

**AMERICAN**

**HURLY-BURLY**

**THE  
DRAMATIC  
HIGHLIGHTS OF  
LAST YEAR'S  
PARADE OF  
EVENTS**

**ERNEST SUTHERLAND BATES  
AND ALAN WILLIAMS**

# AMERICAN HURLY-BURLY

By ERNEST SUTHERLAND BATES  
and ALAN WILLIAMS

In AMERICAN HURLY-BURLY, Ernest Sutherland Bates and Alan Williams have surveyed and interpreted the dramatic high spots in last year's extraordinary parade of events.

The rise and decline of the Liberty League, the behavior of the Supreme Court, Mrs. Simpson, Red-baiting, the Republican Party campaign, Al Smith's historic turnabout, the introduction of the "sit-down" technique among strikers, the Rabble-rousers, are all part of the picture. Here, too, are reported the startling developments in the Scottsboro Case, the split in the Socialist Party, the new "conservative" policy of the Communists, the mushroom growth of the Federal Theatre, the Buenos Aires Peace Conference, the striking revelations of the Nye Committee, the Black Legion, the establishment of the Social Security Act, the bonus payments, and many other significant conditions and events, which are neatly pinned to paper by the authors' incisive and oftentimes ironic discussion.

The book is divided into five parts, dealing with outstanding happenings in the winter, spring, summer, and fall of the year. The fifth section is devoted to an interpretative discussion of them. In effect, the arrangement is that of an extended calendar done in retrospect. Mr. Bates, whose new edition of the Bible was a recent best-seller, and his collaborator have written what is one of the most significant records of contemporary times.

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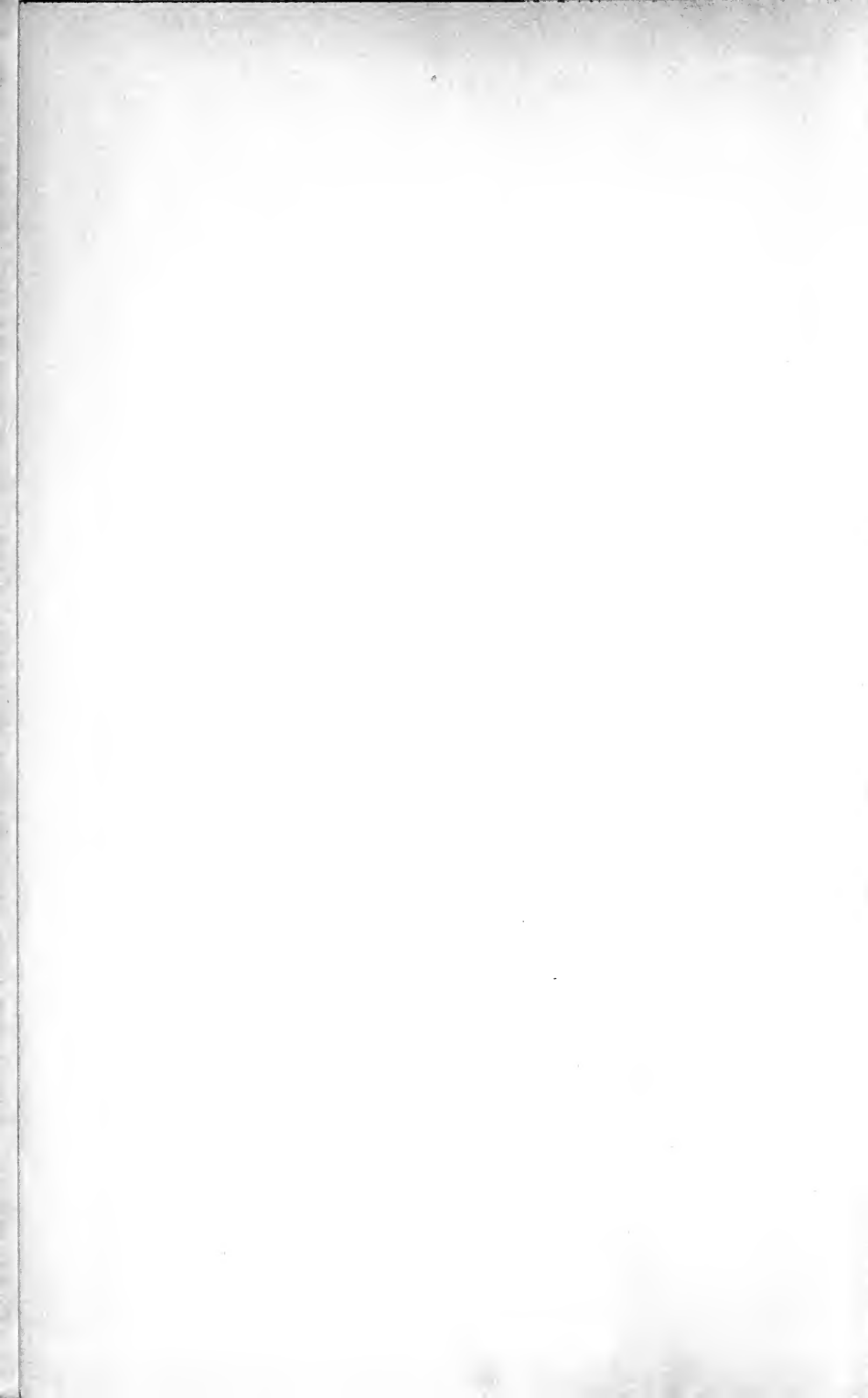
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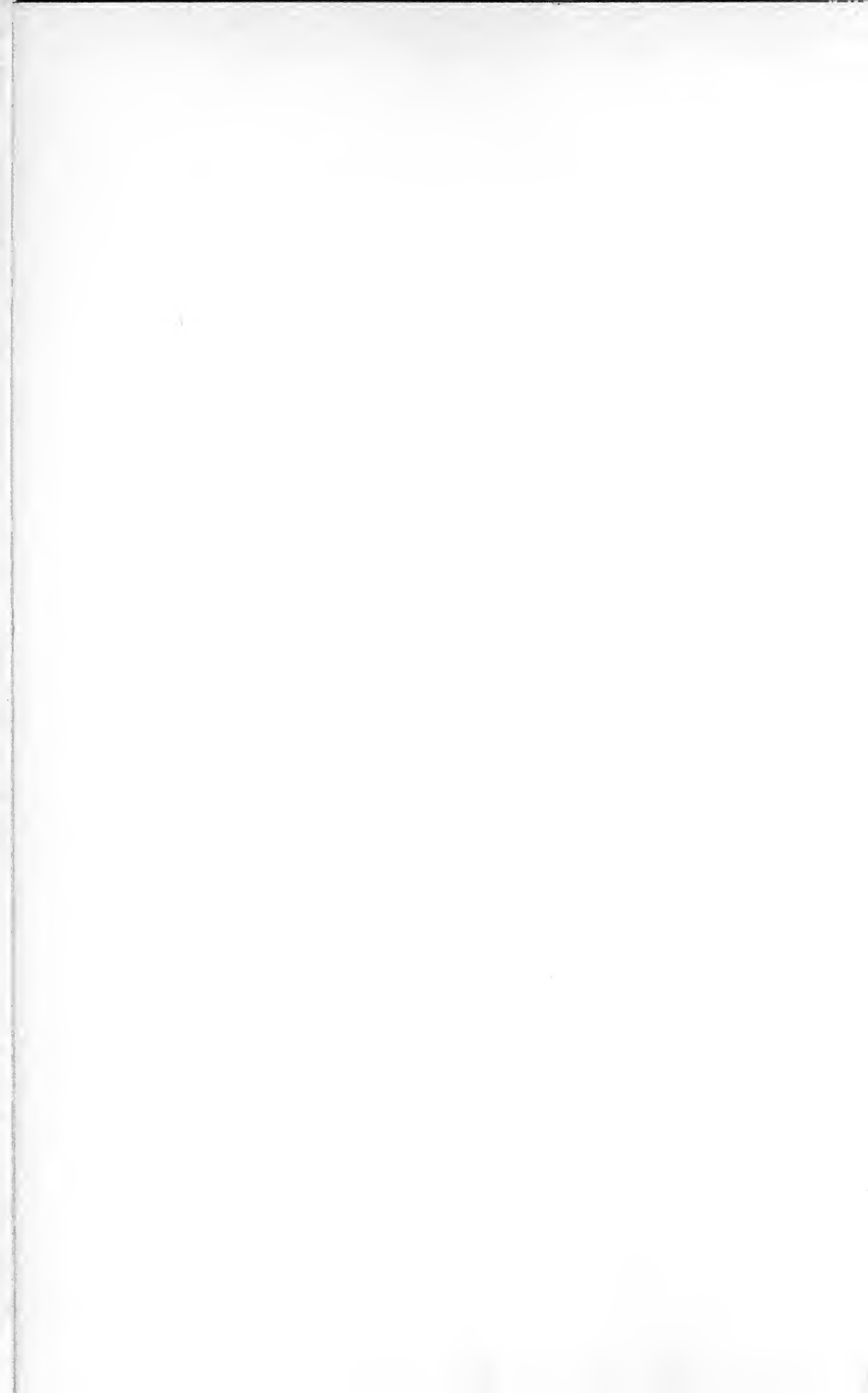
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San Francisco, California  
2006



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# AMERICAN HURLY-BURLY



**A M E R I C A N  
H U R L Y - B U R L Y**

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**ERNEST SUTHERLAND BATES  
AND ALAN WILLIAMS**

**NEW YORK**

**ROBERT M. McBRIDE & COMPANY**

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AND ALAN WILLIAMS  
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“ H A P P Y N E W Y E A R ”

*Americans celebrated New Year's Eve, 1936, as they had been wont to celebrate New Year's Eve. From Portland, Maine, to Portland, Oregon, the same scene was repeated a hundred thousand times. Such difference as existed was one of size, not kind. Sauk Center could not make as much noise as New York, but for Sauk Center it did fully as well. In the great cities, up Broadway, Woodward Avenue, State Street, Canal Street, Market Street, surged the crowds, wedged solidly from curb to curb, masses moving as one man. Closer than sheep on the highway, closer than locusts in a seven-year plague,*

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closer than shrimp in a can, these human beings gained from physical contact a warm sense of solidarity with their kind on this one night of the three hundred and sixty-five.

The theaters, as always, trebled their prices. Exclusive balls were held in hotels, clubs, private residences. Solidarity stopped where evening clothes began, or rather, a different sort of solidarity expressed itself. In city, town, and village the American aristocracy of high and low degree celebrated within doors, while the mobs marched joyously outside. Yet the difference was one of members more than manners. For rich and poor alike, liquor—good liquor or very bad liquor but still liquor—flowed as it had always flowed, even under Prohibition, on New Year's Eve, drowning regrets and fears.

And when midnight struck and the whistles blew from Boston Bay to the Golden Gate, rich and poor, within doors and without, greeted each other with that age-old pathetic salutation, "Happy New Year."

It has always been an open question whether New Year's festivities really represent a gallant greeting of the unknown New Year as much as they do a happy farewell to the bad Old Year, now dead and buried, whether they are not rather in the nature of an Irish wake than a birthday celebration. Only a small number in any crowd, perhaps, have rational grounds for expecting that the New Year will be

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much better than the old; a considerable number—the aged and infirm—have excellent grounds for anticipating that it will be much worse; but it will at any rate be different. The biological urge to live, supplemented by the human craving for new experience, functions in bad times as in good times.

On New Year's Eve, 1936, Americans generally believed that they had reason to be confident. Undoubtedly it was really Happy New Year for many individuals. Industrial production was up 50 per cent from 1932, the lowest point in the depression; in fact, according to the estimates of the National City Bank, the profits of industrial corporations were higher than they had been since 1930. Freight traffic was the heaviest in five years; automobile production exceeded that of 1930; so also the production of steel; electrical power production was in excess of even that of 1929. So it was indeed happy New Year for the automobile manufacturers, the steel trust, and the public utilities.

Meanwhile, stock market quotations had risen from the 1932 low of 30 points to an average of 105, an increase of 250 per cent. Dividends on stocks and interest on all bonds were above the 1928 level. Happy New Year to stock- and bondholders in proportion to their holdings.

What of labor? Average weekly wages were 10 per cent higher than in 1932 while the cost of living

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had risen only 7 per cent: a gain in real wages of 3 per cent. Unemployment had diminished by 9 per cent, but there were still eleven million out of work. Stocks up 250 per cent, industry up 50 per cent; employment increased by 7 per cent and wages by 3 per cent! This appalling discrepancy set the stage for 1936, and the stage set determined the play that was to be enacted. When 1937 should come around would the happiness of the New Year be broadened or limited still further to the few?





**WINTER**





## CONGRESSES CONVENE

*On the night of January 3rd, the American radio public was deprived of such favorites as Dick Powell, Helen Jepson, James Melton, Pappy, Zeke, and Ezra, and listened instead to President Roosevelt deliver his message to the Congress of the United States, sitting in joint session.*

The President, as usual, furnished interesting entertainment. To many listeners it seemed as if the vigor of 1933 and the early days of 1934 had returned. The more recent move to the right, the attempt to recapture conservative business support starting with the opening of the Seventy-Fourth

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Congress in January, 1935, and reaching its climax in the "breathing spell" letter to Roy Howard, the newspaper publisher, in September, 1935, appeared to be checked. Perhaps in the three months between September and January, the President and his advisers had come to a realization that big business would have nothing to do with him. With every favorable report from the large corporations and with every rise in Wall Street prices and security dividends, the President's stock had gone lower. The naïve might think that with returning prosperity the President's policies were justified. But big business did not think that way. Solvency restored, they resented any restrictions on profits and begrudged the taxes levied upon them for relief and social security. The Devil was well again and forgot his almost fatal illness of 1933.

The President vigorously denounced this opposition. He said that "We [meaning Congress and himself, and excluding the Supreme Court] have earned the hatred of entrenched greed." Continuing to justify the enactments of the Seventy-Third and Seventy-Fourth Congresses, the President challenged the opposition to propose the complete repeal of the New Deal measures. He did not mention that the Supreme Court was nullifying these measures as quickly as possible, a procedure much more final than repeal.

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In his prophecies the President was not as happy as in his broadsides against entrenched interests. He blandly said, "We approach a balance of the national budget." He expressed a belief that no new taxes, over and above the present taxes, were either advisable or necessary. Before the month was over, the enactment of the Bonus Bill and the order of the Supreme Court to return all processing taxes under the AAA would make any balancing of the budget highly unlikely. With corporate earnings soaring upward without corresponding increase in employment, drastic new taxes on excess profits would come to seem the only possible solution.

Concerning foreign affairs, the President was outspoken. He denounced the warlike governments of Italy, Germany and Japan—without, of course, naming names—and he proposed vigorous neutrality measures. Here a disparity between the President's words and his acts would soon become apparent. The administration bill introduced in Congress a few weeks later by no means carried out or supported the President's radio speech. Anyone interested in neutrality as a principle and neutrality in practice had only to consult the statistics of trade with Italy in 1933, 1934, and 1935.

The President's evening on the air was a success. Everyone—except the broadcasting companies—knew that it was a campaign speech, but why should

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not a Democratic president make a political speech to a Democratic Congress for his Democratic constituents who apparently represented the majority of his countrymen? The Republican National Committee, through its chairman, immediately demanded a similar grant of important time on the air to answer the President. The broadcasting companies pointed out that a president's message to congress was something to which no reply was in order, and established the rule that broadcasting time on the major networks would not be sold to either political party until after the national conventions. For a short time it appeared that this rule did give a great advantage to the President and the Democrats but it was soon apparent that the Republican pre-convention fight was to be conducted chiefly under the auspices of the Liberty League, and the air was open to them and their millions.

The broadcasting statistical services reported that more people listened to the President's message than to Al Smith's message to the corporations or to Senator Robinson's reply thereto, but that all these gentlemen ran a poor second, third, and fourth to Major Bowes and his amateurs who, during the year, went from coffee to Chrysler and filled the long-empty stages of the country with their personal appearances.

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Also on January 3rd, another congress convened in Cleveland, the Third Congress of the American League Against War and Fascism. In spite of a warning from the American Legion and a statement from A. F. of L. President William Green that among the labor delegates were some "Communists," the Congress was greeted from the platform by the Mayor of Cleveland and its proceedings were fairly and completely reported by the three Cleveland daily papers, one of which editorially recommended attendance at the sessions.

The Congress pointed out signs of a rising tide of reaction throughout the country. It called attention to forty-nine deaths in strikes and economic struggles in 1935 and to sixty political prisoners in jail or awaiting trial for political or labor activities, and it overwhelmingly went on record to express the belief that the fight against war and fascism meant a fight against the established methods of capitalism. In this respect as in others, it differed widely from the richer and better publicized organization, World Peaceways, Inc., which still optimistically believed that war could be abolished without looking into the causes of war.



## DINNER WITH THE DU PONTS

*During 1935, the Republican National Committee and the Liberty League had collected about \$900,000. It is significant of the connection that the contributions were about evenly divided, the Liberty League being \$75,000 ahead of the Committee at the turn of the year. Twenty per cent of the amount or almost \$200,000 came from the Du Pont interests. Ernest T. Weir, representing steel, contributed \$35,000 and J. Howard Pew (of Sun Oil) \$30,000.*

To be sure, a considerable proportion of the money raised by the Liberty League went into sal-



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aries to its own officials. Jouett Shouse, head of the organization, received \$36,000 a year with an additional \$18,000 for expenses. Other sums were \$15,000 to Andrew H. Phelps; \$14,000 to Wm. C. Murphy; \$12,000 to Theodore Huntley; \$10,000 to Arthur W. Crawford; \$10,000 to Ewing Laporte; \$7,500 to R. J. Dillon; \$7,000 to Carey Jarman; \$5,500 to Wm. Kirby; \$5,400 to Frederick A. Smith.

With the advent of election year these gentlemen, who had found a way to make liberty profitable, decided it was time for a demonstration against the President and the Administration. The demonstration took the form of a modest dinner (\$5 a plate with no returns of the bar receipts available) held in Washington under the auspices of the Liberty League with a dozen Du Ponts present and Al Smith for headline attraction.

Before ex-Governor Smith signed a lease on his present Fifth Avenue apartment, he had the electric current changed from direct (D. C.) to alternating (A. C.). When upper New York was plunged into darkness by a power-house accident one January afternoon, direct current was not affected and in the apartment house where he lives, Al Smith's was the only apartment without light. It was not a new experience. He had dwelt in darkness since 1928. An extremely successful politician until that date,

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he had not been prepared for his change in luck. If he had run for the Presidency in 1932, his Catholicism would not have mattered. An atheist could have defeated Herbert Hoover in 1932. But in '32 Al Smith was not given another chance. Roosevelt was the candidate, and Al Smith could not forgive Roosevelt or the Democratic Party.

He became suspicious of all liberalism, including his own. He moved from Oliver Street, in the shadow of Brooklyn Bridge, to upper Fifth Avenue, with Twelfth Street as a way station. The death of that able liberal, Mrs. Belle Moskowitz, with John J. Raskob succeeding as first adviser, was disastrous. Al brooded in the empty reaches of the Empire State Building and preferred the society of the animals in the Central Park Zoo to association with his former political friends.

The result was the Liberty League Dinner. It would have been conceivable that the Al Smith of 1928 might denounce his friend Franklin Roosevelt as a bungler of liberal doctrines, but that Al Smith would thank God for the Supreme Court, denounce the New Deal as Moscow inspired, and proclaim his abandonment of the Democratic Party unless it accepted the theories of the Liberty League, was incredible. But it happened. He fittingly announced his apostacy before the people who had been most contemptuous of his candidacy in 1928,

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the people who had derided his diction, his mispronunciations, his antecedents, and his wife.

The net result of Al Smith's speech was that he had coined the phrase "to take a walk" and had opened the campaign. The Republican free-for-all aided and abetted by Democratic toryism was on.

Governor Alf Landon thought maybe he ought to be called Alfred and announced his candidacy on a platform of the Constitution and Kansas' balanced budget. He did not mention that in balancing the budget, the oil production and refining interests had no part since they are not taxed in Kansas. The nomination of oil-man Landon was not only acceptable to the Du Ponts but was enthusiastically supported by the Rockefellers who took no part in the vulgarity of the Liberty League Dinner.

Governor Talmadge of Georgia, who did not mind being called "Gene," announced that he too was taking a walk but not necessarily with the Du Ponts. He proclaimed his candidacy at a convention of Southern politicians where the Confederate flag was flown and photographs of Mrs. Roosevelt, taken with Negro educators, were passed around. Like Governor Landon, Governor Talmadge was strong for the Constitution and did not actually promise repeal of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments. Later, "Gene" became more modest in his ambitions and announced his candidacy for the Senate.

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Senator Borah, undoubtedly the strongest liberal who never strayed away from straight party allegiance, announced his candidacy and insisted that the Constitution and the anti-Trust laws were sufficient to keep industry in its place and the workers secure. Throwing a bone of sixty dollars a month to the Townsend barkers, the Senator refused to be drawn into abuse and visited the White House a few days after his campaign was opened. The conservative Republicans said they were sorry but that the Senator was too old. No one was fooled. If his views had been more orthodox, it would not have mattered if he had been considerably older.

The gravest charge brought against him was that of Nicholas Murray Butler—that “Senator Borah is a hopeless reactionary.” That anyone to the right of the Columbia president was a hopeless reactionary could hardly be denied; but President Butler failed to prove his case, merely bringing up the facts that Borah had been a Prohibitionist and was opposed to American entrance into the League of Nations. His attempt to make capital out of a dead issue and a half-dead institution was a failure.

Senator Vandenberg of Michigan announced his opposition to the Administration on Lincoln Day, without admitting, however, that he was a candidate. He was certainly more acceptable to the gentlemen of the Liberty League than the Senator from

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Idaho. So also was Colonel Knox of Illinois, whose one virtue in the eyes of the country at large was that he had once had a mild quarrel with William Randolph Hearst.

But in January and February the self-appointed defenders of the Constitution were not particularly interested in selecting a candidate. Their important objective was the defeat of Roosevelt and the Democrats. In this early stage of the campaign Smith of New York and Talmadge of Georgia were more important than Knox of Illinois, Landon of Kansas, Borah of Idaho, and Vandenberg of Michigan. Everyone felt that the deciding factor of the campaign would be the number of pedestrians from the Democratic ranks into the Republican.



## PICKING THE BONUS

*The second session of the Seventy-Fourth Congress* was on the spot with the Bonus Bill. That it was election year was of primary importance, but there was another point which the veterans emphasized. Economy was no longer a government policy. An administration which had spent almost eight billions on relief could not keep up a serious pretense of economy. Farmers, home builders, engineers, laborers, skilled and unskilled, even impractical followers of the arts had been helped, so why not the veterans? It is true that most veterans fell into some other category of those clamoring for government

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funds, although the professional veteran was by no means unknown. However, this sort of double indemnity was not stressed, and no one put it forward as a serious reason for further delaying the payment of the bonus.

It was in the bag. There would be no sense in letting it become another campaign issue with the absurdity of all prospective congressmen being for it and all presidential candidates against it. It was a government obligation that had to be paid in 1945 anyway so why not pay it immediately at a time when two billions slid off the tongue without a stammer and out of the treasury without a clink? The only question was one of method. The House wanted printing-press money; the Senate changed that to cashable bonds, and the inflationists accepted the change. The nasty word "inflation" was eliminated, and the Government was put to the expense of printing bonds as well as money.

The President promptly vetoed the bill and added to the historic occasion by providing a hand-written veto for the archives of the Library of Congress. He said that he had not changed his mind since May, 1935, but he did not add that he would not exert the pressure he had then brought to bear to sustain his veto. The last-ditch opponents of the bonus *had* changed their minds, at least enough of them to override the veto, and the bonus bill became a law

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by a vote of 324 to 61 in the House 76 to 19 in the Senate.

In itself of lessening importance in view of the Government's apparently successful policy of recovery by spending, the final passage of the bill again demonstrated that any *bloc* fighting for legislation not too preposterous will gain its ends. If the Townsendites had asked for seventy-five or even a hundred dollars a month, they might have been successful. Two hundred dollars frightened a public whose average monthly income is not half that amount.

The fight for the Adjusted Service Compensation, the American Legion name for the bonus, started in 1922. The argument was that the soldier, combatant or non-combatant, in spite of his pay while in the army, his sixty dollar discharge bonus, his transportation allowances, his insurance, his hospitalization, and his compensation for wounds and disabilities, had still been penalized for being in the army. His fellow citizens, whether profiteering or honestly employed, had made a great deal more by keeping out of uniform. The point was well taken; it was better taken in 1922 than in 1936; but the justice or injustice of the measure had nothing to do with its final passage. Congressmen were sick and tired of meeting the issue in their campaigns, and two billions had become an emergency



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commonplace instead of the destruction of national credit. Every president since 1922 had vetoed the bill, but from the time that President Hoover by his callous treatment of the bonus marchers united all veteran organizations, it was evident that the men would get their money and not wait until 1945 for it. After all, it was argued, by 1945 we might have another war to pay for, so why not get this one out of the way?

The cashable bonds were delivered to the veterans early in June. The Government urged that the bonds be held instead of cashed, with interest compounded at the rate of 3 per cent until maturity on June 15, 1945. How many veterans cashed their bonds immediately will not be known, probably, until the end of the fiscal year, June 30, 1937. The baby bonds, appropriately enough, bore the picture of that first great distributor of political largesse, Andrew Jackson.

The first cashing of the bonds created no great upheaval. Liquor sales were not notably increased; perhaps a great deal of the money went for travel, but the reduction in railroad rates which was put into effect at the same time may have had more to do with the increase of revenue to railroads and bus companies. Undoubtedly, the payment in June did a great deal to prevent the usual seasonal slump in business.

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There were a few minor disturbances. One Brooklyn girl of fifteen spent her father's bonus in an airplane flight to Hollywood for the purpose of seeing Clark Gable. In Texas some Negroes killed a deputy sheriff and narrowly escaped lynching. In California a veteran was kidnapped and held in a cellar for three months, at the end of which time his room and board bill must have almost equalled the amount of his bonus. But all in all, the payment of the bonus after the years of bitter fighting was singularly uneventful.

Following the passage of the bill, there was organized at Princeton the Veterans of Future Wars, demanding an immediate payment of one thousand dollars to all male citizens between the ages of eighteen and thirty-six, claiming it as a right since many of these future veterans would be killed in the next war and thereby disbarred from the benefits of the bonus. L. J. Gorin, Jr., was the leading spirit in the movement, which rapidly spread to other colleges; within ten days, more than one hundred and twenty posts had been established.

Headed by Vassar, the women's colleges joined the crusade with organizations of "Future Gold Star Mothers." But these were short-lived. They showed disrespect for the dead, and also it is not nice for college girls to talk about being future mothers.

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The girls decided to content themselves with being "Homefire Divisions."

Young Mr. Gorin proved to be an efficient humorist. If his organization had started ten years earlier it might have ridiculed Adjusted Service Compensation out of Congress. But it was too late. And unfortunately most of the Veterans of Future Wars proved to be anti-bonus but not necessarily anti-war. The environment of these Princeton young men was against pacificism. The organization which might have developed into an important collegiate activity subsided as a pleasant joke, and Mr. Gorin wrote a little book which was only moderately successful.



## CROWDING THE LOBBY

*Soon after the second session of the Seventy-Fourth Congress had convened, the Senate Lobbying Investigation Committee (Senator Black of Alabama, chairman) found itself in the limelight, a spot just as desirable to congressional investigation committees as it is to vaudeville performers.*

Lobbying by telegraph had reached its peak earlier in the defeat of the World Court Resolution; Father Coughlin had been the inspiration of a heavy bombardment of telegrams at that time. The system that had been encouraged by the telegraph companies and abused by the lobbyists was exposed

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and held up to ridicule during the hearings on the bill limiting the activities of holding companies. Thousands of telegrams were found to have been fraudulently dispatched.

Following this scandal, the Black Committee became reckless in its search of telegraph files. Through the Federal Communications Commission, which had refused to help the Department of Justice in pursuit of kidnappers and other criminals, the committee succeeded in getting general access to telegrams, business and personal, and on subjects far afield from its investigation.

The Chicago law firm of Winston, Strawn and Shaw, sharp administration critics, applied to the Federal courts in the District of Columbia for an injunction, pleading the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution which guarantees citizens from unreasonable search and seizure. Senator Black in a speech blustered and threatened, but the injunction was issued.

Then another abused citizen came into court seeking relief. Mr. William Randolph Hearst, claiming protection under the first amendment of the Constitution which guarantees freedom of the press, asked for an injunction restraining the committee from reading his telegrams. But the case was different. The committee had specified which telegrams it wished and had stated the purpose for the

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subpoena. Mr. Hearst's plea was denied by Chief Justice Alfred A. Wheat of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia who did not find that the freedom of the press was involved or that a newspaper was immune from judicial procedure.

The spectacle of Mr. Hearst defending the privacy of telegrams, letters, or any other personal documents was startling. Senator Black, again acting while the matter was under judicial consideration, made public the telegram in question. It was addressed to James T. Williams, Jr., Washington correspondent for the Hearst papers, and suggested the impeachment of Congressman McSwain, calling him a Communist in spirit and a traitor in effect. The reading of the telegram brought forth gales of laughter in the House where the late Congressman McSwain, representative from South Carolina and chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs, was rated as a conservative, a staunch supporter of preparedness and the bonus. The destruction of Mr. Hearst, however, was left to Senator Schwollenbach in the Senate. All but a few paragraphs in the Senator's sixteen page speech defending the rights of Congressional investigation were devoted to the public activities and the character of Mr. Hearst. The speech, since published as a pamphlet, has been widely circulated by organizations which refused to accept Mr. Hearst's belated

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defense of the freedom of the press—where he himself was the press—as an adequate atonement for his support of Hitler, Mussolini, and the fascist-minded San Francisco vigilantes.

Court proceedings and Mr. Hearst having been disposed of, the Black Committee settled down to business and uncovered some interesting facts. During the summer of 1935 when Congress was in session but when most of the families of congressmen had left Washington to escape the humid heat, one Robert E. Smith, a lobbyist, representing certain Western interests, took a large, comfortable house in the capital and invited some congressmen to live with him. Six accepted and were house guests. Fifty other congressmen and three senators accepted the Smith hospitality from time to time. Senator Murray admitted attending the parties but said he did so under the impression that Smith was a congressman!

Other disclosures revealed the nature of the activities of the various organizations engaged in bitter warfare against the Administration. Some of these were the Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution (which sponsored the Grass Roots convention in Georgia), the Crusaders, the Farmers' Independence Council, and the Minute Men and Women of Today. The largest contributors to all these organizations were the financial backers of the

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Liberty League. The names of Du Pont, Sloan, and Raskob led the rest. The Minute Men even used the Washington offices of the Liberty League.

The Grass Roots convention, financed by Du Pont and Raskob money, placed on every delegate's chair a copy of the *Georgia Woman's World* showing photographs of the President and Mrs. Roosevelt taken with Negroes and proclaiming that "President Roosevelt has permitted Negroes to come to the White House banquet table and sleep in the White House beds. . . . The little dole which he gave in the South will never permit him and Mrs. Roosevelt to put social equality in the South as they have done in the North and Pennsylvania."

One Vance Muse, who dressed in gray symbolizing the Confederacy, testified before the Black Committee that as a member of the Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution, the Texas Taxpayers' League, the Texas Election Managers' Association, and the Order of American Patriots, he was circulating bulletins and pamphlets, showing photographs of Mrs. Roosevelt with Negro escorts at Howard University, a photograph of the President with Negro Elks, the statement of Representative Mitchell (a Negro) that President Roosevelt had given more jobs to Negroes than the three preceding Republican presidents, and President Roose-



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velt's letter stating that in proportion to numbers, more Negroes than whites were on relief.

In spite of these and other disclosures, no action was taken by Congress to curb the activities of the lobbyists. A bill was introduced into the House requiring the registration of all paid lobbyists and the revelation of the amount and the source of their income for lobbying purposes. The Senate bill went further and made the same requirements of lobbyists appearing before government departments as well as in Congressional halls. But neither of these bills, nor even a compromise, was passed. The failure to do so is one of the blackest marks against the Seventy-Fourth Congress and the strongest possible evidence of the strength of the lobbyists.

In a campaign year, congressmen were afraid to risk the wrath of the organized and wealthy lobbies.



## MORGAN TO MUNITIONS: NEUTRALITY TO NYE

*A strong neutrality bill was expected from the second session of the Seventy-Fourth Congress. The temporary resolution passed in August would expire in February, the ringing words of President Roosevelt when he discovered that Italy and Ethiopia were at war, the failure of the League of Nations to enforce a policy of sanctions, and, especially, the disclosures concerning munitions by the Nye Committee, all seemed to presage a bill that would have a powerful international effect as well as put into law the desire of the American people to keep out of European and Asiatic wars.*

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Several strong neutrality bills were offered. They called for the elimination of profit from war by drafting industry and wealth as well as men; no loans for war purposes to be made to foreign governments; no supplies to be sold to warring nations; munitions of war to be manufactured in government plants; submission of declarations of war to popular referendum. But all these strong neutrality bills were rejected in favor of a weak resolution.

Why? Campaign year was part of the answer but not all of it. The opposition of Senators Borah and Johnson, those old isolationists, was a factor. But business conditions—big business conditions—had more to do with it. Between the time of the temporary resolution and the convening of Congress, when the Italian invasion of Ethiopia was well under way, oil business with Italy had increased 100 per cent, iron and steel over 200 per cent; and automobile parts 100 per cent.

Unfortunately, Senator Nye, fighting hard for his own strong neutrality bill, defeated, by a tactical blunder, any chance of success. As a result of its 1935 revelations, the committee had criticized the munition makers for bribery, excess profits, preventing international limitation of arms, and drumming up war scares. It recommended government manufacture of warships, guns, and ammunitions. So far so good. But when Congress convened in

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1936, the Nye Committee turned to the question of the financing of the World War, especially the part played by the House of Morgan and its relation with American statesmanship during 1914-18. Mr. Morgan, as usual, was complacent and courteous. Newspapermen, anxious to find something to top the midget of 1935, hit upon this bit of interchange between Senator Bone of the committee and Mr. Morgan:

SENATOR BONE: All we got out of the war was a burden of debt.

MR. MORGAN: But we saved our souls and saved civilization.

THE SENATOR: I'm wondering what's going to happen to civilization in the next war.

MR. MORGAN: If you destroy the leisure class you destroy civilization.

The reporters had their feature. Pressed by them Mr. Morgan said the leisure class included all who could afford to hire a maid. That remark, of course, created a sensation. Every woman's page writer sprang to battle. Especially surprised to find themselves members of the leisure class were women who work in the business world in order to maintain a home.

Mr. Morgan did not elaborate his observation.

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His testimony finished, he shook hands with the members of the committee and said, "I have had a fine time; I would not have missed this investigation for the world." Chairman Nye and other members of the committee agreed that nothing to the discredit of the House of Morgan had been developed in the inquiry into its wartime operations. Later in their report, to be sure, the committee found that certain transactions indicated "perfect awareness on the part of J. P. Morgan and Company of the influence of business sentiment on government policy and of the methods of exerting compelling pressure on the Administration" and also that "the firm's withdrawal from the exchange market in 1915 may very well have been deliberately arranged to bring pressure on the United States to change its loan policy."

Turning from Mr. Morgan and considering the letters, diaries, memoirs, and other documents of the wartime leaders (most of them dead) the committee rediscovered all that had been revealed in Mr. Walter Millis' book, *The Road to War*, but the ancient statesmen of the Senate would no more believe the committee than they would read Mr. Millis.

It was then that Senator Nye, with perhaps too keen an eye for publicity values, made his tactical blunder. He announced publicly at a committee hearing that President Wilson and Secretary Lans-

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ing had falsified in 1919 when they said the President had no knowledge until he reached Paris of the secret treaties between the Allies drawn up while the war was in progress. Senator Nye was perfectly correct in his statement. The papers of Colonel House, Lord Balfour, and Lloyd-George all prove that the President knew about the treaties in the spring of 1917 when the British Mission headed by Lord Balfour came to the United States. He may not have been informed *officially* and the will to forget may have been very strong, but he had been informed.

The elder statesmen were not interested in facts, however. They had their rallying point. The dead must not be traduced. It was sacrilege to call President Wilson a falsifier. Melodramatically snarling and raging, Senator Glass of Virginia denounced Senator Nye's statement as an infamous libel—"dirt-daubing the sepulchre of Woodrow Wilson." But that was not his climax. With sobs and knuckles bleeding from desk-pounding, he went on: "Oh, the miserable demagogy, the miserable and mendacious suggestion, that the House of Morgan altered the neutrality course of Woodrow Wilson!" It was not clear whether the Senator was more wroth for Morgan alive or Wilson dead.

Senator Nye had defeated himself. No neutrality bill was passed. The resolution of August was con-

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tinued for fourteen months with three amendments: first, the wording "upon the outbreak or during the progress of war" was changed to "whenever the President shall find that there exists a state of war"; second, new loans to belligerents were prohibited; and, third, the resolution was made inapplicable to American republics at war with non-American states. The whole question of merchantmen, submarines, and freedom of the seas was left exactly where it was in 1917. The Nye Committee among other recommendations had urged that armed merchantmen be forbidden to carry passengers, but the recommendation was ignored. Neutrality still depends upon the President just as in 1914-17.

During the time that neutrality was under consideration, Senator Key Pittman of Nevada made a jingoistic speech on the floor of the Senate, sharply criticizing the Chinese policy of Japan and threatening ultimate reprisals. The Senator (who is chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee) had never ventured to criticize the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. Japan was greatly aroused over the remarks (released there before delivered in the Senate), and the assassinations of government officials who were not sufficiently aggressive to suit the Japanese militarists quickly followed.

Japan had withdrawn from the London Naval Conference, and the pact finally signed by Great

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Britain, France, and the United States was face-saving and meaningless. It limited the size but not the number of destroyers, and the size limit is to be automatically withdrawn as soon as any other nation builds larger ships.

Continuing in its course, Congress passed the largest peacetime army and navy appropriation bill in its history: over a billion dollars. In all the hue and cry that was raised during the Presidential campaign concerning the relief expenditures of the Roosevelt Administration, no criticism was ever made in the press or by Republican speakers of the billion dollars so casually tossed to the Army and Navy.

In fact, criticism went the other way. General Hagood, testifying before a Senate sub-committee, said that if he had more of the stage money being spent by the WPA he could build bigger and better army quarters. This remark being publicized, the President relieved General Hagood of his command and ordered him home. The Republican press tried to make capital of the incident, but it proved a tempest in a teapot. The Army had no desire to support General Hagood. It had long since lost patience with his publicity mania. President Roosevelt and the General had a personal meeting; the General apologized, was restored to command for a day, and then resigned.



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Later in the year, our peaceful relations with Japan went through a phase of spy-chasing. One Harry Thomas Thompson, who had served a single cruise with the navy, was convicted in Los Angeles of selling naval secrets to Toshio Miyazaki, an exchange student at Stanford University, and probably a lieutenant-commander in the Japanese Navy. There is no doubt that for five hundred dollars a month, Thompson did furnish Mr. Miyazaki all the information he had and could get by wearing a sailor's uniform and going aboard warships at San Pedro, but the trial did not disclose that Thompson furnished any information which could not have been obtained from publications of the Navy Department (especially in its specifications for bids) or by the simple expedient on the part of the Japanese intelligence officers of visiting the ships themselves. On visiting days, they would have been just as welcome as Thompson in his sailor suit.

Such antics are unimportant but become front page news. On the other hand, the failure of the President and Congress to adopt, in peacetime, a definite policy of neutrality was hardly publicized at all. The munition makers, the bankers, and the oil men were on the job, Senator Carter Glass was their spokesman, and the peace-loving American public without a murmur allowed itself to be carried a step nearer war by its political representatives.



## DIGGING THEIR OWN GRAVES

*In the radical papers during the last few years there had been gruesome stories of industrial deaths in West Virginia in connection with the building of a tunnel at Gauley Bridge. When a Congressional investigation by a sub-committee disclosed that these deaths ran into the hundreds, the story became front page news.*

The deaths were caused by silicosis. Silicosis is the destruction of the lungs by silicate dust. Silica is a valuable mineral necessary in the production of glass and other metallurgic products. Since glass is, probably, man's first manufactured product, silicosis is

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the oldest occupational disease. The ancient Greeks knew it as stone-cutter's disease and warned against it.

