in accordance with the type of art it represents. But it is as risibly fallacious of the Shermans to maintain that we must cling to this type of lyricism, this moody sequestration of impulse and vain shadowing of reality, as it was of Rousseau to argue that salvation was to be secured only by a return to the primeval. However, it is true that every state of society must have its conservative, "reminiscent" element, devoted to a perpetuation of the status quo, with an additional craving for the "finer" gold of yesterday, and Professor Sherman, with his compeers, Professors Moore and Babbitt, are but a vital exemplification of this attitude. No matter how inevitable, this approach is a viciously undermining influence. It is far more to be deplored than the socialist strictures of a Henry Mencken or the vorticeistic ejaculations of an Ezra Pound. Yet it is this polluted type of criticism that is propagated by our educators throughout the country, in the institutions of California, the Mid-West, and the fringe of the Atlantic. In fact it is devastatingly ubiquitous.

It is only the birth of a literature which represents the proletarian concept that gives promise of an enduring opposition. The poetry of Sandburg and Masters, the dramas of Eugene O'Neill, the fiction of Anderson, Dreiser and to an extent that of Willa Cather and Sinclair Lewis, are evidences of this new trend. Whitman was perhaps the first to voice it in America, and Frank Norris, Stephen Crane and to a lesser degree Graham Phillips were its continuators. Since the war it has had a rapid, intensively poignant growth.

It is at this point that we must indicate more exactly the features of the proletarian concept as distinct from the bourgeois and aristocratic. We discover with proletarian art the growth of a new esthetics. The clash of class-psychologies has precipitated a revolution in art values and criteria. In literature, for instance, the workman, as distinguished from the noble, the merchant and the magister, becomes a figure essential to its evolution; tragedies formerly spun about the epicodic futilities of royalty, the failures of gamblers and business men, now include the disasters of the proletariat. The prole-

development of the party when created. On the eve of the first definite success which the practical application of Marxian tactics promises to bring to the American Socialists we think with love and admiration of our friend, teacher and guide, and we heartily join with our comrades in all lands in expressing the hope and the fervent wish that his lucid mind and wise counsel be preserved to us during many of the critical years ahead of the international Socialist movement.

trained in Marxian thought and understanding, which Karl Kautsky above everybody else had made accessible to large numbers of American Socialists. At the date of this writing the Socialist movement in the United States bids fair to come back into the political life of the country as a more serious and vital factor than ever. For the first time in its history it has managed to establish close contacts with the broad masses of the workers. The Socialists have had a leading part in the formation of the Labor and Farmer Bloc now united behind the presidential candidacy of Senator La Follette. They are steadily and successfully directing the movement toward the organization of a Labor party on the English model. They may play an important part in the intellectual de-

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By V. F. CALVERTON

(Editor, The Modern Quarterly)

Oh, to build for that which builds for mankind . . . Oh, workmen and workwomen forever for me! Oh, farmers and sailors! Oh, drivers of horses forever for me! Oh, equality! Oh, organic compact! I am come to be your born poet. Were we to become in our sociology as idealistic as Tugan-Baranovsky we might say that this poetry of Whitman's is a "spiritual" building upon the economic structure, but it is far more accurate though prosaic to use the words of Plechanoff and to state that it is simply the expression of a mind that grasped, through a favorable collocation of stimuli, "the meaning of the new generating social relations."

If for a moment we turn to the works of Emerson, the American apostle of the 1830's, '40's, and '50's, we shall discover an illuminating contrast. Emerson wrote when capitalism was just beginning to stretch its vast tentacles across the country; the railroads were undeveloped, communication was slight, the West was still uninhabited by the countless hordes that swept across its heart following the gold rush of '49, and the promise of Eldorado's continued to gleam like beguiling will-o'-the-wisps. Industry had scarcely

"Literature is big only in one way—when used as an aid in the growth of the humanities—a furthering of the cause of the masses—a means whereby men may be revealed to each other as brothers."

His poems are mellifluous with the same strain: "One's Self I sing—a simple, separate Person; Yet utter the word Democratic, the word En Masse."

Of the greatness of the destiny of the mass he sings, incessantly, audaciously. Their sufferings become part of his own, their protest is his protest; their failures his failures—he is "the hounded slave that flags in the race, leans by the fence, blowing, covered with sweat," he the "mashed fireman with breastbone broken," "the youngster taken for larceny," "the common prostitute."

There is a kind of mystical mergence of impulse in these verses, a romantic projection of self, that is a vivid reflection of the creeping spirit of the proletariat during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Of the coming of equality, the unconscious aim of the approaching upheaval of classes, he writes with courageous enthusiasm.

"In all people I see myself—none more, and not a barleycorn less, And the good or bad I say of myself I say of them."

Oh, strongly reflect all except Democracy! . . .

despicable or less perfect but more convincing and real. The whole proletarian trend is toward a deeper realism, pruned of ornamental trappings, rugged almost with its undecorated exterior and uncurved sharpness of delineation, and fully cognizant of the social origin and meaning of action.

This realism toward which proletarian art is driving in its annihilation of class-distinctions possesses a comprehensiveness of content, singularly communistic in its development. Contrary to the usual belief there is no unilateralism in the attitude, considered in its fullness, no puffery of a single group at the expense of others except as an immediate situation in society might necessitate—as at the present time—but the promise of a complete synthesis of them all. Its philosophy aims toward a universality, but not uniformity of substance. Its appeal is exclusive of no nation, no race, no class. Whitman expressed this sentiment eloquently:

"Literature is big only in one way—when used as an aid in the growth of the humanities—a furthering of the cause of the masses—a means whereby men may be revealed to each other as brothers."

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THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD

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PENNSYLVANIA

A New Communist Lie
The New Leader has received word from Erie, Pennsylvania, that the Communists there are spreading the tale that "some fifteen Socialist Party Assembly candidates in New York City withdrew from the ballot in favor of Tammany Hall. And that Meyer London was among them." Our correspondent is anxious to learn the truth—which is herewith given. It is one hundred per cent lie. No Socialist candidates withdrew in favor of Tammany men. If any one did, he would be expelled from the party. The slender thread on which the lie is strung is that a number of nominations were made tentatively and that they were filed with the understanding that they were tentative. After the names were filed with the election board, they withdrew and in many cases were placed on the ticket in other districts. As for Meyer London, he withdrew because he felt that seven successive nominations were enough for one man for one office, but he is campaigning with all the splendid vigor at his command for the straight ticket, and delivering sledge-hammer blows at Tammany and its candidates. And more Communist lies being peddled?

IDAHO

Automobile rides ranging all the way from thirty to one hundred and thirty-five miles a day is the experience Lena Morrow Lewis is having in making her appointments in Idaho the past three weeks, according to the letter she writes The New Leader regarding her campaign experiences stumping for La Follette and Wheeler in the Far West.

There seems to be a unique situation in Idaho and Mrs. Lewis reports some interesting items to that effect.

"The story of the origin and activity of the Idaho Progressive party is too long to relate in detail at this time," writes Mrs. Lewis, "but the legislative record of its members in the House and Senate is quite enough to convict it of disloyalty to the workers of Idaho. Still further at its convention it adopted with a whoop and hurrah a resolution demanding the repeal of the 'heinous criminal syndicalism law' and pledged its support to the organized Labor movement of Idaho. Upon investigating the files in the Secretary of State office at Boise, it is found that this resolution is omitted from the platform and resolutions, and the significant thing is that a political party in this State is only held responsible for the planks and resolutions filed with the Secretary of State. It is very evident the plank

PAPER-BOX WORKERS OUT ON STRIKE

Fifteen hundred paperbox workers, employed in open shops in Brooklyn and New York, have joined the union and gone on strike demanding union conditions that have already prevailed in the rest of the union shops for the last two years. Many employers have already applied for settlement with the union. On Wednesday morning, October 15, when the strike was started, a number of gangsters fired several revolver shots into the union headquarters at 3 St. Mark's place, creating a panic; fortunately, no one was hurt. The workers are now resolved more than ever to conduct this strike vigorously to once and for all eliminate the horrible conditions that prevail in the industry. The workers, resenting the violent means used against them, are closing their ranks firmer and will not go back to work until the employers grant them their reasonable demands. A statement issued by Morris Waldman, manager of the union, points out that the vast majority of the open shops in the city have been tied up by the strike and it is only a matter of a short time when these employers will sign agreements with the union.

Feinberg Is Making Strong Congress Fight

(Continued from Page 1)

ardent Socialist, is waging what appears a winning fight to wrest the district back from Tammany Hall, in spite of the illegal and unconstitutional gerrymander of 1922 that was engineered for the sole purpose of weakening the Socialists.

Last Friday, at a huge mass meeting in Clinton Hall, a meeting that overflowed into the surrounding streets, Meyer London delivered one of the most remarkable addresses of his career and called upon the working people to destroy the corrupt organization that had stood between them and their political liberty, Tammany Hall. The speech, coming from the man who had so often carried the banner of Socialism in that district, was a fitting climax to a week of hard campaigning, and it put the Socialist workers on their mettle to complete the work of years and sweep the district again for the full Socialist ticket.

As the first Socialist Congressional district in the East, the 12th occupies a peculiar position, and the eyes of the nation will be on it election day. The comrades say the country will not be disappointed.

was adopted to catch votes through the newspapers, but was never intended to be a real part of the State Progressive party program. For this and other reasons the Socialists in Idaho have felt under necessity of conducting a strong campaign for the State Socialist ticket, so as not only to help defeat the State Progressive party but also lay the foundation for a real bona-fide Labor party in this State.

"The National Committeeman for Idaho appointed at the Cleveland Conference, July 4-5, has never called a State conference of interested groups to select the electors of this State. Urgent letters for such action from Campaign Manager John M. Nelson were ignored, and the State found itself with two electoral tickets, one put up by the Socialists and the other by the State Progressive party. Unable to secure the State conference of the groups entitled to name the electors, the national committee decided to accept the Progressive electors having been told that ticket could command a larger vote than the Socialist ticket. Upon request of John M. Nelson and Robert La Follette, Jr., the Socialists of Idaho withdrew their electors in order that the voters might present a united front for the La Follette-Wheeler ticket.

"The State progressive managers have done everything they dared to stop my meetings in this State, and even went so far as to first announce the meeting in one town would be under their auspices and the next day came out with a full page three-column ad. Saying the meeting had been called off.

"We discovered this just in time to get out some dodgers and send them out through the rural route mail for that day, and the result was, the house was packed to hear me in behalf of the National ticket, and also State Secretary Cammans expose the record of the Progressives in office and show that it is nothing more than a tool of the Republican party seeking to hold the field against the building up of a real live, virile party of the workers and farmers and wealth-producers of this State.

"Not in all my twenty-two years campaigning for the Socialist Party have I taken part in a campaign that had as many interesting features and seems so worth while a fight as I have experienced in Idaho during the past three weeks."

NEW JERSEY

At the meeting of the State Committee of the Socialist Party on Sunday, October 12, the State Secretary was instructed to invite all organized countries in the State to send a delegation of not more than five to the next meeting of the State Committee, to be held Sunday, November 9, at State Headquarters, 256 Central Avenue, Jersey City, to discuss fully the forthcoming national convention of the C.P.P.A. Each delegate will have a vote on all motions relating to this subject. The meeting will be called at 2 P. M., an hour earlier than usual.

HUDSON COUNTY

La Follette-Wheeler clubs, which have been in the process of formation in Hudson County for the past weeks and in the organization of which the local Socialists have taken a prominent part, are beginning to produce results.

Socialist International Hails Labor's Progress

(Continued from Page 1)

are fighting the decisive struggle for the definite establishment of the Eight-Hour Day. This tremendous progress which the workers have won, not only in England, but also in less industrial countries, is a symbol of the successes in social legislation which have been achieved through the gallant struggles of the last sixty years.

The Inaugural Address praised the Cooperative Movement as a great victory of Labor over Capital. Today we enjoy the splendid results realized by this important section of the Labor Movement visible at the recent Congress and Exhibition of the International Cooperative Alliance at Ghent.

"To conquer political power had therefore become the great duty of the working class." Thus did the inaugural address, sixty years ago, express its hope that Labor Movements, not only in England but all over the continent, would revive after a period of reaction. And where are we today? Today the Labor Prime Minister of Great Britain sends his greeting to our festival. The working class in many other countries is on the threshold of power.

STILL the aim set by the Inaugural Address has not yet been achieved. Labor has nowhere secured real power. Such minority Labor Governments as exist are based on parliamentary compromise, as in England and Denmark, or on bayonets as in Russia—bayonets turned against part of the working class. The actual aim of the Inaugural Address will only be attained when the workers forming the real majority of the people have awakened to consciousness of their position and their duty. "Numbers weigh only in the balance if united by combination and led by knowledge."