There is no immunity from silicosis. All laborers digging through rock with a high silicate content will contract the disease if they stay on the job a sufficient length of time and are not protected by wet drills and masks. Some get it sooner than others. That is the only difference. Doctors unacquainted with silicosis often diagnose it as tuberculosis or pneumonia. It is incurable unless checked in the first stages.

When the New-Kanawha Power Company, a subsidiary of Union Carbide, discovered rich deposits of silica in boring for their power tunnel, the contractors, Rinehart and Dennis, were ordered to increase the size of the shafts in passing through the silica deposits. This by-product would help pay the cost of building the tunnel.

The silicate being so much velvet, it might have been supposed that ordinary precautions would have been taken to protect the lives of the workers. But since the New-Kanawha Power Company was technically not engaged in mining but was simply constructing a power tunnel, the West Virginia Bureau of Mines could only warn, and had no remedial authority. The warnings, quickly followed by deaths, were disregarded. Greed prevailed.

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Wet drilling, a preventive, is slower than dry and consequently more expensive. Even with dry drilling, masks would have been a partial, although by no means a complete, protection. But masks cost money. The foremen and the inspectors from the contractors' and Union Carbide companies never ventured into the shafts without their masks; only the laborers who worked from ten to thirteen hours a day were not supplied with them.

The Congressional investigation showed shocking labor conditions in addition to the criminal carelessness in death by silicosis. The conditions conformed to the usual pattern in districts where unorganized Negroes and poor whites are employed—extortionate rents and charges for supplies from company stores, 10 per cent discount for cashing checks, fees for medical services rendered, and other ingenious and petty means of recapturing the meager wages.

The contractors attempted to discredit the investigation by claiming that damage suits were filed by some men proven not to have worked in the tunnel, and by others who worked only for an hour or two. Unfortunately, there are ambulance chasers in the mountains of West Virginia as well as in city streets, and since the lawyers, in the silicosis cases, received 50 per cent and sometimes more of the amount collected, frauds were undoubtedly attempted.

The companies further claimed that a mere baga-

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telle of fifty deaths had resulted from the disease contracted by the tunnel workers. Medical, county, and especially undertakers' records disclosed an entirely different story. In addition to the deaths in the immediate vicinity, hundreds of laborers had wandered away to die elsewhere. Silicosis does not always act immediately unless the lungs have been previously infected.

Dr. Emrey Hayhurst, an occupational disease expert, estimated that two hundred had died from silicosis in the immediate vicinity of the tunnel construction and admitted that many additional deaths attributed to pneumonia and tuberculosis might have been caused by the deadly silicate dust. Social workers estimated the death figures as closer to five hundred. In a section of the country where records are laxly kept, where laborers are buried in pits, and where the local doctors are chiefly company doctors, exact figures are difficult, if not impossible, to obtain. It is significant that none of the company officials, the engineers, or the doctors who made statements that the whole thing was a "racket" appeared before the congressional committee to answer questions.

The committee in its report condemned the company on the ground that it had not furnished protective devices and charged it with disregard of safety laws and regulations. The Department of La-

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bor immediately started an investigation of silicosis throughout the United States as a basis for remedial legislation. That such legislation should include a provision for criminal action as well as civil damages seems obvious. The building of the West Virginia tunnel was not a case of negligence but mass murder.

Senator Rush Holt of West Virginia declared the building of the tunnel was America's "Black Hole of Calcutta." It was hardly that. The men who died in the Black Hole at least had glory. The men who had their lungs eaten away at Gauley Bridge died for Union Carbide and the privilege of working ten to thirteen hours a day for three dollars.

It is an interesting example of business unhampered by government interference.



## LIFE AND DEATH IN ALABAMA AND ARKANSAS

*In 1931 during President Hoover's administration,* thousands of boys and girls were on the road, homeless hobos, knowing no law except the struggle for survival. On March 25th of that year twelve of these strays were taken from a freight train at Painted Rock, Alabama, by an armed posse of seventy-five men who had been notified that there had been a fight between Negro and white boys and that the white boys had been thrown from the train. Nine colored boys between the ages of thirteen and twenty, one white boy, and two white girls made up the party of twelve taken into custody by the

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posse. This was the beginning of the famous "Scottsboro Case."

Within a few days, the Negroes were indicted for rape, punishable by death (at the option of the jury) in the State of Alabama. Their trials started a week later and, divided into four groups, lasted in all less than a week. Starting Monday, by Friday eight of the boys had been sentenced to the electric chair and one of them (the youngest) to life imprisonment.

The defendants had been formally represented by Stephen R. Roddy—the only Southern white lawyer at first willing to undertake the case—but he had been given no opportunity for due consultation with his clients or investigation of the facts. The chief evidence against the Negroes was the story of the two girls (told luridly by one of them, Victoria Price, and haltingly by the other, Ruby Bates) that they had been raped by the colored boys. Victoria accounted for six, Ruby for three. A Dr. Bridges testified that he had examined the girls on the day of the arrest and had found evidence of intercourse but none of violence. Dr. M. H. Lynch, head of the health department of Jackson County, testified to the same effect. Evidence as to the character, reputation, and previous sex experiences of the girls was barred. The only witnesses for the defense were the Negroes themselves. Bewildered



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and terrified, they all pleaded "not guilty," but each swore that he had seen the others rape the white girls.

Following conviction and sentence, an appeal was taken to the Supreme Court of the State of Alabama. In the spring of 1932, one year after the alleged crime, the conviction was affirmed by the Supreme Court of Alabama, and the defendants were sentenced to die on May 13, 1932. In October the Supreme Court of the United States accepted jurisdiction and sent the cases back to Alabama for a new trial on the ground that the defendants had been denied the right of adequate counsel. Justice McReynolds of Tennessee and Butler of Minnesota dissented.

The second trial was, if possible, more disgraceful than the first. The fact that a Communist organization, the International Labor Defense, had come to the assistance of the Negroes added political prejudice to race prejudice. Then Pelion was piled on Ossa when Samuel Leibowitz, expert criminal lawyer of New York, became chief defense counsel. A Jew, Rumanian born, New York bred and trained, Mr. Leibowitz in Alabama was in an alien land. To all the prejudices already clouding the case was added anti-Semitism. Mr. Leibowitz received threatening letters; crosses were burned in the vicinity as a warning; he had to be protected by

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deputy sheriffs, one of whom slept in his room; it looked for a time as if the Negroes' attorney as well as the Negroes might be lynched.

Victoria Price repeated her story of the alleged rape, although the details were never twice the same. But the sensation of the trial was Ruby Bates who this time appeared as a defense witness. Ruby in new, Northern clothes testified that she had been in New York and that on the advice of Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick she had come back to tell the truth. The truth was that she and Victoria Price had spent the night before the alleged crime in the hobo jungle of Chattanooga with two white boys. There had been intercourse and one of the boys (Carter) had accompanied them on the train. The other boy was afraid of crossing the state line with them and arranged a later meeting. Carter and some other white boys had been thrown off the train after a fight with the Negroes. Ruby denied that any of the Negroes had attacked her or Victoria Price. She had lied at the first trials because "Victoria said we might have to stay in jail if we didn't frame up a story for crossing the state line with men. . . . And every time she said 'rape' I did not know what rape was."

Lester Carter's story on the stand confirmed Ruby's with some interesting additions. He, Victoria Price, and Jack Tiller had been in jail to-

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gether, Victoria on a charge of prostitution. Ruby had visited Victoria and met the boys. They had arranged that when the two boys were released they would go hoboing together. They carried out their plan on March 23rd, 1931 and spent the night of the 23rd in Huntsville and the night of the 24th in the jungle at Chattanooga. There they met Orville Gilley. Gilley and Carter boarded the train with the girls, Tiller being afraid to cross the Tennessee-Alabama state line with known prostitutes. Carter was thrown off the train with the other white boys except Gilley, who, at this trial identified the colored boys and the white girls as being in the freight car but was not questioned about the alleged rape. This time the colored boys denied that there had been rape or intercourse with the white girls. They had lied at the first trial, they said, each believing that by so doing he would save himself from the electric chair.

State's Attorney Thomas Edmund Knight, Jr. (whose father Thomas Edmund, Sr. was on the Alabama Supreme Court) and Wade Wright, Circuit Solicitor of Morgan County, made the most of their anti-Semitic opportunity. "Is justice in this case," Wright asked, "going to be bought and sold in Alabama with Jew money from New York? . . . The Bates girl could not tell you all the things that happened in New York because part of it was in the

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Jew language." Concerning Carter he said to the jury, ". . . Did you watch his hands? If he had been with Brodsky another two weeks, he would have been down here with a pack on his back trying to sell you goods."

Judge Horton, who presided, had tried to be fair throughout the trial. Time and again he had cleared the courtroom. His charge to the jury was in the same vein. Regarding Victoria Price, he said, "There has been evidence that she also was a woman of easy virtue. . . . There has been evidence tending to show that she gave false testimony about her movements and activities in Chattanooga. . . . If in your minds the conviction of this defendant depends on the testimony of Victoria Price and you are convinced she has not sworn truly about any material point, you could not convict this defendant."

The jury found the words of Wade Wright and State's Attorney Knight more convincing than those of Judge Horton. Haywood Patterson who was being tried alone was found guilty as charged, and the punishment was fixed by the jury as death in the electric chair. On June 22, 1933, in a long decision Judge Horton set aside the verdict as unjustified by the evidence and granted Patterson a new trial.

At the elections that fall Judge Horton was re-

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tired to private life by the disapproving citizens of Alabama. When Patterson was brought to trial again in December, 1933, Judge William Callahan did not take any chances with his political future. His conduct of the trial was calculated to please the most rabid Negro-baiting faction of the electorate. This time there was no restraint on the conduct of spectators or prosecutors. The same verdict of guilt with death in the electric chair was brought in.

Again the Supreme Court of Alabama sustained the verdict and again the Supreme Court of the United States sent the case back for retrial, this time on the ground that no Negroes had been on the jury panel. Again the Court did not go into the merits of the case or the flimsy evidence. Alabama, having now been instructed by the Supreme Court how it could convict the boys and make the conviction stick, again brought Haywood Patterson to trial in January, 1936. Twelve Negroes were placed on the jury panel but were quickly excused either through personal disqualifications or on the State's challenges. Needless to say no Negro in Alabama wanted to serve on that jury.

The trial was brief. The State had learned its lesson. Only enough evidence was introduced to make a *prima facie* case. The verdict, as expected, declared Patterson guilty but this time the jury sentenced the defendant to seventy-five years in prison

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instead of to death. Patterson said he would rather die, but the defense felt reasonably encouraged. With the boys alive the fight could go on, and a great deal may happen in seventy-five years—although very little has happened in Alabama since the end of the Civil War.

Public interest, however, is difficult to sustain even for the greatest causes. It can be revived but it cannot be consistently maintained. The public tired of the Dreyfus case, it tired of the Sacco-Vanzetti case, and in January, 1936, it was tired of Scottsboro. The courtroom was not crowded with reporters, feature writers, and sociological experts. The tobacco-chewing, foul-mouthed populace had the place to itself.

Some additional sensation was necessary to arouse public interest again. The sensation was forthcoming, but it was an unfortunate occurrence, overshadowing the main issue and furnishing poor ammunition for the propaganda warfare. In returning the defendants from Decatur to Birmingham, Sheriff Sanderlin shot one of them, named Ozzie Powell, in the head after Powell had stabbed Deputy Sheriff Blalock with a penknife. It is difficult to determine what happened since the stories of the sheriffs and the prisoners were all different. But that Blalock was cut and Powell shot is undeniable. The shooting was totally unnecessary since Powell was disarmed

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and the car was stopped before the shot was fired; but it is also ridiculous to claim that Powell was "framed" or that he used his knife in self-defense. Three prisoners were handcuffed together, with two pairs of cuffs. Powell was on one end and had one hand free. A deputy sheriff is not likely to allow himself to be carved for the sake of a frameup, and anyone on trial for his life should not be in possession of a penknife to defend himself against official brow-beating.

Considering all the circumstances in the case, it is rather a miracle that the three Negroes shackled together, riding with Sheriff Sanderlin and Deputy Blalock, were not shot down on the spot. The likelihood is that any prisoner, anywhere, attacking his guard with a penknife, would be shot. Color and geography had nothing to do with this phase of the case. But dubious capital was made of it, and mass meetings of Negroes everywhere were told that this was another example of racial discrimination and that the only hope for Negroes in America lay with the Communist Party. The lawyers who were working on the defense of the Scottsboro boys naturally objected to such perversion of facts and felt that their work was being handicapped by propaganda and political activity.

A week after the stabbing and shooting, Scottsboro was again in the papers with a ghastly climax

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to the events of the month. Twenty Negro convicts, being moved for road work, were burned to death by the explosion of a gasoline tank in their locked steel-meshed truck. Of course, this was no official or unofficial auto-da-fé, but it was one more shocking example of the treatment of Negroes in Alabama. Livestock would not be transported in a locked truck together with a leaking tank of gasoline.

Twenty Negroes were burned to death in a convict prison-truck, nine Negroes were in danger of judicial execution or lynch law because they happened to be in a freight train with two white girls and a gang of white boys, but thousands of Negroes die in Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana every year because of the tenant-farmer system, a slavery more heartless than that terminated by the Civil War.

But death in Arkansas like death in Alabama must be sensational to be news. Death by pellagra, that non-occupational disease of undernourishment, death by bullets from the guns of thugs hired to prevent the organization of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, and death by beatings from planters' whips are not sensational.

When an airplane crashed in the Arkansas marshlands where only tenant farmers live, that



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was news, particularly as many of the seventeen passengers and airline employees killed were "names" or the relatives of "names." The cause of the accident was completely mysterious. Flying conditions were perfect, no structural or engine defects could be found, and the speed at the time of the crash appeared to be 180 miles an hour. There were wild stories of pistol shots and of the pilot having been murdered by a drug addict who wanted to commit suicide in a manner that would make his death appear accidental, but nothing could be substantiated since everyone in the plane was dead. The disaster recalled that which had caused the death of Senator Bronson Cutting some time earlier, when there had been charges and counter charges. Underpaid and non-union mechanics, overworked pilots, false economy by the Department of Commerce in providing insufficient beacons and other aids to safety had been among the causes alleged for the accident that deprived the progressives in the Senate of one of their ablest leaders. Presumably, similar causes were at work in the second accident.

The fact is that even within its limitations aviation lags in precautionary safety. It's the old story of stockholders and company officers first, passengers, employees, and the general public second. The history of aviation will undoubtedly be the same as that of the railroads which did not become safe un-

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til they were being abandoned as a popular means of transportation.

First on the scene of the accident in the Arkansas swamps were the share-croppers who, finding everyone dead, began to loot. The passengers were rich and carried considerable sums in cash. Cash is something which share-croppers know very little about and for it some of them would undoubtedly be guilty of crimes more reprehensible than robbing the dead.

Certainly, they had not been encouraged to make a living by legal means. With the abolition of the AAA and the removal of crop restrictions, the farmer owners wanted their properties to be operated more efficiently and on more extortionate terms. Above all, they were determined to crush the rapidly growing Southern Tenant Farmers' Union which had the sanction and the support of the American Federation of Labor. Thus, one of the largest land owners in Arkansas evicted more than a hundred of his share-croppers for no other reason than union membership. A minister and a woman who were on their way to attend the funeral of a Negro member of the S. T. F. U. were beaten with a leather lash by a mob of men. These were merely two out of many such instances.

Aviation remains safer than share-cropping in Arkansas.



## T H R E E   S T R I K E S   B U T N O T   Q U I T E   O U T

*Strike technique is faulty and antiquated. It still largely consists in calling names and making noisy and violent demonstrations. The NRA attempted to set up a much more intelligent machinery for strike settlements but our anachronistic courts decided against such common-sense modernization. Consider three strikes in the early months of 1936: that of the Building Service Employees in New York (generally known as the strike of the elevator operators), that of the Vermont marble workers, and that of the Goodyear Tire Employees in Akron, Ohio.*

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The agreement between the Building Service Employees' Union and the Realty Advisory Board expired on March 1, 1936. The Board, adopting a policy of wish fulfillment, refused to believe that in the face of so much unemployment the service men would strike; but they did and with good chances of success.

The strike was a direct result of boom financing and building costs. In most instances, bond- and stockholders in realty enterprises had been frozen out through bankruptcies after 1929 but New York was so overbuilt from 1925 to 1930 that the returns in 1930-35 could not pay operating expenses under ghoulisn receiverships. So as usual the tenants and the employees were expected to hold the bag.

They should have worked perfectly together. The demands of the employees concerning hours and wages were certainly moderate enough. They just about approximated relief standards. A tenant paying two hundred dollars a month rent and holding worthless realty bonds is likely to be sympathetic with employees receiving wages ranging from forty to ninety dollars a month and working fifty-four to ninety hours a week. In every building a committee should have been appointed to acquaint the tenants with the facts. No such concerted action was taken but where individual groups of employees saw to it that the truth concerning wages and working hours

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was disclosed, the tenants were responsive, and in many cases went on picket lines and inaugurated rent strikes. In the settlement, the Service Employees' Union received an advance in wages approximating 10 per cent, but hours were not changed and the union was not recognized, although in some cases contracts were signed giving Union employees preference.

The strike was an enormous expense to the owners who paid Bergdoff's thugs nine dollars a day to do the work of men who had been getting less than three dollars. This cost the owners attempted to pass on to the tenants in their 1936-37 leases.

The tenants were the chief losers. They were inconvenienced and were put to a great deal of extra expense; their property and their lives were endangered by the strikebreaking thugs. It was haymaking time for jewel thieves. Mayor La Guardia was another loser. The Realty Board and the Hearst papers proclaimed him a Red; the Union said he was a traitor to the working class. Anyone in the middle of the road was certain to be pot-shotted from both sides.

New York is a vertical city dependent upon elevators and elevator service. Any interference with that service is a menace to public health and safety. But the greatest menace of all is a wage scale of from forty to ninety dollars a month for a fifty-

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four to ninety hour week. Apparently, that can only be corrected by a strong industrial union since, according to the Supreme Court, wages and working conditions are not subject to law.

The strike of the marble workers in Vermont was also the result of conditions for which neither the owners nor the workers were responsible. The quarries were working on half and third time and the employees were receiving wages far below any subsistence standards. The industry is centered in five towns, on a smaller scale not unlike the famous Five Towns of Arnold Bennett's novels. The Vermont five towns are Proctor, Rutland, West Rutland, Danby, and Florence. The Proctor family is well known for its philanthropies—its sanitariums and playgrounds and camps for children. The other employers were less interested in the welfare of the workers than were the Proctors. The usual evils of company-owned stores and dwellings were present. But when the showdown came the Proctors were as ruthless as the others in their opposition to unionization of the workers.

In the summer Vermont is full of writers, poets, educators, and social workers, many of whom have bought small farms. Their sympathies were quickly aroused and they rushed to the aid of the strikers, chiefly with words—articles for the radical and lib-

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eral magazines. Vermont is a stiff-necked state, revering Calvin Coolidge as its patron saint, and this well-meant interference probably did more harm than good. The strikers were foreigners, outlanders; the attorney-general, the state officers and the judges ganged up on them. One company guard struck an itinerant peddler, who had no connection whatever with the strike, and caused concussion of the brain. The court blandly held that since the guard had been deputized by the sheriff the company could not be held responsible!

The truth of the matter is that the marble industry cannot provide a living for anyone—workers or owners. It is a dead industry. Modern construction calls for steel and cement, not marble. The last big order for marble, appropriately enough, was to build the tomb of justice, the new home of the Supreme Court in Washington. Even in death, marble is vanishing. Cremation is becoming increasingly popular, and the new cult in cemetery building prohibits tombstones. A cemetery, new style, is a sanctuary of trees, flowers, birds and loud-speakers, the graves being indicated by a simple iron marker. And finally, the plumbing trades have replaced marble for tiling by a synthetic product made from a stone quarried in Minnesota and Dakota.

Of course the strike was doomed. When it was finally settled, unskilled workers were granted a

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two-cents-an-hour increase! Far less than the normal 1936 increases in wages everywhere. The union was not recognized, but union members would not be discriminated against if jobs were available. It is easy to guess how many jobs will be available. The owners of the quarries should take example from the oil industry and close their quarries until some future time when there is a market for their product.

In Akron, Ohio, the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company had once been known for its fair treatment of its employees. But the years following 1929 were disastrous to the Company and control passed to the bankers. With business on the upgrade and NRA abolished, these bankers saw a chance to go from the red into the black. President Litchfield (whose own salary had been cut to \$81,000 a year) was ordered to lengthen hours and cut wages.

A strike was called under the auspices of the Rubber Workers' Union, organized on an industrial basis. President Litchfield at first refused to consider any arbitration that would involve dealing with the R. W. U., insisting it represented a minority of the workers. Perhaps it did. In a city where thousands were out of work, many Goodyear employees were intimidated and without proper leadership probably



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would have accepted lengthened hours and shortened wages.

But proper leadership was forthcoming, and conditions were right for it. In the neighboring states of Illinois and Indiana (witness Pekin and Ft. Wayne) state troops would have been called out and the strike lost, but the adjutant-general of Ohio refused to be stampeded and Governor Davey did not call out the troops. Under the direction of the Committee for Industrial Organization there were as many as five thousand workers on the picket line, but there was no violence.

On March 17th, President Litchfield again announced that he would never deal with the Rubber Workers' Union and appealed for help so that the "loyal" employees could work. He said that a state of anarchy existed and he wanted state troops, the U. S. Army, citizens' committees, newspaper reporters, and Divine Guidance. Only the League of Nations was not invoked by him. Five days later the strike was settled, with victory won by the workers on all points. The bankers realized that conditions were not right to defeat the strike and that opposition companies were reaping a golden harvest.

The union was not mentioned by name but all matters relating to wages, hours, lay-offs and employment were to be settled with representatives of the workers. The Rubber Workers' Union was over-

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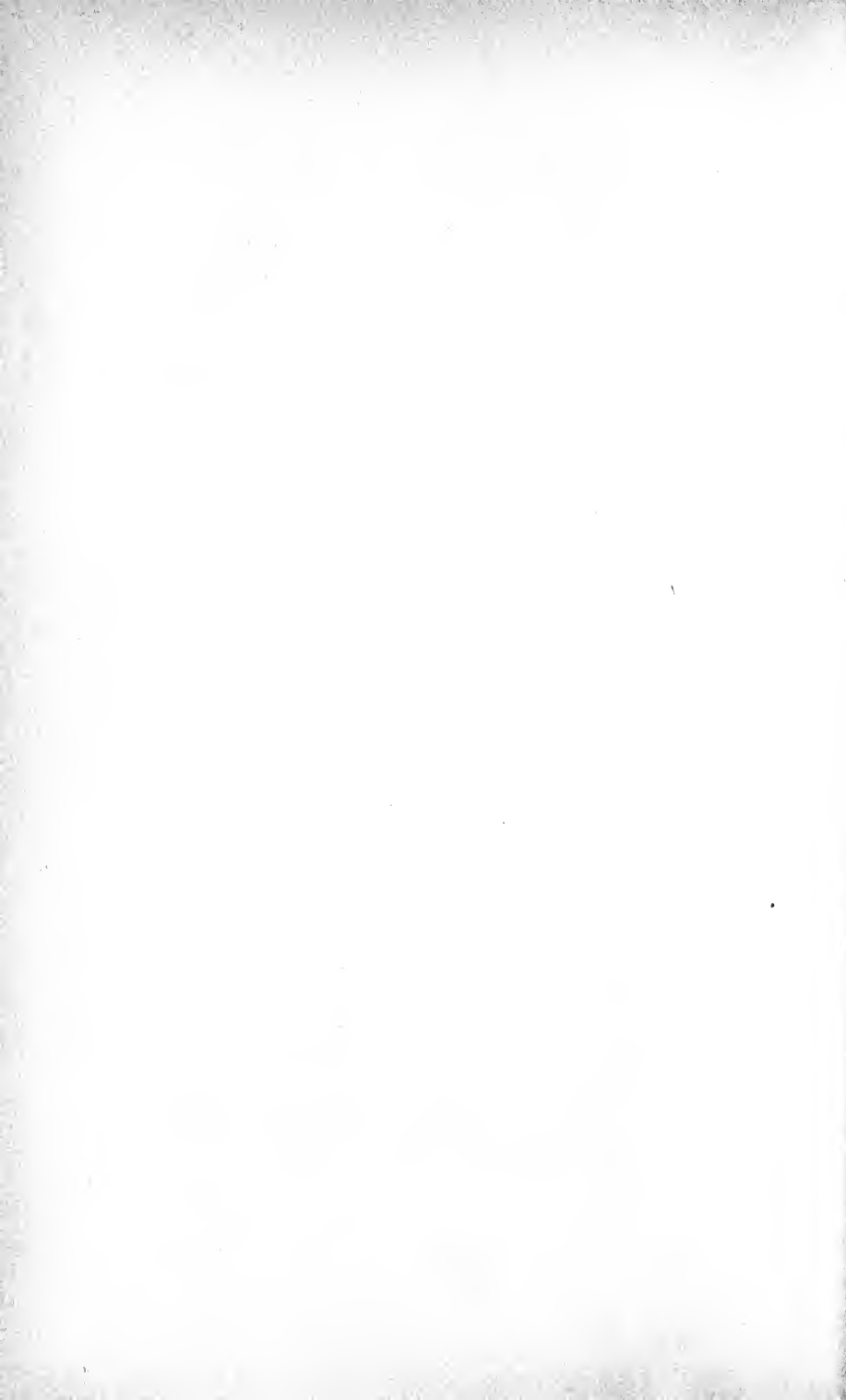
whelmingly selected by the employees as their representative.

It was speedily proved, however, that this recognition was for Akron only. An attempt to extend the union to the company's plant in Alabama was met with swift and decisive action by state and county authorities. Union organizers are as unwelcome in Alabama as New York lawyers and are even more summarily treated. With cheap power available from the TVA and an enormous amount of cheap labor waiting to be exploited, a great swing of factories to the South is an imminent danger.

Many lessons should have been learned from the outcome at Akron. John L. Lewis and his Committee for Industrial Organization seem to have been the only ones to profit. There is no evidence that the bankers, President Litchfield, or the A. F. of L. learned anything.



**SPRING**





## S W I N G

*In reviewing the 1935-36 season in music little remains in memory except the coining of a word—swing. Technically swing is an elaboration of variations and ornamentations to a point where the melody is barely recognizable. But it has come to be a loose term applied recklessly and indiscriminately. The latest Fred Astaire-Ginger Rogers motion picture was called *Swing Time* although Jerome Kern's music cannot by any possible stretch of the imagination be called swing music. In general usage swing is simply a new word for the American popular music that started in the nineties as ragtime, developed*

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into jazz and has now temporarily become swing. It is music that is Negroid in conception, white in development, English in refinement and sophistication, and Hollywood in decadence.

Swing music at its technical best is not popular with the American public. It is too barbaric, too revolutionary, but, chiefly, it requires too much technical skill in its performance. It is seldom heard on the air except during the non-commercial programs of dance music broadcast around midnight. It is music for dancers and musicians.

Otherwise, the season was marked by a revival of popular interest throughout the country in opera, symphonic concerts, and recitals. Chiefly due to the general upturn in conditions, this revival was also connected with a relative decline of popular interest in radio. Whether the latter was due to a natural reaction from the first overwhelming popularity of a new invention or whether it was caused by the surrender of radio to advertising, is a matter for statisticians to decide, but the radio is no longer a menace to motion pictures, automobile manufacturers, and serious music activities.

Serious music may be heard on the air but only on morning, afternoon, and Saturday night programs, when there is time available not purchased by the advertisers. With increasing combinations of stations into big chains, and increasing demand for

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time by advertisers, symphonic and concert programs will probably become rarer, in spite of the desire of the musical directors of the broadcasting companies to furnish them whenever possible.

The advertiser will not continuously furnish the best in music. Lucky Strike and Listerine each sponsored the Metropolitan Opera for a season without notably increasing their sales and then withdrew. In 1936 the opera became a sustaining program offered by the National Broadcasting Company in competition with the Sunday afternoon concerts of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, a sustaining program by the Columbia Broadcasting System. If Columbia would abandon the Philharmonic, N. B. C. would probably be glad to eliminate the expense of the opera. Columbia has never been able to sell the Philharmonic concerts to an advertiser, and undoubtedly the advertiser is right. When Father Coughlin appeared on the air at the same hour as the Philharmonic, the large majority of dial turners preferred his talks to a symphonic concert.

General Motors bravely tried Sunday night broadcasts with the world's greatest directors and the world's best music, but in the season of 1935-36 they switched to a second-rate director, "popular" classical programs, and guest stars of proven box-office value. The Ford Symphonic broadcasts

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were even more mediocre in their program material.

In New York, the musical season was marked by a new director at the Metropolitan Opera House and by the farewell of Toscanini as conductor of the Philharmonic. Since Mr. Edward Johnson's first season at the opera was a dismal musical disappointment and since there is no successor to Toscanini, the prospect is not bright.

As a condition of their benefactions to the Metropolitan, the Juilliard Foundation stipulated appearances for their best pupils. One by one these appeared, were publicized, were given the center of the stage (usually at a matinée or special performance), and one and all displayed insufficient talent, improper training, or lack of experience. The last factor was the most important; undoubtedly singers have to be ripened and conditioned somewhere; but the opera house with the richest Board of Directors in the world is hardly the place that one would expect to find devoted to that end.

The millionaire Board of Directors made no appeals for funds at the end of the 1936 season and announced, cautiously, that the first year under the new director had been encouraging. Perhaps Mr. Irving Kolodin's book, *The Metropolitan Opera, 1883-1935*, may have had something to do with their decision. In this book Mr. Kolodin showed that



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the patrons of the opera have received, for their five-million-dollar investment, their parterre boxes free, and own a property (the Opera House on Broadway) for which they refused seven millions. The opera has been supported by seatholders in one of the worst of auditoriums, by contributors to the recent annual drives and, of course, by the Juilliard Foundation with its blighting stipulations.

The season disclosed no new opera and no worthwhile revival. George Gershwin's *Porgy and Bess*, which merited a performance by an organization with the resources of the Metropolitan, had a second-class presentation by the Theater Guild. No one realized the value of Mr. Gershwin's score until the best swing orchestras and soloists of the country began to include it on their radio programs.

A sentimental occasion marked the end of the season at the opera in the farewell of Miss Lucrezia Bori. Miss Bori made her artistic farewell several seasons ago, but it has always been a touching custom of the Metropolitan to retain its doormen, ushers and singers long after their efficiency has been seriously impaired.

Unfortunately, Mr. Toscanini, on the other hand, chose to retire from his American activities at the height of his power and fame. The American habit of overpaying its conductors had made him wealthy beyond his needs and the other Ameri-

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can habit of overworking its overpaid officials had impaired his health to such an extent that the American trip became an increasingly dreaded chore each year. The directors of the Philharmonic appointed as his successor one of Europe's best musicians, Wilhelm Furtwangler, but the selection aroused such a storm of anti-Nazi protest that Herr Furtwangler was obliged to withdraw his acceptance. Musically deplorable, his decision or the decision of the board of directors was defensible when dealing with a public incapable of separating art from politics. A season under Herr Furtwangler's direction might have been stormy and disastrous to the orchestra.

Wagner was overwhelmingly the most popular composer of the season. This led some of the critics to believe that American public taste is improving. That is probably nonsense. The popularity of Wagner was due to the Toscanini influence and the current success of Kirsten Flagstad, the new interpreter of Wagner heroines. Let a new Caruso or Patti appear and *Lucia*, *Rigoletto*, *Traviata*, and *Pagliacci* will be as popular as ever.

In the concert field the season was marked by the rise of some mediocrities owing to their success in musical pictures. Miss Grace Moore and Mr. Nelson Eddy became more popular with concert-hall impresarios than Rachmaninoff or Heifitz. Miss Lily Pons broke all attendance records at the Holly-

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wood Bowl and sang so badly that many in the audience thought a singing double must have been used in her motion picture. They did not realize that in making a picture Miss Pons could do a number twenty times or more until she finally attained the key. In that respect pictures can offer a perfection not obtainable in opera or concert.



## THE NON-WORKERS' THEATER

*It will be an ironic note in history (if it is noticed at all) that our national theater was created not from our national wealth and prosperity but from the depths of our distress and poverty—a part of the Roosevelt policy of placing the unemployed in occupations for which they were trained and in which they had formerly been employed. Russia may have a Workers' Theater; its distant equivalent in America is a Non-Workers' Theater fostered not from interest in art but as a mere phase of relief.*

There have always been unemployed actors; the

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demand for actors has probably never equalled the supply. And in the whole field of art, there is nothing more tragic than the actor without a job. Give a painter canvas and a few paints, or lacking that a pencil and some paper, and he will always express himself. Nothing, regrettably, has ever kept a writer from writing. A singer is like a bird, warbling for the fun of it, and only in comparatively recent times has singing been looked upon as a means of livelihood. But an actor must have an audience—a job. Practicing before a mirror quickly becomes unsatisfactory, and acting in amateur productions at a labor hall (it used to be the parish house) palls very quickly.

It was for this reason that the Federal Theater received a heartier response from its beneficiaries than any of the other WPA projects. In fact, if the Government had been mercenary it probably could have added to its revenue by taxing actors in return for jobs instead of paying them. In no other art or profession are so many people willing to pay for the privilege of working. It is the only field where the old-fashioned paid apprenticeship remains. The whole summer theater, which has assumed tremendous proportions, is supported by actors who either pay for the privilege of working or give their services for nothing.

The WPA has every reason to be proud of its sea-

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son. If returning prosperity or a change in policy brings an untimely end to the project, it has at least demonstrated that government drama can function satisfactorily, without destructive competition, in the same city, in fact on the same street, with the commercial theater.

Enmeshed in red tape, charged, on one side, with being communistic and, on the other, with stifling free speech and expression, the theater project got off to a bad start. Oddly enough some of the early productions gave plausibility to the charges both of communist influence and of censorship. The productions of *Triple A Plowed Under* and *Class of '29* were definitely on the radical side. Both as art and propaganda, *Class of '29* is a much better play than the English success (not so successful in New York because of poor acting) *Love on the Dole*. On the other hand *Chalk Dust*, a fine, honest script concerning high-school life, was bowdlerized in its production, and one of the presentations of the *Living Newspaper* was suppressed because it contained references to Mussolini and Fascism.

Perhaps such a bewildering policy had a good effect. The bickering died down, the red tape was cut, and the productions could be viewed solely as entertainment and not as propaganda or philanthropy.

The initial reason for the success of the Federal

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Theater was undoubtedly the low admission price. Never more than a dollar for the best seats, in most instances the maximum charge has been fifty-five cents. One's attitude toward a play is considerably more sympathetic following an outlay of fifty-five cents instead of three or four dollars. For example, *The Parade*, a revue excellently produced by the Hollywood project, was a bargain at fifty-five cents even though most of it was routine vaudeville. By contrast the 1935-36 edition of the *Follies*, produced at the Winter Garden in New York, with or without Fannie Brice, was not worth four dollars and forty cents of anyone's money.

T. S. Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral* as offered by the WPA was finer than anything produced during the season at any price, a conclusive demonstration that poetic drama is not dead. More than that, in the effective ensemble work of the Poor Women of Canterbury it proved that the Greek chorus in the hands of a master can be successfully modernized. Harry Irvine gave a magnificent performance in the rôle of Becket. When *Murder* closed he reappeared with another splendid characterization in *Class of '29*, but at the end of the season he was promptly reclaimed by the commercial theater.

The Negro production of *Macbeth* was probably the most popular of the WPA offerings. Shakespeare, as well as many actors, was employed; in

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spite of the shattering of every tradition, the spirit of Shakespeare emerged more satisfactorily than it had in the disastrous Merivale-Cooper production on Broadway earlier in the season.

The *Dance of Death* with Stephen Auden's choruses was another good production by the WPA, although the difficulty of casting native New Yorkers as aristocrats from London's Mayfair was not entirely overcome. Masks might have been used with advantage.

The commercial theater during the season offered nothing so interesting as *Murder in the Cathedral* or *Macbeth*, and with the exception of *Winterset* and *Bury the Dead*, no American plays as worthwhile as *Chalk Dust* and *Class of '29*.

The critics, after greeting *Winterset* with faint praise, reversed themselves and gave it their accolade in the form of an annual award in opposition to the Pulitzer Prize. In *Winterset* Mr. Maxwell Anderson is still brooding on the Sacco-Vanzetti case. Unfortunately, he is concerned solely with the psychologically interesting but relatively unimportant effect of such a case upon the unjust judge and upon the son of one of the convicted men. Practically every murder case has its disastrous effect upon some individuals. The importance of the Sacco-Vanzetti case lay in its social implications. But from Mr. Anderson's play you would not suspect there had



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been any. Just as his *Mary of Scotland* was nothing more than the melodrama of two women, so *Winterset* is the melodrama of an old man and a boy. It is very good melodrama written in blank verse that is at times effective and beautiful, and at other times turgid and somnolent. What remained in the mind, however, was not Mr. Anderson's play but the stage set and the magnificent acting of Richard Bennett and Burgess Meredith.

Irwin Shaw's *Bury the Dead*, like the previous season's *Waiting for Lefty*, is an exciting one-act propaganda play written by a very young man as a first production in the theater. Also like *Waiting for Lefty*, it was immediately hailed as a masterpiece. It is to be hoped that the result will not be as disastrous.

Mr. Odets followed *Waiting for Lefty* with *Awake and Sing* which, however, had been written several years before the one-act play. *Awake and Sing* for two acts was a fine, thoughtful piece of work. In the last act, however, Mr. Odets remembered that a play ought to be "dramatic" and supplied dramatics that were not convincing. Then he wrote *Waiting for Lefty*—interesting on account of its experimental technique as well as its labor propaganda—and the powerful anti-fascist melodrama, *Until the Day I Die*.

Was America to have another O'Neill? Appar-

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ently not. Mr. Odets followed his critical reception as a genius and his Hollywood offers with *Paradise Lost*, an undisciplined rewriting of *Awake and Sing*. *Paradise Lost* was an extraordinary combination of Chekhov (vigorously denied in the newspapers by Mr. Odets), Charles Rann Kennedy (*The Servant in the House*) and Warwick Deeping. Not content with heaping upon his over-articulate people all the social and economic problems of the day, Mr. Odets was merciless and introduced sleeping sickness, a germ disease which recognizes no social distinctions. Both Mr. Odets and Mr. Shaw were temporarily swallowed by Hollywood but were regurgitated so promptly that they may survive the experience. Their Hollywood efforts were devoted to China and football, respectively.

The Pulitzer committee, with changed personnel and revised rules, made its usual inept choice, this time selecting Mr. Robert Sherwood's vaudeville peace play, *Idiot's Delight*. As produced by the Theater Guild, directed by Bretaigne Windust, acted by Alfred Lunt, Lynn Fontanne, Richard Whorf, Sidney Greenstreet, and some chorus girls, *Idiot's Delight* was good entertainment. Perhaps the Pulitzer committee does not read the plays to which it gives the award; only a reading of *Idiot's Delight* reveals its essential emptiness. On those members of the audience too old to be drafted in the next war

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but fond of going to Europe, the pitiable spectacle of Americans marooned in a Continental hotel under a rain of bombs had a strong anti-militarist effect.

Two interesting and unexpected successes of the season were the dramatizations of *Pride and Prejudice* and *Ethan Frome*. Dramatizations seldom do anything except make plain the limitations of the theater, but in these instances the skill of Miss Helen Jerome and the Davises, father and son, did full justice to the genius of Jane Austen and Edith Wharton respectively. *Pride and Prejudice* was the more popular as lighter and jollier fare. Motion pictures, which could have done it at any time without paying a cent for the rights, promptly bought the Jerome dramatization for a good round sum.

The Theater Guild continued its policy of buying plays from new authors but producing only those written by such well-known scribes as Shakespeare, Behrman, Sherwood, and Dodie Smith. Behrman's play *End of Summer* was second-string Behrman but nevertheless the most interesting Guild production of the year.