A meeting attended by delegates from all parts of the county was held at White Hall, Jersey City, on Tuesday evening, October 14, at which arrangements were made for an automobile parade through the county on Friday evening, October 24. ALL SOCIALISTS AND PROGRESSIVES OWNING AUTOMOBILES SHOULD REPORT THAT EVENING, NOT LATER THAN 8 O'CLOCK, AT RIVER STREET, HOBOKEN, BETWEEN FIRST AND SECOND STREETS. Plans were also made for several indoor rallies. A committee was appointed to get in touch with Regional Director Roe in regard to speakers. Another committee was appointed to canvass the Labor unions and the Workmen's Circle branches for campaign funds. Arrangements have been made for outdoor meetings practically every night from now to election in various parts of the county in addition to the regular Saturday night meetings of the Socialist Party.

HOBOKEN

The La Follette-Wheeler Club of Hoboken has opened headquarters at 515 Washington St., in the heart of the shopping district, where large crowds are constantly passing day and night. A large, well-lighted sign is spread across the entire front of the building. Below this, one window is devoted to pictures of the candidates and other campaign posters, while in the other window six-minute movies are shown to attract the passer-by. An ample stock of literature is displayed inside, and there are facilities for seating a considerable audience in case inclement weather prevents outdoor meetings.

BAYONNE

The Bayonne La Follette-Wheeler Club is making its headquarters at the Bayonne Labor Lyceum, 72 25 street, where on Sunday afternoon, October 19, Joseph D. Cannon, organizer of the La Follette and Socialist campaign in New York City, will address what is expected to be an overflow meeting.

New York Activities

NEW YORK STATE

New York State Campaign Booming
The State campaign is booming as never before. Meetings in every part of the State are better attended than ever, and Comrade Thomas is due for a record vote. His speeches do not invite people to "look him over" and then do not forget to overlook him on Election Day, as Roosevelt's do, but his blows at both old parties, and the great need for a Labor party, are making the party felt as never before.

BUFFALO

The national Convention of the Italian Socialist Federation which met in Buffalo recently unanimously endorsed the candidacy of La Follette and Wheeler and laid plans for a vigorous campaign among the Italian-Americans. A telegram was sent to Mayor McLean of Paterson, N. J., protesting against the attempt to deport striking silk mill workers.

In Buffalo and Erie County voting machines are used instead of ballots. Buffalo readers should note that the Socialist column, the third row on the machine, is headed by the names of Robert M. La Follette and Burton K. Wheeler, not some names of elec-

MASSACHUSETTS

Organizer Alfred Baker Lewis has been having some splendid meetings in Pittsfield, Adams, North Adams. In North Adams the crowd stood through a steady drizzle of rain one night to listen to the Socialist Party organizer, and through some pretty cold weather another night. Although there is no Socialist local at present in North Adams, sympathizers among the crowd volunteered to assist with the collection and book-sales. In Adams, the possibilities for the organization of a Socialist local are offset by the fact that everyone is "broke"—one mill is working only four days a week now, and the other mill has had only three weeks' work all summer. Comrade R. Clara Reiff of Pittsfield has been giving Organizer Lewis some fine co-operation in Pittsfield and in Adams.

Comrade Arthur Culla has had some very successful meetings in the Italian sections of Plymouth, Tremont and East Weymouth. He is planning to speak at Somerville, Pittsfield, and Malden in the near future.

RHODE ISLAND

Organizer Albert Weisbord has spent the past week in Rhode Island helping the Providence Local comrades secure names on the nomination papers for a State ticket in Rhode Island. The success of this work is practically assured. It will be the first time in six or seven years that the Socialist Party is on the State ticket in Rhode Island. The Socialist Party group is the most respected element in the La Follette club there. The Providence local comrades are planning to hold a large indoor meeting with Fred Hurst, gubernatorial candidate for Governor, and James Onal as the principal speakers, during the campaign, and immediately after election a "victory" banquet. The comrades of Providence are working most enthusiastically to carry out their plans to a successful conclusion.

tors. Tell your friends to vote the third row—voting it straight.

The Democrats filed petitions to place all of their local candidates under the Liberty Bell emblem, and using the name of the Progressive party. Arthur Garfield Hayes, State La Follette chairman, appointed Attorney Irving M. Weiss and Dr. John Nathanson to file objections on behalf of the La Follette State Committee, which they did. In addition, Robert A. Hoffman filed a complete set of objections on behalf of the Socialist County Committee. Each of the Socialist candidates filed objections on behalf of themselves against their Democratic opponents. At the time of writing the Election Board have not passed upon the objections, but in the event that they overrule the objections, court action will be taken. In the event of court action, Irving M. Weiss will represent the La Follette State Committee and Attorney Eustace Reynolds will appear for the Socialist Party and candidates.

Commissioner Frank C. Perkins, Socialist member of the City Council, and Frank Ehrenfried, Socialist candidate for Congress in the 41st District, are speaking together at many street and hall meetings throughout

the 41st District. At every meeting Perkins urges his hearers to follow his example and vote for all candidates on third row on machine.

Buffalo readers of The New Leader can secure information about street or hall meetings being held in the interest of the Socialist candidates by phoning Seneca 3146.

MANHATTAN

Shapiro Campaign

The campaign of Joshua S. Shapiro, Socialist candidate for Judge of the Court of General Sessions, is one of the revelations of the year. This quiet, studious lawyer has developed into a whirlwind campaigner, who covers as many as seven and eight meetings a night, and who devotes most of his talks to straight Socialist propaganda.

Shapiro has challenged his two opponents to debate, but, unlike most political challengers, he did not ask Martin C. Ansoorge and William Allen to discuss the relative fitness of the three lawyers in question to hold the position they are candidates for. His subject, as propounded in his letter of challenge, is "Resolved—That the Capitalist system of society, as represented politically by the Republican and Democratic parties, is responsible for unemployment and resultant want and poverty, thereby fostering crimes and criminals; and that, therefore, no candidate of your parties can administer the law with justice to the people."

In the past week, Shapiro has addressed forty-two meetings, and is going strong. Joseph D. Cannon, executive secretary of Local New York, declares that his campaign is one of the real bright spots of the fall's work.

TWO BIG RALLIES

Two huge La Follette and Thomas meetings have been arranged by the Socialist party of New York County to be held Sunday, October 20, at both of which Thomas and Mrs. Robert M. La Follette will speak.

The first of the meetings will be held in Finnish Hall, 2056 Fifth avenue, and the second further up in Harlem in the Negro neighborhood. At the first named meeting, in addition to Thomas and Mrs. La Follette, Joseph D. Cannon, candidate for Sheriff, and Joshua S. Shapiro, candidate for Court of General Sessions, will speak.

In the Negro neighborhood, in addition to all the above mentioned speakers, there will be Frank R. Crosswaith, candidate for Secretary of State; Asa P. Randolph and Mrs. Lucille Randolph, Socialist Congressional candidates.

Karlin in Symposium

William Karlin, Socialist candidate for Congress in the 14th Congressional District, will meet his two opponents, Nathan D. Perlman, G. O. P., and William I. Sirowich, in a symposium, October 23, at Aristocrat Hall, St. Mark's place.

HARLEM CAMPAIGN NOTES

The Pressers in Harlem are coming-together Friday, October 17, at 62 E. 106th street, to devise ways and means of helping to win the fight for Labor in Harlem. N. Schechter, who is the Harlem district manager and who has been put in charge of the campaign conducted by his union, will be the chairman of the meeting. Mollie Friedman, who has the active support and endorsement of her union, will speak on Labor and Political Action. Joseph Breslau, secretary-treasurer of Pressers, Local 35, and F. H. La Guardia, Congressman of the 20th Congressional District, will address the Pressers.

"RED NIGHT" IN HARLEM

The enthusiasm that the last "Red Night Rally" aroused in Harlem was so great that the Comrades want to duplicate and add to that success by another and greater "Red Night" on October 18.

There will be outdoor meetings at 116th street and Lenox avenue; 112th street and Lenox avenue; 110th street and Fifth avenue; 116th street and Lexington avenue; 102nd street and Madison avenue; 116th street and Fifth avenue; 106th street and Lexington avenue; 110th street and Lexington avenue; 116th street and First avenue; 106th street and Second avenue; 110th street and Second avenue; 100th street and Second avenue; 103rd street and Second avenue and 105th street and Second avenue.

Organizations that will send speakers: The International Ladies' Garment Workers; the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; The Verband; the Socialist Consumers League and the Socialist Party. La Guardia will cover as many of the list of meetings as possible. He usually covers six or seven every night. The candidates Mollie Friedman, I. Silverman, Edward Cassidy and over thirty more speakers will cover these meetings. Mollie Friedman will be accompanied on her tour through the district by Rose Perr, Mary Goff, Esther Friedman, Sarah Caman, Celia Schwanfeld, Fanny Shapiro, Olga Orlans, Sophie Shifran and Ella Guilford.

Executive Committee Meets Monday

There will be an important emergency meeting of the Executive Committee of Local New York, Monday night, at the party's office, Room 505, 7 East 15th street. It is urgent (Continued on Page 11)

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hopes and thoughts of the men in St. Martin's Hall will yet be realized.

"One element of success the workers possess—numbers." On this the Labor and Socialist International builds its house. It is not a sort of "enlightened absolutism" of a proletarian minority that can achieve the new order of Socialism, we must only rely on the masses inspired by the spirit of Socialism. Thus, in this hour, we appeal to all those who stand aloof to join the fighting army of Labor. Let all those come who are willing to abide by the rules of the majority of the working classes, to fight on the basis of the self-determination of Labor against Capitalism. Our ranks are growing, our alliance is tightening. With a new hope of victory we once more join in the call, just as we did sixty years ago: "Workers of all countries, unite."

The Executive of the Labor and Socialist International.
London.
28th September, 1924.

the First International by demanding the right of self-determination for Georgia, as the symbol of all countries subject to imperialist domination.

TOGETHER with British Trade Unionists, exiled victims of continental reaction were among the founders of the International. The dungeons of reaction still exist, and in some countries they are even more cruel than they were sixty years ago. With deep pain we see that, besides the dungeons and places of exile of Tsarist Russia have not disappeared. At this solemn hour, when we rejoice in the heroic life of Karl Marx, the man who gave us the Inaugural Address, our thoughts are with those who died in dungeons for our cause. We greet our comrades pining in prisons in Italy, in Hungary, in Spain and in the other countries under Fascist rule. We greet also our comrades in the Bolshevik prisons, those exiles in the Solowetzki Islands. We greet the great dead of our cause, we mourn our murdered Matteotti, and the Socialist hostages murdered in Georgia. Thus this memorial day of the International brings up great joy and deep grief—grief because of the fact that we have not only to protest against the persecutions of our capitalist enemies but also against those who once stood at our side.

But this period of confusion will pass just as Bakunism was overcome in the seventies. The sooner Russia is freed from her isolation the sooner will this result be attained. The treaty which Great Britain is about to sign with Russia may be an important step in this direction.

Though it is true that we have had to live through painful times we may today rejoice at the growth of the international movement. The

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Who Will Be The Next President?

This Year's Election Is of Especial Interest Owing To The Complexities That May Arise

The importance of the presidential election now transcends every other topic, dimming the recollection of the Leopold-Loeb case, the colorful visit of the Prince of Wales, the excitement of the Firpo-Wills fight, the hectic World Series struggle—all displaced now on the front pages of the press with the much more vital discussion—*who's going to be our next President?* Also the complexities that may arise.

Yet—and this is equally as vital to you and every citizen, and said without the slightest reflection on any party—the continuance of high prices, especially in men's clothing, will remain unimpeded with almost absolute certainty. A moderation in prices, in other words will not be guaranteed by party platforms but can only be hoped for through the channels of competition, or the happy circumstances that enables a merchant or manufacturer to do business on a much more favorable basis than another.

Finkelstein & Maisel, for instance. That name sewed on the inside of any suit or overcoat means first of all ABSOLUTELY the purest woolsens from America's and Europe's very best mills. That name sewed on any man's garment means a saving so great as compared with usual retail store prices as to sound ridiculous.

In these days of exaggeration every man is right in questioning many merchants' assertions. We don't blame—in fact, advise you to demand a guarantee of the facts.

Now listen to this: We offer you two-trouser suits and overcoats at \$24.88 and \$27.44 that you cannot buy in any retail store for less than \$45 and \$60. Do you believe this statement? You would without question if you ever dealt here. But assuming you don't know, will the following convince you? Buy a suit or overcoat, take it home, show it to any expert—and if you feel you have not saved every dollar we state, return it and get all your money back.