The season marked the third year of *Tobacco Road* which on its first performance was greeted by the critics as "never meant for the footlights," "a failure as a play," "vaudeville freakishness," and "not the sort of entertainment people buy"! On the

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road, two companies giving the play met with varying fortunes. Prohibited in Chicago after running some weeks, the play was also banned in St. Paul, so an extra week was provided in Minneapolis to take care of the St. Paul people. Usually, four days is a long run in St. Paul. In St. Louis and other places some censoring had to be done, and in Boston the play was so purified that it became a bore. Pittsburgh, accepting it undeleted, broke all theatrical records, but then Washington followed suit, thanks to the publicity furnished by the attacks of the Georgia delegation in Congress. Erskine Caldwell promptly took up the challenge of the Georgia congressmen and offered to prove that conditions in his book were not overdrawn. Nothing more was said about it. The play did not venture into Georgia or the deep South, but it did play Louisville without molestation or profit.

The happiest augury of the season was the return of audiences to the theater. Money was made in New York and on the road indicating that the heart-breaking slump of 1932-35 was due more to economic conditions than to any permanent replacement of the legitimate theater by pictures and radio. The theory that the legitimate theater will only survive for a select few is disproved by the Federal Project and by an enormous number of inexpensive summer theaters operating in 1936.



## THE SUPREMEST OF SUPREME COURTS

*The 1935-36 session of the Supreme Court was the most important in its whole century and a half of existence. It marked the final triumph of the slow but steady process of enlarging the powers of the Court until it should be really supreme not only over the states but over the co-ordinate branches of the National Government—the Executive and Legislature. The holocaust of New Deal measures, begun with the overthrow of the NRA (embodying the Government's attempt to regulate industry), was followed in 1936 by the slaughter of the Triple A (embodying the same attempt with regard to agri-*

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culture) and by the stern rejection of the Guffey Coal Bill (wherein the Government had attempted to salvage a part of the NRA in the interest of labor). Finally, the Court gave an even more decided blow to labor by declaring the New York minimum wage law unconstitutional. The net result was that in its last two sessions the Court made such hash of the whole New Deal program that President Roosevelt in his campaign for reelection was freed from the necessity of defending the particular measures of his Administration and could turn the issue on his admitted good intentions. While both political parties were careful to keep the status of the Court out of the campaign there could be no doubt that its drastic exercise of its prerogatives brought more widespread condemnation of the Court than had occurred since its unfortunate Dred Scott decision.

The nullification of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, in the case of *United States v. Butler*, was rendered by a six-to-three decision on January 6, 1936. The act had been passed as emergency legislation intended to overcome the disparity between agricultural and other prices through encouragement of voluntary crop reduction by benefit payments to be raised by processing taxes. In spite of the logical absurdity of paying farmers not to produce—an absurdity emphasized when the drought came to the support of the AAA—the Act worked much better

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than the more rational NRA—better at least in the sense of improving the condition of farm owners and operators relatively to that of manufacturers, though these benefits, notoriously, were not handed down to the tenant-farmers, sharecroppers, or day laborers making up the mass of the people actually engaged in farming. Regardless of its wisdom or success, however, the Act unquestionably had been passed to meet a national crisis and in the supposed interest of the public welfare.

It is a time-honored custom of the Supreme Court, when about to nullify Congressional legislation, to begin with a statement that it is doing nothing of the kind or at any rate is doing so with extreme reluctance. Mr. Justice Roberts in rendering the majority opinion on the Triple A observed the usual etiquette. "It is sometimes said," he began, "that the Court assumes a power to overrule or control the action of the people's representatives. This is a misconception." All that the Court does in such cases is not to overrule the action of the people's representatives but merely to declare their action null and void.

Having made this subtle distinction, Mr. Justice Roberts proceeded to uphold at great length that "strict construction" of the Constitution generally supposed to have been laid at rest by John Marshall before the Civil War, in accordance with which he

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held that the power "to lay and collect taxes . . . and provide . . . for the general welfare" did not enable Congress to regulate agriculture (since this was not specifically mentioned and was a local matter) or to impose a tax as a part of a system of coercion (since a refusal to reduce acreage under it entailed a loss of prospective benefits). The dire results to be anticipated from such legislation, he maintained, were that "every provision" of the Constitution "may be subverted, the independence of the individual states obliterated, and the United States converted into a central government exercising uncontrolled police powers in every state of the Union, superseding all local control or regulation of the affairs or concerns of the states."

In the dissenting opinion of Justices Stone, Brandeis, and Cardozo, Mr. Justice Stone pointed out that "threat of loss, not hope of gain, is the essence of economic coercion" and that a mere invitation which thirty-three per cent of the farmers actually declined to accept in 1934 could not have been very coercive. He then went on to indicate the absurd consequences of the majority reasoning: "The government may give seeds to farmers but may not condition the gift upon their being planted in places where they are most needed or even planted at all. The government may give money to the unemployed, but may not ask that those who get it shall



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give labor in return, or even use it to support their families. It may give money to sufferers from earthquake, fire, tornado, pestilence, or flood, but may not impose conditions. . . . All that . . . must be left for the states, who are unable or unwilling to supply the necessary relief.”

Toward Mr. Justice Roberts' melodramatic dire results, Mr. Justice Stone was barely courteous. Declaring that his colleague's contention "hardly rises to the dignity of argument" he continued: "A tortured construction of the Constitution is not to be justified by recourse to examples of reckless congressional spending which . . . would be possible only by action of a legislature lost to all sense of public responsibility. Such suppositions are addressed to the mind accustomed to believe that it is the business of courts to sit in judgment on the wisdom of legislative action. Courts are not the only agency of government that must be assumed to have capacity to govern."

More objectionable to most minds than the main decision was a subordinate one that followed two weeks later requiring that the taxes already collected from the processors be returned. Since these taxes had already been passed on to the consumers, this amounted to a gift of many millions from the people to the processors. The result was tersely characterized by Secretary Wallace as a steal. While the

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remark was not technically in contempt of court it strikingly illustrated the actual contempt which, under our American system, one coördinate branch of the Government may cherish toward another.

Between the nullification of Triple A and the next great decision came one popularly supposed to have determined the status of the Tennessee Valley Authority though it did nothing of the kind. The Court took two months after the close of the case to come to its decision which bore suggestions of having been reached as a hard-won compromise between liberals and conservatives. The case in hand, *Ashwander v. Tennessee Authority et al.* was held not to concern the Tennessee Authority but only the Wilson Dam built to improve the navigation of the Tennessee River and validated on that count. Mr. Justice McReynolds declined to be reconciled to such a subterfuge and in a solitary dissenting opinion roundly denounced the TVA and all its works. Nothing was really settled by the decision except perhaps that the Government may possibly be able to furnish cheap power for the use of the people if it can disguise this as an adjunct of improving navigation or as a part of some other equally absurd masquerade.

The Guffey Coal Bill, declared unconstitutional by a five-to-four decision on March 18th, had been an effort to preserve that part of the NRA which

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attempted to regulate the admittedly deplorable conditions in the coal industries. In the majority opinion delivered by Mr. Justice Sutherland, the Guffey Bill was declared unconstitutional on several grounds of which the most interesting was that the coal operators were not engaged in interstate commerce and were therefore not amenable to the control of Congress. It is quite true, as the majority of the Court insisted, that coal is mined within particular states—since it must be mined in some specific place, not in the United States in general—but by the same reasoning even the railroads, since they must start in some specific place, would not be engaged in interstate commerce.

Finally, there came in June on the day of adjournment the most unpopular of all these decisions, that declaring the New York minimum wage law unconstitutional. Some ten years before, in the celebrated case of *Adkins v. Children's Hospital*, the Supreme Court, reversing its own earlier stand, had declared unconstitutional a Congressional minimum wage law for women in the District of Columbia on the ground that it interfered with "freedom of contract"—a phrase nowhere found in the Constitution—as it required the payment of a living wage without regard to equivalence of service. The New York law was specifically framed to meet this objection, prohibiting only wages that are "both less than the

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fair and reasonable value of the services rendered and less than to meet the minimum cost of living." Nevertheless, the state courts held that the law was still rendered unconstitutional by the Adkins decision even though the ground of that decision did not apply to it. With a cynicism rare even in the Supreme Court, the majority, speaking through Mr. Justice Butler declared, "This court is without power to put a different construction upon the State enactment from that adopted by the highest court of the State"—in other words, the Supreme Court has no power to interpret the applicability of one of its own decisions if the state court has already interpreted—or misinterpreted—it.

Such unusual modesty on the part of the Supreme Court was repellent to Chief Justice Hughes who dissented from a ruling that prevented the Court from interpreting its own language. A more vigorous dissenting opinion was written by Mr. Justice Stone with the concurrence of Justices Brandeis and Cardozo. "I would not make the differences between the present statute and that involved in the Adkins case," he said, "the sole basis of decision. I attach little importance to the fact that the earlier statute was aimed only at a starvation wage and that the present one does not prohibit such a wage unless it is also less than the reasonable value of the service. Since neither statute compels employment at any

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wage, I do not assume that employers in one case, more than in the other, would pay the minimum wage if the service were worth less. . . .

“There is grim irony in speaking of the freedom of contract of those who, because of their economic necessities gave their service for less than is necessary to keep soul and body together. . . .

“In the years which have intervened since the Adkins case . . . we have had opportunity to perceive more clearly that a wage insufficient to support the worker does not visit its consequences upon him alone; that it may affect profoundly the entire economic structure of society and, in any case, that it casts on every taxpayer, and on government itself, the burden of solving the problems of poverty, subsistence, health and morals of large numbers in the community. Because of their nature and extent these are public problems. . . .

“It is not for the courts to resolve doubts whether the remedy by wage regulation is as efficacious as many believe. . . . The legislature must be free to choose unless government is to be rendered impotent. The Fourteenth Amendment has no more embedded in the Constitution our preference for some particular set of economic beliefs, than it has adopted, in the name of liberty, the system of theology which we may happen to approve.”

There were, of course, many other interesting

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Supreme Court decisions during the term. But these were the all-important ones, which marked the session as the culmination of the Court's reactionary policies.



## S H A R I N G   T H E   P E L F

*In his opening message to the second session of the Seventy-Fourth Congress, the President had said, "It is my belief that no new taxes, over and above the present taxes, are either advisable or necessary."* That had been music to the ears of congressmen in election year.

But long before the first of April, the President, upon advices received from the Treasury Department, told Congress that the situation had altered. He would need slightly more than three-quarters of a billion for the next three years and in excess of half a billion for the six years thereafter.

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The President had excuse for this quick change. The blame rested squarely on the two other branches of the Government—the judicial and the legislative. The Supreme Court by declaring the AAA unconstitutional had deprived the Government of half a billion in processing taxes and an additional hundred and fifty million already collected but ordered returned. The other burden put upon the Government (although this apparently surprised no one except the Treasury Department) was the passage of the Bonus Bill which added a cool two billion to the amount to be paid out.

Congress, the President sternly said, not having dared to ask reëlection with the bonus unpaid, would now have to face the question of raising the money in election year. He was firmly against inflation, and an inflation bill (as was demonstrated in April) could not muster a majority in the House of Representatives. At first the President indicated that he would make no recommendations as to the method of raising the additional income except that it must be done by taxation over a period of about six years. Since Congress for years had made hash of White House recommendations, Congress could write the bill.

But early in March the President either reversed his position or the congressional conferees and newspapermen had been mistaken. In a radio-delivered



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message, he made recommendations for taxation which constituted the boldest liberal step of his administration and made inevitable the united opposition of the businessmen of the country. It was a brave step to have taken at any time. In election year it was more than brave; it was heroic.

The President recommended the repeal of existing corporation taxes and the substitution of a tax to be paid by corporations on their undistributed incomes, correcting one of the great weaknesses of the existing income tax laws whereby wealthy corporations have saved their stockholders from the higher brackets of income by the simple expedient of not distributing swollen profits.

The newspapers were at first cautious in their comments, but there was no question about the attitude of business. The President had forfeited his last chance of any support from organized industry. Congress was distraught. For the next three months it wrangled over the tax bill and would have wrangled for many more months if the national conventions had not been held in June. The fighting went on in committee. The average member knew nothing about the intricacies of the required legislation. When the bill was considered on the floor of the House it was almost impossible to secure a quorum.

The bill as at last passed by the House carried out the President's recommendation in that it virtually

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abolished all corporation income taxes except on undistributed profits, but the tax was not nearly so high as recommended by the Treasury Department and was, in fact, insufficient to raise the necessary income. For the rest, the bill was 236 pages of sheer confusion. The late Speaker Byrns cynically observed, "I don't think many Republican amendments will be offered since they don't understand the bill." Equally cynical, Administration leaders said the text of the bill was unimportant since the Senate would completely rewrite it anyway.

They were right. The Senate reduced the undistributed profit tax almost to the vanishing point and increased the normal tax on corporation incomes instead of abolishing this tax as recommended by the President. The arguments against the undistributed tax were, first, the need of establishing reserves out of profits to take care of years when there would be losses instead of gains; second, the obligation in many cases to pay indebtedness out of profits; and, finally, the creation of surpluses as cushions against depression.

There were both reason and fallacy in these objections. Reserves are desirable and necessary, but when these reserves become unduly large they represent a dangerous amount of frozen capital. Also, a corporation that has been paying large dividends for years would have no difficulty in raising addi-

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tional capital from its stockholders or outside investors when necessary. For such a purpose, it is economically unsound to keep huge reserves.

The value of cushions against depression is debatable. The four years of inaction against depression during the Hoover Administration would not have been possible if unearned income had vanished as quickly as wages, and as profits from farming and small business. The bankers and the capitalists would not have been so optimistic if their income had been shut off as quickly as that of the wage-earner. The A. T. & T., for instance, because of its huge reserves, was able to pay dividends all during the depression. It did not reduce its rates in the face of universally lower costs, but it did cut its working staff about 40 per cent. It cannot be seriously argued that such a system speeds recovery from a depression.

The compromise bill as finally passed, because of the imminence of the national conventions and at the sacrifice of much important legislation, provided a normal tax on corporation net income of from 8 per cent to 15 per cent and abolished the former exemption of 4 per cent which individuals could claim with regard to dividends. It levied a graduated tax of 7 to 27 per cent on undistributed profits, exempting corporations under contract to pay no dividends, and corporations under contract to repay indebted-

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ness from current income. It slightly reduced the capital stock tax and levied a windfall tax of 80 per cent on the processing taxes ordered refunded by the Supreme Court decision. It did nothing about bonds and stocks exempt from the income tax under existing laws.

Less than the President recommended, the bill was still drastic enough to settle the status of the present Democratic Party so far as big business and "conservative" (meaning greedy) investors were concerned.

The revenue from the bill cannot be gauged until after the end of the fiscal year, and its effect on business will be undeterminable then. In fact, its effect on business will be tied up with so many other factors as to make any conclusion debatable. American businessmen and stockholders have always been so skilful in evading taxes that any prophecy regarding the efficacy of a revenue bill is dangerous.



## CONGRESS IN HASTE

*The second session of the Seventy-Fourth Congress* had expected to adjourn before the Republican National Convention but was prevented by the sudden death of Speaker Joseph Byrns. In his honor Congress recessed for a week and finally adjourned early Sunday morning, June 21st, just before the opening of the Democratic Convention in Philadelphia.

Joseph Byrns of Tennessee was a good Democrat, a good fellow, and a good friend. Too good a fellow and too good a friend to be in any way dynamic. He was simply a trained politician who obeyed orders. A Southern Democratic congressman before Roose-

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velt or the New Deal had been heard of, if he had lived on he might have survived Roosevelt and the New Deal. He never opposed the White House, but he was much less than an inspired leader because he never really knew what it was all about.

His successor, William Bankhead of Alabama, is more forceful. He understands the aims of the President and the New Dealers and probably sympathizes with them, although, as a rule, his work has been sectional rather than national. As Speaker he will have a chance to develop and become a national figure instead of remaining the first representative of the Southern planters. However, it is unfortunate that at a time when it is so important for the liberal and progressive elements in the Democratic Party to assume leadership, a traditional Southern Democrat and gentleman should be Speaker. Representative Bankhead has been a very sick man; during the first session of the Seventy-Fourth Congress he was confined to the hospital for months. Like the President, he has had family embarrassments. He has one daughter who has married many times (although occasionally repeating with the same husband) and another (the famous actress) who has not married at all.

The second session of the Seventy-Fourth Congress was typical of election years. Its sins were of omission rather than commission. The excess profits

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tax, emasculated though it was, was a brave law to enact in a campaign year. Only persistent pressure from the White House saved it.

The best thing the Congress did was not to pass the Frazier-Lemke inflation bill. Representative Lemke threatened dire reprisals in the campaign, but inflation was not allowed to become an issue except in the Coughlin speeches.

Another negative action on the part of Congress for which it deserves credit was its failure to take action on the two Red-baiting bills, the Kramer sedition and the Tydings-McCormack military-disaffection acts.

The usual amount of time was wasted. Early in the second session there was a three-cornered argument between Representative Sisson of New York, the late Representative Zioncheck of Washington, and Representative Blanton of Texas (since retired by his constituents in the primaries). Mr. Blanton said that a statement of Mr. Zioncheck's was "ridiculous and asinine." Mr. Zioncheck demanded that the words be taken down. Speaker Byrns and his assistants then started a frantic search for the word "asinine" in the dictionary, a search which took some time owing to the impression that the word was spelled with a double s. Mr. Blanton could not help out.

Five pages of the Congressional Record for May

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4th are devoted to the dog-food speech of Senator Dickinson of Iowa. At that time Senator Dickinson was still hoping to be the Harding of the 1936 campaign, the proverbial dark horse. Like Harding, the Senator was a stand-patter and an impressive figure, with classical features and a shock of white hair. But unlike President Harding, he does not drink, smoke or indulge in social activities. He had a speech to make, a speech prepared for him at Republican headquarters, and he made it although only half a dozen senators were present. The speech pointed out that the sale of dog-food had increased out of all proportions to the dog population; the Senator's conclusion (or rather the conclusion of Republican headquarters) was that human beings were eating the canned dog-food and that canned dog-food is made of carrion or stockyard "tankage" and does not come under the Pure Food laws and regulations.

Senator Dickinson's speech was long and heart-rending. During its course, some unsympathetic reporter slipped to Senator Byrnes of South Carolina a newspaper release already sent out by Republican headquarters. Senator Byrnes began to read the release, and the senators drifted into the chamber. "In a sensational address before the Senate," read Senator Byrnes to the accompaniment of derisive laughter, "United States Senator Dickinson of Iowa today laid bare a condition under which poor people



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throughout the United States had been forced to eat diseased and contaminated food . . . literally unfit for even dogs to eat.”

Senator Byrnes read on, and the imaginative dispatch told how Senator Dickinson had brought cans of dog-food to the Senate. The embarrassed Senator shouted that he had the dog-food in his office. Senator Byrnes read the dispatch through to the end with all its prophetic and inaccurate interpolations. “The real issue at this time,” Senator Byrnes said as he finished the dispatch, “is not canned food. It is canned speeches.” After that, speeches from Republican headquarters were not so popular. Senator Dickinson was not the dark horse candidate; he was defeated for reelection in November. Unfortunately, dogs don’t vote.

Both houses of Congress spent many days in performing their Constitutional duty of impeaching and trying a Federal judge. Federal Judge Ritter of Florida was properly tried and convicted, but his high crimes, misdemeanors and misbehavior were all on local issues and in no way important enough to consume weeks of Congressional consideration. On the first article of the impeachment, charging Judge Ritter with allowing a \$75,000 fee to his onetime law partner in a bankruptcy case, getting a \$45,000 cut for himself, the Judge was found not guilty in spite of strong evidence to the con-

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trary; so also, on the second count of conniving to have a receivership suit brought for his own profit; the same verdict was given on the third and fourth counts, in which he was charged with practicing law while on the bench. He was also pronounced not guilty on the fifth count, a charge of failure to report income tax; the sixth count, also an income tax matter, was decided in the same way. But on the seventh count summarizing the other six and alleging that his actions had brought his court into scandal and disrepute and that he was therefore guilty of misbehavior and high crimes and misdemeanors in office, the Judge was found guilty by the necessary two-thirds majority.

It is a little difficult to follow the logic of the Senate that one innocent of each separate charge could be guilty of all of them, taken together; one would probably be wrong in assuming that the senators were versed in Hegel and therefore knew that the whole is greater than the sum of the parts; but at any event substantial justice was presumably achieved. Such trials, however, are a hangover from the days when the United States was a narrow strip of land along the Atlantic. Some less expensive way should be found of keeping the judiciary pure.

In addition to the tax on excess profits, important last-minute legislation passed by Congress included the Anti-Chain-Store Bill to protect independent

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merchants by forbidding improper discounts and rebates to chain purchasers and by empowering the Federal Trade Commission to fix maximum discounts on quantity purchases; the Government Contracts Bill establishing hours and prevailing wages for manufacturers and distributors dealing with the government (this bill will undoubtedly have varying interpretations from the different Federal departments and the courts); and the Ship Subsidy Bill. Other major bills in the final weeks were chiefly concerned with appropriations.

Earlier legislation for which the second session of the Seventy-Fourth Congress should be credited included the Soil Conservation Act, the Rural Electrification Act, and the law prohibiting interstate transportation of strike-breakers.

On the debit side Congress failed to take favorable action on the Pure Food and Drug Act, the Housing Act, the neutrality bills, and the bill to register lobbyists in Washington. These bills were held back by powerful lobbies and were not included by the Administration in the "must" list. Senator Rush Holt led a last-minute filibuster against the substitute for the Guffey Coal Bill held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. The Democratic majority in the Senate has probably bitterly regretted its action in passing favorably on Senator Holt's eligibility. (He was elected before he had reached

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the Constitutional age of thirty.) Spurned by the Democratic machine in his state, believing himself deprived of his legitimate share of patronage, Senator Holt has been a bitter foe of the Administration and was soon to go over openly to the Republicans. The senator will find himself a lonely figure in the 1937-38 Congress.



## SUBSIDIES AND SAFETY

*The Merchant Marine Act of 1936*, rushed through the final days of Congress and signed by the President, is a liberal handout to shipping interests, a concession to the big navy men, without any new provisions to safeguard passengers or to improve the conditions of seamen. That such new provisions are needed is known to everyone who has been to sea in American ships whether as a member of the crew or as a passenger. Landlubbers who go to motion picture theaters, read newspapers, or listen to the radio are also aware of our national inefficiency at sea.

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In January a jury found Vice-President Cabaud of the Ward Line, Acting Captain Warms, and Chief Engineer Abbott, all guilty of criminal negligence in the handling of the burning Ward liner *Morro Castle* which resulted in the death of 134 passengers. The jury named the guilty in the order given. In passing sentence, however, Judge Murray Hulbert reversed the order of severity. Abbott, the craven engineer, who removed his insignia when he left the burning ship and took only three passengers with him, was given a four-year term. If he had returned to the engine room he could have done nothing to save the ship. No one sympathizes with this wretch out of a Conrad novel, but the sentence represents tradition rather than justice.

Warms, inefficient, underpaid, tossed into his command just a few hours before the disaster, received two years. If he had headed his ship up into the wind and put in his SOS two hours earlier no lives might have been lost, but in that event he probably would have been dismissed for having put the Line to unnecessary expense. He faltered, sacrificed 134 lives, and went to prison for two years.

Vice-President Cabaud, the man in charge of operations who must have had knowledge of the fatal deficiencies in crew and equipment, received a one-year sentence which was suspended, although in suspending the sentence the Judge said Cabaud had

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direct knowledge "that the very thing that Congress directed to be done for the safety of the passengers was not being done." In fining the Line ten thousand dollars, the Judge expressed regret that under the law this was the maximum he could impose. Yet none of these deficiencies of law were corrected by Congress in the Merchant Marine Act of 1936.

Nor was it because their attention had not been called to the matter. Howard S. Cullman, vice-chairman of Senator Copeland's National Committee on Safety at Sea, had written vigorously about working conditions in the American merchant marine, pointing out that our ships have a labor turnover of 40 per cent, compared to 5 per cent on British vessels. He also observed that the officers, as well as the crew, are underpaid and that the combination of bad living conditions and poor pay inevitably discourages the right type of men from remaining in the merchant marine. The call of the sea might lure them, but it takes more to hold them.

On March 2nd, in San Pedro harbor (California), the crew of the *S. S. California* led by Seaman Joseph Curran, went on a "passive resistance strike," demanding wages in accordance with the West Coast scale although they had been signed on in New York and had been paid in accordance with the East Coast agreement. The men attended to the

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passengers, the boilers, and the general safety of the ship but would not sail it. The strike was settled in three days chiefly owing to the famous evening-dress, telephone-booth intervention of Miss Perkins, Secretary of Labor, who promised negotiations of the case in Manhattan.

The "negotiations" consisted in the discharge of most of the men. Secretary Roper of the Department of Commerce suggested to the Department of Justice that perhaps there had been mutiny and action ought to be brought. Nothing came of that. But also nothing came of the intervention promised by Secretary Perkins; the result was that Seaman Curran led an outlaw seamen's strike in New York harbor for two and a half months. The strike was lost as was inevitable since it did not have the support of the International Seamen's Union. But during their two months and a half, the insurgents created plenty of excitement. They had the New York policemen working overtime on the docks with Commissioner Valentine present, in person, to see that his men maintained order without violence. The strikers were front page New York *Times* news.

Secretary Roper finally agreed to receive a delegation. For their reception he lined the corridors leading to his office and his private room with Washington policemen. When he discovered that



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most of his visitors wore Congressional Medals of Honor he was embarrassed and promised Congressman Vito Marcantonio (New York) to "investigate to the very bottom."

Bottom was not reached in time to make any recommendations to Congress. After the *Morro Castle* revelations and the findings of Mr. Cullman of the Committee on Safety at Sea, it is difficult to understand why more investigation of our merchant marine is necessary. The conclusion can hardly be avoided that Secretary Roper and his Department of Commerce were more interested in subsidies than safety.

If the situation in the spring had been carefully studied by the shipping interests, the Departments of Commerce and Labor, and the Maritime Commission appointed under the provisions of the Merchant Marine Act, the cataclysmic strike in the fall might have been prevented.



## SOME IMPORTANT CONVENTIONS

*Before the main-tent circuses put on by the two political parties in June, there were quite a few side-shows of interest.*

Early in the year the reception accorded the Congress of the American League Against War and Fascism held in Cleveland (the convention city of the year) revealed a tendency toward official liberalism that was in marked contrast to the craven reaction of 1935.

This liberal spirit was notably evident in the St. Louis convention of the Department of Superintendence (a division of the National Educational

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Association). The ten thousand men and women assembled in St. Louis sharply reversed the policy of the 1935 convention. At that time, although the educators had vigorously applauded Dr. Beard in his flaming denunciation of William Randolph Hearst, they would not go on record as being opposed to the laws requiring loyalty oaths from teachers or to the Blanton rider to the District of Columbia appropriation bill which, as it was interpreted, practically prohibited teachers from even mentioning communism or the Russian government.

In 1936 it was entirely different. Norman Thomas, soon to be left-wing Socialist candidate for President, was the most popular speaker. The convention adopted resolutions against the Blanton law and teachers' oaths and also one maintaining that many of the most critical problems facing the American people today and involving academic freedom are fundamentally economic in nature. Abandoning generalities, Professor George S. Counts of Columbia named Hearst, Frank Belgrano, Alfred E. Smith, Father Coughlin, the D. A. R. and the Liberty League as among the chief menaces to American liberty. In reprisal a few months later, Mr. Hearst prohibited the mention of Stanford University in any section of his papers, because Dr. Counts was invited to deliver

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two lectures at Palo Alto. Thus Stanford found itself sharing with Mae West the distinction of Hearst censorship. The convention adjourned after sharply calling attention to the fact that Governor Landon had balanced the Kansas budget at the expense of the schools and that he was campaigning under Hearst sponsorship.

That the spirit of liberalism was not completely prevalent in the National Educational Association was apparent when its official magazine almost immediately after the St. Louis convention refused to accept advertisements for travel in Russia but published competing advertisements for tours to the 1936 Olympic games in Berlin. A storm of protest followed, the advertising department reversed itself, and the teachers of America could read in their official organ the advantages and economies of choosing between Germany and Russia for their summer vacations.

The National Negro Convention in Chicago at almost the same time also showed a leftist tendency, though not as pronounced as that of the school superintendents. There was less oratory than usual about Lincoln and the injustice of Jim Crow laws, and more definite recognition of the fact that the Negro is a member of the working class. Resolutions were adopted recommending full participation in the American Federation of Labor. The con-

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vention at the same time showed its awareness of the fact that the A. F. of L. has discriminated against Negroes and that the John L. Lewis Committee for Industrial Organization is holding out the friendliest hand ever extended to Negro labor; a desire for harmony and the traditional Negro caution prevented the passage of a resolution unqualifiedly endorsing the efforts of the Lewis Committee.

In Washington during April was held the National Peace Conference, convening thirty-five anti-war societies. The old jokes about peacemakers fighting were in order. The conservative organizations were horrified by the "bad taste" advertisements of the more aggressive groups, such as the "Hello, sucker," poster addressed to crippled veterans and the photograph of rows upon rows of soldiers' graves.

In similar "bad taste" the greatest pictorial representation of the horrors of war had been made by Goya in Spain at the end of the eighteenth century. This year when an exhibition of Goya's paintings and etchings was held in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the horrors, in modern dress, were being repeated in his native land.

Many of the peace societies were unduly sensitive about being spattered with the red paint of "Communism" so indiscriminately tossed about by the reactionaries. On the other hand, the numerous

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collegiate demonstrations for peace were possibly taken too seriously. It is still none too certain that after a little preliminary propoganda the parading young men and women could not be met along their line of march, harangued by the athletes and the R. O. T. C., presented with guns, and sent on their way cheering just as enthusiastically for war as they had been for peace, with the guns resting jauntily upon their shoulders.

More specific in its demands and specifications was the newly formed Workers Alliance of America which also convened in Washington. The organization included the Unemployed Council, the National Unemployed League, and the City Projects Council. Naturally, Washington was not quite so hospitable to this convention as it was to the others. Two Negro delegates were beaten up and jailed for no apparent reason except that beating up Negroes is traditional in Washington.

The national Farmer-Labor Conference in Chicago was a fiasco. Conceding that it would have been futile to offer a presidential candidate in 1936, the Farmer-Labor Party might have announced an aggressive campaign to elect congressmen and local officials. Its failure to do so, and its retreat from its radical policies of 1934, gave opportunity for the formation of the hybrid Union Party which later nominated Representative William Lemke of North

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Dakota for the presidency. The nullity of the Farmer-Labor Conference was probably largely owing to the fatal illness of Governor Floyd Olson of Minnesota who had been expected to lead its program.

There were also two important conservative conventions, those of the United States Chamber of Commerce and of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association.

The Chamber of Commerce was unanimous in its denunciation of the Roosevelt Administration and was especially concerned with the tax bill then under consideration in Congress. But even its militant denunciation and recommendations were not sufficient for the automobile manufacturers. They withdrew from the Chamber, apparently content with nothing less than a demand for President Roosevelt's impeachment. Edward Albert Filene, Boston merchant and one of the organizers of the Chamber, also withdrew but for different reasons. In a long letter, he asserted that the Chamber was reactionary and unscientific, an organization of selfish, shortsighted businessmen, not really interested in the welfare of business.

The American Newspaper Publishers' Association surrendered to the Hearst-Block domination and expressed great alarm for the freedom of the press, threatened partially by the New Deal but

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chiefly by the Newspaper Guild, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor. The New York *Times* was alone in suggesting that freedom of the press might mean something more than the untrammelled right of the owners to non-interference in their business policies and administration. The attitude of the convention foreshadowed the overwhelming support by the press of the Republican Party in the approaching presidential campaign.





## TWO CONVENTIONAL CONVENTIONS

*The conventions discussed in the previous article were serious, businesslike meetings. Men and women came together to discuss matters important to the public welfare. Whether reactionary, liberal, or radical the speeches were sincere and forceful. The leaders were upstanding since they did not keep their lips to the microphone, their ears to the ground.*

In complete contrast to these meetings were the conclaves of the two main political parties, nominating the presidential candidate for the next four years, and setting forth the declarations of party

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principles. The spirit was carnival in both cases. The conventions might easily have been mistaken for gatherings of the American Legion, the Elks, or the Shriners, except that more women were present. The unofficial salute in both Cleveland and Philadelphia was the tilted elbow and fingers crossed.

Cleveland, with its Rockefeller and Mark Hanna traditions, seemed an excellent rallying place for the Republican Party. An ironical note was present in the fact that WPA workers remodeled the convention hall where the keynote of the campaign was the extravagance of the Democrats in relief projects.

Philadelphia was also an appropriate place for the Democrats. Benjamin Franklin, the city's patron saint, might well have served as inspiration for a new collectivistic liberalism in place of the individualistic Jefferson, now claimed by the Republicans. Of all the founding fathers, Benjamin Franklin was most dissatisfied with the Constitution as presented to the Convention. Just returned from France, he did not find the document nearly democratic enough for his taste. He accepted it in the belief that a free people would freely change the Constitution more frequently than a free people actually has chosen to do. Always a friend of compromise, perhaps Franklin would have been

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satisfied with the Democratic Party of 1936, with the ringing words of President Roosevelt in Franklin Field and the whispered compromises of Jim Farley in the Bellevue-Stratford.

For some months it had been expected that the Cleveland convention of the Republican Party would present an interesting battle. A repetition of 1920, with the delegates deadlocked and the issue decided in a smoke-filled hotel room, would not have been surprising. For months with Vandenberg, Knox, Borah, and Landon in the field, there was considerable talk of a dark horse. Perhaps Steiwer of Oregon or "Dog-Food" Dickinson of Iowa.

Then everything changed. Borah, a wise politician, did some face-saving—he was more interested in the platform than in the nomination which he could not get. The Knox weakness in his own state, Illinois, eliminated Knox, Vandenberg, convinced from his strategic position in Washington that Roosevelt could not be beaten, did not wish to be a sacrificial offering and withdrew.

The Old Guard and the conservative Eastern papers were not enthusiastic about Governor Landon. They were suspicious of his ancient Bull Moose taint and they did not like the enthusiastic Hearst support. But Roy Roberts and Lacy Haynes of the Kansas City *Star*, godfathers of the Landon

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movement, and John Hamilton, super-salesman, were too much for the Old Guard, which could find no leader except ex-President Hoover. Governor Landon was accordingly nominated on the first ballot with nine hundred and eighty-four votes. Nineteen votes, eighteen from Wisconsin and one from West Virginia, went to Senator Borah. Much indignation was expressed that nineteen misplaced liberals had prevented the nomination from being unanimous.

The Landon promoters were eager to have Senator Vandenberg for the vice-presidency. It would round out the ticket beautifully. For a little while it seemed that the Senator, in spite of his firm conviction that the Republicans would not have a chance until 1940, might be persuaded. But, finally, he asked definitely that his name be withdrawn. Colonel-Publisher Knox was nominated, thus making it an all Bull Moose, all Hearst ticket.

*Oh, Susanna* was selected as the theme song of the campaign, but the tune lacked the swing of *Happy Days Are Here Again*, and the lyrics composed for the occasion were not singable. The ladies of the convention decided that Mrs. Landon and stepdaughter, Peggy Anne, were more representative of American womanhood than were Mrs. Roosevelt and her daughter, Anna Roosevelt-Dahl-Boettiger. John Hamilton stuck out his bandaged

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chin (*Time* attributed the bandage first to an infected ear and then to the less aristocratic barber's itch). The Republican campaign was on.

The Democratic Party convention in Philadelphia was even less exciting, although it did have a quality of earthiness lacking in Cleveland. For this, the staunch support of John L. Lewis and his industrial unions was chiefly responsible. There were, at least, echoes of the voices of the unemployed, the underprivileged, and the white-collar workers. The renomination of President Roosevelt and Vice-President Garner was of course uncontested.

In Franklin Field, on the last night of the convention, before a hundred thousand people assembled and with millions listening on their radios, just before bedtime in the East and as they sat at dinner in California, President Roosevelt said:

“For too many of us the political equality we once had won was meaningless in the face of economic inequality. A small group had . . . almost complete control over other people's property, other people's money, other people's labor—other people's lives. . . . Today we stand committed to the proposition that freedom is no half-and-half affair. The economic royalists complain that we seek to overthrow the institutions of America. What they really complain of is that we seek to take away their power. . . . They seek to hide behind the flag and the Constitution. . . .

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“Better the occasional faults of a government that lives in a spirit of charity than the omissions of a government frozen in the ice of its own indifference.

“I am enlisted for the duration of the war.”

Republican critics immediately interpreted the last line as an announcement of President Roosevelt's candidacy for a third term in 1940. From the beginning, in spite of all their shouting, the Republicans were haunted by the secret conviction that their cause was hopeless in 1936.



## SHIFTING PLATFORMS

*If Rip Van Winkle had been a Wilsonian Democrat and had started his long sleep in 1916 he most certainly would have thought upon awakening in 1936 that it was the Republican Platform which read:*

“We believe that unemployment is a national problem and that it is an inescapable obligation of our Government to meet it in a national way. . . . We know that drought, dust storms, floods, minimum wages, maximum hours, child labor and working conditions in industry, monopolistic and unfair business practices cannot be adequately handled exclu-

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sively by forty-eight separate State administrations and forty-eight separate State courts."

Upon being told that this was the Democratic Platform and that the Republicans were advocating the theory that relief, unemployment, and labor conditions were all state matters, our Wilsonian Rip would have felt that more had happened during his twenty years' sleep than in the previous hundred years and that in seeking to amend the Constitution to give the Federal government more power, the Democratic Party was invoking the spirit of that famous Federalist, John Marshall.

Allowing for a considerable amount of truckling, dodging and soft-pedaling, the platforms were more divergent than at any time since the World War, and the Republican and Democratic Parties represented the conservative and liberal viewpoints, respectively, with more apparent sincerity than at any time since 1896. Only one thing remained unchanged: the bewildered solid South was still carrying the Democratic banner for political theories to which it did not in the least subscribe.

As always, the party in power (this time the Democrats) pointed with pride and the minority party (the Republicans) deplored. The Democrats were proud of having brought the country out of the depression (although it would take four more



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years to finish the job) and the Republicans deplored the extravagance, the taxes, and the enormous deficit, without giving any clear idea how they would cut that deficit and still provide all the benefits that they, as well as the Democrats, promised the farmers, the aged, the unemployed, and the consuming public in general.

The Democrats thought unemployment and social security national issues; the Republicans in their new Jeffersonian rôle thought them matters for the states. Both parties hoped that returning prosperity would put such controversial matters in the background. Meanwhile, the formation of less optimistic Townsend Clubs and Unions for Social Justice; the riots in the legislative halls of New Jersey and Pennsylvania; and the state barriers against the unemployed in Colorado and California continued to indicate the urgent necessity for a decent national policy, sanely administered.

The Democrats promised employment on public works, hastily adding "at prevailing wages," remembering the storm of protest when the President insisted upon jobs at relief wages. The Republicans, after passing responsibility to the states in their platform, flooded the country with pre-election billboards promising jobs in private industry to be created by "encouraging" business. But, assuming the doubtful point that they could produce the jobs, the

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Republicans offered little in the way of safeguarding labor conditions. They recognized only the right of labor "to organize and to bargain collectively through representatives of its choosing without interference from any source," which was immediately and rightly taken as an indorsement of company unions. All factions of labor accordingly joined in supporting Roosevelt, though they explained carefully that they were supporting the man and not the party, and for 1936 only.

The Democrats in their platform boasted: "We have written into the law of the land his [the laborer's] right to collective bargaining and self-organization." While the platform went on to point out that "we have provided Federal machinery for the peaceful settlement of labor disputes," it did not say how it expected to keep the machinery working in the face of Supreme Court sabotage.

The Republican Party did not rush to the defense of the Supreme Court as had been expected earlier. The decision voiding the New York State Minimum Wage Law for Women was too much for any political party to defend in election year. So the Republicans merely pledged themselves "to restrict all attempts to impair the authority of the Supreme Court." Then Candidate Landon hastily added a telegraphed footnote to the platform stating his belief that minimum wages and working conditions

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for women and children could be established by state law within the Constitution. "If that should prove to be erroneous . . . I shall favor a Constitutional amendment," he concluded. That eliminated the Supreme Court as a campaign issue so far as the Republicans were concerned.

The Democrats were equally willing to be gentlemen and drop the matter. Their platform said, "we have sought and will continue to seek to meet problems through legislation within the Constitution." Considering that practically all the main Democratic legislation had been held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, it seemed a little weak to add, vaguely:

"If these problems cannot be effectively solved by legislation within the Constitution, we shall seek such clarifying amendment as will insure the power to enact those laws necessary . . . to regulate commerce, protect public health and safety and safeguard economic security. Thus we propose to maintain the letter and spirit of the Constitution."

Senator Borah saw to it that there was no gold-standard plank in the Republican platform. The party was content to join with the Democrats in advocating sound currency, but the Republicans hoped to "coöperate with other countries toward stabilization," although at the same time they pledged

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themselves to keep America out of the League of Nations and the World Court and maintained that it should neither enter any entangling alliance in foreign affairs nor even negotiate reciprocal tariffs. Secretary of Agriculture Wallace replied that one could no more carry out the parts of the Republican platform referring to agriculture and foreign trade than one could jump to the moon.

Concerning agriculture, especially, the Republicans had to be a little careful about the blanket charges of extravagance against the Democrats. Any intimation that the farmers might be less generously dealt with would be disastrous. Sullenly, the party accused the Democrats of having stolen their soil-conservation and land-retirement policy, which they promised to continue and improve until it would be as good as it would have been had they continued in power. The Democrats favored the production of all the market would absorb, plus a reserve supply sufficient to insure fair prices to consumers; they favored assistance to enable farmers to adjust and balance production with demand, at a fair profit.

The devastating drought that immediately followed the publication of the party platforms made any policy of scarcity look rather silly, but perhaps the farmers were able to remember 15-cent corn, 3-cent hogs, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ -cent beef, 5-cent wool and cotton,

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and 30-cent wheat. The Democrats verbally recognized the gravity of the evils of farm tenancy (if not those of share-cropping) without any ideas, apparently, as to how to correct the evils except through the full "coöperation of the Government in the refinancing of farm indebtedness at the lowest possible rates of interest and over a long term of years"—in other words, the old policy of helping the tenants by first helping the landlords. The Republicans did not even indulge in verbalism; they simply ignored the existence of tenants and sharecroppers.

On public ownership there was more clarity. The Republicans advocated a withdrawal of government from competition with private payrolls; in effect, promising to scrap the TVA and all government power projects with or without the help of the Supreme Court. The Democrats, on the other hand, promised to continue to promote plans for rural electrification and for cheap power.

The Democrats also promised to extend their housing program toward the goal of adequate housing for those forced through economic necessity to live in unhealthy and slum conditions. As nobody knew what the housing program of the Democratic Party was, this declaration seemed relatively safe.

With regard to war, the Republicans in spite of their isolationist policy were insistent upon "ade-

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quate national defense." Whether an annual appropriation of over a billion dollars is adequate they did not say. Nor did they have any ideas on neutrality or the regulation of munitions. The Democrats promised to "guard against being drawn, by political commitments, international banking or private trading, into any war," but were content to leave our actual neutrality policy in the hands of the President, where Mr. Roosevelt said it should be left.

The Democrats rather shame-facedly announced that they were "determined to reduce the expenses of government," while the Republicans promised to balance the budget "not by increasing taxes but by cutting expenditures, drastically and immediately." The Republicans promised relief to wealth and big business through using the taxing power "for raising revenue and not for punitive or political purposes."

Both parties were loud in their advocacy of Civil Service (except presumably in Kansas and in newly created government bureaus), and both were beautifully and oratorically vague concerning civil liberties, youth, and veterans.

If the two leading parties changed sides on the question of nationalism versus states' rights, the Republicans becoming Jeffersonian Democrats and

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the Democrats becoming Hamiltonian Federalists, the shift in the position of the two radical parties—Communist and Socialist—was still more fundamental.

After being accused for years of sectarianism, intolerance, and an addiction to the narrowest and most rigid Marxism, the Communists in 1935, on advice from Moscow, adopted a deliberate change of policy. Realizing at last that any revolution conceivable in America in the near future would be a fascist, not communist, revolution, they decided that half a loaf or even a slice or two is better than no bread at all—that is, they made themselves over from a revolutionary into a reformist party. The celerity and thoroughness with which this was accomplished at least testified to the party discipline. Having gone in for the United Front, the Communists went in for it in a big way, welcoming all who would join them regardless of wealth, social position, or previous condition of mental servitude. The new policy was admirably summed up by Anna Louise Strong in the slogan she supplied: "From as far to the right as they will come to as far to the left as they will go."

Probably they didn't come from very far to the right; certainly they didn't go very far to the left. The party nominating convention and the platform adopted were both marked by the usual character-

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istics of political conventions and platforms. At the national convention in Madison Square Garden the Founding Fathers were invoked just as often as they had been at Cleveland and Philadelphia, the cheering was just as artificially stimulated, and the banners were just as silly. The Communist platform offered little to encourage converts or to arouse further the rage of Mr. Hearst. It advocated a Constitutional amendment "to put an end to the dictatorial and usurped powers of the Supreme Court" and urged that Congress "immediately reassert its Constitutional powers to enact social legislation." It condemned the expenditures of billions for armaments and war preparations, and urged an American peace policy in close collaboration with the Soviet Union. (Since the peace policy of the Soviet Union also includes the expenditure of billions in war preparations, the stickler for formal logic might find the two parts of this proposition a little hard to reconcile.) It was "unconditionally opposed" to inflationary policies and to crop reduction and curtailment. It, of course, stood stoutly for labor's right to organize, strike, and bargain collectively. But on the fundamental communist or socialist issue of the ownership and control of industry the platform merely called for complete nationalization of the banking system, with an additional plank more redolent of Upton Sinclair than Marx which stated that



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where *private employers* cannot or will not produce all the country needs, the government should "open and operate the factories, mills, and mines for the benefit of the people."

In their publicity on behalf of their presidential candidate, Mr. Earl Browder, the Communists were equally careful to avoid every suggestion of dangerous incendiarism. In the *New Masses* Mr. Browder was pictured sitting "in his stocking feet, poring over a pile of newspapers, a plain-looking man. . . ." One also learned from the same source that Mr. Browder's radicalism was not derived from bitter personal experience or keen, humanitarian observation, but was congenital. His father, a follower of "Sockless Jerry" Simpson, a Populist leader, turned Socialist after the Pullman strike in 1893. Earl's mother, too, was "nobody's tame canary. She was a militant Socialist." So in spite of all temptation, Earl remained a radical. What was good for pappy and mammy was good enough for him.

At times it seemed that one and the same publicity organization was pushing Mr. Landon and his sunflower, Mr. Roosevelt and his fishing pole, Mr. Browder and his stocking feet. Strange that the Liberty Leaguers, the Solid South and Tammany, the followers of Karl Marx and Lenin should all yearn for a simple soul from the middle classes and be able to find him in the completely dissimilar per-

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sonalities of gentleman-farmer Roosevelt, oil-driller Landon, and professional agitator Browder.

On the other hand, Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate, was utterly neglectful about appearing as a red-blooded man of the people. Whether he is fond of padding around in his stocking feet, whether he loves sunflowers, whether he even goes fishing—on all these important matters the public was left uninformed. Mr. Thomas, with his Princeton training, his clerical background, and his intellectual following of writers and university professors, unquestionably came from the middle classes (as for that matter did Marx and Lenin), but his position was unquestionably further to the left than that now held by the Communists. For this, the developments within the Socialist Party during the previous year were largely responsible.

The shift in the attitude of the party began with a struggle at its Detroit convention in 1935 over the introduction of a resolution calling for a general strike in case of war. With the support of Thomas, this resolution was carried in spite of the bitter opposition of the right wing New York faction led by Louis Waldman, Algernon Lee, head of the Rand School, and Editor O'Neill of the *New Leader*. The defeated minority refused to accept the decision of the party as final and fought desperately for the control of New York. With the

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starting of the *Socialist Call*, as the leftist party organ, the *New Leader* (now an old—almost senile—leader) became still more definitely reactionary; the “Ypsels” (Young People’s Socialist League) were expelled from their quarters in the Rand School when they joined the Thomas majority; the Old Guard resorted to political gerrymandering, contested the election to the Cleveland convention, and finally appealed to the courts to sustain them; but all to no purpose. When the Thomas delegates were seated by the convention the right-wing leaders refused to join in singing the *Internationale* and marched out to form the high-sounding “American Labor Party”—an organization with no purpose except to capture as many Thomas votes as possible for Roosevelt.

The two main differences between the new Communist and Socialist policies concerned first, control of industry, and second, war resistance. The Socialist platform repeated its traditional demand for complete “social ownership and democratic control of the mines, railroads, the power industry, and other industries.” Since the Communists undoubtedly aimed at the same ultimate goal, though less inclined to talk about it at the moment, the divergence here was more nominal than real. But on their attitude toward war there was a definite cleavage between the parties. The Communists supported

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sanctions, were willing to play with the League of Nations as long as there was any League to play with, and seemed willing to endorse a war against the fascist powers. The Socialists, on the other hand, would have nothing to do with sanctions or the League and reaffirmed their "unconditional opposition to any war engaged in by the American government."

For the rest, the platforms of the two radical parties were similar where they were not identical. The Socialists called for the abolishment of tenant farming, favoring use and occupancy titles for small farms and coöperatives for large ones; the Communists were content to demand that landless farmers be given land by the government. But both parties asked for higher income taxes and endorsed the Frazier-Lundeen Social Security Bill; both proposed an immediate appropriation of six billions for Federal relief and a continuance of WPA at union wages; both supported a constitutional amendment to limit the power of the Supreme Court; both called for the passage of the American Youth Act (providing for government attention and aid to youth); both stressed civil liberties and Negro rights.

In spite of all this community of aims, the two parties were still really as far apart as ever. Moving to right and left, respectively, they had merely passed each other in the night without greeting.

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Some efforts toward rapprochement had indeed been made by the Communists, but these had been sternly rejected by the new militant Socialists who, once in power, immediately began to assume the rôle of sectarianism formerly monopolized by the Communist Party. With the elimination of the Old Guard from the Socialist ranks, many hitherto homeless Trotskyists rushed in, carrying with them all their anti-Stalinist phobias and complexes. In the ensuing campaign, candidates Thomas and Browder were to spend more time and energy in denouncing each other than in assailing capitalism. The Socialists joyously proclaimed that the C. P. had liquidated itself and become a mere reformist group under the New Deal; the Communists, with equal joy, maintained that the S. P. had now isolated itself from every other progressive movement in the country and would quickly perish. Substitute C. P. for S. P. or vice versa, and these hopes and prophecies were the same that had been offered up by each group for the last decade.





**SUMMER**







## THE GREAT MYSTERY: FACTS AND FIGURES

*The political historian of the distant future is going to find the campaign of 1936 a hard nut to crack. With the newspapers and periodicals of the country spread before him, he will be entirely unable to understand why the businessmen and the conservatives were almost unanimously advocating a change in presidents or why labor and liberals were to a man supporting Roosevelt and the Democratic Party. He will find nothing in statistics, figures, and facts to justify such a clear alignment, and he will either be forced to the conclusion that there were some hidden circumstances too sinister to be mentioned in*

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print or will decide that some kind of religious mysticism must have been involved in the venomous hatred of big business for Roosevelt and in the blind idolatry of labor and liberals.

Let us assume that this future historian will consider the semi-annual statistics of July 1, 1936, just after both major parties had held their conventions, named their candidates, and settled their platforms. The nadir of the depression extended from the summer of 1932, when unemployment reached the highest point, until President Roosevelt's inauguration on March 4, 1933, to the accompaniment of the clanging doors of closing banks. From that day there was a turn. At first it was a very slow recovery, so slow that it could scarcely meet the eye. It was merely a jagged line faintly discernible on the statistical charts of business. By the end of 1934 it became steadier. In 1935 it could safely be called recovery, and in the first six months of 1936 it came dangerously close, in several instances, to boom proportions.

The steel and iron industry, which probably owed more to government projects than any other industry, showed in the first six months of 1936 a 33 per cent advance in production over the same six months in 1935. During this same period the increase in employment never exceeded 15 per cent, and a lavish advertising campaign was inaugurated

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by the Iron and Steel Institute in the leading newspapers of the country, pointing out the dangers of the closed shop. This was the answer of the industry to the preliminary campaign of the Committee for Industrial Organization to unionize the steel workers. Other answers were the efforts to strengthen company unions and the usual strong-arm methods in keeping organizers out of mill towns.

The automobile industry, which had resigned from the United States Chamber of Commerce because it did not consider the stand of that organization against President Roosevelt's administration violent enough, showed a 12 per cent increase in production during the first six months of 1936 and a 2 per cent increase in sales. This disparity was due to the fact that manufacture of 1936 models reached its peak in the fall of 1935. In the first six months of 1936, 2,500,000 cars were sold, the best half year since 1929. Watch the Fords roll by. If four passengers were put in each car, the army of the unemployed could just about be carried to some unknown destination. But so steady is the technological advance in automobile manufacturing, that although production of cars in April and May of 1936 was more than 19 per cent greater than in 1935, employment was actually less. And the automobile industry, including the Ford Motor Com-

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pany, is still indifferent to the fate of its employees during the months when the industry shuts down, almost completely, in preparation for new models.

*Business Week*, that conservative surveyor of business conditions, reported gravely in its issue of August 12th: "Motor executives have been chagrined to find that every publication of favorable earnings brought a committee of employees to the front office in search of a wage increase. Company unions have been active in the past year in the quest of higher wages. Pressure of regular unions to organize the steel and motor industries have proved a powerful weapon in the hands of dissatisfied company unions."

The Eastern railroads which, with the exception of the Baltimore and Ohio, sought in the courts to put aside the order of the Interstate Commerce Commission reducing rates to a basic charge of two cents a mile for passenger traffic, were embarrassed to find their June receipts (the first month of the new rates) increased from 5 to 26 per cent on a passenger increase of 41 per cent. Since trains had been running less than half-filled there was no corresponding cost in operating.

Stock in the greatest monopoly in the country, American Telephone and Telegraph, continued to advance, since the company had not cut dividends during the entire depression period although pay-

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rolls had been decreased more than 25 per cent. The president's salary remained at \$206,000 per annum.

Great advance was shown in practically all lines of industry during the first six months of 1936 as compared with the same period in 1935; building construction was up 78 per cent, but the *New York Herald-Tribune* dispassionately reported on its real estate page that "While wage chiselling on collective bargain rates continues unabated, it is the unanimous belief of contractors that this unstable situation could be remedied if the building trades for a definite period would agree to a voluntary reduction. This assurance, they also aver, would release a flood of building orders held in abeyance by prohibitive building costs. . . ." In other words, more business, lower wages!

The cigar and cigarette industry showed an 11 per cent increase for the first six months of 1936 as compared with the same period in 1935; machine tool orders, 71 per cent; retail trade, 10 per cent; even textiles, the laggard of all industries, probably because of the universal simplification and discarding of clothing, showed an advance of 17 per cent in cotton consumption and the same advance in rayon.

Turning from the owners to the workers, we find that payrolls were 10 per cent greater than in

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1935 although averages had only increased 4 per cent. Unemployment (that most difficult thing to estimate) had been cut by about 8 per cent. In the retail trades sales were up from 5 to 12 per cent, but payrolls lagged at from 2 per cent to 4 per cent; and with the collapse of NRA, employees were working two hours more a week in 1936 than they had been in 1935.

In the cigar and cigarette industry, workers were receiving a dollar more a week in 1936 than in 1935 and had achieved the magnificent average of \$15.75, but for this they were working thirty-seven hours instead of thirty-five.

In spite of TVA and other government projects the electric power business increased 13 per cent in the first six months of 1936; electric refrigerator sales were up 30 per cent; washing machines, 24 per cent; oil burners, 38 per cent. Power employees were working two hours more a week.

In banking there was not a failure during the first six months of 1935, and stock prices advanced 56 per cent heading directly to another inflationary boom. Dividends were up 20 per cent over 1935, making the 4 per cent increase in average wages look very small indeed.

One might have supposed that stockholders as a class would have been overwhelmingly behind the Administration and that the employees would have

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welcomed a change. But who supported the re-election of President Roosevelt? The stockholders or the employees?

To complete the picture for the future historian —after prophecies by the bankers and businessmen that if President Roosevelt were reelected bank deposits and insurance would not be safe, capital would be frozen or leave the country, and industry would shut down, the news of the overwhelming Democratic victory in November was followed by an immediate advance of an average of from one to five points on all listed stocks.



## THREE NATIONAL CALAMITIES: FLOOD, DROUGHT, AND THE SUPREME COURT

*When Congress, in February, at the instigation of the President and the Department of Agriculture, rushed through the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, to continue to pay agricultural bounties which had been outlawed by the Supreme Court's invalidation of the AAA, it had no idea that 1936, more than any year in our national history, would justify a Soil Conservation Act, no matter how ill-considered and inadequate the Act might be. Resurrected by some law clerks in the Department of Agriculture, rushed through without scrutiny and little debate, adopted purely as a "pay-off"*



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subterfuge, the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, with the undesigned coöperation of the Supreme Court, floods and drought, may well be the beginning of an entirely new era in farm legislation, or, with returning prosperity and a more smiling countenance of Mother Nature, it may mean nothing at all beyond a political stop-gap.

The spring floods of 1936 were wide in their scope, covering New England, the Atlantic seaboard as far as Georgia, and westward into Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Ohio. They were greater in news value than usual because they invaded large cities, especially Hartford and Pittsburgh, with disastrous and spectacular results. The loss of life, dreadful enough, was less than in similar floods of the past for various reasons: these floods came as a result of melting snow and steady rain and could be foreseen; means of warning (radio and telephone) have been tremendously improved and functioned perfectly; and, most important, dams, reservoirs, and flood-protection works, installed with Federal or state funds, completely justified themselves. Most effective of these projects are the Miami Dams built above Dayton at a cost of thirty-two millions between 1918 and 1922. Undoubtedly, these dams prevented great disasters in March and April when flood waters reached a level that formerly would have inundated Dayton

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and the surrounding country. Similar projects on a smaller scale are now projected for the Connecticut and Allegheny rivers and if carried out will prevent a repetition of the 1936 disasters.

Given the same conditions of snow and rain two centuries ago, there would not have been a flood, or at least not one of such great proportions. In fact, the Indians in their tepees probably would not have had their feet wet by a similar release of snow and rain water. The floods of the past, such as the famous Johnstown disaster, were caused by cloudbursts which could not be foreseen. There was no cloudburst in 1936. But there was nothing to absorb the surplus water. It's the difference between pouring water on a tiled floor or on a heavy bath mat. Deforestation, urban extension, and soil erosion have done their work on our water sheds.

Soil erosion in modern times is due chiefly to two major causes: the cultivation of land that should not be cultivated at all and to improper cultivation—the failure to rotate crops. The prairies, when they were covered with buffalo grass, survived many a drought and cycle of droughts. In spite of Secretary Wallace's pessimistic conjectures, it is very doubtful that the climate is changing or that the droughts of the nineteen-thirties are worse than those of the eighteen-eighties. Overcultivation and improper cultivation are caused by greed, some-

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times called lack of planning, or even prettier still, the pioneer spirit. During the war and the immediate post-war years the farmers of the great plains were told to plant wheat and corn to feed the world. The profits they made were the profits of opportunists, and with those profits came the retirement of many farmers and the growth of the unregulated tenant-farmer system.

The profits soon stopped. The rest of the world did not go on buying wheat and corn from the United States and in fact did not pay for what they had bought. But those uncollected debts were a charge upon the American people as a whole, not upon the farmers who had received the profits. Nevertheless, the farmers of the Middle West continued to raise wheat until it sold for twenty-five cents a bushel and during that time they succeeded in doing the preliminary work of transforming the great plains into a desert.

When women stopped wearing petticoats and cotton drawers no one suggested that the Government should endow the underwear manufacturers and find a foreign market for their wares. But the farmers continued growing wheat and corn long after the markets were non-existent, and the Government was expected to assume the responsibility. The Indians who were driven from the great plains are now the wards of the Government. Why should

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not, then, the farmers who replaced them seek adoption in their turn?

Apparently there is only one way to stop over-cultivation and improper cultivation—bribery; bribery ranging from trifling sums to fortunes in five and six figures as revealed by Senator Vandenberg on the floor of the Senate. On one contract not to raise hogs \$219,825 was paid; \$168,000 was paid on a cotton contract; and \$78,638 on a wheat contract. It was thought that these figures and others might make interesting campaign material. They were not mentioned. So far as the farm belt was concerned, the campaign soon degenerated not into mud slinging but into good-earth promises.

Like the spring floods, the 1936 drought covered a great area ranging from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico. It was accompanied by unprecedented life-destroying heat. Economically, it was not so disastrous as was at first feared. It came too late in the season to destroy the wheat crop, and more corn was salvaged than had been expected. Livestock, as usual, suffered most. Even with the Government coming to the rescue, cattle growers were forced to sacrifice their stock, and meat prices were promptly raised because of scarcity.

It was especially fortunate for the farm states that the great drought happened in a political year. With the passing of the dreadful heat, President

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Roosevelt and the farm governors, including Mr. Landon, met in Des Moines. Immediately after exchanging compliments at the conference, Candidate Landon began his campaign of out-promising the Democrats, and the Democrats, not confined to promises, threw open relief jobs without red tape to stricken farmers, sent out a steady stream of checks from Washington under the provisions of the Soil Conservation Act, and enlivened the breakfast hour of the farmhand with broadcasts by the All Party Roosevelt Agricultural Committee. A close race in making promises took place, but President Roosevelt beat Candidate Landon to the gun by two days in advocating crop insurance. The Republicans cried unfair tactics since the Landon speech on the subject had already been prepared. Neither Mr. Roosevelt nor Candidate Landon troubled to explain how the insurance was to be financed, controlled, or disbursed. Secretary Wallace, remembering his Bible with the seven lean years and the seven fat years, spoke glibly of national granaries.

The promises were not taken too seriously by the farmers. But the checks distributed under the authority of the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act were real enough. Payments under the Act are of two kinds: "soil-conserving" to farmers who refrain from planting a portion of their land

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in commercial crops, and agree to plant soil-enriching crops such as alfalfa and soyabeans instead; "soil-maintenance" to farmers who have customarily planted a part of their lands in soil-enriching crops and continue to do so. Under the head of "soil-maintenance" are payments to farmers who treat their land with a specified amount of limestone fertilizer and larger payments for the planting of tree seedlings, permanently removing the land from production.

Laughed out of Congress as a part of the Forest Service program, the shelterbelt scheme of tree-planting has proved to be one of the soundest of the depression undertakings. More than twenty-three million trees were planted in zigzag columns from Canada to Texas by the Forest Service before the work was taken out of their hands and left to the individual farmer. These trees, averaging twelve inches when planted in the spring of 1935, in September, 1936, ranged from six to sixteen feet. Over 80 per cent of the trees survived the great drought and in many cases were the only things left growing on the plains. The chief of these hardy perennials were green ash, caragana, poplar, locust, and hackberry trees. Actually, grasshoppers did more damage to the young trees than the drought. These millions of young trees are already retarding winds, reducing evaporation from adjoining land, lessen-

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ing the transpiration from vegetation, and checking dust storms and the drift of snow. It is clear that the scientists of the twentieth century, if they were given power, might even yet repair the ravages of the pioneer and the rugged individualists of the nineteenth century.

There is no doubt that the Department of Agriculture, with its scientists trained in agricultural colleges, is well equipped to do this work. Leaving aside the mystical Mr. Wallace and the controversial Mr. Tugwell, the civil service rolls of the department are well manned and highly efficient. During 1936 two pieces of publicity promoted by the Department of Agriculture stand out—the motion picture, *The Plow That Broke The Plains*, and the booklet, *Soil*. In spite of being blacklisted by the motion picture industry because it represented “unfair competition” and a “socialistic experiment,” the picture, which certainly could not be classified as entertainment and was released solely for propaganda purposes, was shown in most cities and educational centers. The booklet, *Soil*, prepared by the Tennessee Valley Authority and seven cooperating agricultural colleges, tells graphically the story of our greatest national asset, our wanton destruction of it, and the hope of salvage. The telling is done by beautiful photographs, clear charts, and a few well-chosen words. It was the best pamphlet of the

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year but will receive no Pulitzer award or any other.

The danger to these departmental activities is that with returning prosperity and the demand for a balanced budget the work of agricultural scientists will be hampered by decreasing appropriations. It is much easier to cut down on the department than on direct payments to farmers, but in the long run the farmers of the country will be more benefited by the agricultural scientists than by bounty checks. In spite of the Supreme Court, a way must be found to give the scientists some authority.





## CRIME WITH POLITICAL ASPECTS

*Contrary to general expectations, the Lindbergh kidnapping case seemed to close with the execution of Bruno R. Hauptmann. Since that time not one particle of evidence has been offered or suggested to indicate that essential justice was not done when the jury at Flemington found Hauptmann guilty, without a recommendation for mercy. But the shameful handling of the case and the malignancy of its associations continued until the end.*

When Harold G. Hoffman was elected governor of New Jersey in the face of overwhelming Democratic victories everywhere else, he was thought to

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be directly in line for the Republican presidential nomination. His political career was one of the casualties of the Lindbergh case along with the suicide of Violet Sharpe, the imprisonment of Gaston Means and John Curtiss, the disappearance of Edward J. Reilly's fame as a criminal lawyer, and the loss of Colonel Lindbergh's popularity. About the only person connected with the case who escaped without loss of dignity was Bruno Hauptmann. His agony was prolonged for sixty days by the ineptitudes of the Governor. He was subjected to grilling all-night interviews by Hoffman and by Samuel J. Liebowitz, dragged into the case (for a reputed ten-thousand-dollar retainer) by the emotional Mrs. Evalyn Walsh McLean. He was never allowed to sleep without an electric light focused on him. His wife and child were being hounded and humiliated by the publicity purveyors. Nevertheless, this amazing kidnapper and murderer went to the electric chair without changing in one detail the completely unbelievable story he told in his own defense.

Perhaps Governor Hoffman was perfectly sincere when he said he shared with hundreds of thousands of people the doubt as to the value of the evidence that placed Hauptmann in the Lindbergh nursery on the night of the crime. But in expressing his doubts, Governor Hoffman used most unfortunate

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methods. He consulted publicity experts, he engaged in discussions and brawls with reporters in New York night clubs, and finally he protected, if he had not encouraged, the instigators of an incredible last minute "confession" extorted by third degree methods from a disbarred lawyer, illegally removed from the State of New York under the directions of a New Jersey detective.

It is extremely doubtful if anything could have been done to save Hauptmann, but if Governor Hoffman had used the case as a basis for the revision of criminal procedure in New Jersey so that the disgraceful scenes of the Hauptmann trial could never be repeated, he would have been performing a public service. But neither he nor the state legislature of New Jersey showed the slightest interest in protecting New Jersey from a repetition of the Flemington travesty.

Governor Lehman in New York State, on the other hand, was at this time going to the opposite extreme and trying to force through the legislature over sixty separate measures designed to close the loopholes in criminal procedure. The program, as a whole, was attacked by Governor Lehman's traditional enemies, the Republicans; it was by no means heartily supported by the Tammany politicians; and it was viewed with keen suspicion by labor and liberals who have learned from bitter experiences

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that "tightening" criminal procedure is usually more of a menace to civil liberties than to criminals and criminal lawyers. Some of the measures were passed, but the program, as a whole, was defeated. When Governor Lehman finally consented to run for reelection he did not make his policy of criminal law reform an issue or seek a mandate from the people to carry it through. He became a candidate solely to assist the national campaign of his friend and sponsor, President Roosevelt. All state issues were submerged in the exigencies of the national campaign.

Some reforms are necessary in the criminal laws of almost every state in the Union, but far more important is the enforcement, without corruption and political interference, of the laws already upon the statute books. This was illustrated by the perennial white-slave agitation in New York City. Under Special Prosecutor Thomas E. Dewey's handling of the case, Charles Lucania, overlord of organized prostitution, and eight of his lieutenants were convicted of sixty-two specific charges and received long prison sentences. It seemed incredible that such a widespread chain of houses for prostitution could have come into existence just a few years after the disclosures of the Seabury investigation, and it is more incredible that such a chain could have operated without the knowledge of the police or the

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protection of politicians; yet not a police officer or a politician was indicted in connection with the Lucania cases.

In San Francisco a similar white-slave upheaval did result in the indictment of policemen—simple patrolmen who were found to have accumulated savings into six figures while walking their beats in the illegal red-light district. In San Francisco prostitution still clings to the old Barbary Coast district, while in New York it is as widespread, and uses the same methods, as the chain-stores. But in New York, San Francisco, and everywhere else the bail-bond racket is the most lucrative form of income in connection with prostitution, and the bail-bond racket cannot exist without the coöperation of the police and politicians. In San Francisco the investigation was dropped in midstream because of the lack of “public” support!

The parole system came under heavy attack when a young Italian named Fiorenza confessed to an atrocious murder in New York City. Fiorenza had been paroled and put on probation after previous minor offenses. There is little doubt that he had always been a psychopathic case and should have been treated as such, but, especially in depression years, the courts have been so crowded and the institutional facilities so inadequate that many a psychopathic case has not received adequate observa-

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tion. Fiorenza, in spite of the newspaper clamor, was not an example of the usual working of the parole system. Less than 10 per cent of the second offenders convicted in New York are men or women on parole or probation. California claims 98 per cent efficiency in parole and probation cases. Throughout the country the percentage is well over 80.

The Fiorenza case was capitalized by William Randolph Hearst in a campaign against parole and probation (including an abominable and entirely fraudulent "confession" from Fiorenza in the *New York Mirror*) and by the motion picture producers in a cycle of "thrillers" on the subject. Fortunately, the system of parole and probation is too firmly entrenched in American criminal procedure to be disturbed by an isolated case even when followed by the commercial ballyhoo of the yellow press and cinema.

Politics are not yet entirely eliminated from parole and probation, but far more serious is the corruption in prison administration and the crowding of penitentiaries as a by-product of the depression. In Illinois where the prison administration is entirely political with barely a nod to the civil service rules, one convict "persuaded" two guards to let him escape; another guard went on a drinking spree with a convict, left the prison with him, and was

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dreadfully upset when the prisoner refused to return. A series of prison breaks, knifings, riots, and scandals extending over a period of three years reached a climax when Richard Loeb, serving life imprisonment with Nathan Leopold for the murder of Bobbie Frank, was slashed to death by another convict. The killer was later acquitted of the crime because of his own statement (corroborated by the prison reputation of Loeb) that he was resisting homosexual advances. Among the privileges accorded Loeb because of the family wealth flowing steadily into his cell had been a bathroom equipped with lock and key. There he met his death from a razor which he had procured from the prison barber shop. The only beneficial result of the whole case—aside from the translation of Loeb to another world—was an announcement by Warden Joseph Ragen, considerably later in the year, that he would recommend the installation of electric razors in the prison barber shop!

During 1936, James B. Holohan belatedly resigned as warden of San Quentin (California), the most overcrowded and one of the most outmoded prisons in the United States, when counterfeiting was discovered to be one of the prison activities, convicts using the prison engraving plants to manufacture ten-dollar bills. Nine convicts and eleven *other persons* were found to be involved.

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The intimate relation between crime and politics was brought up by J. Edgar Hoover, head of the Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice (popularly known as the "G" men) when he somewhat bitterly remarked: "Politics is Public Enemy No. 1. Political attempts to hamper and interfere with Federal and other police and prosecuting agencies are the real menace." Mr. Hoover made this remark after his Bureau, within a period of two weeks, had rounded up and arrested in different parts of the country Alvin Karpis, Harry Campbell (in the Hamm-Bremmer kidnapping cases), Thomas M. Robinson, Jr. (female impersonator and kidnapper of Mrs. Stoll) and William Mahan (the Weyerhauser case).

Mr. Hoover did not amplify his statement or make it more specific and thereby left himself open to a charge of personal animus. His salary had just been raised by Congress from \$9,000 to \$10,000 a year but not without comment and debate. The appropriation of \$225,000 for the Bureau covering the fiscal year of 1937 had been approved by the Senate only after a sub-committee on appropriations had disallowed it. Senator McKellar of Tennessee, chairman of the sub-committee, had accused Mr. Hoover and his "G" men of running wild and using strong-arm methods and improper publicity.

Mr. Hoover's answer was the spectacular arrest of the four kidnapers within two weeks. It was an



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effective answer, but at the same time a confirmation of part of Senator McKellar's charges. It is difficult to accept as a coincidence the almost simultaneous arrest of these four men (only two of them in any way connected) in entirely different sections of the country. It is much more likely that the "G" men had had their fingers on them for some time but realized the publicity value of a concerted drive. It worked.

Another questionable piece of publicity on the part of Mr. Hoover was a widely circulated newspaper photograph of himself taken at a New York night club in company with the orchestra leader of the establishment. Usually this Broadway spot had depended upon fan and bubble dancers for publicity. The photograph of No. 1 "G" man was snapped just after Mr. Hoover had obtained a confession from a young man who had kidnapped himself. The New York police had sniffed at this case from the beginning and said it was a publicity stunt, but Mr. Hoover's men had complained loudly of the lack of coöperation. The perpetrator of the hoax was subsequently released by a New Jersey court since no money had been involved.

There is no doubt that Mr. Hoover and his men did splendid work in breaking up the organized kidnapping and bank-robbing gangs of the nation, but it is also true that they were enormously assisted by the Lindbergh law which broke down state

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lines. The older law-enforcement bureaus of the Federal Government—the Secret Service, the Customs Service, the Special Agents of the Treasury Department, the Immigration Service, and others—undoubtedly resent the attentions and appropriations lavished upon the youngest child—the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice. The jealousy of these older bureaus may have been back of Senator McKellar's outburst against the appropriation.

But the Bureau has its appropriation and Mr. Hoover has his well-deserved increase in salary. Hereafter when politicians interfere with him he should announce the fact without generalization. At the present time, certainly, the press and the public, as well as the picture-going youth of the nation, are solidly back of him. He cannot establish an American Scotland Yard as has been suggested, since that is impossible under our cumbersome criminal system of state jurisdiction, but he can emulate that organization in efficiency, honesty, and lack of cheapening ballyhoo. Unfortunately, we are a more gifted people than the British. The young men who go into Scotland Yard look upon it stolidly as a life-time career. Our young collegiates see government investigation work as a stepping-stone to fame—in other words to becoming criminal lawyers, actors, writers, and the husbands of heiresses.



## HITLER CARRIES THE TORCH

*After all the preliminary discussion, the Olympic games in Berlin seemed rather unexciting. Eleanor Holm Jarrett and two Negroes were disqualified by the Nazi-emulating Mr. Avery Brundage for drinking champagne and for being homesick, respectively; the hermaphroditic nature of some of the women athletes led to unexpected complications and stern inspections; and the Negroes proved their world supremacy as track athletes to the great embarrassment of Herr Hitler who objected to putting laurel wreaths on ebony heads.*

The American public, after reading for weeks

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little except news of victories by the Stars and Stripes, was astounded to learn that the home team, Germany, won the games on the established system of points. The United States was second, Italy third, Sweden fourth. Under the present rules it is almost inevitable that the hosts should win. Unquestionably, however, the United States won the bad taste award of the games when a California woman gave one of her sun kisses to Herr Hitler. Realizing that she might have killed him instead of kissing him, there was great consternation and considerable changing of the guard.

It is doubtful whether the games corrupted or converted anyone. The sports writers who had never liked the Nazi form of government liked it less when they saw it in operation; some of the Hearst reporters were less critical; and Mr. Brundage, who led the fight for American participation in the games, returned to praise the Nazi system and to urge an emulation of it in America. Mr. Jesse Owens, the victorious Negro, established a new low for conquering heroes by going on the stump for Governor Landon.

Upon the whole, the show put on by Germany deceived no one except possibly the Germans. American travelers, accustomed to the arrogance of German railway employees and petty government officials, were not taken in when, under the Olympic

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dispensation, these heel-clickers suddenly became courteous and solicitous, imparting gratuitous information about the sweetness and light of Herr Hitler and his works. Most travelers knew that in addition to the instructions to railway employees and government officials a confidential circular had been issued by the German Minister of Food and Agriculture.

This circular held local officials responsible for clearing away all rubbish from the main roads; houses on the highways were to be whitewashed or freshly painted, the painting to be done in the "simplest manner which will not last very long but will fully serve the desired purpose." (Apparently the Germans had been in communion with American realtors.) Convict laborers were not to be employed near the roads; political prisoners and inmates of concentration camps were not to work on the land at all from July 1st to September 15th. Special attention was called to the necessity for treating Jewish foreigners just as politely as Aryan guests. All anti-Semitic signs were to be removed for the duration of the games but, the circular emphatically ended, "the fundamental attitude of the German people toward Judaism remains unchanged."

Most of these elaborate preparations and precautions were wasted, since the number of foreign visitors was disappointingly small. Comparatively,

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the music festivals in Austria did a much better business, Salzburg, with Toscanini as an attraction, being crowded with international celebrities who ignored the Olympics, fresh paint, and all. Colonel Lindbergh went to Berlin, spoke out of turn about the murderous use of aviation in wartime, and was not received by Herr Hitler, although allowed to sit close to him at the stadium. King Edward in London had been much more chummy, the Lindberghs having been among the first to meet, officially, their distinguished countrywoman, Mrs. Simpson. Douglas Fairbanks made a two-weeks' round trip from Hollywood to Berlin via the air lanes and solved the difficult question of currency by not taking any. His credit was good in Germany, and he was a foreign visitor who apparently had no complaints to make.

If the tourists of the world neglected the games, the Germans were devoted and tireless spectators. They filled the stadium for every event although many of the so-called competitions were plenty dull. An exhibition game of baseball between two third-rate American amateur teams drew a crowd of a hundred thousand people, a larger crowd than ever attended a baseball game in America. Of that hundred thousand it is safe to say not one per cent had any idea what the game was about, and they learned

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nothing from the amazing account of it which appeared in the Berlin papers the next day.

Considering the number of entrants, the American record in the games was by no means brilliant. Aside from the track events (thanks to the Negroes) and swimming, the Americans were not preëminent. No team was entered in the polo contests, but when the Argentines, the Olympic winners, came to the United States they soundly trounced the Greentree team. True, the Greentree team was not the best possible five which could have been assembled in this country, but it had the resources to arrange the match—demonstrating that polo is still the game of socialites and millionaires. If the Argentines did not decisively prove their superiority to the best possible North American rivals, they did prove the superiority of their ponies. These ponies were sold here and will start a new strain. Thus the South American Pampas will eventually supplant the Arabian Desert on the Long Island polo fields.

Not to be outdone by Landonite Jesse Owens, Mr. Joe Louis of Detroit attempted a political career. His rush to the world championship having been rudely interrupted by Mr. Max Schmeling of Germany, various set-ups were provided during the summer to keep Mr. Louis before the public. Finally, Mayor Hague of Jersey City presented him as a Roosevelt Democrat to six thousand Ne-

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groes assembled in a Jersey City high school. Like Vice-President Garner, Joe made only one appearance. He said he was glad to be in Newark, changed it to Paterson, then at last remembered he was in Jersey City, and, mumbling something in stage fright, went back to his corner for his second knock-out of the year.

Upon the whole, sport in America did not keep pace with the business revival in 1936. In baseball, the New York teams contended for the World Series and made it a matter of local interest; the rest of the country stayed home and let the Ford dealers tell them about it. The American League team, the Yankees, defeated the Giants as had been expected, four games out of six, putting on two of their overwhelming batting demonstrations and winning the games by scores unprecedented in World Series, but by no means unprecedented in the history of the Yankees who since the advent of the light ball, with Babe Ruth and Lou Gehrig to drive it, have set new standards for hard-hitting and run-scoring. But aside from this exhibition of batting, both teams were below supposed championship standards.

Going from the profane to the sacred, the religious colleges, Catholic, Methodist, and Baptist, continued to demonstrate by their supremacy that football, rather than divine providence, has been the savior of their institutions. Professional football



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continued its advance but not so as to afford life careers for college football players. As in baseball, the professional teams are going directly to the high schools for their material. There is no longer any need for a 180-pound husky, of eighteen or nineteen, to waste four years in college as an adjunct to his profession.

The old-time college coaches are a stubborn lot; they despise professional football off the campus and have been developing a scientific defensive game that is not popular with the professional football fans who like slugging and continuous fast play. The college rooters and alumni who celebrate a victory or forget a defeat by getting drunk are not so particular. Many fans are taking their football at home where radio announcers, hired chiefly by the oil companies, make the games seem much more exciting than they are. It is an experience in anticlimax to hear some of the announcers, especially those of the West Coast (where there is always a job in Hollywood) lash themselves into a frenzy that would have made the elder Booth jealous, and then discover that dear old St. Josephine's has made a gain of two yards. It almost makes one suspicious of the announcer's enthusiasm for the gas and oil that he is selling.