We absolutely GUARANTEE all this. We guarantee, moreover, the styles, tailoring, linings of every garment equal to the finest custom work. In a word, when you buy here you are buying at WHOLESALE prices—direct (not make believe) from the manufacturers—the same firm that certain retailers tried to put out of business only because it determined to give the public a square deal.

In your own interests note carefully our name and address: Finkelstein & Maisel, 810 Broadway, half block above Wanamaker's and opposite 11th Street. Open evenings until 7 p. m. Take elevator, one flight up.

Jacques Anatole Thibault, 1844—1924

By JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY

Jacques Anatole Thibault, cynic and humanitarian, suave and keenest and least perturbed of contemporary satirists, grew in an environment that made him, paradoxically, at once the preacher of the futility of all things and the ardent champion of lonely causes. Of Jewish parentage, the lad was sent to an exclusive Jesuit college; while he was in attendance his prosperous family became almost poor. His father's bookshop, in addition to being a source of varied reading for the avid Anatole, was the stamping-ground of the Royalists, whose tales filled the ears of the young republican. He was drawn by his Jesuitical training to the literature of the Middle Ages, and by his associations to the mooning or dashing young Romantics of his own day. The fervor of these groups, directed to so many and such contradictory ends, proceeded in Anatole France the aloof detachment of the impartial recorder in curious combination with the fire of the zealot.

In his writings Anatole France is above all the suave cynic, the amused speculator upon the endlessness of human folly. "When I behold the death of an illusion," he observes, "I look around to see what greater one will take its place." Yet in his life activity he followed another principle: "Even though we know everything is predetermined, we must act as though every moment were free; even though we know all progress is illusion, we must act as though every step led forward to the goal."

This formula of Havelock Ellis is

the substance of France's living; he recognized the illusions and the futilities, but saw as well that life must be lived—if at all—by their codes and measures. Thus France did not—like his ardent predecessors—refuse his seat among the "Immortals" of the Academy, though he never ceased laughing at their false dignity. (His rarest jest, that of "The Ring of Hans Carvel," is at the expense of a fellow-Academicien.) He makes typical use of the medieval Jew in his old philosophical romances, yet he constantly protested against the pogroms, and his political initiation was in defense of Dreyfus. Despite all the suavity and culture of his essentially aristocratic mind, he was an ardent Socialist (although it is perhaps true that only the genuine aristocrat can

be really socialistic). With a catholic acceptance of all the illusions, he tried to enlist as a private when the war came, yet he defended the author of "La Garçonne" when political influences sought to punish Marguerite for "slandering France before the world." With rapier thrust below a smile, he demonstrated that all is vanity; then with broadsword and kindled eye he strove for humankind.

It has been charged that Anatole France (like Mark Twain) is not a universal figure because he fails to present a goodly gallery of women. It is true that the fair sex seems treated unfairly in his books; indeed, the two works that are entitled after women—"Thais" and "The Life of Joan of Arc"—were mainly instrumental in winning France a

place on the Catholic Index Expurgatorius. This failure to deal fairly with women (not in the Jurgenian sense) is deliberate; France at any rate professed a belief that they play in life the subordinate role of solace and servant to man.

But it is not in his formal novels that the greatness of Anatole France is to be sought; it is in the tales seductively spun as a magic carpet for the flights of his mind across the world of ideas. In such books as "The Garden of Epicurus" and "Le Rotisserie de la Reine Pedauque," with such characters as the Abbe Jerome Coignard and M. Bergeret, we survey the notions that have absorbed and deluded mankind; we view them with kindness and urbanity and deft certain lifting of the veil.

In the writings of this ardent Socialist and reformer there is no propaganda or plea; "Here is life," he says, amusedly, and that is all. Grow excited if you please or must; he is undisturbed. It was the quest that mattered; of what concern is the prize? Take it if you will; 'tis but another illusion; the nearest we come to reality is the search. France found his reward in the search. Perhaps this aloof concern will achieve more of eventual good than all the world's prejudice and partisan zeal. Fusing this unbiased perspective with a universal love of justice and truth, Anatole France has fair claim to the proud title of Citizen of the World; while at the same time, in his suave, cultured ease and graceful intellect, he is distinctly national. Anatole France sums up the best of France.

Anatole France

Dried apricots were tart in the repose
Of his soft features, wrinkling for a smile.
Life was a garment lifted to disclose
The upstarts that assumed it for awhile
In proud parade. He knew the bold aspect
Fear drew upon its quavers, the sly, calm
Reason that clothed rash will, sweet love that decked
Wild lust, intolerance that intoned a psalm.
He saw hands raised to snatch the garment down,
For man will not endure the sight of man
But grace his imperfections with a crown
And find his beauty where the lie began.
He wove fair strands of truth for his delight,
Then in quaint pattern guarded them from sight.

J. T. S.

A Dull President

A Review by W. M. Feigenbaum
CAL COOLIDGE, PRESIDENT. By Rev. Roland D. Sawyer. Boston: The Four Seas Company, \$1.

And who do you suppose is the greatest man that we have in the country today? Who ranks with Washington and Woodrow Wilson and Jackson and Lincoln? Who is the very cat's kimono of a statesman and scholar and philosopher? Why, Calvin Coolidge, you simp. It stands in this book.

And who is Roland D. Sawyer? Why, he used to be a Socialist, and he was a left-winger of the left-wingers. The party used to insist upon the use of Socialist political action, but that was too opportunistic for him, too bourgeois. He advocated the abandonment of Socialist political action. He was as good as his professions, too. He abandoned Socialist political action and became a Democratic legislator in Massachusetts. He is still an ornament to that position, and was one of the delegates that nominated Jawn W. Davis for President last July.

Indeed, so much has Sawyer abandoned his Socialist political action that he doesn't even mention the word Socialist. When he refers to a Socialist member of the Legislature, he is an "independent" in this book.

So much for that. Now for the book. It seems that Cal Coolidge is a wonderful man simply because he isn't wonderful. He was an ordinary kid and did not shine in school or college. He was a mediocre lawyer and had few cases. He was a colorless legislator, and therefore he was a noble, outstanding, average American. The reverend politician is so eager to make a good case out for Cal, and has such meagre material, that he actually uses those arguments.

We learn that Cal began his career as alternate delegate to a Senatorial nominating convention. That at 25 he had risen high enough to be made a member of the Republican City Central Committee of Northampton, Massachusetts. That he won his elections to the Legislature by slender margins; that as Mayor he cut no figure at all. That he was utterly unnoticed for many, many years until mere incessant office-holding had made him more or less conspicuous.

How does Sawyer make a case out for his thesis that Coolidge is so great? He does it by "padding," by saying, "And so he must have lived a natural, healthy American life like"—blah, blah, blah, ad infinitum for pages and pages.

People sometimes wonder if Coolidge is as bad as he seems to be. People sometimes wonder if a man as dull, as insignificant, as colorless, as uninspired as Coolidge is could rise so high. And so people seem to fall into the error of assuming that Coolidge isn't as dumb as he looks, because nobody could be so dumb. "Like the singed cat," as somebody said, "Coolidge isn't as bad as he looks." How bad is he? This panegyrist tries to tell us, as others have tried, and all give the same impression that they are trying desperately to camouflage a poor, weak, empty fool with a mass of words. Coolidge, as pictured in these pathetic attempts to make a man of him, measures lower than William McKinley and Warren G. Harding in intellect and statesmanship—without even their imposing front.

Incidentally, Sawyer's book is atrociously written, full of historical

Short Notes on Books

Justice Higgins of the High Court of Australia, whose book on the Australian Court of Conciliation and Arbitration, "A New Province of Law and Order," was published last winter by E. P. Dutton & Company, is now in the United States, the guest of Justice Brandeis of the Supreme Court. In June he delivered an address at Oxford before the University Association for Philosophy, Politics and Economics which dealt with the creation and achievements of the Court with which he has been so long and prominently connected. He was President of the Australian Court of Conciliation and Arbitration for fourteen years, from soon after it was instituted until he resigned in 1921. It is famous all over the world among people interested in social progress and the bettering of human conditions and has been the subject of much observation by students everywhere of sociology and of the relations between Labor and Capital. In his book, "A New Province of Law and Order," Justice

blunders (such as the statement that General Grant was a great statesman!) and errors of fact. The book is interesting only as an example of that most interesting, if ludicrous, American industry, the writing of campaign biographies. Soon this book will find its place on the second-hand tables in the book stores with the biographies of Charles E. Hughes, William Sulzer, Leonard Wood, Rutherford Birchard Hayes, Chester Alan Arthur, Arthur Sewell and other long forgotten "statesmen."

Higgins makes an illuminating study of the constitution of the Court, why it was established, how it works, what it has done, how it needs to be improved.

The Century Co. will publish, September 26, another history of the world. This one sounds like an interesting experiment. Written by V. M. Hilmyer, head master of the Calverton School of Baltimore, it undertakes to give a narrative of events from pre-history through the World War that will be intelligible and interesting to a child of nine reading it alone.

E. P. Dutton & Company have recently published "Celestina," translated from the Spanish by James Mabbe (1631). H. Warner Allen contributes quite an extensive introduction.

"Heliopolis an Ethiopian Romance of Early Egypt," Suetonius, "History of the Twelve Caesars," and Ovid's "Handbook of Love," complete the list.

Emile Havelock's "China" (Dutton, \$3), presents that country as seen through the eyes of an outsider—and as the Chinese look on us.

The translation from the French by Mrs. Laurence Binyon is skillfully done—and we get the spirit of Havelock in the descriptions of Chinese history, philosophy, art and religion. "In the permanent presence of his ancestors undistinguished from himself the Chinaman lives, as in a closed vessel, the unaltered dream that is his life. The air that he breathes is the breath of the dead. His whole life is dominated by them. Death and the past are even more potent than life and the present."

There is not the kind of democracy in Emerson that there is in Whitman. They represent different generations, different economic and social epochs, different phases of class evolution. Emerson is the idolator of great men, not the genuine lover of the "prostitute" and "carpenter." He is the herald of individual not social development. The importance of the socialization of Labor, the sine qua non of the later stages of capitalism, he did not see and hence could not appreciate. During the period of his apogee the proletariat was undefined, a groping unsettled group. White slavery had just disappeared in 1931.

"The poor and low find some amends to their immense moral capacity, for their acquiescence in a political and social inferiority. They are content to be brushed like flies from the path of a great person, so that justice shall be done by him to that common nature which it is the dearest desire of all to see enlarged and glorified. They sun themselves in the great man's light, and feel it to be their own element."

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In Whitman there remained but few of the vestiges of the earlier concept, and these too are passing with the intensification of the proletarian and the gradual refinement of proletarian art. In Germany and Russia the plunge into the new art has been preternaturally violent and rapid. At times this art has possessed a ferocity verging on madness. Toller, Hasenclever, Liebedinsky—these are its stars. But they are its promise, not its fulfillment.

WORKING-CLASS ART
(Continued from Page 5)

begun to centralize, cities had yet to thicken and reek with the dun smoke of multiplying factories, and individual enterprise had still the chance of temporary survival and success. The individual, therefore, had greater opportunity, greater freedom. The limitation and oppression of an interwoven industrial system had yet to encompass him. The necessary interdependence of individuals had yet to be emphasized. Hegiras like that of Thoreau did not seem egregious anomalies. The philosophic attitude, as a consequence, was logically individualistic. Emerson's works is a reflection of this early, almost golden, age of capitalism—capitalism fresh with the hope of an unending spring. His preaching of "self reliance," the virtue of isolation, the strength of individual principle, all infused with a transcendental essence, are the accurate manifestations of the sociology of this period. The "Trust thyself" motto, the essence of the Emersonian metaphysics, is but the same idea differently phrased.

"It is only as a man puts off all foreign support and stands alone that I see him to be strong and to prevail. He is weaker by every recruit to his banner. Is not a man better than a town? Ask nothing of men, and, in the endless mutation, than only firm column must presently appear the upholder of all that surrounds thee."

RAND SCHOOL

7 East 15th St.
Stuyvesant 3084
Write for Bulletin
Begin next Saturday, Nov. 15
Sun., Nov. 30—DARROW vs. NEARING—"Is the Human Race Worth Working For?"

Oct. 25—1:30 P. M.	MORRIS HILLQUIT
Oct. 25—3:30 P. M.	JOHN LANGDON-DAVIES
Nov. 1—1:30 P. M.	A. F. HORRABIN
Nov. 8—1:30 P. M.	CARLETON BEALS
Nov. 15—3:30 P. M.	J. VINT LAUGHLAND
Nov. 22—3:30 P. M.	SCOTT NEARING

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British Labor's Foes Combine

(Continued from Page 1.)
fighting a slum district in London, with every prospect of success. Her husband contested the district in the last two elections, but his health will not permit him to make the run this year.