Mass athleticism and professional sport continue to grow and prosper. Amateur competition includ-

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ing the collegiate variety is in a nebulous state. The theoretical difference between professional and amateur becomes more and more absurd. Thus the *American Mercury* published an article listing college football teams as amateur, semi-professional, and professional, and although there were anguished cries from the last two groups no convincing evidence was offered in rebuttal. The amateurs' loss of prestige during 1936, however, was due more to the Nazi-minded Avery Brundage than to any other single factor.



## FATHER COUGHLIN BLESSES A NEW PARTY

*Early in the depression, the League for Independent Political Action headed by the philosopher John Dewey began agitation for the formation of a third party. It went so far as to put out an elaborate platform prepared by a number of eminent economists and political scientists. Embodying practically all of the reforms that have been vainly advocated for a generation by the more enlightened liberals, it would have been an admirable platform if any besides its authors had ever troubled to read it. As things were, it merely proved anew the second clause of the old truism that while a party may exist*

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without a platform, a platform without a party is nothing at all. The first clause of the truism was also demonstrated, in August, 1936, by the formation of the Union Party under the leadership of Father Coughlin. After liberals, radicals, and farmer-laborites had talked "third party" for four years without accomplishing anything, a single rabble-rouser did the trick—at least so far as creating an actual party is concerned—in a single month. From John Dewey to Father Coughlin marks the distance in America between theory and practice.

In the late twenties, Father Coughlin had come into public notice on the air through his vociferous support of the "rights of labor" and his violent attacks on organized wealth, particularly as represented in the banking industry. Luck or judgment had given him what proved to be the most favorable of all hours on the radio—Sunday afternoon when he had no serious competition except that of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra. (And in Philadelphia, possibly prejudiced against anything from New York, when a vote was taken, 80 per cent of the dial-turners recorded a preference for Coughlin over the Philharmonic.)

A slight tinge of socialism, a good deal of Henry Ford's animosity toward Wall Street, an obsession with the idea that social justice could be achieved by tinkering with the monetary system, and a love

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for personal attack and vituperation made up Father Coughlin's stock in trade; his salesman's method over the radio was to use a billingsgate similar to that of Mencken and Huey Long but less picturesque than either and much oilier. The fare offered by Father Coughlin was too frequently a nauseating mixture of vinegar, butter, and soothing syrup which, however, the American palate accepted as a pleasant novelty and the American stomach took a long time to reject.

In 1932, Father Coughlin supported Roosevelt and the revaluation of the gold dollar. Revaluation was, of course, accomplished, but Father Coughlin then declared that it had merely increased the gold in the hands of the wicked Jewish international bankers. He turned to remonetization, invested heavily in silver on behalf of his Church of the Little Flower ("a violet by a mossy stone, half hidden from the eye"), and became a personal friend of the great silver-mine owner, William Randolph Hearst, who, appreciating the value of a fellow sensationalist, made it a "must" order that the priest's Sunday talks should always be reported in full—a most unusual newspaper concession to radio.

Even when silver rose to ridiculous heights, Father Coughlin, like the United States Chamber of Commerce, the automobile manufacturers, and Ol-

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iver Twist, still asked for more. He demanded copious issues of printing press money but coupled it with the one grain of intelligent wheat in his haystack of folly—a demand for the nationalization of the Federal Reserve System. Then becoming a nationalist also in the popular sense of the word, he fought shoulder to shoulder with Hearst against American entrance into the World Court, inaugurating Congressional lobbying by mass telegraphy. Naturally, after this association with Hearst, Red-baiting followed as the final ingredient in Father Coughlin's Irish stew.

Embodying all of his chaotic policies, Father Coughlin's National Union for Social Justice was organized in 1935. But it remained a thing of ink and paper. The priest had reached, apparently, the height of his prestige in the defeat of the World Court. Huey Long had become the favored leader of the rural malcontents, and the old folks were joining Townsend Clubs instead of Father Coughlin's National Union for Social Justice.

Then things began to happen. Huey Long was killed; the Townsend movement was weakened by internal dissensions and Congressional investigations; Father Coughlin went back on the air, and his weekly paper, *Social Justice*, began to pick up in circulation.

Unable to come to terms with either Republicans

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or Democrats, and smarting under the defeat of his pet inflation measure, the Frazier-Lemke Bill, Father Coughlin produced his own candidate, William Lemke, and Lemke without convention or other nominating machinery produced the Union Party, picking one word from the cumbersome title of the National Union for Social Justice. Until Father Coughlin sponsored Lemke, the public knew little about the North Dakotan. They vaguely thought of him as a radical fellow from the farm belt whose first name was Frazier. They were surprised to discover that his first name was Bill and that Frazier was a senator.

It was no accident that Bill Lemke was one of the parents of the Frazier-Lemke inflation measure. His political career has been dominated by frenzied financing and half-baked radicalism. In 1921-22, he was twice indicted for embezzling over \$200,000 from the Central Bank of North Dakota. Both indictments were quashed, and Lemke claimed the whole thing was political. Perhaps it was, but the fact remains that during the time Lemke was active in the Non-Partisan League and attorney-general of North Dakota, thirty-two banks in the state closed their doors. This was too much for the voters, and Lemke and his Non-Partisan colleagues were ousted from office at a special recall election. Lemke did not return

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to politics until he successfully campaigned for Congress in 1932.

There is no doubt that Lemke as a leading inflationist was Father Coughlin's hand-picked candidate. Neither is there any doubt of the priest's personal association with William Randolph Hearst or of their mutual coöperation in defeating the World Court resolution and in supporting the Frazier-Lemke Farm Mortgage measure. Were they also co-operating, this time secretly, in fostering a party to capture enough farm votes so as to turn the election from Roosevelt to Landon? The financing of the Union Party, like that of the Spanish Fascists, has remained a mystery. Is it fantastic to suggest that both may have received aid from the same generous California millionaire?

Having picked his candidate, Father Coughlin vigorously pushed him. Appearing in civilian clothes, the priest stole the show at the Cleveland convention of the Townsend Clubs, not so much by his promotion of Lemke as by the simple means of calling President Roosevelt a liar. Bishop Gallagher, the priest's superior who had gone to the Vatican to discuss with the Pope and the Catholic higher-ups the activities of their politically-minded subordinate, immediately began to use the cable, with the result that Father Coughlin apologized to the President but said his opinion about Roosevelt, the man



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and the candidate, remained unchanged. This was a distinction that perhaps the Italian cardinals and the Pope understood, but it was a little fine for American consumption. The Vatican, however, regarded the priest as a fighting force against Communism, and with the destruction of the church under way in Spain, it had no desire to curb him. The mass of Catholics in America (including Father Coughlin himself) knew there was no Communist danger here, but if the Vatican thought he was fighting for the church instead of for his own political ambitions, Father Coughlin was certainly not disposed to enlighten the Holy See.

At the convention of the National Union for Social Justice, also in Cleveland, Lemke was Father Coughlin's first stooge with promises to remake America, redistribute wealth, abolish droughts by artificial lakes, and perform other miracles by inflation and unspecified means. Besides Lemke, the Reverend Gerald Smith of Louisiana was brought in as the heir of Huey Long's Share-the-Wealth movement, though an heir at loggerheads with what was left of the Long machine. He had a plan to recruit one million God-fearing, carefully selected patriotic young men to see to it that ballots are cast in the daytime and are counted correctly at night. Besides this practical suggestion, the Reverend Gerald Smith delivered frenzied warnings against the men-

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ace of Communism. As a Red-baiter, he so outdid Father Coughlin himself in rabble-rousing that the latter was plainly annoyed, being either jealous or ashamed of his Protestant assistant.

In spite of Gerald Smith's success as an orator, however, it was strictly Father Coughlin's show. As he quite truthfully said, "Any officers whom I have appointed are merely my creatures . . . any rules and regulations which I empowered are only my rules and regulations!"

Permeating the convention was Father Coughlin's veiled anti-Semitism. Repeatedly (so familiar from Henry Ford's Detroit) the old talk about international bankers, with only the mention of Jewish names, although actually Jews play a very small part in international banking! But, Father Coughlin would quickly add, the Jews, despite their penchant for usury, must not be blamed "for everything." He deplored persecution, *but* the Jews in this country must abandon their system of an eye for an eye and must acknowledge the Christian principle of brotherly love, which apparently included Mr. Hearst but excluded Mr. Roosevelt.

In the Coughlin-Lemke-Smith combine, many liberals and radicals professed to see a dangerous fascist menace. If so, we have frequently had dangerous fascist menaces before. The Union Party was merely the successor of earlier crack-pot parties,

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such as the Know Nothings, the Americans, and the modern Ku Klux Klan—parties of malcontents, motivated by mere discontent and hatred of something they knew not what. Hitherto, the Catholics have been among the victims of such movements. The only elements of novelty in the Union Party were that this time a Catholic had managed to climb upon the bandwagon, and that the bandwagon itself was to have a shorter journey downhill than usual before crashing at the bottom.

In spite of Father Coughlin's sensationalism, the Union Party's campaign soon became a sideshow. The drought worked against it; the farmers realized that it was not a year in which to throw away their votes. The Union Party had no press. Father Coughlin discovered to his dismay that he could not hold his radio audiences against the big shots of the Republican and Democratic parties. His statement that the people would substitute bullets for ballots if any man ever attempted a dictatorship in America—though it would have been good revolutionary doctrine in 1776—shocked the country in 1936. At last, when he realized the way the wind was blowing he made an extraordinary *volte-face* and announced that if Lemke were not running he would vote for Roosevelt. The statement was taken by most of his followers as a confession of defeat. Of the al-

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leged ten million Lemkeites less than one million remained faithful to their nominal leader.

Does this mean the end of Coughlin? He announced that he would retire from the air and from politics, but such news is too good to be true. Some menace, visible perhaps only through the clarified air of the Detroit suburbs, will bring him back to his beloved microphone.



## DR. TOWNSEND'S PRESCRIPTION

*Affiliated with the Coughlinites, Lemkeites and Gerald Smithites, making up the chaotic Union Party, were the Townsendites—affiliated but still playing their own game. Like the other groups, they were the creation of one man. But unlike the other leaders, Dr. Francis Everett Townsend was a major, not a minor, quack.*

American physicians like to pretend that they are a severely scientific body far above the ordinary perturbations of society. Yet the fact remains that three out of the four most typical American fakers of the twentieth century have been physicians—Drs. Cook,

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Abrams and Townsend—while the fourth, Aimee Semple Macpherson, with her famous “cures,” is at least a physician once or twice or thrice removed. Furthermore, all of them began as honest, kindly people who only gradually became fakers in response to the public’s desire to be fooled.

Dr. Townsend’s coming into national prominence seems to have been almost accidental. A resident of the Black Hills of South Dakota, across the state line from North Dakota’s Lemke, he had lived and practiced there as a rural physician for many years before retiring to Long Beach, California, to spend his old age loitering in the sun. The pleasant loitering came to an end with the depression and he had to go to work again. As everyone knows, physicians are superfluous in the Southern California climate, so Dr. Townsend, with the faith in real estate characteristic of that section, became a real estate salesman. Then occurred the event which changed his career, as the Buddha’s was changed by encountering the dead man’s funeral—or if not an actual historical event it became part of a good American myth fit to rival, in our feeble way, that of India.

The doctor is said to have received his inspiration when he saw three old women rummaging in a garbage can at Long Beach. Of all places to rummage in garbage cans, they could not have made a more unhappy choice. There was never an eatable

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meal cooked in the town, and its Iowa inhabitants throw nothing away. The three old women could not have been three old women; they were three witches and they were brewing the Devil's tea.

The doctor swore very violently at such a system of society (to say nothing of the Long Beach system of garbage disposal) and then went into his study and thought out the first instalment of the Townsend Plan. What happened to the three old ladies is not told in the writings of the founder, but, undoubtedly, they leaped upon their broomsticks and rode away.

The Plan made converts quickly because of its extreme simplicity. It would grant a Federal pension of \$200 a month to all citizens over sixty, the money to be spent on commodity goods within one month. Presumably, the money would only be negotiable for thirty days. What a business the shops would do on expiration day selling commodity goods to procrastinating old gentlemen! But how about the old ladies who cannot remember which months have thirty days and which have thirty-one?

It would seem almost impossible to be serious about the Plan, yet thousands of clubs and millions of people became very serious about it. Their seriousness, however, took the form of refusing to consider the obvious objections to the Plan. To pay the pensions (based on 1930 census figures) the Gov-

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ernment would have to distribute in the neighborhood of twenty billion dollars a year, probably closer to twenty-five billions. In the last fiscal year, the greatest spendthrift year since the war, the Government disbursed less than ten billions, or half the minimum amount which the Townsend Plan would require. In the best year business ever had (1929) the gross income was eighty billions. How then would the Townsendites raise the money to pay their pensions? At first, Dr. Townsend suggested a 10 per cent sales tax but later he shifted to a 2 per cent tax on all business transactions. The money transactions in the United States in 1932 totaled about one hundred and thirty billions. Two per cent of that could not produce twenty billions by any arithmetic.

But Dr. Townsend hated figures and methods. He wanted to talk results. One of his great points was that the pensioners would be taken out of industry, giving jobs to the younger generation who would not have to support their aged parents—forgetting that the 1930 census showed only four million people over sixty to be gainfully employed and of these only little more than a million to be wage-earners.

If the plan were put in execution, there would probably not be any great scramble for the vacated jobs. Nearly everyone has a parent, or two or three grandparents over sixty, and with each of them collecting two hundred a month, there would be no



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rush for work on the part of the younger generation. It is a beautiful picture—the care and attention that would be lavished on pa, grandma, and great-grand-papa in contrast to their sufferings under relief. But a child in economics should have known that it was a dream picture.

There proved, however, to be millions of Americans who were not even children in economics. Townsend Clubs sprang up like weeds, especially on the Pacific Coast where they served to strangle the nascent Epic movement of Upton Sinclair. The *National Townsend Weekly*, with 50 per cent of its stock owned by the founder, brought the doctor dividends of \$38,500. With sudden wealth and influence at his disposal, it is not surprising that the formerly mild-mannered country physician quickly developed a pronounced case of megalomania. Townsend Plan literature, with his consent, referred to him as “Christ incarnate”; he said he hoped to be classed with Washington and Lincoln; and he began to talk about the formation of the Townsend Political Party. Possibly the magic words “Townsend for President” were dancing before his dazzled eyes.

This loose talk led to a break between the chief and his right-hand man, Robert Earl Clements, who had been responsible for most of the actual organization, but who found it advisable to resign on the eve of investigation by a special House committee in the

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spring. Following this split, Dr. Townsend further injured his own cause, when he appeared before the Congressional committee, by an attitude of mingled embarrassment and arrogance. It was brought out that he had appealed to his followers for a "defense fund" to prevent Congress from impounding his organization's capital although he knew perfectly well that Congress had no power to do so; also that after a Townsend lobby in Washington had been abandoned, with \$21,000 still on hand for its continuance, \$11,490 more had been raised by special appeal for the same purpose. Faced with these evidences of racketeering, Dr. Townsend became truculent. "In view of the apparent unfriendly attitude of the committee," he said, "and the unfair attitude it has shown to me and to members of my organization, I deem it my duty to say that I shall no longer attend these committee meetings. . . . I do not propose to come back again except under arrest." And he walked out.

Having no desire at the moment to make a martyr of the irascible old gentleman, the House prudently refrained from indicting him for contempt until after election.

With their morale somewhat shaken by these developments, the Townsendites were content to play second fiddle in Father Coughlin's orchestra. Dr. Townsend came out for Lemke, with Landon as sec-

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ond choice, to be voted for in states where Lemke was not on the ballot. As regarded the presidency, his organization, like Father Coughlin's, functioned practically as an adjunct of the Republican Party to take votes from Roosevelt. But the local Townsend Clubs wisely concentrated on the election of such Congressmen as were considered favorable to the special Townsend Plan. Success was claimed in some thirty instances; just how many of these were genuine cannot be ascertained until the next Congress meets. But it is certain that the Seventy-Fifth Congress will actually contain some kind of a substantial Townsend bloc. Old Man Townsend, if not a second Christ, Washington, or Lincoln, has at least done better as a practical politician than Henry George, Edward Bellamy, or John Dewey.

If the Townsendites in Congress should support the passage of sane and self-respecting social security legislation, then much good will have been accomplished. But they are more likely to insist upon the Townsend Plan or nothing; and in that case the significance of all the sound and fury will be precisely—nothing.

So far, that is, as concerns the Townsend Plan itself. But in fairness it should be added that the Townsendites, with all their exaggerations and absurdities—perhaps because of them—were more responsible than any other single group for arousing

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the American consciousness, decades after that of Europe, to the necessity of incorporating social security as a permanent part of any constructive national policy.



**AUTUMN**





## WHY DIDN'T YOU SPEAK FOR YOURSELF, JOHN?

*During the first months of the campaign, Republican Candidate Landon remained a somewhat nebulous figure. But there was nothing nebulous about Republican Campaign Manager John Daniel Miller Hamilton. Front face and profile, he was of the Hollywood type, unlined by thought or care, looking younger than his forty-four years. His convention speeches had been rated "first-class," his manner and voice were hailed as "dynamic." Here at last seemed the new material sorely needed by the Republican Party. What a contrast to lumbering, heavy, crude Jim Farley who was nothing but a pol-*

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itician and a ward-heeling type of politician at that! But before the campaign had run many weeks the Republicans would have been delighted to exchange a hundred of their charm boys for one practical politician.

It was decided (probably by Mr. Hamilton) to take advantage of the initially favorable reaction to Mr. Hamilton. During the season he competed with Mrs. Simpson in the number of his appearances photographically in the supplements and news weeklies. He made the cover of *Time*, an honor which at this writing has not yet been achieved by the Baltimore girl. An alluring picture of Mr. Hamilton in bed also appeared in *Time*. Mr. Hamilton was the first of the big-shots to go on the stump. Mr. Hamilton went to New York; then with an impressive retinue, Mr. Hamilton set out for the West by chartered plane. It was by way of a triumphal progress. His welcome in Los Angeles was much more friendly than the luke-warm greeting later given Vice-President Candidate Knox or the disgraceful bottle-throwing reception of Governor Landon.

But after all, who was running for President? Not the man who should have been back in the Chicago headquarters directing the campaign. There affairs were in a deplorable state. The high-pressure publicity men drafted for the campaign were not hitting it off with the county chairmen; "John" had



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called these county chairmen by their first names, but his assistants were calling them something else. Mr. Hamilton looked the situation over and nobly gave up the sawdust trail for the inner sanctum. The remainder of the campaign he directed, or, rather, misdirected, from Chicago. If the Republicans had had Jim Farley instead of Hamilton as chairman, and Franklin D. Roosevelt instead of Landon as candidate, they might have won.

In July, Chairman Hamilton produced the prize mixed metaphor of the campaign. Asked by the reporters to discuss the rumor that the Republican campaign was being tinged with anti-Semitism, Mr. Hamilton said: "There is not an iota of truth in such a thing, and it is a deliberate attempt by those other people to throw a dust cloud when they know their ship is sinking. We have a red herring in every campaign, and apparently this is the first such attempt." After that, Mr. Hamilton depended more upon the written than the spoken word.

Anti-Semitism was a part of the Republican campaign, but there is not the slightest evidence that the Republican Committee or Chairman Hamilton directly sponsored any of it. Chief disseminator was James True (a liar by any other name would smell as vile) with his publicity bureau, James True Associates, in Washington, D. C. Sensationally exposed by the *New Masses*, Mr. True became more careful,

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but his vicious propaganda was circulated by the American Coalition, a combination of clubs and organizations all Republican in sympathy. Millions of pamphlets were anonymously circulated, showing President Roosevelt as the central figure of a Jewish six-pointed star. The stars were Morgenthau, Michelson, Richberg, Frankfurter, Justices Brandeis and Cardozo. In the East, particularly in New York, the New Deal became the Jew Deal, and there were hundreds of other jokes and puns, including the widespread assertion that Roosevelt was originally Rosenfeld.

The effect of all this is debatable. It may have had something to do with the fact that the Jewish Governor Lehman ran far behind the President in New York although there were other factors involved. His labor legislation had been considered too radical by the capitalists and too limited in its scope by labor, while his stand in exonerating the District Attorney's office in Brooklyn under fire for suppressing evidence in a racketeering murder case had been bitterly criticized by the liberals in New York City.

Certainly, the anti-Semitic propaganda of the Republicans did not result in any solid Jewish support for Roosevelt. Two newspaper chains owned by Jews were for Landon and the conservative, well-to-do Jews were behind him all over the country. The one big bloc of Jewish votes did go for Roosevelt, of

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course, but only because that bloc is part of the enormous Democratic vote in New York City which has always been Democratic.

But if Mr. Hamilton may be absolved from any direct part in the anti-Semitic campaign, he was an enthusiastic supporter of Mr. Hearst's Red scare. This idiotic move to tie up the New Deal with Communism was actually endorsed by the *New York Herald-Tribune*, the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Los Angeles Times* and by most (though not quite all) of the Republican papers. The same nonsense was talked by practically all the campaign workers and speakers (the women as always were especially emotional) and it was finally voiced rather shamefacedly by the candidate, Governor Landon. And of them all, none saw more nightmarish pictures in the event of a Roosevelt victory than did handsome John Hamilton.

A pamphlet put out by the National Committee attempted to show that even Christianity was a Republican monopoly: "We must drive the Roosevelt party out of power if we are to retain our freedom of religion and our liberty. The churches have had a difficult time carrying on their work during this depression. Without them this country would be like Russia today." Again and again God was called upon to save the Constitution, liberty, and the Republican Party.

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If Mr. Hamilton and the high-pressure boys had been a little abler as politicians they would have pondered a poll taken by Dr. Gallup's Institute of Public Opinion which clearly showed that if it came to a choice between the governments of Russia and Germany, the American people would prefer the Reds. No one can tell, of course, how many votes or millions of votes the Republican fascist tactics cost, but the experiment was certainly a costly one.

Toward the end, optimism was abandoned by practically all Republicans, unless. . . . The "unless" was the hope for a final piece of strategy, a master-stroke by the Hearst-Du Pont-Kansas coalition, a last minute bit of legerdemain that would change Democratic voters into Republican. In the 1896 campaign, it was remembered, Bryan had a run-away start but was defeated in the last month by the Republican cry of the "full dinner pail."

Mr. Hamilton believed that he had a similar ace in the hole. Big business, coöperating with the Republican National Committee, inserted in pay envelopes what was supposed to be a most telling piece of propaganda, which in most cases followed an identical form, as follows:

"Effective January, 1937, we are compelled by a Roosevelt 'New Deal' law to make a one per cent deduction from your wages and turn it over to the government. Finally this may go as high as four per cent.

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You might get this money back in future years, but only if Congress decides to make the appropriation for that purpose. There is NO guarantee. Decide before November 3—election day—whether or not you wish to take these chances.”

Mr. Hamilton's ace was really a joker. Not only was the statement unfair and partly false, but it was playing right into the hands of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party which had always criticized that clause in the Security Act which laid part of the cost upon the worker—a clause which had been made possible only through a coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats. Probably one of the first bills presented to the Seventy-Fifth Congress convening in January, 1937, will be a new Security Act removing any part of the cost from the workers, when the Republicans will be confronted with the result of their own propaganda.

If there was one thing which Mr. Hamilton had thought he would not have to worry about it was money. At the beginning it had literally flowed in. William Randolph Hearst, the Rockefellers, the Du Ponts and all the Liberty Leaguers said it with dollars—hundreds and thousands and hundreds of thousands of dollars. Then suddenly around October 1st, something dreadful happened. The goldbags proved to have a bottom.

Along with the rest of the American people. the

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American millionaires have always believed that money can buy anything. Other countries have also believed that this was true, at least in America. Even the astute correspondent of the *London Star*, who insisted that he would be for Roosevelt if he were an American citizen, wrote that money would win the election for the Republicans. He said: "Having lived so long in America I have an almost superstitious reverence for the power of great wealth. I know that it can annihilate justice and mercy, that it can reduce democracy to a hollow farce, that it can commandeer brains and wit and charm, that it can overawe the wretched and seduce the idealist, that it can speak with the tongue of angels, that it can take to itself the glorious oriflamme of freedom to conceal its predatory purposes, that it can buy the best brains of lawyers and journalists."

But under modern election procedure it could not buy the voters, and at the beginning of October the millionaires of the country began to realize it. They looked at Dr. Gallup's poll, they talked less to editors and more to the reporters who had been touring the country, they opened their club windows and listened to the men and women in the street, and they decided to stop signing checks payable to the Republican National Committee. Only Mr. Hearst, buying antiques in Holland and reading nothing but

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his own papers and possibly the *Literary Digest*, continued to contribute.

Desperate, Mr. Hamilton appealed to State Committees for larger contributions and to registered voters for a dollar apiece. Ridiculous contretemps resulted. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt was one of those asked to send a dollar. An urgent appeal to the State Committee in Oregon to send money to save Republican Pennsylvania crossed an equally urgent appeal from the State Committee to send money to save Republican Oregon.

On election day, the Republican National Committee, after spending seven million dollars, found itself with a two-million dollar deficit. Chairman Hamilton will have his work cut out for him for the next year or two in meeting this deficit. He will need all of his charm to accomplish such a feat with the local Republican organizations entirely impotent in most of the large cities and states.



## K N O X    K N O C K S

*The second in the Republican campaign triumvirate of Hamilton, Knox, and Landon proved the least deplorable of the three. While it would be too much to say that he emerged from the campaign with any great credit, he at least did his best to bail out the sinking ship and for the most part—with one notable exception—did not pour the water back into it.*

Frank Knox was born in Boston in 1874, graduated from the University of Michigan in 1898, served with the Rough Riders during the same year, and entered the newspaper business immediately thereafter. He took an active part in the Bull Moose



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movement in 1912, and in that year moved to Manchester, New Hampshire, where he acquired the *Union and Leader* which he still owns and publishes. In the World War he served overseas with the 153rd Field Artillery, attained the rank of major, and is consequently called Colonel. In 1924 he was defeated for the governorship of New Hampshire; in 1927 he was in charge of the Boston *American* and the Boston *Advertiser*, both Hearst papers; he continued with Hearst until 1931 when he became publisher of the *Chicago Daily News*.

Colonel Knox was one of the candidates for the Republican presidential nomination but was not seriously considered except possibly as a favorite son in Illinois and New Hampshire. When Senator Vandenberg decided that he would have a better chance to run for President in 1940 if he did not accept the nomination for Vice-President in 1936, Colonel Knox unselfishly consented to take the assignment. The Senator from Michigan was right. It is highly improbable that Colonel Knox will be the Republican candidate for President in 1940.

Nevertheless, Colonel Knox was much more colorful, forceful, and effective than Governor Landon. Probably many times the Republican generals, bosses, and hangers-on wished the order of their candidates had been reversed. In contrast to Vice-President Garner, who grudgingly made one radio

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talk from his home in Texas, Colonel Knox delivered two hundred and fifty speeches, invading the deep South, speaking in Seattle while the employees of the Hearst papers were on strike, and in all traveling twenty-four thousand miles by all manner of conveyance.

Unfortunately, in none of these two hundred and fifty speeches did he offer a policy or anything constructive. From beginning to end, his tactics consisted wholly in hammering away at Roosevelt. In his last speech before the slaughter (symbolically delivered in the Chicago Stockyards), he challenged the President to answer his critics. For the first time in American history, he said, a candidate was running for the Presidency on the platform, "I know, but I ain't gonna tell."

"I once heard of a candidate for Mayor who ran on the one platform of free hot dogs in the city parks," said Colonel Knox. "But we don't know where the President stands on anything, even hot dogs." That was very unfair of Colonel Knox. Early in the campaign, President Roosevelt had been photographed consuming a hot dog. It is true that the photograph was taken in Canada but there is no reason to suppose that the President would have done anything in Canada he would not do in the United States. To judge from the election returns,

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the stockyard employees had seen that photograph even if the Colonel had not.

Colonel Knox was not met with silent indifference. In Los Angeles when he shouted, "The Administration is no longer trying to reorganize America; it is just trying to get votes," a woman in the audience shouted hysterically, "He's a dirty liar!" and drank iodine. But so outraged was she that she subsequently recovered, presumably to vote for Roosevelt. It takes a forceful speaker to drive a California lady to attempted suicide.

Colonel Knox's great boner came in the course of a speech in Allentown, Pennsylvania, when he said, "Today no life insurance policy is secure; no savings account is safe." Perhaps no other single sentence did as much harm to the Republican campaign. The Democrats were able to reply with pride that for the first time in the history of the country there had not been a single bank failure for the period of a full year, ending October 1st. On the other hand, the insurance executives, probably 100 per cent Republican, were put on the defensive and obliged to defend their companies.

Colonel Knox had crossed the continent to Helena, Montana, before he realized what had happened. Then he explained that his statement referred solely to the value of the money in which insurance is paid and savings are kept. "No intel-

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ligent person," he said, "could possibly construe it as referring to the solvency of any bank, insurance company or other private enterprise."

But the rabid, shrieking Republican press preferred his first statement and overlooked the apologetic explanation. They still thought (Mr. Hearst in Europe and Colonel McCormick in his Lake Shore ivory tower) that the people could be frightened into voting the Republican ticket. Colonel Knox's accusation was repeated, in spite of his own explanation, by the very papers that should have been most eager to forget it.

In the conduct of his own *Chicago Daily News*, Colonel Knox was far saner than most of his colleagues. He did not descend to the absurd Red-baiting tactics of the *Chicago Tribune* and the Hearst papers. While still a candidate for the presidential nomination, he had even permitted one of his columnists to write that the boss was a good newspaperman but would make a poor national executive. True, he did not continue quite on that high plane of aloofness throughout the campaign. After constantly running Westbrook Pegler's syndicated columns, the *Daily News* refused several of them as soon as the journalist began to go political. Their rejection was a mistake. The *Times* (the only Chicago paper supporting the President) promptly ran them

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under the head, "The Pegler Column which Colonel Knox did not Care to Print."

In Seattle, where Hearst's paper, the *Post-Intelligencer*, had not been published for two months because of the strike called by the Newspaper Guild, Colonel Knox said that he stood for "collective bargaining" and "ordered liberty," which though meaningless would have been well enough if he had not tactlessly added that American workers earn "fabulous wages" as compared to those in other nations. Seattle, at present more labor-conscious than any other American city, was a poor place to pull that one because the workers there, as elsewhere, know that real wages (wages translated into food, housing, clothing and the other necessities of life) are by no means fabulous. Listening carefully to Colonel Knox, the people saw no reason for voting the Republican ticket, and they didn't.

On election night, Colonel Knox went to bed thinking that at any rate New Hampshire, his Eastern home, had remained steadfast in the true faith. Morning showed him his error. The only satisfaction left to him was the fact that the *Daily News* had not been mobbed on election night like the *Tribune*; its plate glass windows were unsmashed and its walls were free from rotten eggs. He used its presses immediately to issue a sportsmanlike statement con-

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gratulating the President on his overwhelming victory.

Since probably Colonel Knox did not mean much of what he said during the campaign, perhaps his speeches should not be held too heavily against him. He was at least an improvement on most of his fellow campaigners. The country wishes him well (in private life) and hopes that in his twenty-four thousand mile journey he may have made some new friends so that he will not have to pal around with his brother officer, Colonel McCormick, or his former employer, Mr. Hearst.



## T H E L A N D O N F O G

*Decidedly secondary in the Republican campaign to both Hamilton and Knox was the presidential candidate, Alfred Landon. In spite of the fact that Governor Landon was chosen on the first ballot at the Republican National Convention, he was a compromise candidate. The old guard wanted Hoover but made no fight for him; the radical wing of the party (the old trust-busting group) wanted Borah, the one candidate the old guard would never accept; the young Republicans, who are more conservative than the old guard, would have liked Ogden Mills, Hamilton Fish, or any other member of one of the best families.*

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Governor Landon was sold to the party by a small group on the plea that the candidate should come from the farm belt, the section which had always been safely Republican in normal times. On the ground that he had been a Bull Mooser twenty-five years before, Governor Landon was represented as a liberal. There was little in his Kansas record to justify such a classification. Kansas is not an industrial state, but in the one important strike during his administration, the Governor had been quick to call out the troops. The gratuitous Hearst indorsement, given early in the pre-convention campaign, also injured Mr. Landon with the liberals.

To offset these limitations, his telegram adding a personal codicil to the Republican platform made a good impression. There were three points in the telegram. To the platform's declaration that minimum wages for women and children could still be established by state laws under the Constitution, the Governor added: "But if that opinion should prove to be erroneous I shall favor a Constitutional amendment." To the declaration for a sound currency he added that while currency should be convertible into gold this must be accomplished without penalizing the domestic economy. His third point was concerned with the Civil Service and advocated the inclusion within the merit system of every position in the administrative service below the rank of as-



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sistant secretaries of major departments and agencies, thus embracing the entire Post Office Department. The first two amendments seemed an indorsement of Roosevelt policies; the third was a direct hit scored against Chairman Farley.

Between the Republican convention and the official notification of the candidate more than a month elapsed. Governor Landon went to Colorado for a vacation; Mr. Hearst, departing for Europe so as not to embarrass the campaign by his presence, was of the opinion that the fewer speeches Landon made the better; and the Republican press clearly indicated that the campaign was to consist wholly of abuse of Roosevelt. His raids on the Treasury, his alleged unconstitutional assumption of power, and his radical associates and affiliations were cited as the most vulnerable points. Once the reactionary Republican editors and sub-editors took Mr. Landon over, gave him their orders, and made him their mouthpiece, he revealed himself as bewildered, ineffectual, and pathetic.

Mr. Landon's official acceptance speech was not favorable to his pretensions as a liberal. On labor he championed the right of employees to join any type of union they prefer, which has always been the stand of the company union advocate. Later he amplified and qualified his position when challenged to

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do so by Norman Thomas, but if Mr. Thomas was satisfied, labor decidedly was not.

In his acceptance speech the Governor was nowhere more vague than in his remarks about relief: "Those who need relief will get it. We will not take our economies out of the allotments to the unemployed. We will take them out of the hides of the political exploiters."

Later, Mr. Landon definitely adopted the Hoover viewpoint that relief should be administered by the states. Mr. Hoover, with his aptitude for saying the wrong thing, proclaimed that he had not heard of anyone dying of starvation during his administration. If Mr. Hoover would read some social service reports or consult the doctors and nurses in emergency hospitals in any of the big cities, he might learn something about his own administration. In fact, it is difficult to conceive how anyone who saw the bread lines, the soup kitchens, the panhandlers, the squatter settlements, the freight trains loaded with boys and girls, the overcrowded prisons and reformatories, could ever advocate a return to local relief. Yet that is exactly what the "liberal" Governor Landon, aping Mr. Hoover at his worst, did advocate.

On the agricultural question, Governor Landon fumbled in his acceptance speech and continued to fumble all through the campaign with the result that

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the farm belt, with its many grievances against the Democratic Administration, nevertheless found no hope in the Republican platform or the Republican candidate. Throughout the campaign, Governor Landon and the Republicans bitterly attacked the "economy of scarcity" without once realizing that in so doing they were preaching the doctrine of the Socialists and radicals whom they so hated and feared.

On foreign affairs, in his acceptance speech, Governor Landon had only a few platitudes to offer, the traditional Republican policy of isolation and high tariffs. On armament and neutrality he had nothing to suggest. So it went. On the Constitution, on debt, and on taxes, Governor Landon could only repeat what had been said in the Republican platform. He had, apparently, adopted the policy of the Republican press: destroy Roosevelt but offer nothing except the standard Republican policies. What was good enough in 1896 should be good enough in 1936.

William Randolph Hearst's advice to let Landon make as few speeches as possible was sound but impossible to follow. The public demanded to see what the Republican candidate looked like. The National Committee delayed as long as it could, but at last yielded to popular pressure and sent Landon on the road. Then Mr. Hearst's forebodings were more

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than fulfilled. The Governor read his speeches haltingly in the manner of a man who needs to have his glasses changed. His radio and screen voice was nasal and rasping, his gestures were wooden. He was compared by the Republican press to Calvin Coolidge, but he lacked the tang and sharp personality of Coolidge.

It was said that this was not the real man. That to meet him was to know a charming, friendly, alertly intelligent person. Unfortunately, Mr. Landon could not meet forty million voters personally. They could know him only over the radio, on the picture screens, in huge auditoriums, or from the side of the railroad tracks, and in all these contacts Governor Landon was a failure. Under expert tutoring he did improve a little as a speaker but he never learned to keep his place in his speeches, and his attempts at emphasis and passionate gestures remained school-boyish.

In his first tour East, Governor Landon visited his birthplace, West Middlesex, Pennsylvania. There, among other things, he kissed his old nurse, but the old nurse as shown on the news reels was so young that grave concern was felt concerning the child labor situation in Pennsylvania. There were mutterings of fraud, and the wrong nurse and the nurse-kissing episode became one of the jokes of the campaign.

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At Chautauqua, New York, following his visit to his birthplace, the Governor made one really liberal speech and showed, it is true on a relatively safe issue, his independence of Mr. Hearst. He came out for academic freedom and as opposed to teachers' oaths. The Hearst papers mildly reproved him, but after pointing out that Mr. Hearst always welcomed difference of opinion and free discussion, they went back to the more congenial task of lambasting the President.

Candidate Landon's support of the teachers was weakened by Governor Landon's record in regard to them. The Kansas budget had been balanced, notoriously, at the expense of the school teachers, through salary cuts and dismissals.

The same contradiction between his present utterances and his former acts was brought out repeatedly during Mr. Landon's campaign. As a candidate he deplored the President's assumption of power; as Governor, during the crisis of 1933, he had openly approved the President's policies and had fully cooperated. No state had benefited more than Kansas from WPA and PWA grants. Candidate Landon made several effective speeches about the weakening of Civil Service under Roosevelt, but Governor Landon had done nothing for State Civil Service. As candidate, in the last week of the election, Mr. Landon joined in the denunciation of the Social Secur-

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ity Act, but as Governor he had called a special session of the State Legislature so that Kansas could participate in the Act.

Mr. Landon's strongest card, his much touted balancing of the state budget, seemed to do him no good even in Kansas, which not only turned against him but to the surprise of everyone rejected the Republican state ticket. Therefrom came the last ironic joke of a campaign rich in irony. In return, it is said, for a good political job promised him in Washington after the election, one of the ablest lawyers in Kansas, Walter A. Huxman, had been persuaded to be the sacrificial lamb for the Democrats who had no idea in the world that they could defeat Will G. West, Republican candidate for Governor. Mr. West had, at one time, been secretary to Governor Landon. Mr. Huxman spent no money and was not an active campaigner, but at 3 A.M., Wednesday morning following election night, he was awakened and told, to his great disgust, that he had been elected Governor. There would be no Washington job for Mr. Huxman any more than for Mr. Landon.



## ROOSEVELT'S MARCH TO THE SUN

*Following President Roosevelt's acceptance speech at Franklin Field in Philadelphia, no announcement had been made of his campaign plans. When asked by the reporters when he would make his next political speech, he facetiously said that it would probably be some time early in January, meaning when the next Congress convened. During the summer he cruised off the coast of Canada and made a brief excursion across the border into Maine but did not visit any of the larger cities. A little later, he made an inspection tour of the drought-devastated regions of the Middle West. Although emphasis was placed*

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upon the fact that this trip was nonpolitical, it and its sequel of WPA jobs for the impoverished farmers and disbursements under the Soil Conservation Act did more to win the farm belt for the Democratic Party than any other single factor. The President was fortunate in that by simply doing his nonpolitical duty he could win even more votes than his opponent lost by his political speeches.

The Democratic campaign did not officially begin until the President's address to the Democratic State Convention in Syracuse early in October. In that speech his parody of the Republican position was greeted everywhere with applause and roars of laughter.

"Let me warn you," he announced solemnly, "and let me warn the nation against the smooth evasion which says,"—here dropping his voice to an impotent sing-song—"Of course we believe all these things; we believe in social security; we believe in work for the unemployed; we believe in saving homes. Cross our hearts and hope to die, we believe in all these things; but we do not like the way the present Administration is doing them. Just turn them over to us. We will do all of them—we will do more of them—we will do them better; and, most important of all, the doing of them will not cost anybody anything. . . .'"

That set the tone of President Roosevelt's cam-



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paign He made no promises and outlined no future program; but he defended what he had done and pointed to results: the rising tide of business, the decrease in unemployment and want, the passing of a year without a bank failure. And his speeches were full of witty jibes at the Republican administration of 1929-33 and at the reactionary Republican platform.

The Democratic campaign envisioned not only the reelection of President Roosevelt but the securing of an overwhelming Democratic Congress and the setting up of Democratic governments in states (such as Pennsylvania) which have been Republican since the Civil War. So, with the aid of Emil Hurja, the statistician who furnished the figures on which Chairman Farley made his uncanny prediction of forty-six states for Roosevelt, this ambitious campaign was mapped out.

It involved two main trips for the President—one through the Middle West as far as Denver, the other into New England. Both were the processions of a conqueror. The crowds were unprecedented in size and enthusiasm. The newspapermen who accompanied the party never for a second doubted the result of the election; it was only a question of majorities and odds. Those people who once thought that radio and news reels would eliminate personal campaigning were indeed poor prophets. Evidently

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these mechanical agencies merely whet the public appetite for the real thing.

The only speech in the President's campaign approved by his reluctant supporter, the *New York Times*, was the address on business delivered in Chicago. His final speech in Madison Square Garden, as the paper admitted—after the election—caused "cold chills" to run down the *Times*' editorial spine. In Chicago before the speech to the businessmen the press cars containing reporters and photographers from the *Chicago Tribune* and the Hearst papers were booed.

But at his own college, Harvard, after the Boston triumph, it was the President who was booed. That booing proved a most valuable unexpected asset to him. It clarified the issue: the millions of dollars against the masses of people. It also revealed in a lightning flash the real basis of the extraordinary hatred of the President on the part of the more privileged; he was regarded as a traitor to his class. The campaign, with this culminating episode, did more to convince Americans of the reality of the class struggle than had all the speeches of Socialists in twenty years.

The President's individualistic children were less of a handicap to him than the Republicans had hoped. The latter, who were willing to stoop to anything, circulated a letter from a minister protesting

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against the divorces in the family and more sensibly, against the many arrests of the younger boys for violation of traffic laws. Important, but unproved, was a charge against Elliot Roosevelt of participation in a foreign airplane transaction which would have involved the sale of military planes. James Roosevelt was alleged to have quoted his father as advocating a return of NRA, by Constitutional amendment if necessary. He denied the allegation, the President refused to be drawn into the controversy, and James Roosevelt continued on the radio, bringing telling charges against Governor Landon's school policy in Kansas, making these charges judiciously in Massachusetts where education is taken seriously.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt was unquestionably a force in the campaign. Her column, "My Day," started as a daily newspaper feature early in the year, steadily increased in popularity until, at election time, it circulated in fifty-nine papers. When it was delayed or omitted because of the exigencies of makeup, there were immediate and loud complaints. Accompanying her husband on all the campaign trips, she was constantly worried about the danger of accidents among the huge crowds turning out to meet them. But aside from a few faintings and prostrations on the Boston Common, there were none. The Secret Service, with the aid of local

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authorities, functioned magnificently. After the campaign, when President Roosevelt went to South America, Mrs. Roosevelt embarked on a lecture tour of one-night stands to raise money for her philanthropies.

Announcement of the Romeo-Juliet romance between Franklin Roosevelt, Jr., and a daughter of the Du Ponts was postponed until after the election. Certainly an alliance between the Liberty League Du Ponts and the "dictator's" family is an interesting one. Young Roosevelt emphatically stated that he was not going into politics, but Miss Du Pont made no promise to give up her income from the manufacture of munitions.

Shortly after the election at the close of the Seattle newspaper strike, considered elsewhere in this book, William Randolph Hearst appointed Roosevelt's son-in-law, John Boettiger, publisher of the Seattle *Post-Intelligencer* with full and complete powers. Presumably, Mr. Hearst will write no more editorials denouncing President Roosevelt as a Communist. How much political significance is to be ascribed to these new Roosevelt-Du Pont and Hearst-Boettiger associations, is still problematical. For the moment, at least, the President stands above these family complications as Napoleon remained unaffected for a time by the problems of his brothers, Joseph, Louis, Lucien and Jerome.



## T H E R E N E G A D E S

*After the dirtiest, the bitterest, and the most violent election campaign that had been fought in forty years, all was sweetness and light on the morning following the Democratic landslide. Governor Landon had wired the President and the President had replied. Chairman Farley held out the olive branch to all foes and apostates. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., accepted gratefully with an open letter of fulsome compliments to Mr. Farley. Mr. Hearst, who just a few weeks earlier had gone to the edge of libel in denouncing Roosevelt and his "Communist" friends now compared him to Andrew Jackson and said that*

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perhaps he had given essential democracy a new lease of life and would establish it in power for a generation—quite as if Mr. Hearst had been striving with all his might for just such a consummation. Peace on earth, good will to men!

It is not surprising that the vanquished should desire to have their past forgiven and forgotten. But it is important that the country should not forget—particularly with regard to the renegade liberals, a perfect swarm of them—who turned tail upon their pretended principles. The men who abandoned President Roosevelt and the Democratic Party in 1936 and called themselves the Jeffersonian Democrats were the men who had been the leaders of the party during the present century. Men who held offices, appointive and elective; men who had run for the Presidency; men preëminent in jurisprudence, history, and philanthropy. And the first time in forty years that the party was really democratic they deserted it. The first time that the way was clearly divided with one party looking to the past and the other going forward, going forward fumblingly, perhaps, but still going forward, these men chose the road back.

Not one was sincere. They said Mr. Roosevelt was destroying democracy; they meant they were afraid he was destroying special privilege. They talked about dictatorship and demagoguery; they

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knew that in every crisis the man at the head of the government has been called a dictator and a demagogue. Washington, Jackson, Lincoln, and Wilson were denounced as dictators and demagogues. All the terms that were applied to Theodore Roosevelt by the standpat Republicans in 1912 were used by the Jeffersonian Democrats against President Roosevelt in 1932.

The Roll of Dishonor reads as follows:

ALFRED E. SMITH. His desertion from the Democratic Party was an emotional tragedy to the men and women who worked so valiantly for him in 1928, but it had far less influence than was expected. Had it been delayed until the heat of the campaign it might have been effective and important, though even then the idea of Al Smith in the rôle of Du Pont errand-boy would have been difficult to swallow. Curiously, his impotence in 1936 was a further justification of those who voted for him in 1928; for then the Republican cry was that the Catholics would vote Catholic instead of American; but in 1936 Al Smith was still a Catholic, yet in the great Catholic centers of Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey he was repudiated as strongly as elsewhere. He has the consolation, if it be a consolation, of knowing that he had first repudiated himself. Like the Marc Antony of that once popular verse-monger, Ella Wheeler Wilcox, he can say,

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“ 'Twas no foeman's hand that slew him, 'twas his own that struck the blow.”

JOHN W. DAVIS. He had been a Democratic member of Congress, Solicitor-General of the United States and Ambassador to Great Britain under President Wilson, and compromise Democratic candidate for the Presidency in 1924 after the contest between Secretary-Senator McAdoo and Al Smith became deadlocked.

JAMES A. REED, Democratic ex-Senator from Missouri, whose former violent eloquence was reduced in the campaign to ineffective growling like that of a toothless old bulldog. Until Senator Reed emerged from retirement as a Landon supporter few people remembered that he was still alive.

JOSEPH B. ELY, former Democratic Governor of Massachusetts. Feeling appropriately enough that Al Smith needed to be introduced in his new character to the people of Massachusetts, Governor Ely devoted himself to the task.

BAINBRIDGE COLBY, the ablest of the renegades. He was a Roosevelt progressive in 1912 and was Secretary of State under President Wilson from March, 1920, until March, 1921, during the strange year when the President was under a cloud and the Democratic Party doomed. That experience, plus marital difficulties, left him embittered, frustrated and completely cynical. Henceforth his keen



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pen and fine oratorical voice were at the service of reaction. He not only appeared as counsel for the American newspaper owners in opposition to the NRA but descended to the level of writing in the Hearst style for the Hearst press.

LEWIS DOUGLAS, Democratic ex-Congressman from Arizona. A copper man, he somehow bamboozled the voters of Arizona into sending him to Congress for three terms. As Director of the Budget, he preferred to let the unemployed starve rather than use red ink on the government books. He has always been rich and has associated only with the rich. He would seem to have found his way at last into the right party.

HENRY BRECKINRIDGE. He was Assistant Secretary of War under President Wilson and is listed in *Who's Who* as having organized the first Navy Day. He was also Colonel Lindbergh's lawyer in the kidnapping proceedings. At least a man of courage, he ran against President Roosevelt in a few Democratic state primaries, but bolted the party after the convention.

THOMAS JEFFERSON COOLIDGE. In spite of his name, he is a real person and not a character in a Sinclair Lewis novel. A descendant of Thomas Jefferson, he was appointed Under-Secretary of the Treasury by President Franklin Roosevelt. When he gave up that office, he was addressed by the Presi-

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dent, in accepting the resignation, as "My dear Jeff." Later when he published his intention to vote for Governor Landon, the *New York Times* asked for his ideas on the Republican financial policy which the bewildered newspaper had not been able to figure out from the platform or the speeches of the candidates. Thomas Jefferson Coolidge was, however, unable to furnish the desired enlightenment.

WILLIAM R. PATTANGALL of Maine. A Mayflower descendant, a bank president, and a trustee of the University of Maine, he many times ran unsuccessfully for office as a Maine Democrat. From 1930 to 1935 he was Chief Justice of the Maine Supreme Court.

WILLIAM CABELL BRUCE, Democratic ex-Senator from Maryland. Senator Bruce is an exceptional biographer, the author of two excellent books about Benjamin Franklin and John Randolph. He has great admiration for the liberals of a century ago. Being now a dead liberal himself, he should be able during the next four years to write some more good books about other dead liberals.

SAMUEL SEABURY. He was Democratic candidate for Governor of New York in 1916, continued to be a force in New York politics, and was appointed by Governor Roosevelt in 1931 as special investigator of alleged political corruption in New York City.

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His work culminated in the resignation of New York's playboy Mayor, Jimmy Walker, and the defeat of Tammany in 1933.

RAYMOND V. INGERSOLL. He managed Al Smith's pre-convention campaign in 1924, was elected Borough President of Brooklyn on the Fusion ticket in 1933, and was appointed by President Roosevelt as one of three commissioners to settle the textile strike in 1935.

JAMES E. FINEGAN. President of the New York City Municipal Civil Service Commission, he, like Mr. Seabury and Mr. Ingersoll, took a leading part as an "independent Democrat" in the Fusion movement against Tammany in 1933.

These last three gentlemen claimed to be outraged by the iniquities of Tammany Hall in 1933, but in 1936 they went over enthusiastically to the party of Hoover, Hearst, and the Du Ponts. It is often said that too long a residence in New York City does curious things to one's sense of values. The instance of these gentlemen lends color to the charge. But after all it is hardly fair to hold New York City responsible for aberrations paralleled everywhere else.

The defection of the Jeffersonian Democrats was a serious matter. Undoubtedly, they carried many voters with them. Their names signed to full page advertisements were most impressive, the names of respectable men, club members, most of them in the

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Social Register, former holders of high office and honorable political positions.

Using the Walter Lippman method, let us be statistical for a moment. Even admitting that the Catholics did not give Al Smith their mass support, he still must have walked away with a couple of million Democratic votes in New York, New Jersey and Massachusetts. John W. Davis as a former presidential candidate should have been good for an equal number. James A. Reed must easily have controlled a million in Missouri, Kansas, Illinois, Nebraska, and Ohio. Bainbridge Colby by his strong radio speeches won more votes than Father Coughlin; let us say a million. Lewis Douglas, powerful in the copper states, Arizona, Nevada, Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, Montana, Idaho, and with California connections, would account for another million. Colonel Breckinridge made quite a respectable showing in the primaries and surely brought all those votes with him; the additional prestige of his Lindbergh connection must have swollen his total to two million. It would seem conservative to allow Thomas Jefferson Coolidge and Judge Pattangall a million in New England and the same number to ex-Senator Bruce in the border states. A cautious estimate for Governor Ely of Massachusetts is a million and a half; we would make it two million except that we have already given a million in the same territory

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to the influence of T. J. Coolidge and Judge Pat-tangall. The three gentlemen from New York—Seabury, Ingersoll and Finegan—must have influenced a million among them. If our arithmetic is correct, all these prominent leaders therefore changed thirteen and a half million votes from the Democratic to the Republican column! Certainly the small fry among the Jeffersonian Democrats, who had an office in every large city, must have been good for at least three million votes, which would only mean about fifteen thousand in each state. This would give Walter Lippmann a grand total for the renegades of sixteen million, five hundred thousand.

It is a well known fact that political bolters always return to their party at the next election. That means that in 1940, sixteen million, five hundred thousand people who voted the Republican ticket this year will again be voting Democratic. Something must be a little wrong with that figuring since it would leave a total of no Republican votes in 1940. Well, maybe it isn't wrong.



## THE DISCREDITED PRESS

*There are many theories about the November election and the consequences, but on one thing there is accord: the newspapers and the periodicals of the country were shown to be impotent to sway public opinion. This was news, apparently, to newspaper editors and owners but not to anyone else who has studied the subject.*

The newspapers retain their circulation primarily because of the funnies, the beauty hints, the puzzles, the movie items, and all the other magazine features. Objection may be made that the *New York Times* is a newspaper with a huge circulation which

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has no funnies or other usual magazine features. Nevertheless, the *Times* belongs in the same category. It is not a newspaper in the old-fashioned sense but a daily encyclopedia covering to the last detail news, finance, sports, science, literature, and all the arts—in other words, it is a magazine. As a political guide or molder of public opinion it has no more influence than the scandal-mongering tabloids.

Advertisers, especially in the small cities, are becoming more and more indifferent to newspapers. Shopping news, shopping guides, and the exclusive bulletins issued by the chain-stores and circulated free are increasing in popularity because they bring results. Readers, especially housewives, are quite willing to accept advertisements without news or editorial comment. Submerged by newer factors, the editorial pages have long been an expensive luxury. They will not be completely dropped even after the lesson of 1936, but more and more they will be turned over to the cartoonists, the columnists, and the forum of letters from the readers.

The proportion of newspapers supporting the Republican Party in the election has been placed as high as 80 per cent, but that is probably an exaggeration. For the daily papers the ratio seems to have been nearer two to one and for the weeklies three to one.

The Republican candidate was newspaper made,

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newspaper endorsed, and newspaper directed. He was discovered by the *Kansas City Star*, was enthusiastically endorsed before nomination by publishers Hearst and Block, and was unanimously supported by the Republican press, with the additional aid of many independent and Democratic organs. The newspapers set the tone of the campaign and would have claimed the credit for the victory had it been won. Hence they cannot evade the ignominy and rout of the defeat.

The Republican press was much more whole-hearted in its support of Governor Landon than was the Democratic press in supporting President Roosevelt. The Scripps-Howard chain and the *New York Times* were very late in publicly announcing their stand, although they had leaned toward the President from the beginning. In cities where the Scripps-Howard writers and editors had an anti-Roosevelt slant they were not censored or checked. Of the important metropolitan papers only the *New York Daily News* and the *Post* were completely and consistently for Roosevelt.

The Southern papers were unanimously Democratic, but they were certainly not unanimously pro-Roosevelt even after the Democratic convention. For example, the *Charleston (S. C.) News and Courier* observed that "the plain truth is that the New Deal policy in this campaign is to do anything



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to win." The Macon (Ga.) *Telegraph* complained: "Not only has the New Deal departed from the faith of our fathers, but it has done much to forfeit all claims to Party regularity."

In commenting on the Democratic-Farmer-Labor coalition in Minnesota, the Lynchburg (Va.) *News* said: "As between the two, the *News* prefers the Republicans. It hopes the Republican candidates will be elected and the Farmer-Labor candidates will be defeated. Its own Party's candidates have surrendered. . . ." True, the Lynchburg *News* is without influence in Minnesota. But it is hardly less influential than the Minnesota papers themselves, apparently, since the latter (at least the important ones in point of view of circulation) were consistently for Landon and against all the Farmer-Labor candidates.

Mr. Hearst and Colonel McCormick of the Chicago *Tribune* were primarily responsible for dragging the Red scare into the campaign. As early as August, Colonel McCormick ran a scarehead: "MOSCOW ORDERS REDS IN U. S. TO BACK ROOSEVELT." This item of news was obtained by translating one of Communist Candidate Browder's speeches into Russian and then back into English. The Hearst attacks were weakened by treachery in his own ranks, every move of the Hearst press being known at Democratic Headquarters days or hours in

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advance. In fact, wherever a straw vote was taken on the Republican papers, an enormous majority of the reporters and editorial workers favored Roosevelt, and, usually, Thomas and Browder ran ahead of Landon; in other words, the staffs were for anyone rather than the candidate whom they were obliged to praise by the orders of their superiors.

Because of spies in the editorial rooms, the Red blast was discredited in advance by an emphatic statement from the White House, that "the President does not want and does not welcome the vote or support of any individual or group taking orders from alien sources." Nevertheless, newspapers that knew better pretended to see redness everywhere. The *Knickerbocker Press* (Albany), claiming to be independent, said, "Mr. Roosevelt undoubtedly has swung our governmental policy from personal liberty to concentrated authority or dictatorship, which should please any group of European extremists." The *Washington Star* patronizingly observed, "He who plays with matches—or 'reds'—may expect to be burned." And the *Kansas City Star*, the Landon discoverer, asserted: "The real issue is that individuals and groups preaching un-American doctrines and making class appeals either have identified themselves with the New Deal or have assumed a most kindly attitude toward it." The *Detroit Free Press* asked pathetically, "Can it be that he [Roose-

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velt] has not the courage personally to stand up for America and defy Moscow and its agents in this country who seek to overthrow the American form of government?"

Like the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Los Angeles Times* does not need Hearst to create a Red scare. It has its own individual one 365 days in the year. On September 17th, for instance, its three top leads on the first page were: LEFTISTS TO EXECUTE 1700 SPANISH REBELS (two columns), SEATTLE HELD IN GRIP OF RADICALS (one column), and CITIZEN ARMY ROUTS STRIKERS; TROOPS WAIT CALL TO SALINAS (five-column spread). The *Times* was never one to confine its propaganda to the editorial page.

During the campaign, Mr. David Lawrence, author of that egregious panegyric of the Supreme Court entitled *Nine Honest Men*, made a tour of the country, omitting only the solid South. His "conscientious impression" was that the electorate nearly everywhere favored Governor Landon; in the few doubtful states, the vote would be very close. In St. Louis, Mr. Lawrence derived his "conscientious impression" from a prominent Southerner who had voted the Democratic ticket all his life but said, "I am going to vote the straight Democratic ticket this year, too, which means I'm going to vote for Governor Landon." Mr. Lawrence offered that remark

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as sufficient proof of the strength of the national movement of the Jeffersonian Democrats with their headquarters in St. Louis. The result of the election so unnerved Mr. Lawrence that it even affected his style. As late as November 10th, he was writing sentences as mysterious as the following:

“As for organizations like the American Liberty League, they will find the field of political opportunity more and more limited and that the same amount of time and energy and money put into political party organization between campaigns will avail those who believe in the viewpoint of one party or the other more than will the independent operation of groups.”

We believe that Mr. Lawrence was trying to tell the Liberty League that if it will spend its time and money lobbying in Washington it will accomplish more than through electioneering. If that is what he meant, for once Mr. Lawrence was right.

Before the Cleveland convention, Theodore Roosevelt's daughter, Mrs. Alice Longworth, repudiated her father for the sake of a witticism in the remark that the fallacies of the Bull Moose were becoming the realities of the New Deal. When the Convention nominated the two former Bull Moosers, Landon and Knox, Mrs. Longworth obligingly turned her wit to their defense. But either the subject was unsuitable or Mrs. Longworth has been overrated as a modern Lady Mary Wortley Mon-

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tagu. Her column proved to be blatant, shrill and humorless. Never having understood anything about the issues of the campaign, when it was over she naturally interpreted the result to be simply a tribute to the personal popularity of her distant cousin who even if he did belong to the more obscure branch of the family was still a Roosevelt.

With less excuse, because he did understand the issues, Mr. Mark Sullivan assumed the same post-election attitude. In fact, it immediately became the general Republican face-saving line, however badly it comported with their exaggeratedly violent declarations of a few days earlier. All of which merely goes to show that it takes more than a political defeat to change insincerity into sincerity.

No election ever showed more clearly that the people were endorsing policies as well as men. In the South at the primaries, Governor Talmadge of Georgia and Representative Blanton of Texas were buried in their own grass roots. Anti-New Deal candidates were overwhelmingly defeated in South Carolina, Oklahoma and Mississippi. The Huey Long organization in Louisiana hastened to make its peace with the Democratic National Committee. Everywhere, voters cut across party lines and split their tickets in order to endorse progressives and liberals. In Idaho, Republican Borah (who did not mention Governor Landon's name during the entire

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campaign) received a bigger majority than President Roosevelt; in Nebraska, Senator Norris, running as an Independent, defeated the regular Democratic candidate; in Wisconsin, the Progressives were victorious; in Oregon, liberal Republican Senator McNary was reelected, surviving the Democratic sweep; in Massachusetts, President Roosevelt's victory was coupled with the defeat of Democratic Boss Curley by Republican Henry Cabot Lodge, III.

The Chicago *Tribune*, bitter and implacable, was at least momentarily more honest than most of the Republican papers. On the morning after the election, it said:

"Mr. Roosevelt's victory marks the beginning of a new chapter in American history. It is a chapter of which the outlines are already clear . . . from an appraisal of the forces which combined to give him his overwhelming indorsement at the polls, the trends of the next few years can be forecast . . . neither does he owe anything to the old line Democrats. . . ."

But next day when the magnitude of the victory was still more apparent, the *Tribune* editorials ignored it and concerned themselves with "New Friends for the Monroe Doctrine," "The Local Drayman," "Alaskan Air Service," and "The Divorce at Ipswich."

Most discredited of all by the results of the election was the *Literary Digest*. But if the *Digest* was

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biased, that bias was limited to the poll. Its editorial columns, cartoons, and other material were scrupulously fair. Probably the weakness of its poll was due to bad judgment rather than to any more sinister cause. Its ballots reached mainly those who had not changed their address during the past two years, who are in the telephone registers, or who own automobiles—in other words to the normally more influential group of citizens. In previous elections these have controlled the votes of the rest. But in 1936 the lower middle class, the workers, and the unemployed voted solidly, and independently of their social superiors, to a degree never known before.

The overwhelming newspaper support accorded the Republican candidate and the inaccurate *Literary Digest* poll did have their effect. By scaring the workers they increased the Democratic majority. Probably the most disgusted voters after the election were those who would have preferred to vote for Lemke, Thomas, or Browder but were afraid to do so lest they elect Governor Landon. They had been delivered to the Democratic Party by the violent Republican press and the *Literary Digest* poll. Hence it would be incorrect to say that the newspapers no longer have any political influence at all. They are still able to assist in accomplishing the opposite of that which they intend.



## T O T H E V I C T O R S

*The Roosevelt majority was somewhat in excess of ten million. The number of unemployed on November 1st was estimated to be also in the neighborhood of ten million. Hence, it might be plausible to suppose that all those gainfully employed divided equally in their support of President Roosevelt and Governor Landon and that the unemployed voted unanimously for the President.*

That might be reasonable except for the fact that probably only a small percentage of the unemployed actually voted. The rest were disenfranchised because of non-citizenship, minority age, low morale,



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or the lack of a residence from which to register.

Nevertheless, the identity of the figure—ten million—is an interesting symbol. For the first duty of the President and the triumphant Democratic Party is to the ten million who have been denied a share in recovery. Disquieting indeed is the fact that immediately after election, workers were dropped from WPA rolls all over the country, lending color to the constant campaign charges that relief was being used for political purposes. Thus, Philip F. MacGuire, director of drought aid in the Resettlement Administration, announced his hope of reducing WPA farmer relief from a peak of 324,295 (pre-election) to about 60,000 by December 15th. It would truly be a miracle if a mere political victory could so quickly change the economic status of 260,000 people that, needing relief one month, they should not need it the next. But while it is impossible to overlook this sinister aspect of the situation, the general record of Harry Hopkins and the WPA—to be discussed later—has been so excellent that a large amount of ultimate optimism may justifiably be mingled with these immediate forebodings.

Just what did the ten million majority for the President mean? We have already mentioned that Mark Sullivan, Alice Roosevelt Longworth, and most of the Republican commentators thought it indicated the personal popularity of Mr. Roosevelt

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but was not an indorsement of his policies. Since all these people had been consistently and one hundred per cent wrong before the election, there is no reason to suppose that they were right after the event.

Mr. Raymond Moley asserted that all the Share-The-Wealthers, Townsendites, Coughlinites, and the entire lunatic fringe voted for Mr. Roosevelt. How does Mr. Moley know that? The most violent assailant of the President was Father Coughlin; Gerald Smith for the Share-The-Wealthers campaigned exclusively against the President; Dr. Townsend urged his followers to vote for Governor Landon on ballots where Candidate Lemke's name did not appear. Admittedly, their followers did not wish to throw away their votes, but how does Mr. Moley know that thousands of them were not included among the seventeen million who voted for Governor Landon? It takes a great many people to cast that many votes; there certainly are not seventeen million millionaires in the country.

The clearest expression of the meaning of the overwhelming Roosevelt majority came from William Allen White, a Republican and a supporter of Governor Landon. He said:

“It was a revelation of a changed attitude toward government. The current of the new attitude now is rushing on with more fury than direction, perhaps. What then is this new attitude which has given color

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and direction to the last two Presidential elections? It is a firm desire on the part of the American people to use government as an agency for human welfare. The general welfare clause of the preamble to the American Constitution will point the way for a new course in American life. We stand at the crossroads. From this day we shall have an America in which at least for four years the Federal Government shall be the strong coercive arbitrator between those who have and those who have not."

This is an honest, sane interpretation of the vote. The American people selected Franklin D. Roosevelt to direct the "government as an agency for human welfare." Will he justify their selection?

He has made few definite promises. His campaign was devoted to a defense of his first term, an emphasis on recovery, and an indictment of the Republican Party, past and present. Until his last speech of the campaign, the Madison Square Garden address in New York City, the President offered little to those who ask for "a changed attitude toward government." There, however, he made an uncompromising statement of principles. He said, in part:

"We know now that government by organized money is just as dangerous as government by organized mob. Never before in all our history have these forces been so united against one candidate as they stand today. They are unanimous in their hate for me—and I welcome their hatred. I should like to have it said of my

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first administration that in it the force of selfishness and of lust for power met their match. I should like to have it said of my second administration that in it these forces met their master."

And he went on to add:

"Of course we will continue to seek improved conditions for the workers of America—to reduce hours that are overlong, to increase wages that spell starvation, to end the labor of children and to wipe out sweatshops."

In one of his first pronouncements after election, he continued in the same vein. In a message to the National Conference on Labor Legislation, he promised to demand legislation to provide safe and healthful places of work; adequate care and support for those incapacitated by reason of accident, industrial disease, unemployment, or old age; reasonably short working hours; adequate annual income; proper housing; and elimination of child labor.

A fine program, but how is the President going to accomplish these things? What did he accomplish toward them during his first term? Recovery? Recovery with ten million still unemployed and three and a half million on relief aside from those employed on government projects.

All the President's efforts to improve wages, hours, and working conditions were declared un-

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constitutional by the Supreme Court. The implication is that something is going to be done about that, but not a voter has an inkling of what that something is going to be. Perhaps it was good politics not to mention the Supreme Court during the campaign; at any rate, we must wait until the meeting of the Seventy-Fifth Congress to learn the President's intentions. But certainly the twenty-six million who voted for the President are not willing to wait until Providence removes the reactionary judges. Providence might remove the liberal judges first, and what would that signify?

Organized money is not going to give up the fight merely because it was defeated at the polls. The New York *Herald-Tribune* in its morning-after editorial was very frank:

"Two obstacles [to the President's social program] still interpose. They are the Constitution and the Supreme Court. These two safeguards of American freedom, these historic guardians alike of the national structure and of minority rights, held fast against the presidential will to power during the last four years. Will they hold fast during the coming four years?"

The answer is that President Roosevelt and the Democratic Party must not permit them to hold fast. Six reactionary justices must not be permitted to invalidate the will of an overwhelming majority.

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If an agrarian Constitution of the eighteenth century cannot meet industrial conditions in the twentieth, it must be amended until it does so. This is the type of "must" legislation which the President *must* insist upon if he is to prove worthy of the confidence of those who voted for him.

The election was followed by a declaration of regular and extra dividends, wage increases, and bonuses such as the country has not seen since the halcyon days of 1928. And this in the face of all the calamity howling and Candidate Knox's statement that savings and insurance were not safe. These largesses, still going on with the sweep of a tidal wave, had been delayed in the hope that they might follow a Landon victory and exemplify the restored confidence of businessmen. The surplus was there, and if the stockholders and workers did not get it, the tax collectors would. And wage increases might stave off unionization. Hence the sudden generosity of big business. It was not due to any overnight conversion to the principles of the New Deal.

The optimistic, hopeful voters, trusting in President Roosevelt and their duly elected Senators and Congressmen, should bear in mind that the Republican press of the country which supported Governor Landon is going to be firmly against any "changed attitude toward government" and that it will be joined by the conservative Democratic

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papers which supported the President only with extreme reluctance. And the people should remember, too, that the party of Roosevelt, Wagner, Earle, and Maverick is also the party of Garner, Glass, Bilbo, and Robinson, to say nothing of Curley, Davey and Hague. The time for cheering will not have come until the legislation passed by the first session of the Seventy-Fifth Congress proves to be in accordance with the will of the overwhelming majority who kept Mr. Roosevelt and the Democratic Party in power by their votes in the November election.



## RELIEF FROM RELIEF

*Throughout the campaign, sensational revelations regarding Federal relief were promised by Republican journalists—Walter Winchell of the New York *Daily Mirror* being particularly vocal in the matter—but these disclosures never materialized. If Walter Winchell could not dig up any scandal, it is safe to say that there was no scandal to be dug up. Insignificant local incidents of incompetence and graft were of course found, they being impossible to avoid in any undertaking, but on the whole Harry Hopkins, director of the Works Progress Administration, emerged from the campaign*



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stronger than he had been at the beginning of it.

To emphasize a few failures was insufferably petty in view of the major results. These included the building of 44,000 miles of road, and the repairing of 200,000 miles; also the building of 7,000 bridges, 10,000 large culverts, 2,000 miles of levees, 1,000 miles of new water mains, 400 pumping stations, 446 airport sites, 2,000 playgrounds for children, 800 parks, 350 swimming pools, and 4,000 athletic fields. As Mr. Hopkins pointed out in his book, *Spending to Save*, most communities were proud of their own WPA projects; they derided only the projects they had never seen.

There were many successful work relief projects that would capture the imagination of anyone by their magnitude, such as the Triborough Bridge connecting Manhattan, the Bronx, and Long Island; slum clearance in Brooklyn and Harlem; Greenbelt, the model suburban community outside of Washington, D. C., with similar ones to follow immediately in Milwaukee and Cincinnati; the Oregon State Capitol; 465 hospital projects; and school buildings too numerous to mention. Never was Wordsworth's injunction to "turn necessity to glorious gain" more nobly applied than by the Roosevelt Administration when it utilized the depression as a means for the improvement of transportation, public health, and public education. The roads,

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bridges, schools, and hospitals of the WPA will remain as far finer monuments to Mr. Roosevelt—or to Mr. Hopkins—than any statues, pillars, or plaques could ever be.

Two major projects that were to have been carried out by the Administration were defeated in Congress—the Florida Ship Canal and the Passamaquoddy (Maine) dam. Unjustly, they were linked together, and, after more than five million dollars had been spent on each, were both abandoned.

The canal, which it was estimated would cost \$140,000,000, was bitterly opposed by the real estate owners of southern Florida who said that it would turn the delightfully soggy lower half of the state into an arid waste. The shipping companies drawn into the dispute said that groundings and collisions could not be avoided in the proposed canal; Secretary Ickes twice turned it down as a PWA project, but President Roosevelt gave it a five-million-dollar allotment out of the work-relief fund. The President's action was considered a concession to Senator Fletcher of Florida who in exchange, it was said, was willing to assume the onerous duties of chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, which otherwise would have fallen on the shoulders of the reactionary Senator Carter Glass of Virginia. But Senator Fletcher died during

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the last days of the Seventy-Fourth Congress and the Florida Ship Canal, it was thought, died with him.

Now, however, it seems that the Army engineers have approved the project; it is in the air again, and it will probably be the cause of prolonged discussion in the Seventy-Fifth Congress. Actually, the difficulty is due not to the threatened aridity and collisions but to a battle royal between the two cities of Jacksonville and Miami. As in California, the southern and younger city has gradually outstripped the northern metropolis, and in the ship canal the businessmen of Jacksonville see a possible chance to recover their lost prestige. They are probably mistaken, and will learn as San Francisco has learned that a steady development cannot compete with a tourists' paradise. A tourists' paradise, California and Florida style, is a place where people fight and scramble for sunshine, using much the same tactics that subway passengers employ in fighting and scrambling for seats.

Passamaquoddy was, unquestionably, a worthier project. The long-disputed question of using the power from tides was at last to be thoroughly tested, and the tides of Passamaquoddy were certainly the most favorable for the experiment. Naturally, the Power Trust opposed the undertaking. The project was condemned as too expensive as it was doubtful

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that there would be an adequate market for the power developed. But the fact remains that if the experiment had been successful the effect on the power question the world over would have been incalculable. Quoddy, the model town built by the Army Engineer Corps, is at present a deserted village. Even if Maine did vote for the Republican presidential candidate, however, it is not improbable that President Roosevelt will endeavor to have the Passamaquoddy project reconsidered by the Seventy-Fifth Congress.

But the greatest value of the WPA has not been in the material constructions due to it. Again we quote Mr. Hopkins, who, believing that relief workers are "just as honest, no more so; just as lazy, no lazier than the rest of us," asserts that the most important result from relief work has been the saving of millions of human beings from the deterioration that comes from poverty combined with idleness.

On October 15, 1936, the number on relief had been reduced from approximately 5,316,000 at the beginning of the year to 3,498,012. Gradually, in the only humane way possible, relief workers are being absorbed into private industry. Oftentimes the way is not even humane. The danger is not that the change will come too slowly but that it will be accelerated by such injustices as have been perpetrated in the South where Negro workers who had

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received twenty-one cents an hour for relief work were forced to pick cotton at seven and one-half cents an hour, or by such open crimes as that of Paul D. Peacher, town marshal of Jonesboro, Arkansas, who was convicted in November on an anti-slavery statute of having arrested a group of Negroes and forced them to work on his own farm.

But, also in November, relief by starvation and relief by slavery were decisively rejected by the electorate. It is to be hoped that Mr. Roosevelt will not forget the meaning of the election.



## F A S C I S M   S L I P P I N G

*At the January Congress of the League opposed to War and Fascism, the keynote speaker referred to the "unmistakable signs of the rising tide of reaction throughout the country." In December, it is a pleasure to report that during the year the tide receded, although the lifebelts should not be put away. Mob violence, official brutality in strikes, anti-Semitism, and all the other manifestations of Fascism are still with us, but the liberal opposition has been stronger than at any time since 1913. It has taken liberalism in the United States almost a quarter of a century to regain the ground it lost because*

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of the World War, but it seems at last to have done so.

On the credit side of the year were the uncovering and breaking up of the Black Legion, certain gratifying judicial decisions in the South, the American Legion's denunciation of Fascism, and, above all, the extremely influential disclosures of the La Follette Senate Committee on civil liberties in regard to recent methods of strike-breaking. Entirely on the debit side were the Gallup trials in New Mexico. The record of California was spotty; liberalism started the year there under a heavy handicap but toward the end emerged at least temporarily triumphant.

The whole nation was shocked, during the spring, by the revelations concerning the Black Legion of Michigan. At first it seemed to be a widespread organization with powerful political affiliations but as the investigations continued the Legion proved to be little more than a flickering faggot from the flaming crosses of the Ku Klux Klan. Secret societies, guilty of violence, are nothing new in the history of this country, and there is no reason to dignify the Black Legion with more importance than its immediate predecessors.

An outgrowth of the Klan, the Black Legion prospered in Michigan because of the great influx of hillbillies into the automobile factories. When,

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after the war, the supply of cheap foreign labor was shut off by immigration restrictions and quota laws, another source had to be discovered. The answer was found by the labor agencies. They turned to the Southern states, especially Kentucky, Tennessee, the Carolinas and the western part of Virginia, where to their delight they found men with a lower standard of living than even that of the Poles who form the largest unit of cheap labor in the automobile industry. As a rule, the imported Southern hillbillies did not send for their families. They preferred to make new family ties and connections in Michigan. For amusement they joined the Black Legion.

The Legion was active for three or four years, and the extent of its crimes and violence will never be known. It announced that it was only against Communists, Catholics, Jews and Negroes, but when the members were in a Saturday night mood for killing they were not fussy. They did kill a Catholic but apparently that was more to oblige some of his relatives than because of his religion, and they murdered a Negro *pour le sport*, but some of their other victims were Protestants in good standing.

When these facts were brought out in the spring of 1936 following the murder of Charles A. Poole, the disclosures apparently broke up the organization, although it may still exist in some dark corners. Twelve of its members were convicted of



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murder in October. Eight were sentenced to life imprisonment (there is no capital punishment in Michigan); four (convicted of second-degree murder) received from three to twenty years.

Another gratifying conviction occurred in Florida where five former policemen were found guilty of conspiracy in turning over to a mob in Tampa three Socialists, who were beaten, tarred, and feathered, as a result of which one of the men died. No members of the mob were identified and it was not alleged that the policemen had any part in the mob violence, but they had raided the Socialist meeting without warrant and were identified during the trial as having turned the victims over to the crowd. While the sentence was light—four years in the State Penitentiary—it was at least a sentence.

In February there was handed down a unanimous Supreme Court decision which should have an effect on judicial murder in the South. The Court ordered set aside the verdict of guilty and the death sentence passed upon three Negroes in Mississippi for the murder of a white planter. There was no evidence against the Negroes except their own confessions obtained by torture. Chief Justice Hughes, in reading the opinion of the Supreme Court, said, "Because a State may dispense with a jury trial it does not follow that it may substitute trial by ordeal. The rack and the torture

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chamber may not be substituted for the witness stand."

The rack and the torture chamber were not in evidence during the election campaign, but rotten eggs and tomatoes were. Communist Candidate Browder was pelted with both in Terre Haute, Indiana, and Tampa, Florida. Terre Haute, which enjoys the unappreciated honor of having been the birthplace of Eugene Debs, remained unrepentant, but Tampa had the grace to be ashamed of itself. Because several men wearing American Legion caps had taken part in the hoodlumism, four Tampa posts of the Legion adopted resolutions repudiating their action. National Legion Commander Colmery denounced both the earlier Terre Haute and the Tampa outrage against Browder, saying, "The time has come for the American Legion to give serious thought to our traditional Americanism. The convention mandate which directs us to oppose Communism makes it equally mandatory upon us also to oppose Fascism and Hitlerism."

A similar changed attitude on the part of the American Legion was indicated by its lack of opposition to the movement of liberals on the Pacific Coast to secure a new trial or a full pardon for Ray Becker, last of the Centralia victims to remain in prison for defending the I.W.W. hall against the unprovoked Legionnaire attack in 1919. Following

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conclusive proof that the Centralia trials were a monstrous miscarriage of justice, all of the other prisoners still alive were released on parole, but Mr. Becker, a former clergyman and an extreme idealist, demanded complete exoneration. A campaign on his behalf has been supported by practically all of the liberal churches in Washington and Oregon; the only impediments to its success are the reluctance of the judiciary to confess former errors and the anomalous presence of a reactionary governor in Washington.

Most effective of the agencies for the preservation of civil liberties was the La Follette Senate Committee, through its disclosures, given to the public in September and October, regarding the strike-breaking activities of munitions makers. Professional strike-breakers appearing before the committee were interesting and frank witnesses. E. J. McDade of Chicago told the committee how during the 1921 Cleveland milk strike red paint was daubed on the home of company officials to create sentiment against the strikers; in the same strike, union automobiles were overturned by the guards in the hope that more strike-breakers would be hired. Mr. McDade took twenty-one men armed with machine guns and tear gas from Federal Laboratories, Inc., to Lake Charles, Louisiana, during a longshoremen's strike. Three of these men were

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killed in a seven-hour battle with the strikers. At Milwaukee in 1934 the Wisconsin Light and Power Company, McDade testified, turned live steam on pickets.