J. Malcolm MacDonald, brilliant 24-year-old son of Ramsey MacDonald, is running again in the Midlands. He is in America now, but his campaign will be waged by his sister, Isabel, and his older brother, Alistair. His father will also make several speeches in the constituency.

Arthur Henderson and his sons, Arthur Jr., and William W., are all running for re-election to the House, all as Labor men. But Oliver Baldwin, son of the late Tory Premier, who is running as his father, is vigorously fighting his father. Oliver is a Socialist and a member of the Social Democratic Federation, and is running as a Labor candidate. Oliver is also believed to be interested in more than a perfunctory way in Miss Ishbel.

Oswald Mosely, brilliant son-in-law of Lord Curzon, and his wife, are ardently campaigning for Labor. In Plymouth, it is almost certain that Lady Astor will be retired to private life by a Socialist. In her district the Labor vote has been creeping up on her election by election, until today the margin is almost wiped out.

and tens of thousands of posters adorn the walls of every city. The issues are many—when stated. In fact, however, there is one issue. It is the rule of the working class against continued rule by the exploiting, employing class. And Labor is marching on!

BROWN, SHOE CLERKS' ORGANIZER, ASSAULTED BY "OPEN SHOPPER"

Robert Brown, organizer of the Retail Shoe Salesmen's Union of Brooklyn, was assaulted by the only "open shop" employer in Williamsburgh, for no other reason than for talking to his employees, peacefully asking them to join the Union.

This employer, Hyman Youskowitz, who has his shop at 96 Moore street, was summoned to appear before Magistrate O'Neal at the Bridge Plaza Court. The judge, upon hearing the testimony of the Union organizer who appeared with the Union's attorney, Charles Solomon, held the employer on \$500 bail for Special Sessions.

The Salesmen's Union has recently organized the entire section of Williamsburgh and all of the shoe stores have conceded the Union's demands except this one.

Tens of millions of pieces of literature are being distributed by Labor

UNION DIRECTORY

HERE'S YOUR UNION, WHEN IT MEETS, AND WHERE

100,000 Members is Mark of Workmen's Circle

By JOSEPH S. BASKIN
General Secretary, the Workmen's Circle

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
3 West 16th Street, New York City
Telephone Chelsea 2148
MORRIS SIGMAN, President ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

CLOAK AND SUIT OPERATORS' UNION
LOCAL 1, I. L. G. W. U.
Local 1 Building, 128 East 25th St. Madison Sq. 5590
Executive Board meets every Tuesday at 7 P. M. in the office.
LOUIS HOROWITZ, Chairman. LOUIS LEVY, Manager-Secretary.

The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union
Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U.
Office 331 East 14th Street Telephone Lexington 4180
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION
DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

CLOAK and SKIRT MAKERS' UNION
Local 11, I. L. G. W. U.
Office and Headquarters, 219 Soakman St., N.Y. Dikens 0883
Local meets every 2nd and 4th Monday eve. Ex. Board meets every Tues. at 7:30 P. M.
WILLIAM COHEN, Chairman. HARRY CHANCOER, Secretary.

CHILDREN'S CLOAKS and REEFER MAKERS' UNION
LOCAL 17, I. L. G. W. U.
Office, 144 Second Avenue Telephone Orchard 0415-0416
Regular Meetings Every Thursday Evening at 79 Delancey Street, at 8 P. M.
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening, at the Office, at 7 P. M.
ABRAHAM GOLDIN, President. J. HELLER, Secretary.
ABRAHAM HELSON, Chairman of the Executive Board.

DRESSMAKERS' UNION
OF GREATER NEW YORK, LOCAL 22, I. L. G. W. U.
Office, 16 West 21st St. Watkins 7880
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MAX BLUBSTEIN, Chairman L. SCHOENHOLTZ, Manager-Secretary.

Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers
Union Local 48, I. L. G. W. U. Lexington 4540
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.
SECTION MEETINGS
Downtown—231 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 8 P. M.
Bronx—E. 187th St. & S. Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.
Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.
Bklyn—185 Montrose Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.
SALVATORE NINFO, Manager-Secretary.

SAMPLE MAKERS' UNION
LOCAL NO. 2, I. L. G. W. U.
130 East 25th St. Madison Sq. 147.
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY TUESDAY AT 8 P. M.
D. RUBIN, Manager-Secretary.

United Neckwear Makers' Union
LOCAL 11016, A. F. of L.
7 East 16th St. Phone: Stuyvesant 7082
Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30 o'clock, in the office.
LOUIS FELDHEIM, President
ED. GOTTSMAN, Sec'y-Treas.
D. BREGER, Manager
LOUIS FUCHS, Bus. Agent.

Italian Dressmakers
Union, Local 89, I. L. G. W. U.
Affiliated with Joint Board Cloak and Dressmakers' Union. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office, 8 West 31st Street. Telephone 174—Watkins.
LUIGI ANTONINI, Secretary.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION
Local 62 of I. L. G. W. U.
117 Second Avenue
TELEPHONE ORCHARD 7106-7
A. SNYDER, Manager MOLLY LIPSHITZ, Secretary

Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20, I. L. G. W. U.
130 East 25th St. Madison Square 1954
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M.
M. POLINSKY, A. WEINGART, Manager Sec'y-Treas.

BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS
UNION LOCAL 66, I. L. G. W. U.
2 East 15th St. Tel. Stuyvesant 3583
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union
Z. L. FREEDMAN, Pres.
M. M. ESSENFIELD, NATHAN RIESEL, Manager Sec'y-Treas.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
31 UNION SQUARE, N. Y. Suite 701-715
Telephone: Stuyvesant 4500-1-2-3-4-5
SYDNEY HILLMAN, Gen. President JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

NEW YORK JOINT BOARD
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789 Broadway, New York City. Telephone: Stuyvesant 4320, 9510, 9511
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New York Clothing Cutters' Union
A. C. W. of A. Local "Six Four."
Office: 44 East 13th Street, Stuyvesant 5566.
Regular meetings every Friday night at 210 East Fifth Street.
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 p. m. in the office.
MURRAY WEINSTEIN, Manager. MARTIN SIGEL, Sec'y-Treas.

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Children's Jacket Makers
of Gr. N. Y., Loc 10, Sec. A., A. C. W. A.
Office: 2 Stuyvesant St. Drydock 8387
Executive Board meets every Friday at 8 P. M.
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A. LEVINE, Sec'y.
M. LENCHEV, Fin. Sec'y.

Lapel Makers & Pairers
Local 161, A. C. W. A.
Office: 3 Delancey St. Drydock 3800
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IKE SCHNEIDER, Chairman
KENNETH F. WARD, Secretary
ANTHONY V. FRIESE, Bus. Agent.

Children's Jacket Makers
OF GREATER NEW YORK LOCAL 10,
A. C. W. A. Section "B"
Office 85 Bushwick Av. Bkn. Stage 10180
Exec. Bd. meets every Friday at 8 P. M.
Reg. meetings every Wednesday, 8 P. M.
J. Berrowitz, L. Feitelson,
Chairman Sec'y.
J. Portner, J. Klejnbols,
Bus. Agent Fin. Sec'y.

Pressers' Union
Local 3, A. C. W. A.
Executive Board Meets Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple
11-27 Arlon Pl. Bkn., N. Y.
LOUIS CANTOR, Chairman
H. TAYLOR, BECKER, Sec'y.
LEON, Fin. Sec'y.

Twenty-five years have come and gone since the Workmen's Circle was first organized. 'Tis fully a quarter of a century since the Jewish workers of America laid the foundation for one of the finest institutions in existence; twenty-five years since the tiny seed was sown on the rich, fertile soil of Jewish-America, and now we have a mighty oak.

Rome, however, was not built in a day. In the heart of this majestic oak are stored away the indefatigable toil and concentrated efforts of the hundreds and thousands of enthusiastic workers, who gave unsparingly of their time and energy to make the Workmen's Circle what it is today.

Today, it is one of the finest and greatest institutions ever built by Jewish workers. Its name is a source of pride not only to the Jewish workers of America, but of the rest of the world as well.

The Workmen's Circle is not wholly interested in matters of insurance in case of illness or death of its members. The workmen's Circle does not give all its thought to cemeteries for its deceased. Its greatest concern is to guide its members toward the finest things in life. It aims toward the spiritual development of its members and spreads enlightenment amidst the masses. It brings the workers into intimate contact with the Socialistic movement of the world. It strives to instill into the minds of its members the thought that charity alone can not wipe out the iniquities of the present social system. Charity may

alleviate suffering and privation, but it can not affect a radical change in a system of exploitation. This thought emanates from every word and deed of the Workmen's Circle and is spread to the thousands through its educational work.

These are the reasons why with every newly added phase of activity, the Workmen's Circle is ever becoming more popular and its name is already spoken of with reverence and pride.

The Workmen's Circle never stepped aside from the path of principles it set before itself. It may be true that it had to change its tactics once in a while. This was due to the fact that, as a fraternal insurance organization, it is under the control of the laws of the various States and Provinces in which it functions. But changes merely in its method, left its principles intact.

The Workmen's Circle was never so great as it is today, and it is still growing. For this we may thank the people who carried on the work. There were no generals or subordinates in this field. In the Workmen's Circle, the soldier of yesterday became a general today because of his untiring efforts and faithfulness to the organization—and whenever necessary, the general of yesterday became a soldier of today, donning his uniform and uncomplainingly joined the ranks. To each, the carrying on of the work was of paramount importance.

Twenty-five years have we lived and during that time, we built new institutions, added new departments and branched off into various new roads of activity. But not until we will have within our ranks all the radical and progressive Jewish workers of America, will we be able to say that we've reached the highest peak of our ambition. There are, at this very moment, thousands of workers belonging to Jewish Unions, who are not affiliated with the Work-

men's Circle. There are today a great many radical elements who have remained outside our organization for various reasons.

We must concentrate our efforts; we must intensify our campaign to spread among the people the knowledge of what the Workmen's Circle is, what are its ideals and principles, what it has already done for the Jews in America as well as in Europe. Only then will we be able to attract new and younger forces to our cause. Only then will our ranks be augmented and we will have a better opportunity for larger activity for the interests of our members as well as the other phases of the Labor movement.

The Workmen's Circle still has many problems to work out for itself. There is much work to be done; and the bigger and stronger we are, the better will we be able to solve these problems and make our ideals come true.

Enough of inner strife! Cease all petty quarrels! Let every member of the Workmen's Circle pick up the torch lighting the road toward this mutual aim. Let all unite their powers in carrying on this great work, thereby furthering the welfare of the entire Labor movement.

Let us set to work! ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND MEMBERS FOR THE JUBILEE CONVENTION!—and success is ours.

More Bunk Against Public Ownership

By NORMAN THOMAS

Herbert Hoover, who on many occasions has played the role of handy man for big business, is the latest to see a menace to our Government in progressive proposals for public ownership. He piteously protests, "We shall lose most of our democracy in the storm." Bunk. On the contrary we have not much democracy and shall not have any unless we can manage these vital public utilities. The railroads are called "arteries of our national life." A nation which cannot control its own arteries is in a bad way. We shall either control super-power, as the Province of Ontario, Canada, does, or be controlled by the owners of super-power. We can, if we will, keep politics out and corruption down. We can set up a functional Government in industry with experts in command, rather than bureaucratic control. In a rough fashion, under the pressure of war necessity, we did that in the case of the railroads. In spite of subsidized propaganda to the contrary, the Government control of the railroads was far better than private control.

Mr. Hoover talks about the size of the public debt if we acquire public utilities. Yes, but that public debt will pay less interest than is now paid to private profit makers and can be eliminated by proper management of industry and proper taxation as we cannot eliminate excessive interest on watered stock. You do not incur new liabilities for the workers of the nation by creating public debt in place of the more enormous "debt" to absentee owners—a debt represented by stocks and bonds.

The simple truth is that only by collective management of public utilities can we meet the public needs. The mistakes we may make will be our own and we can remedy them. The mistakes made now under private system of ownership and operation for profit are inherent in the system and cannot be cured so long as the system continues.

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR STREET MEETINGS

By ALFRED BAKER LEWIS

Of course to run a street meeting well requires a chairman and a committee. This is so obvious it does not need saying.

It is helpful in getting a crowd started for the committee to stand directly in front of the chairman or speaker and fairly close. This gives to a passer-by the impression that they are listening to the

speaker far more clearly than if they stand to one side, and so helps more to interest passers-by. By standing fairly close the crowd will tend to form directly behind them instead of farther off and so will be more compact and easier for the speaker to reach with his voice.