Another witness before the committee, one Michael Casey, testified that Remington Rand on one occasion promised fifty guards a \$5 bonus for each man who got through the picket line to "create the impression the plant was being reopened." Casey said the guards were supplied by the Bergoff agency. Later in the year, Pearl Louis Bergoff testified before the National Labor Relations Board that he had supplied eighty men to the Remington Rand's Tonawanda (New York) plant. These men were hired to walk through the picket lines hoping it would encourage wavering employees to follow. When the Bergoff strike-breakers tried to go through with the plan they were greeted with a shower of bricks. Mr. Bergoff was indignant. He had no idea his men were being hired for dangerous work! But Mr. Rand was delighted and explained to Pearl Bergoff that everything was fine because he had been inside the plant taking motion pictures which he intended to present in court as proof of strikers' violence. Asked by the NLRB attorney if he were accusing Mr. Rand of staging the whole thing, Bergoff admitted that he had accused Rand, but everything was all right. Rand had settled for \$25,850.

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C. M. Kuhl, working as stool-pigeon and strong-arm man for the National Corporation Service and the Allied Corporation, told the Senate Subcommittee how he was accustomed to getting into union meetings and causing disturbances. These two firms would plant men in factories and mills to stir unrest among the workers after which their salesmen would step into the front offices and sell the services of National or Allied.

Federal Laboratories, Inc., was shown to have furnished the tear gas and ammunition to San Francisco during the 1934 waterfront strike. Weir of Weirton, Mr. Schwab's "star of the steel industry," was supplied by the same company with forty-seven heavy calibre revolvers on secret invoices in 1936. The H. C. Frick Coke Company was also taken care of by Federal Laboratories, Inc. with riot guns, gas masks, projector shells, grenades, etc., shipped through an intermediary.

In 1935, the Columbus Enameling and Stamping Company at Terre Haute furnished all strike-breaking guards with riot guns and tear-gas bombs, supplied once more by Federal Laboratories, Inc.

Mr. Robert Wohlforth, secretary of the subcommittee, a West Point graduate who did research work for Senator Nye's Munitions Committee, made the following statement: "In 1933, 1934, and 1935, Lake Erie Chemical Company, Federal Labo-

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ratories, and Manville Manufacturing Company earned \$466,913 selling munitions for use in industrial disputes.”

The report of the committee to the Senate and the action of the Seventy-Fifth Congress thereon should be a very interesting feature of the session.

In minor key were the censorship squabbles of the year. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, owning the rights to Sinclair Lewis's *It Can't Happen Here*, announced that it would not make the picture. The most important objections did not come from this country but from Italy and Germany. Since it is estimated that 40 per cent of the earnings of a picture come from foreign rights, the company apparently did not wish to risk reprisals against other pictures in addition to loss of revenue on the Sinclair Lewis production itself.

In October, the WPA Theater Project presented simultaneously a dramatization of *It Can't Happen Here* in eighteen cities. The faults of the novel were more apparent, since Mr. Sinclair's gift of satiric portraiture was missing, but it was a better play than the New York critics estimated it. In the San Francisco production it was well directed and well played, generally interesting, and often exciting, though it did have the curious effect of being an adaptation of a foreign play rather than an original—an effect perhaps due to the exotic uniforms of

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the Corpus, the American Fascist Army. In most cities where the play was presented it was a success; in New York and San Francisco it was a sell-out for many weeks.

Workers in large industrial centers showed frequent signs of irritation when viewing the pictures of Victor McLaglen and some of his more recent pictures have been booed and rotten-egged. The reason for this antagonism lies in Mr. McLaglen's Light Horse Troop, a volunteer military organization financed by him. The members of his private battalion wear uniforms not unlike those of the Canadian Mounted and turn out on all appropriate occasions and some not so appropriate. Proud of his mounted movie troopers, Mr. McLaglen is reported to have said, "Sure, we're organized to fight. We consider an enemy anything opposed to the American idea, whether it's an enemy outside or inside these borders." The nucleus of the troop, Mr. McLaglen explained with unconscious humor, is a group of Scotch, Irish and English war veterans. Mr. McLaglen himself is a Canadian.

In radio, there was a patriotic flurry beginning in March when the Columbia Broadcasting Company allowed time to Mr. Earl Browder for Communist broadcasts. The Columbia Broadcasting building was picketed by the National Americanization League, the Hearst papers took the expected atti-

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tude, and Representative John L. McClellan (of Arkansas) made a fiery speech in Congress. Later in the year, in accordance with the ruling of the Federal Communications Commission, all the broadcasting companies sold time to the Communists as a duly accredited political party, and communism on the air became just as commonplace as Amos 'n' Andy but not so popular.

Two Los Angeles radio stations refused to broadcast President Roosevelt's fireside chat in September, claiming that it was a political talk not paid for by the Democratic National Committee. George Henry Payne, Republican member of the Federal Communications Commission, sternly rebuked them, saying, "The owner of a broadcasting station owns nothing but the machinery and the material that goes into his station. The ether through which he communicates with the public belongs to you and me." That was good news—if true.

Later in the campaign the Columbia Broadcasting System cut Senator Vandenberg off the air because in the course of an attack on the New Deal, he used some records made of the President's campaign speeches in 1932, which violated Columbia's rule of no recordings on the air. Columnists magnified the incident into an outrageous example of private censorship, but the issue was rather mixed as the Senator had apparently been trying to de-



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ceive the public into thinking that an actual debate between the President and himself was taking place.

Legal lawlessness on a large scale was practically confined during the year to the two states, New Mexico and California. In the former, it reached a climax early in the spring in the mass trial at Gallup of miners accused of killing Sheriff Carmichael. The killing had resulted from an attempt by the sheriff and his men to serve eviction notices on the strike leaders. A crowd had gathered demanding the release of Exiquio Navarra, a union leader who was in the custody of the sheriff. It numbered about two hundred. Tear bombs were thrown, but the victims did not disperse. Stink and tears were nothing new to them. Then the police opened fire with the result that two workers and the sheriff were killed. Witnesses claim that the sheriff was accidentally shot by his own men.

More than six hundred men and women were arrested in the search for the gun that killed the sheriff, but it was not found. A territorial law of 1845 was unearthed which held every member of a crowd present at the killing of a peace officer guilty of murder even though unarmed. Under this obsolete law two hundred were arraigned, forty-eight were held, and after preliminary hearings, ten were formally charged. These ten were tried in Aztec, New Mexico, in an atmosphere of violence and men-

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ace. Robert Minor, Communist organizer, and David Levinson, International Labor Defense attorney, were abducted and beaten. During the trial the streets were patrolled by the State Militia and police armed with machine guns and rifles with set bayonets. Three of the defendants were found guilty of second-degree murder and were sentenced to six years' imprisonment at hard labor; the others were ordered deported; and the terror continued in Gallup for several months longer.

Of recent years California has been popularly regarded as the most fascistic state in the Union, with the possible exception of Louisiana during the regime of Huey Long. In the early part of 1936 the golden state seemed to deserve this reputation. Resentful of the number of impoverished immigrants who thronged into the southland, Chief of Police Davis of Los Angeles dispatched one hundred and thirty-six members of his force to border points, hundreds of miles from the city, where they were sworn in as special deputies in the counties to which they were assigned and proceeded to refuse admission into the state of all persons unable to produce satisfactory evidence of self-support. Attorney-General Webb of California denounced the arrogant action of the Los Angeles official as "illegal and unconstitutional" (Article IV, Section 2 of the Constitution providing that "The Citizens of each

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State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States"); Chief Davis stood pat, however, and no test case went through the courts. Indeed, the state of Colorado emulated the city of Los Angeles in April by putting the National Guard on the New Mexico border to keep out itinerant workers looking for jobs in the beet-fields, thus protecting from outside competition the child labor that is especially common there.

Elsewhere, California police and peace officers acted with a high hand. The Los Angeles "Red Squad" broke the strike of vegetable pickers in the Venice area by abolishing picket lines, beating up Mexican strikers, and using tear-gas bombs and bullets. Governor Merriam was expected to call out the National Guard in the Salinas strike of the lettuce workers, but was saved the trouble by the efficient strike-breaking activities of the local sheriff and the State Highway Patrol.

When the long threatened maritime strike was called in the fall, those who remembered the San Francisco vigilantes of 1934 expected a renewed reign of terror. But nothing of the kind occurred. The worst strike the Pacific Coast had ever known, tying up shipping from San Diego to Vancouver and extending through sympathetic strikes to the Gulf and the Atlantic, proceeded for two months without the slightest violence on either side. The

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very newspapers that had incited the terrorism of 1934 gave full space to the longshoremen's contention that the strike was really a lockout forced by the employers' demand that the 1934 arbitration award should again be arbitrated—thus jeopardizing all that the longshoremen had gained; they gave space to the seamen's contention that their demand for an eight-hour day and cash pay for overtime would merely place them on an equality with Australian sailors. Finally the climax of this strangely peaceful strike came when twenty thousand longshoremen and sailors listened quietly and courteously to Harry Lapham, president of the American-Hawaiian Steamship Company, in a public debate between him and the longshoremen's leader, Harry Bridges. Only once did the strikers break into ironic laughter and that was when Mr. Lapham said, "We do not seek to control the hiring-halls; all we seek is to control the hiring." And at that, they admired their opponent's sporting attitude in coming to their meeting and not holding his punches; so they returned sportsmanship with sportsmanship.

Back of these miracles lay many causes. The foremost undoubtedly was that the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, a loose amalgamation of seven unions, including not only the longshoremen, sailors, firemen, oilers, watertenders, wipers, cooks,

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and stewards, but the radio men, the engineers, and the masters, mates, and pilots, had doubled its membership since 1934, possessed a well-filled treasury, and, organized on a thorough-going industrial basis, was in a position to make the strike one hundred per cent effective. The second was that the revelations of the La Follette Senate Committee, containing a chapter on the tie-up between California police, ship-owners, and strike-breakers, had infused unwonted caution into all three groups. Third was the fact that the citizenry of California had in the recent election by an overwhelming vote repudiated William Randolph Hearst and the whole coterie of newspapers that pursued his policies.

It is still too early to assert that the reformation in California will be permanent. The ship-owners have not yet yielded on the central issue of the hiring-halls, arguing plausibly that public safety demands that the employers rather than the unions do the selecting of the men—but with a plausibility considerably lessened by the disaster of the *Morro Castle* with its crew of employer-selected incompetents fresh in the public memory. There is jealousy between the two Harries, Longshoreman Bridges and Seaman Lundeborg, organizers of their respective unions, and there is the attendant danger of disharmony in the Maritime Federation itself. Hence the strike at this writing seems far from

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won. If it is prolonged for months and food prices rise sky-high, public sympathy may veer away from the strikers; gun-thugs and gas may then re-appear. But if so, the situation will be one that might arise anywhere; it will not prove, as smug Easterners are prone to think, that "California is a fascist state." The truth is, rather, that both liberalism and reaction are stronger in California than in the East, and either may be in the saddle temporarily. At the moment of going to press, the advantage is with liberalism.

The same may be said with much greater assurance of the state of Washington and with much less assurance of the state of Oregon. It is barely possible that the situation in the latter may be improved by assistance from the most unlikely quarter. For, contrary to general expectation, the Supreme Court of the United States consented to review the case of Dirck De Jong, a Communist condemned to prison under the Oregon anti-syndicalist law for making a few intemperate speeches during the 1934 longshoremen's strike. It looks now as if the constitutionality of this law, involving that of many similar laws in other states, might at last be fully tested. Hitherto, on one ground or another, the Court has always avoided giving a decisive answer to the question. But the chief argument recently offered by the Court's defenders against the attack

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upon its powers has been the plea that these are necessary in order to protect civil rights. True, the Court has rarely done much to uphold civil rights in the past. It subjected the Fourteenth Amendment to judicial nullification so far as its original purpose of protecting the Negro was concerned, and it practically negated the First Amendment by its decisions sustaining the espionage acts passed during the World War. Occasionally, however, as in the Alabama and Mississippi cases discussed earlier, the Supreme Court really has intervened to protect individuals against mass intolerance. Conceivably, it may be about to recover as a general guiding principle the wisdom of that good Elizabethan, Judge Bryan, who said, "The mind of man is not triable. The Devil alone knows what is in the mind of man."



## A PROF, TWO PREXIES, AND JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES

*Nineteen Thirty-six was a relatively peaceful year for the colleges and universities. Mr. Hearst's vociferous campaign to oust all his enemies from the faculties of Columbia, Chicago, Wisconsin, and way-points had proved a complete wash-out. In vain Druggist Walgreen had testified that a niece of his had been obliged to read Stuart Chase in college; in vain Mrs. Albert Dilling had included in *The Red Network* the name of nearly every progressive author or professor in the country; not a single faculty member had been dismissed because of these startling revelations. In July the conven-*



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tion of the National Education Association in Portland, Oregon, listened in rapt attention to Norman Thomas. The teachers gave Mr. Thomas an ovation and then in November, like the majority of their fellow citizens, voted for Mr. Roosevelt.

The ten Federal Forums (later increased to nineteen), instituted by the Government in various parts of the country during the fall, represented the first vigorous Federal effort toward adult education. The forum leaders, drawn mainly from university faculties, without respect to creed or party, discussed current problems in economics, sociology, government, foreign affairs, and domestic relations. Taken in conjunction with the flourishing private forums and the radio, the undertaking may have absolutely incalculable effects in developing American political consciousness. It seems as if the days of the old Lyceum movement of the Eighteen Thirties had returned.

But in October, like a bombshell at a banquet, came the news that Yale University, hitherto noted for its devotion to academic freedom, had refused to reappoint Professor Jerome Davis, who had been an honored member of the faculty of the Yale Divinity School for the past thirteen years. An elaborate report of the case, prepared by four of America's leading scholars, Dr. Charles A. Beard formerly of Columbia, Dr. Paul H. Douglas of the

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University of Chicago, Dr. Colston E. Warne of Amherst, and Dr. Edward A. Ross of the University of Wisconsin, was published as a special supplement to *The New Republic* issue of November 18th. It brought out a number of very interesting points, illuminative of academic procedure.

Jerome Davis was appointed on the faculty of the Divinity School as an assistant professor in 1924, and a year later in order to forestall his acceptance of a full professorship at the University of Wisconsin the Dean promised to recommend him for a similar position in the Divinity School. Nothing came of this promise save an advancement to an associate professorship in 1927. At the end of his three-year term and again in 1933 Professor Davis was not recommended for promotion by the permanent officers of the Divinity School because, though the Dean admitted that he had earned promotion, "the president, the provost, and the Yale Corporation"—mighty names in New Haven—were opposed to it. In the same key in 1936 the Dean assured the permanent officers that to recommend Professor Davis for advancement would call down upon the whole Divinity School the wrath of the Yale Corporation of businessmen who control the institution. That he was right was shown by the Corporation's action in overriding the vote of the faculty that Professor Davis be reappointed. After

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this, the Dean privately assured Professor Davis that he was willing to recommend him for several available college presidencies but the professor preferred the lesser indignity of being dropped to the greater one of becoming a mere president.

Why such ire in the celestial bosoms of the Yale Corporation?

The reasons publicly assigned were that Professor Davis was a poor teacher and that his scholarship was inadequate—which, if true, ought to have been discovered in less than thirteen years. But these reasons were most emphatically not true. They were not even the true reasons.

As to teaching ability: Professor Davis's course in Christianity and Social Progress was voted by the students to be the best course offered in the Divinity School. If he was dropped because he was a poor teacher, apparently all the rest of the faculty ought to have been dropped first.

As to scholarship: Professor Davis is president of the Eastern Sociological Society, is a member of the executive committee of the American Sociological Society, and is one of the editors of the *American Sociological Review*. Besides contributing numerous articles to scientific journals and editing a whole series of sociological works published by D. C. Heath, he is the author of *The Russian Immigrant*, a monograph favorably mentioned by Giddings and

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Ogburn; *The Jail Population of Connecticut*, an investigation and report published by the State of Connecticut; and *Capitalism and Its Culture*, a book highly praised by John Dewey and Harold Laski.

Professor Davis's study of capitalism was not favorable to the pretensions of an economic system dear to the hearts of the Yale Corporation. President Angell—in contrast to Dewey and Laski—declared that the work “lacked scholarship.” The Corporation and its presidential servant had still other grounds of complaint against Professor Davis. He had helped to start workers' educational classes in New Haven; he had advocated the recognition of Soviet Russia before President Roosevelt did so; he had—most injudiciously in view of the family's Yale connections—actually called Samuel Insull a “Higher Racketeer.” Furthermore, President Angell complained, he had accepted the conclusions as to the origin of the World War which were set forth by Sidney Fay and Harry Elmer Barnes—the two leading American authorities on the subject—and more recently, had endorsed an invitation to Senator Nye to speak at Yale even after the latter's “indecent attack on President Wilson [embodying] a misinterpretation of historical facts.”

The somewhat belated concern of Yale for the memory of Woodrow Wilson is touching, but Dr. Angell's knowledge of American history seems

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rather poor. His knowledge of the history of New York City is even poorer. When Professor Davis spoke on Russian recognition in Madison Square Garden, President Angell, apparently assuming from the name that this must be some *al fresco* rendezvous, wrote a stinging letter, accusing him of "joining the Brotherhood of Outdoor Sunday Orators in the Metropolis." All in all, President Angell came out of the controversy looking pretty foolish.

Hard on the heels of the Jerome Davis case, and further disturbing to a peaceful academic atmosphere, came the news that the majority of the regents of the University of Wisconsin were preparing to dismiss President Glenn Frank. President Frank had been Exhibit A of the recent attempt to instill fresh life into the colleges by appointing youngish heads with no previous educational experience. Installed at the age of thirty-eight in 1925, after training in the business office of Edward A. Filene and as editor of the moribund *Century Magazine*, President Frank during the next decade became one of the best known of American educators through his books and lecture tours. His writings—*The Politics of Industry*, *An American Looks at His World*, *Thunder and Dawn*, *The Hour of Decision* (critical of the New Deal)—presented a mild kind of Walter Lippmannian liberalism which proved attractive to many readers. As a popular en-

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tertainers on the lecture platform he was even more successful. The public acclaim which he received is generally supposed to have induced in him an ambition to become the Republican candidate for President of the United States in 1940.

A majority of the regents of the University of Wisconsin were appointed by Governor Philip La Follette, who has little love for regular Republicanism even of the milk-and-water variety. Charges were brought against President Frank early in the year but were hushed up until after the election. When published they were found to include accusations that he has spent university money on his own household in excess of his \$20,000 salary (hilarious stories of the social snobbishness of President and Mrs. Frank have long been circulating in academic circles) ; that he has made promises which he has not kept (what university president has not?) ; that he endeavored to balance the university budget during the depression at the expense of the lower-paid members of the faculty (what university president did not?) ; and that he has neglected the affairs of the institution for the sake of his own outside activities. Since President Frank is to be given opportunity to defend himself against these charges in open meeting there is no such palpable violation of academic freedom in his case as in that of Professor Davis. And yet, though there

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is no mention of his political views as a possible ground for dismissal, the suspicion will not dawn that if he had been a La Follette Progressive instead of a Landon Republican he might not be on trial.

The most sensible comment that has been made on the situation is that of Oswald Garrison Villard in the December 21st issue of *The Nation*, in which he called for faculty representation upon boards of regents to prevent the types of political or business control now exercised. Once that is accomplished there will be an end of these perennial cases of alleged violations of academic freedom. Mr. Villard's vision is prophetic; but there will have to be a deal of faculty organization before it can come true.

The real interest in both the Yale and Wisconsin cases centers in the educational loss to the public when academic freedom is infringed. The individuals concerned in the two cases are men of sufficient importance not to suffer much detriment from the loss of a particular job. Other days, other jobs; or if no jobs, Professor Davis and President Frank can always find an audience for their writings and lectures. In spite of regents and governors, they are individually free.

Exactly the reverse can be said in connection with a striking example of violation of freedom of conscience that occurred during the year. A little

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known religious sect, Jehovah's Witnesses, will not allow its members to salute the flag. The sect is of no political importance; its tenets are unlikely to figure in future theological discussions; its members do not enjoy any social or intellectual distinction, but they have their convictions, one of which is that it is impious to pay homage to the works of man. Accordingly, about one hundred and twenty ardent young Jehovah's Witnesses refused to salute the flag in public school exercises and were dismissed. Several teachers who attempted to explain and justify the position of the children were deprived of their positions. In Massachusetts a super-patriotic judge took three children under the age of nine away from their J.W. parents and incarcerated them in a county training school. In the state of Washington, four young J.W.'s were dismissed from school, were ordered back as truants by a judge, and were then refused readmission by the board of education. Eventually, the terrible problem of what to do with Jehovah's Witnesses will doubtless be carried up to the Supreme Court.

Meanwhile, one may speculate idly as to which are the sillier, the silly legislators who sillily pass a silly law or the silly Witnesses who sillily refuse to obey this silly law. May the time be short, *currite*, *currite*, *noctis equi*, so that the Supreme Court can tell us what we should think about the matter.





## “CUSTODY OF THE CHILD”

*Breach of promise and alienation of affection lawsuits* having been ruled out in New York and several other states, the legal profession has developed a new racket—custody of the child. No matter which parent gains the decision, it is obvious that in these cases the child is nearly always the loser and the lawyer always the real winner. The child has usually only the possibility of getting one bad parent, less bad than the other; the opposing lawyers have the certainty of getting two good fees.

The 1935 sensational Vanderbilt-Whitney case was followed by the 1936 Mary Astor-Dr. Thorpe-George S. Kaufman affair. In the latter case not so much money was directly involved, but there was a priceless diary. Miss Astor's diary became more famous than “Mrs. Astor's Horse.” It was Pepysian

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in its frankness, and it was not in code. There was nothing vague about it; it was earthy and statistical. Dr. Thorpe, Miss Astor's ex-husband, obtained possession of it, and his attorneys attempted to present it in court. When permission to do so was refused by Judge Goodwin Knight, they gave the most scandalous bits to the press. In twenty-two quoted words, *Time*, the weekly magazine, managed to give the full essence of the diary's sensational obscenity. Nobody intervened to save its chief hero, Mr. Kaufman. After all, he was only a playwright and an occasional Hollywood scenarist. The women's clubs, the Catholic censors, and the reformers, in general, have always been charitable toward writers as an incorrigible lot. But when the picture interests, especially the bankers, learned that Miss Astor's diary listed six actors whom she rated as the "greatest lovers" in contrast with two other screen idols whom she found to be complete wash-outs—thereby destroying their box-office value—then a halt was called. The case was settled out of court, and the diary was impounded in the vaults of the Los Angeles courthouse. When and if it emerges from those vaults, the gentlemen cataloged in the diary will probably long since have been forgotten.

Less sensational but more shocking and important in its implications was the decision of Advisory Mas-

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ter Robert Grosman in Chancery Court, Newark, New Jersey, who denied Mrs. Mabel Eaton, thirty-seven, the custody of her two children, aged ten and five, because of her religious, political, and economic beliefs—recalling the similar action of the British Government against the poet Shelley a little over a century ago.

Advisory Master Grosman said: "There is no question, to my mind, that the petitioner permitted herself to become thoroughly imbued with communistic, atheistic, and I.W.W. doctrines, even though she does not hold formal membership in these organizations. . . . The petitioner, of course, is the mistress of her own soul. She may do with herself as she will, but she is not privileged to instil into the minds of these young children . . . these doctrines which she herself has embraced."

Mrs. Eaton admitted that she believed in a "social democracy" and had attended meetings in Union Square, but denied that she was a Communist or an atheist. In fact, although not a member of any church, she claimed to have attended church weekly. She said she voted for the New Deal in 1932 (a little discrepancy there but anyway she voted for Roosevelt), and that trouble with her husband started immediately afterward. The case is being appealed by the American Civil Liberties Union.

In contrast to the medievalism of Advisory Mas-

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ter Grosman of New Jersey, a moderately modernistic legislature in New York during 1936 passed a bill removing the stigma of illegitimate birth. Four states (California, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and New York) now protect the illegitimate child by requiring only the maiden name of the mother and the name of the father to show on the birth certificate, with no space to indicate whether the parents are married or not. In forty-five states the subsequent marriage of the parents makes a child legitimate; in twenty-one states the written acknowledgment of the father establishes paternity for inheritance purposes; in fourteen states oral admission suffices. But only in the four states mentioned has the final bar sinister been removed.

Parents usually fight over children because of money, or hatred of the other parent. The welfare of the child is seldom considered. This being the case even with parents, it is naturally almost impossible to bring employers to consider the welfare of the child. The Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution has not yet been ratified by a sufficient number of states. Twelve more are needed. One of the first duties of the triumphant Democratic Party should be to bring the necessary pressure to ratify this amendment. Unfortunately, there is certain to be strong opposition from within the party. In the Democratic South child labor is still sacred.

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Such alleged liberals as Senator Borah are also arrayed against the Amendment as a violation of States' Rights, although it is questionable under the Supreme Court rulings whether the states really have any power over child labor. One thing, however, is unquestionable. In the seven months following the invalidation of NRA the issuance of employment certificates to children of fourteen and fifteen years of age increased by 58 per cent. In the same period certificates issued to sixteen-year-olds declined, proving that older children are being displaced by younger and cheaper laborers.

In ten states and ninety-eight cities reporting to the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, between January and June of 1936, it was found that 8,400 children (ages not specified) were granted regular employment certificates as against 3,350 for the same period in 1935 when NRA was in force.

Nevertheless, the president of a Federation of Mothers' Clubs (in New York State where for a second time the legislature refused to act on the Amendment) denounced the movement against child labor as a mere union scheme to reduce competition and said the American people cannot afford the "luxury" of a child labor ban. What America really cannot afford is the double curse of child labor and such Mothers' Clubs.



## STRIKING TALE OF TWO CITIES

*One of the youngest affiliates of the American Federation of Labor, the American Newspaper Guild (Heywood Broun, president) was victorious in two of the most successful strikes of 1936. In both cases the number of strikers was relatively small and the victories were a demonstration of first-rate coördination in the many factors necessary for success in labor disputes. The Guild proved that it had mastered the technic.*

The strikes were called in the two cities most favorable to labor today—Milwaukee with its socialist mayor, Hoan, and Seattle with its labor mayor,

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Dore. Both strikes were directed against the most unpopular newspaper owner in the country—William Randolph Hearst.

Twenty-nine editorial workers on the *Wisconsin News* went on strike in Milwaukee on February 17th, demanding recognition of the Guild and better working conditions. The mechanical staff stuck by its jobs. Non-union reporters and editorial writers were employed and the *News* continued to be published six afternoons a week. Nevertheless, by circularizing and picketing advertisers and subscribers, and with support from the Milwaukee Federated Trades Council, the twenty-nine strikers, holding out for six months, reduced the circulation of the *News* some 50 per cent and cut heavily into advertising lineage.

On September 1st, the strike was settled. The Guild was not formally recognized, the agreement being signed by a committee set up by the Milwaukee Federated Trades Council, but practically all the demands of the Guild were met. These included provisions for a minimum salary of \$40 a week for experienced editorial employees, the week to consist of five days of eight hours each, and a minimum salary of \$25 a week for employees with less than three years' experience. Those rates constituted raises for most of the strikers. The settlement also included a schedule for overtime, vacations, and dis-

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missal bonuses. The management agreed to meet at all times with employees or any representatives whom they might designate, without discrimination against Guild members. Finally, the duration of the strike was not to be considered a lapse of employment in determining vacations, dismissal bonuses, and so on. The twenty-nine strikers returned to work on September 2nd, and most of the strike-breakers were promptly discharged.

More spectacular was the strike of the editorial workers on the Seattle *Post-Intelligencer*, the only morning paper in Seattle and the only Hearst paper in the Pacific Northwest. In May, thirty-six members of the staff received a charter from the Guild; in June, the American Newspaper Guild joined the American Federation of Labor; in July, William Vaughn Tanner, the publisher of the *Post-Intelligencer*, discharged photographer Frank Lynch and dramatic critic Everhardt Armstrong, active and outspoken Guild men. The reasons given were, respectively, "inefficient management" and "gross insubordination." In August, the Guild demanded the reinstatement of the two men, but Tanner peremptorily refused. The Seattle Central Labor Council then declared the *Post-Intelligencer* unfair to organized labor. Forty members of the editorial staff went on strike. The Teamsters', Loggers', and Longshoremen's unions, hundreds strong, smarting



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under many blows from the *Post-Intelligencer*, immediately sent contingents to the picket line around the plant. The belligerent and slightly roughneck aspect of these picketers was relieved by a delegation from the American Federation of Teachers, including twenty-six members of the University of Washington faculty.

The typographers, bound by contract, without saying whether they were more frightened by the teamsters, the loggers, the longshoremen or the teachers, refused to pass through the massed picket lines. The *Post-Intelligencer* suspended publication and remained shut down for three months.

The *Seattle Times*, a bitter opponent of the *Post-Intelligencer* since Hearst bought it, immediately threw open its columns to the Hearst editorials and added blasts of its own. It announced that the merits of the controversy were of no consequence whatsoever. The point was, it said, that Dave Beck (head of the Teamsters' Union—labor boss in Seattle) and John Dore, Mayor of Seattle, had suspended the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of Washington.

Mayor Dore had suspended the Constitutions by inviting Publisher Tanner to meet with a proposed labor mediation board to arbitrate. When Tanner bluntly refused, the Mayor declined to order his po-

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lice to protect strike-breakers or interfere with the picket lines.

The Los Angeles *Times*, another traditional enemy of the Hearst papers, also opened its columns to Hearst, and sent special correspondents to report the collapse of Constitutional government in Seattle. The *Times*, apparently, considered it a Constitutional right of every American citizen to have his morning paper with his coffee. The striking Guild men soon stepped into that breach, however, and brought out a very creditable morning summary of world, national, and local news.

From Holy Rome, from Nazi Germany, from imperial Holland, and from romantic England, but never any closer than six thousand miles, came the bold defiances of Owner Hearst: "It has cost me over a million dollars to conduct my paper in Seattle . . . if the Communists want to relieve me of that cost . . . it is not an unmixed evil. I would save money. However, there is a greater issue at stake . . . the issue of a free press and a free country. No press is free that is subject to mob rule. No country is free where the public officials are too cowardly or too corrupt to protect the fundamental rights of loyal and law-abiding citizens. . . . Whether anybody else makes the fight against Communist and mob rule or not, I am going to make it. . . ."

He kept up the fight (across the continent and the Atlantic Ocean) until after election. Then when

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all the CCC (communistic, cowardly and corrupt) public officials were reëlected, he capitulated. Capitulated is too mild a word; he crawled.

His first move was to telegraph the committee of strikers that perhaps he had been mistaken about Roosevelt; his second was to accede to practically all the demands of the strikers and to order the paper to sign a contract with the Guild (a far greater concession than had been made in Milwaukee), and finally he provided the one great national laugh of the post-campaign month by appointing the President's son-in-law as publisher of the *Post-Intelligencer*. Former Publisher Tanner, who had said, "Whether this newspaper ever resumes publication is up to this community," was summarily tossed overboard.

The contract signed with the Guild was practically identical with the terms of the Milwaukee agreement except for the notable addition of Guild recognition. The case of the two discharged men is to be decided by the National Labor Relations Board, a solution accepted from the first by the strikers.

Mr. Hearst's surrender was not only in Seattle. In San Francisco, an agreement with the Guild was made by the *Examiner*, first begotten of the Hearst offspring, once a strapping young hoyden but now a respectable old lady with an ear-trumpet.

The Hearst name was removed from the Hearst-

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Metrotone News Weekly, which henceforth will be the Metro News Weekly. The plan of Twentieth Century-Fox Pictures to issue a film about the Spanish revolt edited by Hearst Correspondent Knickerbocker was abandoned. Finally, the ultimate abasement of Mr. Hearst was reached in his offering to give prize high school students trips to Washington, D. C., to attend the inauguration of the President whom he had so violently defamed. Perhaps the high school students will react in the same way as did the college editors to a similar alluring bait offered by Mr. Hearst two years ago—namely, accept the trip and then pass resolutions condemning the Hearst policies.

One source of bitterness remains from the Seattle strike. During it, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor was more of an ally to Publisher Tanner than to the Newspaper Guild. The Council suggested that the strikers go back to work and leave all the disputed matters for future negotiation. More intelligent and courageous than the Council, the Guild (supported by its big brothers, the Teamsters, et al.) insisted that the time to bring Mr. Hearst to terms was when his plant was shut down. The Guildsmen were right, and they are not likely to let the Executive Council forget that they were right.



## THE A. F. OF L. STAYS GREEN

*The American Federation of Labor is half a century old and still a virgin. It has never been seduced by "radical" doctrines—although almost raped by the Socialists at the turn of the century—and has remained uncontaminated by the vulgar embraces of the unskilled workers.*

It was established by Samuel Gompers and his followers during the Eighties in the interests of the skilled crafts in order to fight the temporarily powerful Knights of Labor, a united front organization which was fifty years ahead of its due time. When the Knights crashed after the Chicago anarchist

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trial, the younger association was left as the sole representative of labor, or of that fraction of labor which was organized at all.

Bound from the first by the rigid Gompers Constitution (far more inflexible than the U. S. Constitution), under which power was centralized in the hands of the Executive Committee and the local Union officers, with the rank and file membership carefully prevented from exercising control, the A. F. of L., "the aristocracy of labor," was like other aristocracies increasingly dominated by a bureaucracy. Yet so poorly paid were even the skilled crafts for many years that this labor aristocracy still represented the "lower classes," to use the American term, or "the lower orders" as they were called in England. In this rôle, between 1890 and 1916, the A. F. of L. did lead the battle for higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions. While always opposed to the formation of any political party, it followed the policy of supporting those individual candidates in either of the two major parties who seemed most favorable to labor, and followed it so successfully that the labor lobby in Congress became eventually a force to be reckoned with.

Then came American entrance into the World War, endorsed by the A. F. of L., with higher wages than had ever been seen before. Came peace, and the unions, like the soldiers, found their status im-

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mediately altered. After having been flattered to heart's desire as bodies of patriotic citizens during the war, as soon as the war was over the unions were faced with a concerted drive against them. Wages were lowered, hours were lengthened, strikers were suppressed by the combined forces of the strike-breaking agencies, the police, and the judiciary. In the ten years of reaction under Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover, it was labor that suffered most.

Unfortunately, in this time of emergency the A. F. of L. was without competent leadership. Burly Samuel Gompers, in spite of his ignorance, vanity, and lack of vision, had been in his heyday a stout fighter. But he died, and power passed to soft-speaker William Green, an Epworth Leaguer by temperament, and loud-speaker Matthew Woll, who spent his time running around denouncing the Reds. The result was that between 1920 and 1932 the A. F. of L. lost over a million members.

The advent of the New Deal was like a boon from heaven to American labor. President Roosevelt did more for the cause in two years than President Green had done in a decade. During the period of the NRA, the A. F. of L. had a golden opportunity. But most of the leaders were not prepared to take advantage of it. Never having seriously faced the technical problem of how to organize the mass industries, they were loath to undertake the task.

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Their experience in 1919 when they had attempted to organize the steel industry should have taught them the folly of trying to maintain craft divisions in such an undertaking. At that time, their program had been to organize the steel-workers in twenty-four different crafts, which was like organizing an army in separate battalions of cooks, truckmen, mechanics, and soldiers, each under a separate commander. But when the 1919 strike failed, as was inevitable under such management, it merely left the A. F. of L. leaders indisposed to burn their fingers again in dealing with the mass industries at all. Union officers, drawing monthly salaries in four figures, had little sympathy with the demands of the crowd of unskilled laborers, unorganized and underpaid.

Then suddenly at the Federation Convention in 1934, John Llewellyn Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, came forward with a program of industrial organization. Lewis's earlier career had not differed greatly from that of other A. F. of L. leaders; he had played the game according to the rules. But under NRA he alone had had the wit to seize his chance and had organized the coal-miners of West Virginia effectively on an industrial basis, including every worker in a single union. Supported by requests for organization from workers in the steel, rubber, textile, automobile, and other mass



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industries, Mr. Lewis was able to put through in the 1934 convention an order to the Federation officers to proceed with the organization of such industries.

Jealous of any interference with its own authority, the Executive Council of the Federation devoted the year, not to organization but to strengthening its own power. It did grant limited charters to automobile and rubber unions but sought to impose its hand-picked officials on them. It placed over the Pacific Coast industrial unions of sawmill and timber workers the Eastern carpenters' and joiners' union, to which the industrial unions paid dues but in which they had no vote. It sanctioned other craft raids on industrial unions, and it suspended or disbanded over six hundred affiliated unions in gas and coke, aluminum, cement, and flour milling.

At the 1935 convention, Mr. Lewis came back with an open demand for industrial organization of the key industries. This precipitated an uproar in the convention. Six-footer William D. Hutcheson, president of the conservative carpenters' union and also chairman of the Republican Committee on Labor, became so insulting in his remarks that Lewis, also a six-footer, engaged in a brief pugilistic bout with him. Mr. Lewis, in the judgment of experts, won the round, but this victory was cancelled by defeat in the voting which went, by 18,000 to 10,000, against industrial unionization.

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Since the A. F. of L. would do nothing, Mr. Lewis decided to do something himself. In November, 1935, he established the Committee for Industrial Organization, composed of the unions that had supported him in the convention, and this group started vigorously to work. It raised \$500,000 toward unionizing the steel industry and when the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. declined to assist in the expenditure the C. I. O., went ahead alone, there and in other industries. Its methods were quickly vindicated by the successful rubber strike in Akron discussed earlier in this book. By July the C. I. O. had a million members in its unions which included the United Mine Workers, the International Ladies Garment Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers, the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers, the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, the Federation of Flat Glass Workers, the United Electrical and Radio Workers, the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, the United Automobile Workers (with membership doubled during the year—and strong enough in December to tie up the shops of General Motors) and the United Rubber Workers (with membership increased tenfold). In addition, the C. I. O. was en-

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dorsed by the powerful Maritime Federation of the Pacific and by the Federation of Woodworking Industries, including 72,000 sawmill and timber workers. Besides these, the Typographical Union, the Newspaper Guild, the Screen Writers Guild, the Screen Actors Guild, and the more progressive teachers' unions were all openly sympathetic, while the rank and file members of many other unions gave the C. I. O. such support as their organization rules permitted. In contrast to the official stand of the A. F. of L. which adhered to its traditional policy of not supporting either party, the C. I. O. came out strongly for the reëlection of President Roosevelt, and Mr. Lewis was generally credited with writing the labor plank in the Democratic platform.

The reply of President Green and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to all this revival of labor activity was to charge the C. I. O. with "rebellion" and demand its dissolution. When the C. I. O., naturally, declined to dissolve, its unions were summoned, quite unconstitutionally, to a formal trial. Denying the authority of the Council to issue such an order, they refused to appear and were then formally suspended by the Council.

Suspended or not, they continued to be the most active unions of the Federation. To meet their menace in the steel industry, the steel companies went

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to extraordinary efforts in organizing their own company unions, based on the high-sounding principle of "employees' representation" but without dues or funds, without power to hire lawyers, and with constitutions and by-laws drawn up by the employers. When the C. I. O.'s policy of boring from within began to affect even these pseudo-unions, the United States Steel Corporation attempted a kind of mass bribery in the form of a 10 per cent general raise in wages.

This looked quite generous unless one knew what had happened in the steel industry during 1935-36. Both had been boom years. During 1935 net profits had increased over those of 1934 by as much as 1,590 per cent for the Crucible Steel Company of America. During the first six months of 1936, Bethlehem Steel reported net profits greater by 338 per cent than those of the same period in 1935. From April to October, 1936, the Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation increased its net profits as compared with the previous year by 876 per cent. For the first half of 1936, profits in the entire industry, as reported in its trade journal, *Steel Magazine*, were up 139 per cent; in November, 1936, the same magazine reported that ten companies, including the United States Steel Corporation and Bethlehem Steel, had brought this 139 per cent up to 307 per cent. And all this time there had been

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no increase in wages whatsoever. Anyone who hereafter brings up the hoary myth that wages necessarily rise as profits rise may be referred to these statistics.

Steel salaries were interesting, too. George G. Crawford, president of the Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation, received his annual \$250,000 right through the depression. In 1935, Charles Schwab, chairman of the board of directors of Bethlehem Steel, drew down \$203,332, while the corporation's president, Eugene Grace, obtained \$180,000.