After the crowd is formed, if the committee members will circulate on the outside and ask everyone who stands for a while and then leaves to buy a pamphlet or contribute to the collection, they can get good results. My experience as a committee member is that it is possible to increase literature sales by about one-third in this way. For people leave a street meeting for many reasons other than that they are not interested. They may be too hot, too cold, too tired, or too busy, and such persons will fairly often buy a pamphlet and sometimes even give to the collection as well.

A small branch which cannot hope to win an election will do better educational work by selecting one place for meetings and having a meeting regularly there every week on the same day of the week for at least four or five weeks, instead of trying to hold meetings in different parts each week of the territory under its jurisdiction. For a series of meetings advertises itself, and you will have a crowd waiting for the speaker to begin.

In the smaller towns and cities it is often possible by a little effort to get free publicity in the local papers for Socialist street meetings. The extent to which this is possible will, I believe, prove a pleasant surprise to anyone coming from the larger cities where the newspapers consistently give the Socialist Party and its doings the silence cure. Furthermore, a personal call by the speaker, accompanied by a local comrade at the local newspaper office, will sometimes result in a fairly unprejudiced report of the speech. Such a report is valuable even where prejudiced, because it encourages sympathizers who for any reason did not get to the meeting to know that there was a Socialist meeting in the town.

EMBROIDERY WORKERS
UNION, Local 6, I. L. G. W. U.
Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 591 E. 141st St. Melrose 7699
CARL GRABER, President.
M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION
Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union,
Office and Headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn. Pulaski 9798
Regular Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays.
M. REISS, President.
E. FRIEDMAN, Sec. Sec'y.
E. WENNEIS, Fin. Sec'y.
H. KALINOFF, Bus. Agent.

NECKWEAR CUTTERS
Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.
7 E. 15th St. Stuyvesant 7678
Regular meetings 1st Fri. every month
G. LEVINE, Pres. N. ULLMAN, Sec. Sec'y.
A. Schwartzwald, Chas. Hanzon, Vice-Pres. Treas.
LEO SAFFAN, Bus. Agent

N. Y. Joint Council
CAP MAKERS
of the U. C. H. & C. M. of N. A.
Office, 210 E. 5th St. Orchard 9800-1-2
Council meets every 1st & 3rd Wednesday
Jacob Roberts, B. Eisenstein, L. Bach, Manager
Rec. Secretary Fin. Sec.

Local 1 (Operators)
Regular Meetings Every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board Every Monday.
MORRIS GELLER, Organizer
Local 2 (Cutters)
Meetings every 1st & 3rd Thursday
Executive Board Every Monday
G. M. SPECTOR, ED. SASLAVSKY, President, Vice-Pres.
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FUR WORKERS' UNION
INTERNATIONAL
OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor
9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. Hunters Point 65
MORRIS KAUFMAN, General President.
ANDREW WENNEIS, General Secretary-Treasurer.

JOINT BOARD FURRIERS' UNION
OF GREATER NEW YORK
Office: 22 East 22nd Street Phone Gramercy 0618
Meets Every Tuesday Evening in the Office
SAM COHEN, President ABRAHAM BROWNSTEIN, Manager
ABRAHAM ROSENTHAL, ADOLPH LEWITZ, Sec. Secrs. WILLIAM CHERNIAK, Vice-Pres.

FUR FINISHERS' UNION
LOCAL 15
Executive Board meets every Monday at 5:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.
A. SOFFER, Chairman.
S. LANGER, Vice-Chairman.
H. ROBERTS, Secretary.

FUR NAILERS' UNION
LOCAL 10
Executive Board meets every Monday at 5:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.
I. RUBINSTEIN, Chairman.
C. ZORENBERG, Vice-Chairman.
ADOLPH LEWITZ, Secretary.

FUR CUTTERS UNION
LOCAL 1
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 5:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.
WILLIAM CHERNIAK, Chairman.
I. GOLDBERG, Vice-Chairman.
N. FISHEROFF, Secretary.

FUR OPERATORS' UNION
LOCAL 5
Executive Board Meets Every Wednesday at 5:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.
H. BEGONO, Chairman
M. GOLDFELD, Vice-Chairman.

INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION
GENERAL OFFICE:
62 UNIVERSITY PLACE, N. Y. Phone Stuyvesant 4408
CHARLES KLEINMAN, Chairman OSSIP WAINSKY, General Manager

PAPER BOX MAKERS' UNION
OF GREATER NEW YORK Phone Orchard 1200
Office and Headquarters, 2 St. Mark's Place.
Executive Board Meets Every Wednesday at 8 P. M.
LOUIS SMITH, MORRIS WALDMAN, J. KNAPPEN ANNA MUSICANT, President, Treasurer, Fin. Sec'y.
HERMAN WIENER and JOE DIMINO, Organizers.

Rand School Saturday Lectures Begin Oct. 25
The Rand School of Social Science, 7 East 15th street, is beginning its Saturday afternoon lectures on October 25, with two lectures of unusual merit. At 1:30 p. m., Morris Hillquit will speak in the Debs' Auditorium on the subject: "Labor, Socialism and the Progressive Movement." At 3:30 p. m., John Langdon Davies, lecturer on Social Psychology and Anthropology in Oxford University, and Labor candidate for Parliament, will explain "Why Labor Rules England."

Central Trades Picks La Follette Speakers
The Central Trades and Labor Council, the federated trade union body of New York City with a membership representing upwards of half a million workers, has designated a list of twelve Labor leaders to speak for La Follette and Wheeler at public meetings, and at assemblies of Labor organizations, and to assist in the organization of the La Follette-Wheeler campaign in this city.

Listening In on the Political Radio with Coleman

You get around to a lot of funny places in this progressive work. Wall Street, for example, recently "invaded," as the papers had it, by a group of progressive speakers...

A great crowd came out to "see the animals." Wall Street apparently had the idea that all progressives eat nothing but beets and other red foodstuffs...

They looked a bit disappointed when they found that the progressive speakers looked like most people, that they could talk English and answer hecklers to the latter's confusion.

An irate old broker who had been drinking his lunch kept yelling "Red" at the speakers. He wanted to know where the red flag was and announced a bit thickly that La Follette wanted to overthrow the "Constitution."

After the meeting a prosperous-looking individual came up to me and said, "I've been listening to you fellows and you're right. I'm going to vote for La Follette and Norman Thomas."

All sorts of interesting and unusual things are going on in this campaign. Take the sentiment in the Union League Club, for example. You know the Union League. It's the chief reactionary den in town.

Well, what do you think, boys and girls? Even this outfit can't stomach Teddy as a serious candidate for Governor of this State.

Butler seems to be a favorite name in Republican circles. Spelled as it should be with a small "b" it is most appropriate. There is fat William Butler, for example, whose business connections are lost in obscurity but who has acted as butler for the big interests of Massachusetts all his life.

As we hurry these lines to a waiting world, Fat Butler busts all over the newspapers with a yawp about a conspiracy he has unearthed. He has found out from Slemg and the other G. O. P. boy snouts that Blatherskite General Dawes has indeed wrecked the Republican campaign in the Northwest just as Brookhart said he had and that La Follette will carry the section clear out to the coast.

Thomas, whatever his vote, has made a significant contribution to the cause of progressive politics in this country. He has been able to reach new thousands with the truth about Socialism, thousands who had hitherto been hostile because they were misinformed.

Evidently the Old Guard is getting a bit desperate when they holler

THE NEW LEADER BAND-WAGON

Dr. W. F. Carsten of New Iberia, La., writes: "I can't understand why more workers don't give The New Leader all the support possible. You are certainly putting out a good paper, and you deserve all we can do for you."

If we were a minister, we wouldn't want a better text than that to preach from. So with that letter, and with the information that last week 5,000 extra were used in the Bronx, and 2,000 in addition were sold in Brownsville...

Norton Brown of Carteret, N. J., seems to be determined on holding first place in New Jersey. This time he secured three new subs.

S. Hollenbeck of Kingston, N. Y., and Louis Zicht of Brooklyn, mentioned twice before in this column, this week again have new subs. Bernard Mikel of Shamokin, Pa., sends three new subs.

Mrs. Jane Scott, Monaca, Pa., is again with us with three new ones this time. Dr. M. E. Fritz of Lexington, Miss., sends two new ones. Leo M. Harkins of the National Executive Committee adds one new yearly to the Philadelphia list.

Helena Turitz, for New England district, performs as per usual. She sends twelve subs. this week.

A. W. French of Chelsea, Mass., comes again with one new sub. He has been a welcome visitor every week for the last five weeks, each time with new subs.

Mrs. A. R. Stenger, Ravenna, Ohio, sends three new subs. Alfred Elshimer, Niagara Falls, N. Y., comes this time with two subs. Louis Schorpp of Philadelphia, Pa., one of the best hustlers we have there, has one new sub.

around about "conspiracies and overthrowing the Government" and the like. So far we haven't been able to get so much as a faint peep out of any old-party adherent and heaven knows we've begged them to come out and tell us where they stand every time we've spoken of late.

Norman Thomas is standing up well under the strain of as strenuous a campaign as a Socialist candidate for Governor has made in this State for many moons.

He makes on an average of three speeches a day, some days as many as five or six. Thomas has the saving grace of being able to say much in a few words and he makes converts wherever he opens his mouth.

By their attitude towards Thomas, the rank and file of the workers of this State may find out who is who on the payrolls of the Democratic and Republican machines.

Thomas, whatever his vote, has made a significant contribution to the cause of progressive politics in this country. He has been able to reach new thousands with the truth about Socialism, thousands who had hitherto been hostile because they were misinformed.

When the cooperative commonwealth comes in, you will hear something like this, "W-A-S-T-E signing off."

McALISTER COLEMAN

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The Finnish Socialist Federation in Fitchburg, Mass., which has done wonderful work for the paper, sends in five new subs. this week. John Meyer of Buffalo, besides renewing his own sub. for a year, sends in four new subs.

W. J. Dalrymple of North Attleboro, Mass., adds one more to his credit. S. Frank Urbanck of Trenton, N. J., in addition to good wishes, slips in four new subs.

Louis Cohn of Paterson, the secretary of the local La Follette-Wheeler Campaign Committee, landed six new subs; all new progressives. August Schmidt of Detroit, Mich., sends three new ones. Paul Hueck of Haledon, N. J., sends six new ones. Chas. Wray, Oak Park, Ill., comes in with four new subs. A. Cogan, Poughkeepsie, sends two new subs.

NEW YORK SIGN WRITERS Union Local No. 230. Office and Meeting Room: 104 Seventh Avenue. Phone Chelsea 5549. Regular Meeting Every Monday. Executive Board Meets Fridays at 8 p. m. GEO. B. HOVELL, JAS. F. CONLON, J. J. COGGAN, D. J. NAGLE, Rec. Sec'y, Fin. Sec'y.

SUIT CASE, BAG AND PORT-FOLIO MAKERS' UNION 62 University Place. Sturtevant 6558. The Membership Committee and the Executive Board meet every second and fourth Mondays of the month at the office. Regular meeting every first Thursday of the month at 151 Clinton St., N. Y. Chas. Garfinkel, Org'r. H. Kaplan, Sec'y.

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JOURNEYMEN PLUMBERS' UNION, LOCAL 418. Of Queens County, New York. Office and Headquarters, 259 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City. Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 4 P. M. MICHAEL J. McGRATH, President. WILLIAM PIPOTA, Financial Secretary. CHARLES McADAMS and GEORGE FLANAGAN, Business Agents.

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International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers. Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. JOHN P. BURKE, President-Secretary, 143 Broadway, Fort Edward, New York.

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Bad men spring from bad things; hence let us correct the things. —Victor Hugo.

In great houses the aim of existence is to ignore as much as possible that there is such a thing as suffering in any form.—Jane Welch Carlyle (wife of Thomas Carlyle.)

Life would never have been a problem if the workers of the world had been its thinkers, and it will lose its problems when they find their brains.—Peter E. Burrows.

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DRAMA

THEATRES



FLORENCE ELDRIDGE

who does such excellent work in the romantic play, "Bewitched." The production will be moved to Jolson's 59th Street Theatre Monday.

Two Generations

"Minick," a Comedy of the Old and New, at the Booth Theatre

Only a cynic would cavil at "Minick." There seems inevitable a certain measure of sentimentality in a portrait of old age; but George S. Kaufman and Edna Ferber have some as near escaping it as can be, and have produced a genuinely effective study of "Old Man Minick" and his loving children. As Kipling says, "Old is old and new is new, and never the twain shall meet." The play develops the idea that, despite the best intentions and the deepest love, there is a gap between generations that neither can bridge. There is an old saying: "If youth but knew; if age but could!" which "Minick" relives; the old man sees his children insisting on sacrificing themselves for him, when what he desires is that he be allowed to lead his own life alone. At first he had tried, quite unintentionally, to mould their household, where he had come to stay, to his own habits; then they try to mould their habits to the old man's; finally he goes off to his friends at the home, where, being all old together, the men will all feel at ease.

The play is developed with technical skill, and is given a fit production by Winthrop Ames, and a performance of equal merit. The setting by Woodman Thompson is very well done, and much of the action takes place in rooms adjoining the front one on stage, or along the hall of the apartment. O. P. Heggie as Old Man Minick, and Phyllis Povah as his daughter-in-law stand out only a little beyond a well-fitting cast, in parts that seem human; only in a few characters—the Diamonds, who come to sweep the Minicks off to a party, and Miss Crakenwald, making her report at the delightful meeting of the Women's Club—do the presentations become caricature.

The chief fault of the play seems one inherent in the subject. The poignancy of the plot develops from the day-by-day proximity of the old and the new generations, of different habits and ways of thinking, from the endless succession of little riffs and frictions, that in their sum total become at last unendurable. It is precisely an accumulation, straw by straw, of the burden that breaks the camel's back. But in a play this drawn-out monotony of dragging detail is impossible; it must be suggested at climactic moments; it must be suggested and conveyed, but not presented. And in this dilemma lies a weakness that undermines the dramatic force of the play, preventing it from being truly effective as drama, though it remains a most interesting and humanly real study of any old person and his children. As the theme of many a long-drawn domestic tragedy, it retains its truth and power on the stage. J. T. S.

"Havoc" Comes to Bronx Opera House Monday

The Messrs. Shubert will present the Haymarket (London) Theatre success at the Bronx Opera House, beginning Monday night. "Havoc" was recently seen at the Maxine Elliott Theatre. "Seventh Heaven," Austin Strong's comedy, will come to the Bronx, October 27.

Bernard Shaw and "The Guardsman"

THE scene is in London. "Written by Franz Molnar, translated by George Bernard Shaw." Theresa Helburn, casting and executive director of the Theatre Guild, thought for one brief moment while talking to Shaw this summer that she had these names on the signboard of the Garrick. Shaw had asked what the first play of the Guild season was to be. Miss Helburn told him "The Guardsman," which opened at the Garrick Monday night.

"I remember it very well," said Shaw. "A delightful play. I began to translate it from the German once. I had Robert Lorraine in mind."

Miss Helburn: "Where is that script now?"

Shaw: "Oh, they were only notes really. I didn't finish it."

Miss Helburn: "Where are the notes?"

But Shaw didn't remember. He thought he had given them to Robert Lorraine, and if so, Lorraine must have lost them long ago.

Miss Helburn talked regretfully of other things, of royalties, of methods of production, of details of the forthcoming production of "Caesar and Cleopatra."

And as she rose to go Shaw came back to the question of "The Guardsman."

"It's a charming comedy. One of the most brilliant of the day," he said.



MME. SIMONE

returns to New York for a six-weeks' engagement at the Henry Miller. Rostand's "L'Aiglon" will be the opening play on Monday night.

Spilt Milk

"The Far Cry," a Play of Americans Abroad, at the Cort Theatre

The question of the influence of environment upon character is further complicated, in this play, by a consideration of the effect of transplanting. Just as the orchid will not flourish in the gardens of America, nor the Amassa Baboon in the American zoo; so—"The Far Cry" teaches—the American youth flourish the best in the good old U. S. A. Europe is too heady a climate; youth grows rank, over-luxuriant, with those brilliant colors that are the indication of decay. Such, at any event, is the fate of Claire Marsh (Margalo Gilmore) does some very good emotional work; abroad with a frivolous mother, not accepted in genuine French society, but associating with the colony of Americans who sojourn abroad to avoid the scandal at home, and with the army of European parasites. Claire becomes the spoiled child of Europe. With her on the downward path is somberly marching Dick Clayton (Kenneth MacKenna) plays as though he knows the part is shallow and shoddy; this young American has come abroad to study art, and has lingered to specialize in chorus girls and highballs—or their French equivalent. Upon this disolute group the dauntless American parents descend; Claire's father and Dick's mother, with the clean winds of the West, sweep across the fetid atmosphere, and win to the sobering of their children, always true to sweet sentimental endings.

Arthur Richman has done a much less subtle study than in his "Am-bush"; he has indeed supplied Robert Milton, the producing director, and Livingston Platt, who creates a beautiful villa for the second act, with all too weak material to drape around the solid cast, all of whom, down to the Italian count of no account, and the Italian maid, do valiant work in vain. W. L.

Vaudeville Theatres

B. S. MOSS' BROADWAY The Broadway Theatre beginning Monday, will show Cecil B. DeMille's newest screen product, "Feet of Clay." The DeMille cast includes Rod La Roque, Vera Reynolds, Ricardo Cortez, Julia Faye, Theodore Kosloff, Robert Edson and Victor Varconi. A program of vaudeville will include The Giersdorf Sisters, Irene, Elvira and Rae and their Orchestra; The Klein Brothers, Harry and Arthur, in their new comedy, "Jest Moments"; Mignon; George Watts and Belle Hawley; Tierney and Donnelly; Joseph Drake and Company, and other acts.

Broadway Briefs

Daniel Kusell announces as his first production of the season a spectacular melodrama by Langdon McCormick, called "Shipwrecked," early in October. Following this Kusell will present George Jessell in a musical play to be entitled "The Girl from Kelly's." The book is by Kusell, with words and music by Gus Kahn and Lou Silvers. The producer also promises to do his dramatization of James Oliver Curwood's "The River's End," already tried out last season.

"Mother Love," favorite theme of playwrights, will form the basis of "Dawn," a new drama by Tom Barry, which will be offered in November. Emma Dunn will play a leading role.

From Washington comes a report of new invention, celluloid films so thin that 254,000 of them could be packed into a space an inch thick, have been produced by the Bureau of Standards of the Department of Commerce. They were made by dissolving the celluloid in amyl acetate and dropping the solution on a clean water surface, allowing the acetate to evaporate.

Charles Coburn, who is starring with Mrs. Coburn in "The Farmer's Wife," at the Comedy Theatre, has a new play by Eden Phillpotts, the English novelist, which he will shortly present under the management of Mr. Lee Shubert.



THEODORE KOSLOFF in Cecil B. DeMille's, "Feet of Clay," coming to Moss' Broadway Monday.

THE NEW PLAYS

MONDAY

"ASHES," a play in four acts by Reginald Goode, will be presented by Walter C. Jordan at the National Theatre on Monday evening. Florence Reed plays the principal role. The supporting cast includes Warburton Gamble, Arthur Behrens, Gladys Hurlbut, Alfred Shirley, Donald Macmillan, Eleanor Daniels, Charles Esdale and Wallis Roberts. The settings were designed by Edward Morange and Lawrence Marston directed the production.

"L'AIGLON" Rostand's play of Napoleon's son, will be the first of Mme. Simone's limited season of six weeks in repertoire. Anne Nichols is presenting Mme. Simone and her players at the Henry Miller Theatre, beginning Monday night. "L'Aiglon" will be followed by "Mme. Sans-Genes" and Pirandello's "Naked," at intervals of one week.

TUESDAY

"TIGER CATS," by Mme. Karen Branson, will open at the Belasco Theatre on Tuesday night, presented by David Belasco. Robert Lorraine, who originated the leading role in London, will play the same part here. Others in the cast include Katherine Cornell, Mary Servoss, Ruth Dayton, Sidney Thompson, Rea Martin and Reginald Mason.

WINTER GARDEN

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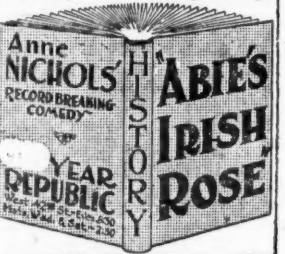
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A Drama by I. D. BERKOWITZ Directed by MAURICE SWARTZ. Settings by FERDINAND FIEDMAN of Vienna.

EVES. 8:30. MATS. 2:30.

Broadway Briefs

At the Colonial Theatre this Sunday the program of Keith acts will include: Joe Smith and Charles Dale in the "Avon Comedy Four"; Kramer and Boyle with Cameo Rambler's Orchestra; Four Diamonds; Lew Seymour and Girls; Jarvis and Harrison; Adams and Cook; Cook, Mortimer and Harvey.

"Bewitched," now at the National Theatre, will be transferred Monday night to Jolson's 59th Street Theatre.

"Seventh Heaven" will be at the Shubert-Riviera Theatre for the week beginning Monday.

The Messrs. Shubert have accepted for immediate production a comedy by Cosmo Hamilton entitled "Parasites." Francine Larrimore will play the leading role.

At the George M. Cohan Theatre this Sunday will be "The Sea Hawk," Milton Sills, Wallace Beery and End Bennett enact the leading roles.

Arthur Hopkins announces he will present Ethel Barrymore in "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray," by Sir Arthur Wing Pinero at the Cort Theatre, Monday evening, October 27.

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LOUISE CLOSSER HALE

playing in Rachel Crothers' comedy, "Expressing Willie," at the 48th Street Theatre. The 21st performance will be celebrated Monday night.

Sissie and Blake, "The Chocolate Dandies," gave their 50th performance at the Colonial Theatre Tuesday night.

Harry Ellsworth, the dancer, has been added to the cast of "The Dream Girl," now at the Ambassador Theatre.

At the Cinemas

BROADWAY—Cecil B. DeMille's "Feet of Clay," with Rod La Roque, Vera Reynolds, Ricardo Cortez and Theodore Kosloff. CAMEO—Johnny Hines in "Speed Spook."

CAPITOL—Buster Keaton in "The Navigator."

RAILTO—Zane Grey's, "The Border Legion," with Antonio Moreno and Helene Chadwick.

RIVOLI—"Captain Blood," by Rafael Sabatini, with J. Warren Corrigan and Jean Page.

STRAND—"The Silent Watcher," by Mary Roberts Rinehart, with Glenn Hunter and Bessie Love.

Founders' Night will be celebrated at the 21st performance of "Expressing Willie" at the 48th Street Theatre Monday evening. The guarantors of the Actors' Theatre will be present in full force.

The Winter Garden concert Sunday evening will be composed of acts from "Artists and Models," "Passing Show of 1924," "Hassard Short's Ritz Revue" and members of "Innocent Eyes" company.

THEATRES

DRAMA

(Continued From Page 6) that every member should attend and be on time.

lin, N. Fine. 17th A. D.—116th street and Lenox avenue. Speakers: Mrs. Mainland, Mollie Friedman.

JULIAN MITCHELL. CHOCOLATE DANDIES. SO IT'S 100% SHOT SISSIE BLAKE SHUFFLE ALONG. CAST OF 125 FAMOUS FUNSTERS. COLONIAL THEATRE. EVENINGS 8:20—MAT. SAT. ONLY. MIDNIGHT SHOW THURSDAY 11:45.

Henry Miller Thea., 124 West 43rd St. ANNE NICHOLS presents MME. SIMONE. The Foremost Actress of France, supported by all-star Parisian Cast. IN ROSTAND'S "L'AIGLON".

In His Arms Sam H. Harris Presents "In His Arms," by Lynn Starling, at the Fulton



MLLE. GAMBARELLI, the life and joy of the Capitol Theatre Ballet corps.

La Follette-Wheeler Benefit Sunday Night

Broadway stars and vaudeville headliners will appear on the bill at the benefit performance to be presented at the Sam H. Harris Theatre Sunday evening, by the La Follette-Wheeler Campaign Entertainment Committee.

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48th ST. 8TH MONTH THEATRE. "Expressing Willie". RACHEL CROTHERS' FINEST COMEDY. AMONG THE MOST SKILLFUL OF ALL AMERICAN COMEDIES... A REMARKABLE AND BEAUTIFUL PIECE OF WORK. YOU MUST NOT MISS "EXPRESSING WILLIE".

HUDSON THEATRE WEST 44th ST. "THE FAKE". A SENSATION IN LONDON A KNOCKOUT IN NEW YORK! GODFREY TEARLE.

BS. MOSS BWAY at 41st next week. CECIL B. DE MILLE'S "FEET OF CLAY". GERSHORD SISTERS BAND. KLEIN BROS. other acts.

"A HUNGARIAN 'MARIE ODILE' SO WRITTEN AND SO PLAYED AS TO SEEK YOUR SMILES RATHER THAN YOUR SIGHS." THE LITTLE ANGEL.

CAPITOL BROADWAY AT 31st ST. HELD OVER FOR 2D WEEK. Buster Keaton IN "THE NAVIGATOR".

SHIVERS—LAUGHS—THRILLS JOHNNY HINES "THE SPEED SPOOK".