The average steel worker, receiving \$972 a year, could, if he worked two hundred years, match President Grace's annual pile, but he would still need an additional twenty-five years to overtake Charley Schwab (assuming the latter to have made nothing during the two centuries).

It might seem as if in November, 1936, the steel companies could have well afforded a flat 10 per cent raise. But that was not exactly the proposal of the United States Steel Corporation. It offered the 10 per cent raise solely to meet the rising cost of living and coupled the increase with a provision that in the future wages should rise and fall in accordance with that cost. This clever scheme to freeze real wages forever at the present standard—a scheme already practiced by Westinghouse and by General Electric—was properly condemned by President

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Roosevelt. Some of the company union members bit, but the C. I. O. campaign went merrily on.

One of the minor tragedies of the year was the decline of the once honored *American Mercury*, under the editorship of Mr. Paul Palmer, to the level of a Hearst or MacFadden publication. The nadir was reached in an article by the unspeakable Matthew Woll of the A. F. of L. in the September issue. It was entitled "Labor Speaks to Capital" (perhaps the printer got the nouns misplaced), and its author, along with other wollicisms, bellowed against "dictatorship" and government interference with industry. Presumably Bill Hutcheson of the carpenters' union and Republican Labor Committee voted for Landon, but Landon was so far to the left of Matt Woll that the latter probably was not able to vote at all.

After the election, John L. Lewis, yielding to the solicitations of David Dubinsky of the International Ladies Garment Workers and Max Zaritsky of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers, offered to meet President Green of the A. F. of L. to discuss peace negotiations. Mr. Green unctuously replied that he would be delighted to see Mr. Lewis personally but that he had no authority to discuss anything serious. Curtly, Mr. Lewis answered, "I'm too busy to meet Mr. Green socially." Mr. Green thereupon accused Mr. Lewis of refusing to negotiate.

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The position of President Green was peculiar in that he belonged to the Federation as a member of the United Mine Workers, chief of the suspended unions of the C. I. O. How then, the C. I. O. logically asked, could he suspend the United Mine Workers without suspending himself? Tempted to push logic too far, the C. I. O. toward the end of November and shortly before the annual conference of the A. F. of L. at Tampa, Florida, momentarily adopted the tactics of their opponents and summoned President Green in turn to trial, fixing a day during the conference when he could not possibly be present. This was a foolish move which for the first time gave some moral advantage to their opponents and it was quickly dropped.

Under the A. F. of L. constitution, a union cannot be expelled except by a two-thirds vote. Since the C. I. O. unions and their sympathizers comprised considerably more than a third of the A. F. of L., their expulsion would be impossible if they were present in a convention. But at Tampa the suspended unions were absent, and all sorts of conjectures were rife as to what the Executive Council might attempt.

The Council and the Federation, however, were caught in a dilemma. If the C. I. O. unions were expelled but continued to grow faster than the craft unions, as seemed likely, the C. I. O. a decade hence

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would be stronger than the A. F. of L. On the other hand, if they were reinstated, and the same ratio of growth occurred, at the end of a decade the C. I. O. would be the A. F. of L. Faced with this difficulty, the Federation adopted what, from the standpoint of the general good of labor, was almost the worst of possible solutions—namely, to continue the unsatisfactory *status quo* by merely affirming the council's suspension order, directing it to "continue" the efforts at reconciliation that had never been commenced, and authorizing it to summon a special convention of the Federation if it should deem "drastic" procedure "necessary," in other words, it adopted the one solution that was no solution at all.

In keeping with this action were the rest of the proceedings. Still adhering to the pretense that Communism, Fascism, and Nazi-ism are identical, the convention adopted resolutions equally condemning all three. It voted down resolutions of sympathy for the Spanish workers engaged in the one active struggle that is being waged anywhere against Fascism and Nazi-ism. It voted down a resolution to boycott the publications of William Randolph Hearst. It refused to endorse the organization of a labor party, it refused to endorse a Constitutional amendment to make Federal labor legislation possible, and it refused to endorse any attempt to curb the power



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of the Supreme Court. Finally, it denounced the sympathetic strike on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts to support the maritime strike on the Pacific. As against these reactionary decisions, a few mild resolutions actually in the interest of labor were passed: one of protest against the dismissal of Professor Jerome Davis by the Yale Corporation; another asking for labor representation on all Federal, state, and city administrative boards; another approving the Federal licensing of industry to regulate hours and wages; and still another demanding the thirty-hour week: the last two measures, of course, being impossible without either a Constitutional amendment or a curbing of the power of the Supreme Court, both of which had been rejected. After these acts of utmost valor, the convention appropriately reelected William Green as president and then adjourned.

The rank and file citizens of the United States elected the President of their choice in November. But the rank and file members of the American Federation of Labor are still the victims rather than the rulers of their own organization. Their individual unions have in the past put up many a splendid fight against employer oppression and may be counted upon to do so in the future—but when will they learn to put up a fight against their own inner bureaucratic oppression? If there are any reasons

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for insisting on the obsolete craft type of organization in a day of mass production other than that it makes it easier for the officials to control the rank and file members, William Green and his associates have never divulged these reasons. One may justifiably doubt that they exist.



## MOTION WITHOUT PROGRESS

*The year 1936 will go down in transportation history as that in which regular passenger service by air was inaugurated and maintained over the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The *Hindenburg*, Germany's newest dirigible, made ten round trips during the summer and early autumn, exactly on schedule as announced, and carried a total of 1,021 passengers, which would have been a fair list for one trip of any of the large ocean steamships. Pan-American Airways inaugurated clipper service from San Francisco to Manila, via Hawaii, Midway Islands, Wake Island, and Guam, but because of the great amount*

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of fuel these clippers have to carry, the passenger lists were much lighter.

The inauguration of this clipper service was marked by a new record in circumnavigating the world through regular commercial means of travel. A reporter for the Scripps-Howard papers made the trip in a little more than eighteen days. When he left New York, the election campaign was at its highest pitch; when he returned it was still at its highest pitch. He probably wished he had been the Jules Verne traveler who consumed eighty days.

No one yet has translated this speed into dollars and cents, into cultural or ethical advance, or into any service that could not be performed more effectively and with greater economy by ships. In spite of all technical advances, air transportation remains substantially where it was thirty years ago—a new and terrible means of waging war and a luxury in time of peace. The prophecies of twenty-five years ago which foresaw traffic rules for the air and the gradual disappearance of long-distance roads are as far from fulfillment now as they were then.

Of more importance to the United States, domestically, was the renaissance of the railroads. Sunk further into the depression than most industries and believed by many experts to be a vanishing factor because of the divergence of traffic to busses, private automobiles (with or without trailers), trucks, and

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airplanes, the railroads made an amazing recovery which startled everyone, especially the stock and bondholders. The chief causes of this recovery were business revival (for the freight carriers) and, in passenger traffic, the order of the Interstate Commerce Commission reducing minimum fares to a basic two-cents-a-mile rate. But there were also psychic reasons. The railroads had suddenly realized that they must modernize or quit. With the aid of government loans and increasing revenues, the railroads began an orgy of streamlining, electrifying, air-conditioning and advertising. The results were greatly increased speed and some advance in comfort. Air-conditioning is not all that it claims to be; it involves conditioning to the air, as well as by it, and one should carry a supply of furs to prevent pneumonia; but on the whole it does improve the morale of summer tourists and long-suffering commuters. On the other hand, the new speed-trains must be light and can carry only a minimum of cars; this makes for undue crowding of passengers and hand-baggage. It is now possible to be just as uncomfortable in a train as in an airplane. But speed has been achieved. The trip from coast to coast can be made over a week-end, leaving Los Angeles or San Francisco on Friday evening and arriving in New York in time for business on Mon-

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day morning. Businessmen and Hollywood stars need miss nothing except church.

What the railroads are now doing they could have done ten years ago, but ten years ago they were too busy cutting melons, watering stock, and collecting war-time rates and surtaxes from the traveling public. Bankruptcy, alone, would not have made a difference; bankruptcy was just another way of mulcting the stockholders. But the realization that there would soon be no traveling public and no freight to carry brought the railroads back to life.

Important in establishing a precedent was the first national agreement covering protection of railroad workers displaced by mergers and consolidations. For years the railroads have been endeavoring to cut overhead by consolidating terminals and other facilities at many strategic points, but the move has been blocked by the railroad brotherhoods (the strongest labor organization in the country) because it would remove so many men from employment. Under the agreement, providing for the unification of facilities, dismissed employees will receive 60 per cent of their wages for a period ranging up to five years if they have had fifteen years or more of service and a lump sum payment for those whose employment has been less than fifteen years. There is nothing new in this principle. Some fifteen countries, including China and Japan, have dismis-

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sal compensation laws. In fact, the United States is the only important nation that has none. Probably the present Supreme Court would declare any such Federal law unconstitutional. Only seven states have any form of dismissal laws, and these merely call for one or two weeks' notice of termination. The railroad agreement calling for five years' compensation is, therefore, a tremendous step forward in remedial technological practice.

Nineteen thirty-six was also the year when the automobile trailer became a factor in transportation and housing. In use for the past decade—but chiefly noticeable in Southern cities during the winter season—with returning purchasing power, the trailer habit became an epidemic. Automobile manufacturers stopped looking down their noses at the “tin-canners” and began making them. They vary from small coffin-like affairs which contain only a sleeping-bunk to duplex complications which spread out over the landscapes like “flats” for stage scenery. Every community has one or more parking places for them with electricity ready to be plugged in.

Despite the dire prophecies of the property owners, the truant officers, and the tax collectors, it is doubtful if the trailer is a serious menace to the social framework. Not to be dismissed as a mere fad, it will fit into the scheme of things just as the bicycle and the radio found their places in trans-

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portation and amusement. Trailers can now be rented; it is likely that there will soon spring up a delivery system from place to place; and the nomads who cannot afford both an automobile and a trailer will give up the former. Already, families have sold their cars and then planted themselves on the relief authorities with their portable homes. One such family set up camp last winter in Murray Hill, New York City, just adjacent to the Morgan library. A test case in taxation tried in a New England town failed to set a precedent because the trailer and its occupants decamped while the litigation was in progress.

There have been safety seminars at Harvard, safety conferences, safety campaigns, safety weeks, special motion pictures, special "best sellers," and all sorts of other special safety undertakings, but the automobile casualty record of 1936 will show an increase from 1935. Perhaps in proportion to the cars sold and used there is a little improvement, but it is very little. We again killed between thirty-five and forty thousand people, permanently crippled a hundred thousand more, and injured another million. With such figures, the United States is not in any need of a war to take care of surplus population.

The automobile has one great advantage over war. It does not destroy the best of the nation. Its victims are chiefly children (presumably not the



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most alert ones), old people, drunks, and cigarette fiends. Experts disagree over the cure. It is fairly well established that the temporary drives and safety campaigns do very little good. On the other hand, Evanston, Illinois, shocked to discover that it had the worst record in the country for accidents, put into operation a permanent safety plan with strict penalties and somewhat gruesome warnings. The plan has worked, and Evanston is now the safest city in the country. The Sanitation Department which operates the greatest number of trucks in New York City has been conducting a permanent safety division for two years and has consistently lowered its accident percentage. It seems that something can be done if vigilance is not relaxed.

High-powered cars capable of over ninety miles an hour are now sold for less than a thousand dollars (a down payment and \$25 a month in many cases) and can be operated by anyone within the limitations of the very lax licensing laws which most states impose. But speed is said to account for only 10 per cent of the accidents. The percentage caused by drunken drivers is debatable; drunkenness is relative and arresting officers have no consistency in determining it. Perhaps cigarette and pipe-smoking drivers cause more accidents than drinkers, but this is conjecture.

Roads are not conjecturable, however. Miller

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McClintock of Stanford University, the first person to be awarded a doctor's degree in traffic (by Harvard), and now in charge of the Harvard traffic bureau, believes that only improved and fool-proof roads will seriously cut into the accident rate. He has successfully demonstrated that scientifically built roads can in a great measure overcome the idiocy of owner-drivers. In spite of the enormous sums that have been spent in the United States for road-building, our roads are, mainly, archaic and dangerous for the modern car. The three-lane highway which was considered such an improvement over the old two-way wagon road is the most deadly of all with drivers from opposite directions tilting for the third lane in true tournament style.

Dr. McClintock's ideal road has an unpaved dividing strip down the center, over and underpasses at intersections, barriers to abutting property, and separate lanes for fast and slow traffic. The only hitch is that such a road costs over two hundred thousand dollars per mile to build.

A rigorously enforced national system of driving rules, road regulations, and licensing would help enormously in reducing accidents, but under our system of government, so zealously protected by the Supreme Court, each state reserves the right to let its citizens destroy themselves in their own way. In the meantime safety campaigns give newspapers

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and magazines something to write about and provide a great amount of work for automobile clubs, chambers of commerce, advertising agencies, radio announcers, and bill-posters.



## NEPHEWS, NEIGHBORS, AND DISTANT CONNECTIONS

*Along with a general advance in liberalism, during 1936 there was a decided improvement in foreign relations. The end of the year sees the United States on better terms with the rest of the world than at any time since the signing of the Versailles Treaty. Undoubtedly, this is partially due to the fact that the European and Asiatic countries, rushing headlong toward the next war, are again anxious to regain the friendship of the one outstanding neutral, particularly since that neutral is showing every indication of renewed strength and economic power. But credit for this change in attitude must also go*

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to President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull for their insistence upon reciprocal trade agreements and for other diplomatic indications of amity.

All foreign countries, with exquisite diplomacy, expressed great gratification over President Roosevelt's reelection. Russia and France naturally saw in it a leftist victory. But Japan and Italy professed to approve of Mr. Roosevelt because he had not interfered in their Chinese and African adventures and had allowed war supplies, if not actual munitions, to be freely sent. Germany blandly perceived in the overwhelming Roosevelt victory an indorsement of a system of one-party government. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the German-Nazi organizations in this country were unanimously for Landon, that the Baldwin Government in England would have preferred a Republican victory, and that the Communists in America largely supported Roosevelt as part of their new principle of the united front.

Having failed to prevent participation in the Olympic games, the militant anti-Nazi organizations in this country, desiring to get through some signs of coöperation to the radicals working underground in Germany, continued their policy of occasional raids on German boats docked in New York, realizing that the Hitler newspaper would print this news as evidence of Communist and Jewish terror

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in America. Early in August, a crowd of about one hundred and fifty men and women raided the *Bremen* just before sailing time, shouting "Down with Nazi intervention in Spain" and distributing anti-Nazi pamphlets. Several women handcuffed themselves to the rail of the steamship. The officers and crew of the *Bremen* beat the invaders with blackjacks, clubs and deck-chairs. Arms were broken and women knocked unconscious. The police finally put all the protestants ashore; twelve were held overnight and released on parole in the morning. The *Bremen* sailed away numbering among its passengers Prizefighter Schmeling who had just demonstrated his white supremacy over Joe Louis.

When in November President Roosevelt boarded the U. S. Navy's *Indianapolis* en route to Buenos Aires for the Inter-American Peace Conference, many Americans wished that they were with him. They were so tired of it all—the elections, the maritime strike, and the early arrival of winter. Wisely avoiding the embarrassment of Secretary of State Hull, whose ship was delayed until strike-breakers could be employed, the President selected a battleship for his trip. He was accompanied by his eldest son, who stepped ashore at Rio in the full panoply of a Lieutenant-Colonel of Marines, having been thus commissioned in the Reserves before leaving Washington. In contrast to this militaristic ges-

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ture on the part of a visitor to a peace conference, just as President Roosevelt began his speech in Buenos Aires, the son of the President of Argentina shouted from the spectators' gallery, "Down with imperialism!" Perhaps the two presidents exchanged words of sympathy on the subject of problem children.

The President's tour was a triumph of personality and good-fellowship, but the real business of the occasion was left to Secretary Hull. The difficulty of immediately bringing into harmony twenty-one nations, ranging in size from the United States to Haiti, in color from white through all the tan variations to black, and in political thought from radical Mexico to reactionary Brazil, was insuperable. The President of the Conference, Argentine Foreign Minister Lamas, having just received the Nobel peace award, is an enthusiastic supporter of the League of Nations; President Roosevelt frankly told the press representatives that there was not the slightest chance of the United States entering the League. Brazil inclines to Germany, the smaller republics to England, and Mexico to Russia and France. A treaty, such as was proposed, outlawing all trade with warring European countries, would unquestionably, if enforced, prevent any war in Europe from lasting more than a year, but such a policy will not be inaugurated by this generation.

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None the less, the Inter-American Peace Conference will be remembered as something more than just another international meeting. The wish for peace, if not an actual will to peace, was notably present in the Conference. The pacifistic declarations of the representatives of the assembled nations are not binding upon their governments, but they may pave the way to agreements that are binding.

Upon the whole our connections with our good neighbors in South and Central America and with the governments of Europe and Asia were more peaceful than those with the little brown brothers of Uncle Sam in the Philippines and his rebellious nephews in Puerto Rico.

To Puerto Rico, in the third of the century that it has been an American dependency, have come the benefits of American scientific methods in health and education with absolutely no corresponding economic benefits. The exploitation and industrial slavery under the United States have, if anything, been worse than the imperial rule of Spain. The result is an overpopulated island of literates who realize their plight only too well.

The Nationalists have been the extremists of the groups demanding independence. Their leader was Pedro Campos, a graduate of Harvard College and Harvard Law School, an implacable enemy to the United States since 1917 when he was assigned to a



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Negro regiment. In February, 1936, Campos's Nationalists assassinated District Police Chief Velez Ortiz at Utuado, and in San Juan, Colonel Riggs, head of the insular police force. The two young murderers of Colonel Riggs were in turn immediately killed by the police. Campos and his most important lieutenants were arrested, tried, and convicted of sedition. They are now serving prison terms, and the Nationalist terror has abated. The cry for independence continues although in a less militant form, but the more rational Puerto Ricans know that their complete independence from the United States would mean their complete economic extinction. Such an ironic offer was presented in the Tydings bill at the last session of Congress. Any liberty accorded Puerto Rico must be accompanied by economic guarantees and subsidies or the island will inevitably revert to primitive conditions. The solution is so difficult because there is no economic necessity for Puerto Rico either as an independent state or a dependency.

Most of the dangers foreseen as a result of Philippine independence became evident in its first year: rebellious Moros, the breaking down of the school system, the necessity of providing an army by universal military service, the raising of tariff walls against Philippine products, and the necessity for high taxes to provide funds for an empty treasury.

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Stili, President Quezon made a brave start, and the situation in the Philippines is by no means hopeless.

In 1935, the American press was accused of driving Colonel Lindbergh and his family out of the country; in 1936 it was accused of driving King Edward VIII to abdication. In the second instance, particularly, the charge was unjust as the American newspapers were more sympathetic than they would have been in similar circumstances toward one of our own movie heroes.

The romance between the King of England and "Wally" Simpson was one of the greatest newspaper stories of any time and perhaps one of the great love stories of history. The spectacle of a single individual courageously standing alone against an empire naturally aroused admiration. But behind the scenes, as Bernard Shaw was first to point out, there was also the King's distaste for his job and the readiness of the Tories to part with a too liberal monarch. The attitude of the Prime Minister, referred to in the *London Times* as "firm delicacy," was more aptly characterized in the *Los Angeles Daily News* as "brutal coercion." The British labor party by its quiescence in the crisis fumbled its opportunity, as it has fumbled every other that has come its way.

The leaders of the Church of England, on the

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other hand, fancied they saw an opportunity where none existed. Edward VIII had always been obnoxious to them by his failure to attend Sunday services as regularly as did his pious brother, the conventional Duke of York. As soon as the King was safely out of the way, the Archbishop of Canterbury shook his aged bones in a kind of ecstatic war dance punctuated by whoops of defiance at his departed monarch. In a dramatic pause in the dance he whispered dark insinuations against the private morals of the King and the King's circle. The King and his friends were un-English, he breathed: as awful an accusation in England as it is for an American to be called un-American in the United States.

But the Archbishop's attack had boomerang qualities. The next day there were outcries in Parliament against his bad sportsmanship. And H. G. Wells, as Englishy an Englishman as could be desired, after referring to Canterbury as a "nasty-minded old man," took occasion to demand the disestablishment of the Anglican Church.

Then the Archbishop of York rushed valiantly to the defense of his beleaguered brother. Across the ocean, Bishop Manning of New York took up his ecclesiastical cudgels in support of religion and morality. But both the British and American public remained unimpressed. Once the Church of Eng-

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land had pitted itself against Romance, the Church didn't have the ghost of a show. All the world loves a lover, but not all the world loves a clergyman. The King and Mrs. Simpson, simple souls, just folks like you and me, in love like you and me—what chance against them had mitred York and Canterbury, what chance be-chasubled Manning?

In fact, the whole story seemed in a way to smack incredibly of Hollywood. Substitute the British Empire for Graustark, and a man and woman of the age of Antony and Cleopatra for the customary boy and girl: you have a trite scenario, suggesting tunes by a Kern or a Berlin. The King's final message, broadcast to more listeners throughout the world than ever before reached by radio, had the same quality. The casual dial-turner, catching the King's words, would certainly have thought he was listening to the composition of a continuity writer rather than to the serious utterance from the King-Emperor of the greatest empire the world has ever known: "But you must believe me when I tell you that I have found it impossible to carry this heavy burden of responsibility and to discharge my duties as King as I would wish to do without the help and support of the woman I love."

And yet the significant part of that farewell was not its closing but its opening: "At long last I am able to say a few words of my own. . . . Until now it

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has not been constitutionally possible for me to speak." In these two sentences, King Edward VIII blew the lid off the pretended respect of "His Majesty's Government" for His Majesty. The British monarchy was admitted to be the empty form that it actually is.

Prime Minister Baldwin uttered many sanctimonious words about the throne as the one remaining bond among the various parts of the British Empire. If the throne is their one remaining bond, then truly the British Empire is in a bad way. Possibly, if the ministry and parliament were less concerned about having a Victorian monarch as a nominal ruler and were more concerned about such actualities as the Italian threat to the Suez Canal and the Spanish Fascist threat to Gibraltar, the Empire's chances of survival would be better.

The upshot of the whole affair was a general loss of prestige for all the most cherished British institutions—the Crown, the Church, the Ministry, and Parliament. The British reputation for political astuteness, built up through three centuries of success, has been declining rapidly these latter years through the Tory policy of bluster and surrender, shown successively in Manchuria, in Ethiopia, and in Spain. It seemed as if the British Government had become incapable of action. But when at last it

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did act in forcing the abdication of King Edward, it merely reached a new low.

For a short time after the departure of the King, who was rumored to have pro-German sympathies, it looked as if the British Government were about to adopt a stronger policy against Fascist intervention in Spain. But apparently all this amounted to was an attempt to bribe Hitler and Mussolini to keep out—or rather to *promise* to keep out—by dangling before them the prospect of loans, to be spent presumably in further preparations insuring the European war that Great Britain is anxious to avoid.

The first message of President Roosevelt to the new Congress to convene in January also concerned Spain. It was a request for additional neutrality powers to enable him to prevent the execution of a contract by Robert Cuse, aircraft broker of Jersey City, for the delivery of about three million dollars' worth of aircraft equipment to the Spanish Government. New legislation is necessary because under existing international law any nation has the right to sell munitions or anything else to a legally established government in time of civil war.

That the Spanish Loyalist Government was not only a legally established government but one democratically elected; that it was before the fascist rebellion a purely republican government, not com-

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munist, socialist, or anarchist; that it represents the majority of Spanish citizens just as the Roosevelt Government represents the majority of American citizens: these all-important facts were not generally understood in this country until the arrival of the Spanish mission, headed by the authoress, Senora de Palencia, which toured Canada and the United States with marked success both in raising money for the Loyalists and in contradicting the misinformation spread by the Hearst press and newspapers of that ilk.

The chief opposition to the mission came from American Catholics unwilling to admit that the still medieval Catholicism combated by the Loyalists in Spain could differ from the modernized Catholicism seen in America. Gradually, however, even to an illogical American mind, the absurdity of hailing as defenders of Christianity the invading fascist armies of mercenary Moors began to be apparent. For the Catholic Church to call upon the Crescent to preserve the Cross was an anomaly that could not be overlooked.

By now the majority of Americans know, or should know, that for the last five months we have been idly watching the massacre of a gallant people in a military invasion they were unprepared to meet, an invasion plotted and planned in Germany and aided from the first by Germany and Italy; we

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know or should know that we are witnessing the destruction of a democracy, one of the last European bulwarks against Fascism, and that if Spain is lost, France and England will probably go, too. In fact, British liberals tell us that England is already lost. Thus John Langdon Davies writes in his brilliant work, *Behind the Spanish Barricades*: "The opinion is growing that there is nothing vacillating and weak about the British Government's policy at all; that it is consistent and well-planned. Abyssinia and then Spain seem to be ample evidence that we as a nation are being sold into fascist captivity." Thus the always well-informed H. N. Brailsford writes in the *New Republic* of December 2nd: "The British government . . . is not neutral. It may not admire the particularly benighted brand of clerical reaction that prevails in Spain, but if it must choose, it would rather see Franco victorious than a republic resting on the votes and rifles of workers. It acts accordingly."

Why, then, is Mr. Roosevelt so eager to imitate the pro-Fascist policy of Great Britain that he even wishes to alter international law in its favor? The answer, of course, is obvious: in order to avoid the slightest risk of becoming embroiled in another European war. It is the same answer that is given in France and England, but it is given here with far more reason. They can't stay out of a European



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war; we, perhaps, can. We have no route to India, no Gibraltar to protect; Fascism is not entrenched upon our very borders as is the case with France. The destruction of democratic Spain imperils none of our possessions. Though the prospect is not alluring, we might, if put to it, preserve our own democracy in the face of an entirely fascist Europe.

If let alone, we may be able to solve our own problems; small chance of that if we again become entangled in European hatreds. Europe is a sinking ship, anyway; let us not venture upon the high seas in answer to frantic S.O.S. calls but keep to solid earth and cultivate our garden.

Furthermore, if any American really wants to sell arms to the Spanish Government, he can easily do so by selling to Mexico and letting Mexico resell to Spain, as she is perfectly willing to do. Why not, then, make a meaningless gesture of courtesy to Italy and Germany, who are good customers of ours?

So argues the cool head, with irrefutable reasons. Meanwhile the warm heart hopes that Mr. Cuse will get his airplanes to Spain before Congress has time to interfere with him.



## GONE WITH THE LAST PURITAN

*Nineteen Thirty-Six will be remembered in history for its political, not its literary accomplishments. It completed for the first time in America what may be called a planned instead of an accidental recovery from financial depression; it recorded, particularly in its latter half, great gains for labor; in its return of the Roosevelt Administration to power, to greater power than before, it held out glittering hopes for the future through a continuance of experimental reforms at home and the good neighbor policy abroad. To all of this there was no equivalent in literary achievement.*

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Not a single book was produced during the year that could by the longest stretch of the imagination be called great. The promising development of proletarian literature lapsed with the return of prosperity. No new movement arose to take its place. There was nothing in drama that will not be forgotten after a few years; there was little in fiction; little in poetry, with the exception of Archibald MacLeish's *Public Speech*, standing alone where formerly it would have had a host of fellows. It was as if the authors had retired to the side-lines to watch the struggle of politicians on the field.

Of course, the authors had not really retired; they never do. There was the customary bally-hoo and excitement over best-sellers. And if one lowers one's standards a bit and looks merely for creditable, talented work instead of either greatness or newness, one can find plenty of it in the output of the year.

George Santayana, the philosopher, was lucky in publishing *The Last Puritan*, on which he had worked intermittently for a decade, at the precise moment when the public awoke to the fact that Puritanism was finally dead in America, or at least simulated death so well as to deceive all but the sharpest eyes. Puritanism, that is, in its customary sense of hostility to the world, the flesh, and the devil. By making the term almost synonymous with

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moral earnestness in any form, Mr. Santayana belied his title but made the hero of his novel a more sympathetic character. In the substance of the book he said little about American Puritanism that he himself had not already said better and more beautifully in *Character and Opinion in the United States* and in other essays—said little indeed that Sinclair Lewis, Theodore Dreiser, Ludwig Lewisohn, Van Wyck Brooks, and countless critics of Puritanism had not told us before. But coming from such a source, the verdict possessed more authority.

The critics vied with one another in striving to show that each of them had been thoroughly familiar with the intricacies of Mr. Santayana's philosophy for years, and insisted that his philosophy was contained somehow in the novel. This was ardent nonsense. Had even the central thesis of his philosophy, that all causation is material and all thinking merely expressive, been clearly set forth in *The Last Puritan*, the book would have been seen to be so hostile to the ingrained mental habits of Americans that it could never have become a best-seller.

Just why it did become a best-seller remains an unsolved mystery. Interest in Puritanism accounts for something of its popularity. The prestige of its author's name accounts for something. Curiosity

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over the fact that a philosopher could write even a tolerable novel—for it was no more than that—accounts for something. The presence of a homosexual sub-theme in the story might account for something save that it was handled so delicately that not one reader in twenty recognized it. But all of these hypotheses taken together are not sufficient to explain the warm response of the reading public.

By the middle of the summer, buyers of *The Last Puritan* had either read it or put it away unread in a prominent place on their shelves next to Durant's *Story of Philosophy* and Wells's *Outline of History*, and were looking forward pleasantly to having time to finish *Anthony Adverse* when they were interrupted by the cannonading of another best-seller.

And this time it was a real best-seller, the most spectacular in years. Within six months Margaret Mitchell's *Gone With the Wind* had passed the million mark, establishing an all time record for a first novel. Again the critics tumbled over one another in praise. J. C. Minot, without any very startling originality, acclaimed it as "the Great American Novel." Julia Peterkin, herself the author of much abler books, said with rare self-abnegation: "It seems to me that *Gone With the Wind* is the best novel that has ever come out of the South. In fact,

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I believe it is unsurpassed in the whole of American writing."

Had Mrs. Peterkin said: "The longest novel that has ever come out of the South," she would have been nearer to the truth. But those who account for the success of *The Story of Philosophy*, *The Outline of History*, *Anthony Adverse*, *The Last Puritan*, and *Gone With the Wind* merely by their length are easily satisfied. Undoubtedly, Americans are good businessmen and like to be sure when buying a book that they are getting their full money's worth of words. Possibly they have become so avaricious of recent years that no short book will ever again be a pronounced best-seller. But there is a logical fallacy in assuming from this that every long book will be one. It is tragic to think of the number of first authors in America that are probably even now toiling to put down millions of words on that erroneous assumption.

There is no difficulty in explaining the success of *Gone With the Wind* without recourse to adventitious circumstances. Both the merits and the defects of the book are of a kind to insure success. The oldest and most primary requirement of a novel, interest, it possesses in abundance. No one could honestly deny that it is a fascinating story, simply as a story. The plot is well conceived; there is an amazing fertility of incident. The background of the

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Civil War and Reconstruction is presented, with a superficial realism, in terms of one of the accepted mythological interpretations of American history. The gay, heroic figures of the Southern aristocracy marching off to war, the high-spirited, vivacious Southern girls, the ever faithful Negro slaves, and the vicious, vindictive Northern carpet-baggers—all these are so familiar that we seem to have known them in actual life, forgetful that our acquaintance with them is derived wholly from books as highly fanciful as the present one. Finally, the central character, Scarlett O'Hara, a modern gold-digger fifty years before her time, who is perpetually on the edge of violating the moral code yet manages on each occasion to slip safely into matrimony and enjoys through it all a thrillingly romantic life, represents the yearnings and aspirations of at least a million frustrated or near-frustrated American maids and matrons. The wonder would have been had *Gone With the Wind* failed of success.

Say what one will in derogation of the public taste, the fact remains that when one compares the best-sellers of recent years with those of a few decades ago when the nauseating clap-trap of Gene Stratton-Porter almost annually reached the million mark, there is ample ground for congratulation. Even the popular works of today do carry on in some

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sort that effort at critical examination to which the best writings of the period have been dedicated.

Numerous works of the latter class were brought out during the year and were, it is only fair to them to say, less notable than they would otherwise have been because of the merit of the authors' previous creations. Had *Absalom, Absalom!* been a first introduction to the maddening ghostland of William Faulkner, inhabited by strange metallic ghouls, statuesque in their implacable hatreds or wringing their cold hands in nameless horrors that grip the most seasoned reader like a year-long nightmare; had *The Big Money* of John Dos Passos been the first of its series of bitter, ironic analyses of post-war civilization, devastating yet with little oases of poetry, proletarian devotion, and a distant hope; had *Drums Along the Mohawk* by Walter D. Edmonds not been preceded by *Rome Haul* and *Erie Water* to show the possibility of that union of true history and fictional interest which is the dream of every thoroughly honest and fully intelligent historical novelist: had all these been beginnings instead of merely continuations which did not overtop their own beginnings, they would have seemed much more significant. So also, after finishing the tragic Studs Lonigan trilogy of James T. Farrell, the reader cannot be too excited over what promises to be the commencement of another, milder and less



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poignant. So also with the recent work of Carl Sandburg and Robert Frost; one is thankful for it, of course, and recognizes its merit, but one no longer feels like the eagle-eyed Cortez staring at the Pacific. To demand that an author continually surpass himself is surely most unjust, but it is one of the many inevitable injustices of life.

On the whole, the biographers and autobiographers did better in their lowlier field than the novelists and poets. There were two outstanding biographies during the year: *Jefferson in Power* by Claude Bowers and *Hamilton Fish* by Allan Nevins, each of them admirably presenting an entire epoch as represented by their heroes, and Mr. Bowers in addition correcting the prejudicial narrative of Henry Adams and rendering full justice for the first time to the continued greatness of Thomas Jefferson as president. Other notable and fairly definitive biographies were those of Audubon by Constance Rourke and John Reed by Granville Hicks. Contemporaries also came in for their share of biographical attention, Mr. Justice Brandeis being honored with two volumes and William Randolph Hearst being the subject of no less than three.

In autobiography there was the pleasantly scandalous *Movers and Shakers* of Mabel Dodge, enlivened by maliciously preserved letters of thirty years ago showing Walter Lippmann as a prudish,

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earnest young man much perturbed by the eccentricities of Isadora Duncan, and the late Arthur Brisbane as a pompous, humorless moralist advising the neophyte to return to the style of the Nineties and employ "the kind of language that you would use talking to a girl twelve years ago." Charminglly written, *Three Worlds* by Carl Van Doren will enjoy a longer lease of life because of its style and as an authentic record of the melancholy inner life of even the successful author who is at all sensitive to the sadness of existence.

A work of enormous research well assimilated, *The Flowering of New England* by Van Wyck Brooks suffered only from a certain softness of spirit that made each of his little fishes look too much like a whale. In common with Mr. Brooks, Stuart Chase in *Rich Land, Poor Land*, and Gilbert Seldes in *Mainland*, seemed determined to emphasize at all cost the optimistic features of American history and life. There may well be more ground for hope than ever before, but the hope will never turn into fruition if one is satisfied with half-way truths in surveying either past or present. It is yet too early to hymn the flowers and neglect the worms about their roots. For this reason, the overly sardonic *Preface to Chaos* of Hartley Grattan, phophesying inevitable war and destruction, is a

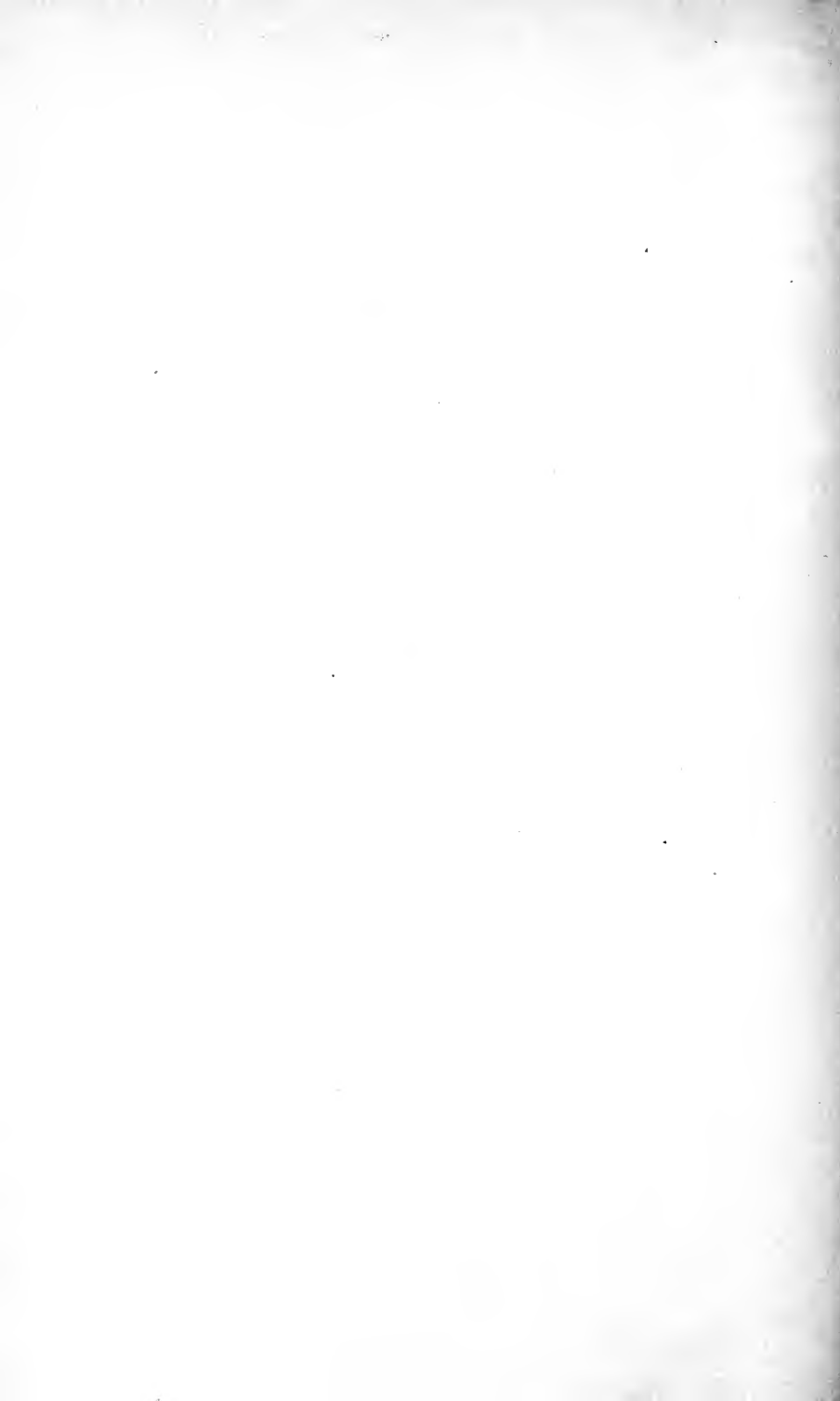
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welcome contrast to the overly cheerful works above mentioned.

The American nation did not fulfill itself when New England flowered. That golden day was followed by darkness. Nor has it fulfilled itself in 1936 with the flowering of Franklin Roosevelt. Lest the accomplished gains be lost as they have so often been lost before in our history, as 1936 moves into 1937 the watchword must still be "Eternal Vigilance."







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# BITTER VICTORY

By LOUIS GUILLOUX

*Translated from the French by Samuel Putnam*

Few French novels of the last decade have made so profound an impression as BITTER VICTORY. The action takes place during the terrible year of the World War, but the principal characters in the drama are far from the holocaust of murder on the Western Front. Dominating the novel is the gaunt figure of Cripure, the Don Quixote of a bankrupt civilization, a grotesque and tragic character, a creation worthy of Dostoievsky. BITTER VICTORY is a full-bodied, vigorous novel in the great tradition which ranks with such literary achievements as André Malraux's *Man's Fate* and Celine's *Journey to the End of the Night*.

Three leading periodicals judged BITTER VICTORY as one of the best novels published last year: *Time*, the *New Republic*, and the *New York Times*. Scores of critics hailed it as one of the most important novels of modern times. Here are a few of their comments:

"The strongest novel to come out of France in some years."—*Lewis Gannett*.

"No one interested in contemporary fiction at its best can afford to miss this novel."—*James T. Farrell*.

"A mountain of a novel . . . out of which emerges a great tragic figure . . . deserves a multitude of readers."—*New York Times*.

"Rich, varied in treatment, emotional, tense, romantic, it is the most impressive novel to come out of France in a long time."—*Malcolm Cowley*.

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