Yes, indeed, that is the way the bills read, "Margaret Lawrence in His Arms." And the Him in question is not at all the gentleman that Elise Clarendon is betrothed to...

BRONX The Red Night in the Bronx was a huge success. Eight large street meetings were held last Friday evening in various sections of the county.

BROOKLYN Theatre Party October 29 Local Kings will have a theatre party Wednesday, October 29, at the Provincetown Playhouse, McDougal street.

Seventh Congressional District Jacob Axelrad, candidate for Congress in the 7th District (1st, 4th and 14th A. D.) is conducting the most vigorous campaign in all his long career in party work.

October 24 will be Red Night in the 16th A. D., which is a large part of the 8th Congressional.

Tenth Congressional District A huge mass meeting will be held for the candidates of the 8th A. D. and 10th Congressional October 24, at Broadway Casino, 790 Broadway.

Word has just been received of the arrangement of a fifth meeting for the great Thomas-for-Governor night, October 24.

The Youth Organizations of New York, are holding a political conference at which leaders of the Republican, Democratic and Labor parties will speak, Sunday, October 19, at 2 o'clock, at the Community Church, 34th street and Park avenue.

Street Meetings MANHATTAN MONDAY 3rd A. D.—24th street and Eighth avenue. Speakers: Mrs. M. Mainland, Mrs. Guilford, C. C. Kaye.

MUSIC

"Don Quixote" Ballet Opens Pavlova Farewell

Three weeks of Ballet Russe and Anna Pavlova in her farewell season at the Manhattan Opera House will introduce seventeen different ballets and some thirty diversissements.

Music Notes

"L'Isle Joyeuse" by Debussy, is the first of the novelties to be brought out this season by Walter Damrosch, conductor of the New York Symphony orchestra, its first New York performance being scheduled for the opening concert at Carnegie Hall, October 31.

Paul Kochanski, violinist, Harold Bauer, pianist and George Barrere, fustist, will appear at the concert of the Beethoven Association to be given in Aeolian Hall, Monday evening, October 27.

Harry Farberman, violinist, will give his debut in Aeolian Hall on Thursday evening.

Dora Rose, lyric soprano, will appear in song recital in Aeolian Hall, on Sunday evening, October 26.

Nina Tarasova will give her first costume recital at Aeolian Hall on Saturday evening, October 25.

Arthur Hartman will give a violin recital at Aeolian Hall on Tuesday afternoon.

Yasha Banchuk, solo cellist of the Capitol Theatre, has a week's leave of absence, and is on tour this week as assisting artist with Ama Gluck.

Albert Spalding has been reengaged for five more appearances with the Boston Symphony Orchestra during the coming season.

Noble Sissle and Eubie Blake (now appearing at the Colonial Theatre with "The Chocolate Dandies") will give a piano-song recital at Aeolian Hall. Date still open.

PHILHARMONIC

Next week finds the Philharmonic Orchestra under the direction of Willem Van Hoogstraten on its annual fall tour. The schedule for this musical journey includes concerts at Stamford, Providence, New London, New Haven, Northampton, Worcester, Holyoke, Pittsfield and Boston, with Esther Dale, soprano, Scipione Guidi, violinist, and Elly Ney, Yolanda Mero and Carel Robinson, pianists, as soloists.

Music Notes

The first of a series of popular lectures on "The History of the Development of Music" will be delivered Monday night, by Carl Newman at Dorsha's Art Theatre of the Dance, 116 West 68th street. The lectures will be illustrated at the piano by Israel Schlein.

Alberto Sciarretti, pianist, will give a recital in Aeolian Hall on Wednesday afternoon, October 22.

Isa Kremer will give her first recital of the season at Carnegie Hall, Sunday afternoon.

Sara Phyllis Grossman, fifteen-year-old pianist, will give her first New York recital in Aeolian Hall on Monday evening.

The Symphony Concerts for Children, at Carnegie Hall, increased from four to five this season, promise to be still inadequate, as the supply of seats is practically exhausted, only a few scattering tickets remaining unsold.



LAURENT NOVIKOFF with Anna Pavlova at the Manhattan Opera House. The three-week farewell tour began last night.

Music and Concerts

MANHATTAN OPERA HOUSE. FAREWELL AMERICAN TOUR. ANNA PAVLOVA THE INCOMPARABLE AND HER BALLET Russe SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA 125 COMPANY OF 125.

Bronx Amusements

Bronx Opera House. Beginning Monday Night. The Messrs. SHUBERT, Present "HAVOC" By HARRY WALL.



ALBERT CARROLL one of the reasons "The Grand Street Follies" has been playing since May at the Neighborhood Playhouse on Grand Street.

CARNEGIE HALL, SUN. OCT. 26 CONCERT BY JOHN McCORMACK. Tickets \$100 to \$2.50 NOW AT BOX OFFICE

The cast for "The Imported Wife," the comedy by Crane Wilbur which the Messrs. Shubert are rehearsing, will include Suzanne Cabet, John Marston, Ryder Keane, Katherine Lowry, William Everts, Adele St. Maur, Margaret Pitt and George E. Romain.

The dancing partner of Thaur Karasvina who will make her debut here on November first, will be Pierre Vladimiroff. He was educated in the Petrograd Imperial Ballet School, the same school that trained Nijinsky, Adolph and Mordkin.

THE NEW LEADER

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Table with 2 columns: Subscription Period and Rate. Includes rates for United States and Foreign Countries for One Year, Six Months, Three Months, and Single Copy.

Saturday, October 18, 1924

IMPORTANT!

WHEN this issue of The New Leader reaches its readers, there will be two weeks more for the Socialist Party, and the forces with which it is allied, to fight for a huge vote for the ticket, before America goes to the polls.

In that time an enormous amount of work must be done; millions of pieces of literature must be printed, letters addressed and mailed, halls hired, and canvassers supplied with material. For Election Day there must be watchers for every polling place and refreshments ready for all of them.

All this costs money, and money is needed urgently. Much money—as much money as the party can get.

Comrade Thomas is having a remarkably successful tour up State, but without more money it is doubtful if the tour can be continued up to Election Day.

There are several thousand subscription lists in the hands of party members. Money on those lists are to be distributed between the State and National offices and the locals. RETURNS ON THOSE LISTS MUST BE MADE AT ONCE.—And readers who have no lists can send contributions for the party campaign fund directly to The New Leader, 7 East 15th street, New York.

Make it generous, and make it snappy.

"In the '60's," orated Master Theodore Roosevelt, born 1857, "we Republicans saved the country." Yes, Ted, and we Socialists won the Revolution, fought the French and Indian War, captured Louisbourg, defeated King Philip, explored the St. Lawrence, discovered America, burned Joan of Arc, won the Crusades, and did ever so many things. Now you tell us another one.

GOOD NIGHT, MASTER

WITH the death of Jacques Anatole Thibault, known to all the world as Anatole France, the world is a poorer place to live in. A great light has gone out. A great spirit belongs to the ages.

Anatole France, known wherever great literature is appreciated as "Master," lived a full, rich, glorious life. A man of contempt for shams and frauds, filled with a passion for justice and hatred for wrong, his soul was of infinite love, infinite tenderness and infinite pity for the poor beings known as humans.

A great stylist—the greatest of our day—he will live with Hugo, Flaubert, De Maupassant and the rest of the French immortals. As a warrior for truth and justice he will live with Shaw and Jaures; as a lover of humanity, he is what our own Mark Twain might have been if Mark Twain were a Frenchman and emancipated from the conventions and inhibitions that strangled his better self.

When his country rose up in her comic dignity to persecute Dreyfus, the friendless Jew, Master Anatole spoke in words of fire. When he championed the cause of justice and liberty he spoke with a voice of thunder; and when he wrote his social creed in that most delicious of all satires, "Penguin Island" his people laughed joyously, even though every word was a lash of steel, tipped with fire.

And in his revered old age, with the world at his feet, with men and women coming from the ends of the earth to do him homage, he spoke to the women of the world who had begged him for a message: "Hate war! Make wars forever impossible by teaching your children to hate war!"

Anatole France is dead, but his memory will live forever as a symbol of the best, the noblest, and the most beautiful in that France that Master Anatole loved with such tenderness.

An attempt is being made to get President Coolidge to come to New York to be viewed by a metropolitan audience. There's a traitor in the camp!

HE'S GOT THEM WORRIED!

AND now the old party folks are so worried at the tremendous strength that Norman Thomas and the whole Socialist ticket is attracting that they are trying to bluff Thomas into quitting the race.

Strong pressure is being brought to bear on Thomas to quit in favor of the Tammany darling. At first there were delicate and indirect hints that Thomas was "dividing the progressive vote" by continuing to

HEW TO THE LINE!

THERE was a time when the words Tammany Hall were synonymous with everything foul in American life. There was a time when merely to designate a seeker after office as a Tammany man was to damn him utterly. There was a time when Tammany Hall was known as a nest of thieves, seeking control of public affairs merely to fatten their own bankrolls.

There was a time when to admit connection in any way with Tammany Hall was sufficient to rule one out of decent society. In those days, Tammany meant open thieving, protected gambling and prostitution. Tammany meant vote stealing, colonizing hordes of floater, debauching the ballot box; Tammany meant crooked control of public office. In those days, bitter as was the warfare of the "goody-goody" elements against the workers, Tammany's was even more bitter. In those days, woman suffrage, labor legislation, compensation legislation, the right to strike and picket, had no sterner opponents than Tammany legislators, Tammany judges, Tammany mayors, Tammany police chiefs.

All that has been true within the decade just past. It was difficult to get a suffrage amendment carried by a Republican Legislature; it was almost impossible to get it passed by the collection of bartenders, thugs, ex-prize fighters, procurers and gangsters' attorneys that made up the elect of Tammany Hall.

When the needle workers first began their great struggle for human decency, there were none who fought them more brutally than Tammany judges, Tammany police commissioners, Tammany petty officials of all kinds. The rock-ribbed Republicans were reactionary—but Tammany was rough and vicious into the bargain.

That was Tammany Hall; that in addition to being looters of the city and the State; that in addition to debauching Government; that in addition to protecting ballot box thieves, floaters, pimps and murderers.

Then the workers in those sections where Tammany was strongest began to realize—with Debs that "the sound of the policeman's club on the head of a striker is an echo of an anti-Socialist vote cast at the last election." Then those who had been filled with Socialist idealism by the Socialist pioneers began to realize that merely to be Socialists was not enough; that ten thousand Socialists in a community of one thousand Tammany hoodlums could not prevail IF THE ONE THOUSAND VOTED AND THE TEN THOUSAND DID NOT.

Then the workers not only united in their great unions, BUT THEY BEGAN TO VOTE. Then they began to threaten their industrial bosses and Tammany, the allies of their bosses, at the same time. Then they made a bid for political power.

The answer of Tammany was characteristic. It was the club, open stealing of thousands of votes and of the election of aldermen, assemblymen, senators, congressmen and judges. Tammany replied in Albany by open defiance of the will of the masses; Tammany replied in the City Hall by throwi g out the demands of the workers and clubbing men and women when they came to protest.

The workers demanded compensation laws; their demand was laughed at. They demanded laws for the protection of women and children in factories. They demanded woman suffrage, municipal ownership, attention to the housing question. Their demands were laughed at and their representatives denounced, defied and thrown out of office. No more bitter opponents to the demands of the working people than the embattled hosts of Tammany. Until—

Until the demands became too strong to ignore. When stolen elections couldn't keep them down; when the expulsion of elected officials couldn't keep them down; when insults and foul threats couldn't keep them down, Tammany heeded the old political maxim: If you can't beat them, join them.

Instead of a good compensation law, Tammany gave a poor, weak, emasculated imitation of a compensation law and said: Behold, here is a compensation law; support us as a reward for our favor to you. Instead of effective Labor laws, Tammany gave poor, weak, anemic Labor laws, and demanded support for them—

run against Governor Smith and thus ensuring the election of Master Teddy, hints that totally ignored the fact that Thomas was first in the field, that for months Smith insisted that he would not run, and that it is therefore on Smith's head if his vote is large enough to beat Thomas and elect Roosevelt—if he really cares more for the defeat of reaction than for his own election, which we doubt.

Then the hints became more pointed. Paper campaign committees were assembled for the Tammany candidate, the members selected with an eye solely to their effect on the voters usually counted on to vote a straight Socialist ticket. Then a campaign manager was selected for the Tammany man, the selection being made solely with an eye to alienating voters from the straight Socialist ticket to vote for Tammany's leader.

But when these tentative overtures failed to stem the growing enthusiasm for the ticket headed by Norman Thomas, when not a single voter was won by all these elaborate maneuvers, in desperation a frontal attack was made, a Tammany henchman making a direct request of Thomas to withdraw and to throw his strength to the Tammany candidate in order that Roosevelt might be defeated.

Never was such an appeal made before, and it was made for a reason. It was made because, as a political expert in the Evening Post wrote, "For the first time in the political history of this State, the candidacy of a Socialist for the Governorship represents a real menace to one of the old line parties."

The growing strength for Thomas and the whole Socialist ticket has the Tammany forces worried. They fear there will be a bigger Socialist vote in New York City than ever before, and that in the rural sections up-State, where Smith got his unexpected majorities in 1922, there is a powerful sentiment for Thomas that will wipe out the Smith lead of that year and give a record vote to the Socialist Party.

No wonder they are worried! No wonder they see the rich plunder of the State Government for the next two years slipping from their grasp! It is that that is worrying Tammany, not the problematical loss of putative Labor legislation, with which they are trying to bluff working-class voters into deserting their own cause.

And to all the man-uevers we hurl the answer that Norman Thomas made to them. Even granting that Mr. Smith is a better, cleaner, abler, more progressive man than Master Roosevelt, the election of such a reactionary, coupled with a huge Socialist vote, is worth infinitely more to the voters of the State than the election of a man who himself may not be reactionary, but, backed by a reactionary party and coupled with a small Socialist vote; the election of Socialist legislators, with a huge Socialist vote back or them, is worth more to the progress of the workers—no matter who is Governor—than all the "progressive" Tammany men that ever lived.

And having said so much, we will go out and make a speech for the election of La Follette and Wheeler, "or Thomas and Solomon, and for the whole Socialist ticket.

And if they could not get that support at once, they gave political jobs to a few union officials, and said, Behold, we recognize Labor!

All this as a cloak to the continued debauching of the city. No longer do they go to the city treasury and help themselves to millions as Tweed did; no longer do they openly protect gamblers and pimps, as Croker did, and Murphy. Instead, they use the whole machinery of government as a means to pay political debts. Instead, they debauch the schools by considering every administrative, educational, and even teaching position as a "job" to be used to reward faithful political service. Instead of open graft there is "honest graft." Instead of honest solution of the housing situation, there is a dishonest, fraudulent, ineffective housing "emergency" law that keeps people quiet—and continues the legalized rapacity of the landlords. And when close elections require it, they steal votes and elections as joyously as in the past.

And what Tammany does in New York, other political machines do in other cities.

Is it better to have a crippled, feeble compensation law, together with Tammany in office; or a determined fight for a real compensation law, together with a struggle for a permanent party of the producers who will not have to be begged and petitioned and almost bribed not to spit in the faces of the workers?

In a sense that is the sole issue in the New York election, and in every election in New York and in the nation. That is the issue as between the suddenly converted "liberal" Davis and the frank reactionary Coolidge, on the one side; and La Follette and the hosts of Labor on the other.

Make no mistake; if Governor Smith is reelected, and if at the same time the Socialist strength in working class sections is dissipated by the belief that Smith and Tammany are "friends" of the workers, TAMMANY WILL IMMEDIATELY REVERT TO ITS OLD PRACTICE OF OPENLY IGNORING, DEFYING, AND INSULTING THE WORKERS.

Make no mistake; IF THE REACTIONARY ROOSEVELT IS ELECTED AND AT THE SAME TIME NORMAN THOMAS AND THE STRAIGHT SOCIALIST TICKET SECURE 250,000 OR 300,000 VOTES—AS THEY MOST LIKELY WILL—THE LABOR LAWS WILL BE SAFE AND THEY WILL BE IMPROVED.

Nothing is more salutary to the interests of the workers than a huge Socialist vote and the election of Socialist Assemblymen, Senators, and Congressmen. IT IS IN THE DISTRICTS WITH THE LARGEST SOCIALIST VOTE THAT WE FIND THE TAMMANY CANDIDATES MOST EAGER TO SHOW THEIR FRIENDSHIP TO LABOR. IS THAT A MERE COINCIDENCE, OR IS THERE A REASON?

DON'T THROW AWAY YOUR VOTE!

Remember what American politics is. Remember the insults, the injunctions, the clubbings, the defeats that workers have received at the hands of both Tammany and the G. O. P. Remember stolen elections and expelled assemblymen. Remember that Tammany is as faithful a servant of the industrial interests as the G. O. P., serving in its way as the G. O. P. serves in its way. Remember it was only when workers began to vote Socialist that Tammany tried to placate Labor.

A worker who casts a vote any way except for the full Socialist ticket is an enemy to himself, to his wife and children; he is an enemy of the Cause of Labor.

Under our election system we vote for men, not measures. That may be well or ill, but under that system it so happens that a straight Socialist vote is a blow at the most vulnerable spot in the armor of the enemies of the workers.

VOTE THE TICKET STRAIGHT! STRIKE A BLOW AT TAMMANY HALL, AT THE G. O. P., AND AT ALL THE EXPLOITERS AND DESPOILERS OF OUR COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE.

Capitalism is the enemy. It can be fought only by sledgehammer blows. HIT THAT THING HARD. In that way only can victory be won and the way made for a better world for ourselves and our children.

GUARDIANS OF LIBERTY

YOU wouldn't suspect it, but under this caption we are making a few choice remarks about the Supreme Court of the United States. Due to the fact that Senator La Follette and his platform have followed the Socialists in demanding that the people through their elected representatives have the last word in declaring laws unconstitutional, a furious assault has been launched upon those people by gentlemen and institutions who describe themselves as defenders of the liberties of the people.

When Calvin Coolidge and General Benito Davies; when Mr. Morgan's recent personal attorney and Tammany Hall, get lyrical about the rights of the people, the only answer is a laugh. But when so valiant a fighter for humanity as Samuel Untermyer repeats the same argument—well, that is another story.

In his debate with Morris Hillquit, Untermyer said that the Supreme Court is above popular passions, and that it is there to protect the people against gusts of prejudice. It sounds like an echo from the tomb of Alexander Hamilton, who said almost the same thing in the Constitutional Convention in arguing against popular sovereignty. Mr. Untermyer said that it is possible that Congress might actually capitulate to, let us say, the Ku Klux Klan and outlaw all Americans except white Nordic Protestants. And then we will have no defense except the Supreme Court.

It sounds convincing. When gusts of popular passion deprived children of the liberty of working in slave pens; when a wild wave of hysteria denied women the priceless privilege of working inhuman hours in factories, it was the Supreme Court that defended them and safeguarded those liberties. When, in the hysteria of war-time, Congress gave us conscription and an unconstitutional Espionage Act, the Supreme Court—

But wait a minute. It was just then that the Supreme Court upheld the laws that were passed as a result of the hysteria.

And when the Fourteenth Amendment was passed, that "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws," the passion-inflamed Congress thought they were safeguarding the legal rights of newly enfranchised Negro citizens. But the defenders of our liberties, the Supreme Court, knew better, and interpreted the law as protecting the liberties of the big capitalist corporations against the attacks of working-men!

And when— But why go on? Herbert Spencer said that the saddest thing in the world is the spectacle of a comfortable theory slain by an annoying fact.

More than anything else, we hate to correct typographical errors of a previous issue, but where a printer's error spoiled what we considered a merry quip we must break our rule. We wrote in last issue.

in an indictment of the corrupt mismanagement of the nation's funds during the late war, that there had been purchased for the army, (clowning glory) 712,510 spur straps, or thirty-six sets for each officer." And the printer made it "fur straps"!

OUR OWN BUSINESS

ON the statute books there are many laws that are designed to protect working people and cater to their interests. Some of them are excellent, and some are makeshifts. Some of them are impertinent fakes.

Some of those laws were passed by laying siege to Legislature after Legislature, to Congress after Congress, until unwilling old party men capitulated to the demands and threats of the workers. Some of them were fought for by Socialists in the legislative halls.

Labor organizations have for a long time employed lobbyists—"legislative representatives" they are called—to speak against hostile measures and for favorable measures—mostly against hostile measures. Much time and money have been spent in defeating unfavorable laws. More time and much more money have been spent in securing some poor crumbs of favorable laws. And then most of them have been overturned by the courts or "interpreted" out of all recognizable shape.

If, instead of lawyers for business concerns, representatives of political machines that are the political creatures of industrial and financial interests, and business men themselves, the Legislatures and Congress had been filled with workers and direct representatives of Labor organizations, not only would favorable laws be passed without any begging, not only would unfavorable laws have short shrift, not only would courts hesitate to overturn the expressed will of the people, but the producers would be in a position to have a registering machine to record their will, no matter if they happened to have expressed what they want in a convention before the elections or not. Instead of being an afterthought to politicians, their interest would be their sole concern.

And if all the time and energy and money that has been poured into the struggle against bad laws, and for the labor laws, had been thrown into an endeavor to build up such a party, that party would have been here long ago.

That has not yet been done, but the time to start doing it is NOW.

VOTE THE SOCIALIST TICKET STRAIGHT. That is the only way to get it.

"I want you to look me over and see what I look like; and after looking me over, don't overlook me on Election Day." That is the full text of the majority of the "great" speeches that Master Teddy is making in his triumphal tour of the State. And although we are working our heads off for the candidacy of Norman Thomas, we can't for the life of us think of a rebuttal to that intelligent argument.

THE Chatter-Box

Quatrains for an Alabama Lynching Bee

Sometimes I think I'd rather be This black man fruited on a tree, Broken, bruised and pocked with holes, Than own your lovely Christian souls.

Sometimes I think I'd rather own Being roasted to the bone And with blistering flames efface My color kinship to your race.

Which one of you would ever boast Of having played the Holy Ghost— Or dare confess for all your scorn How each mulatto Christ is born . . . ?

Says Harry Katz: "If campaigning is the cause of filling your column with poetry, then, ho! for a perpetual campaign. Not that your chirping is devoid of worth, but that your selection of poetry is so unique. In other words, more poetry."

Says we: If poetry would come winging our way as prettily as it did last week, we would quit warbling inanities. But sad it is that this week the volume of contributions belied the quality thereof. From fourteen States came Iliads, Odysseys, Ballades and Odes, but none of them, aye, none of them—we shall not be cruel to the bards, we will simply end by repeating, none of them . . .

We will simply have to perform, campaign or no.

Jim Oneal has not been here these holidaying hours owing to a slight indisposition. Judging by the mess the whole editorial office is in technically as well as in spirit, we are all for declaring National Prayer Week for his prompt recovery. He'll just have to come here pretty darned soon, or we'll be finding this here column latitudinally underlining a front page streamer headline. [We demur, object, protest and deny.—The Surviving Staff.]

We received our first baptism of the campaign in the Bronx, last Saturday night. It came four fights down on the corner of Clinton and Tremont avenues, the Bronx, in the form of an ice-cream quart container filled with adulterated water. It doused our new Norfolk suit somewhat, but contrarily inflamed our audience to the extent of a \$15 collection. We'll go through this religious ceremony every night if the results can be uniformly guaranteed.

Refrain for One Who Has Gone

Bleak and bruised the earth, No sound of lark or linnet. . . . And yet there must be warmth and mirth! You—are in it.

The Artist

Upon my canvas lovingly I lay In sunny colors, clear and sweet and strong, The visions of the world that on me throng, The glorious autumn tints, the bloom of May; The sunny skies, the sea in all its pride, The mountains towering above the plain, With lofty summits on which snow has lain The sun's betrothed—a chaste and patient bride.

All these I paint; and then I pause awhile And ponder on the truths unknown of men: What is the meaning of this beauty, then? Is thunderstorm God's frown? the sun His smile? What lies beyond? The artist's sight grows faint, Against the hidden truths he cannot paint. —Coralie H. Haman.

Now, Harry, just to somewhat satisfy you, we have sat down between campaign speeches and composed the following to the immortal strains of Tschaiakowski's "Chant d'Automne." Our only regret is that our poor words will hardly follow an hour in the march of the music toward eternity.

Chant of Autumn

The patriarchs hold high mass In the cathedrals of the woods: Slowly they bow; monotonous the drone And moaning of prayer.

There is dark grief in the valley And grey shadows are falling Over the mountain-side; "Kodosch—kodosch—kodosch," They beat their breasts and say. . . .

The beard of the willow is drab; The oak's brown; the pine's green, dull. Patently the heads bend, and everywhere Fearful fingers wave warning To the young birch trees— Children still in the white dresses Of their confirmation.

Idling, tempting birches Flirt carelessly with the wind. Only the dead leaves and they are merry, Dancing waltzes and scherzos As he fuses shrill notes Down the hills. Merrily they fandango, dreaming only Of April . . . Springtime.

"Kodosch—kodosch—kodosch." To the beat of gnarled fists The old men of the wood moan prayer And sad warning.

There will be greater grief in the valley, With the silent march of the white angels— Death and Devastation. . . . S. A. DE WITT.