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PACIFIC WEEKLY

A WESTERN JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

DECEMBER 30, 1935

THE ESSENTIAL LIFE OF CHRISTIANITY

BY GEORGE HEDLEY

"WASHINGTON, MOST RADICAL STATE"

BY CLIFF MOSBY

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VOLUME III

MONDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1935

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NOTES AND COMMENT

GROWING UNITED FRONT PRESS

AN INTERESTING event recently occurring was the publication of the *Unemployed Leader* in Los Angeles under joint editorship of the Public Works and Unemployed Union, State Federation Unemployed and Allied Organization, and the Interprofessional Association. This is the first time the Interprofessional Association has shared in the production of this "official organ" of the unemployed although the *Leader*, published twice a month, has now reached the "Vol 1, No. 13" stage. It is an interesting journal, supported by small business concerns with their advertising, and replete with fact stories on relief mismanagement, false economy and waste of funds. It also reports the massed efforts of the unemployed to get work under the various state and government relief projects. Gradually, but persistently, the united front is grasping and using the tools of big business. The establishment of a united front press is probably the furthest advanced of steps forward. The line is lengthening, deepening; it has begun to turn in its flanks to encircle.

FAR FROM HONEST

A FAULTY or maladjusted connection on the gas hot water heater in the basement of the home of Colonel Henry R. Sanborn in San Rafael sent fumes into the upper part of the house last Monday night and when the Colonel and his wife returned from a church pageant they found two of their children in a semi-conscious condition.

Such accidents have happened many times and they have been given space in newspapers commensurate with the importance of such mishaps. But the story of this particular happening required a full column with two pictures in the *San Francisco Chronicle* Tuesday morning. The front-page read: "Pair Gassed, Murder Plot Hunt Started".

To understand this example of journalistic nonsense it is necessary to explain that Colonel Henry R. Sanborn is a

retired army officer, and at present reserve officer attached to the Ninety-first division, AND is the publisher of "The American Citizen" which, the *Chronicle* describes as "an anti-communist magazine". The truth is that "The American Citizen" is a four-page sheet endeavoring to make people believe that Communism is the epitome of rapine, murder and general chaos. It is, in a word, the sort of publication that a retired army officer and a present reserve officer would publish. We have no quarrel with Colonel Sanborn. He edits a silly and innocuous sheet. In reading it one should remember that there are three kinds of intelligence—human, animal and military.

But the *Chronicle's* treatment of the story of the gas leak is another thing entirely in view of that newspaper's recent claim to a change of policy, the donning of a new robe of honor and journalistic decency. In every paragraph of the story is the implication that Communists broke the gas connection and flooded Colonel Sanborn's house with fumes. In every paragraph but one—at the very end of the story is this sentence:

Authorities were not discounting the possibility the vent might have been removed for some purpose and not replaced and that the entire episode was accidental.

And on the day following this "murder plot" story the *Chronicle* carried not a line in regard to the implied Communist outrage; not even a line to tell its readers that the authorities were not only "not discounting the possibility", but had undoubtedly discovered it a fact.

An editorial administration that not only encourages this sort of reporting, but orders it, is certainly not being journalistically honest; is certainly not even trying to be journalistically honest.

GENTLE VIRGINIA OF HILO

JUMPING across some two thousand miles of the Pacific we reach the city of Hilo on the island of Hawaii and peek into the editorial sanctum of the *Hilo Tribune Herald*. There we spy Virginia Bennett Hill doing the editing. And what an editor Virginia is! Her editorials are set in twelve-point type, two columns wide, with nice big eighteen-point heads on them. She wrote one in her issue of November 21 about Joseph Ryan, president of the International Longshoremen's Association, sending a telegram to President Roosevelt demanding that his union be recognized or "he would call a strike that would tie up sea traffic from Seattle on the Pacific Coast to Portland on the Atlantic". She becomes eloquently heated over the "unbridled assurance of these chaps who have been permitted to run over all ordinary commercial barriers and now declare their intention of preventing shipping to carry (sic) on its legitimate business".

Then she calls for wholesale massacre by the United States army to protect the interests of the poverty-stricken and defenseless shipowners. She says:

Here is a challenge that demands a prompt reply and such a one as shall put this agitator in his proper place. This reply should not be in any form of writing; it should be forthcoming with such vigor and backed by such show of national force that this will be the last

disgraceful episode of its kind in America for many a long day to come.

That's just ducky, Virginia.

A WORD FOR AND TO CRISCO

WE WANT to pay a tribute to Crisco. Not because whenever we are served with a pie whose crust is made with Crisco we leap up onto the table with unholy and uncouth glee, but because that particular brand of shortening is at present responsible for "Vic and Sade". There is nothing about the "Vic and Sade" radio program that will in any way help to settle the affairs of state or tend to wipe out the capitalist system, but there is in it fifteen minutes of pure mental relaxation for anyone who is trying to settle said affairs or wipe out said system. It is what we'd call, with utter disregard for our unsentimental Communist friends, a good homely slice of good, homely life of a middle-class American family. We enjoy it—the once or twice a week we find time to listen to it.

But we have one definite and adverse criticism to make. Is it necessary for Vic and Sade and their high school son to talk bad English? It's a sad commentary on the American school system, and an unjust one. There is no reason why Vic and Sade and the boy should have to leaven the fifteen-minutes of pleasure they give you by corrupting your offspring with doubled negatives, "I done its" and "He don'ts". Why can't the family's grammar be as pure as Crisco is supposed to be. Not completely as pure, of course—we don't ask for "It is I".

McADOO REPUDIATES EPIC

SENATOR William Gibbs McAdoo, ancient defender of the faith, recently told Epics, in effect, to go play in another alley. He pledged unconditional support of his delegation to Roosevelt, and pointed out specifically that the delegation would not be instructed for production-for-use.

Now this announcement of the aged Senator caused the short hair to rise on the back of the Epic neck. In the *Epic News* this week appears a blast against McAdoo, intimating that he is not only a no-good, but that he is also a Judas who has repudiated the platform he helped to write. (In the State Democratic platform appears a paragraph advocating production-for-use.)

At the same time, however, Epics are playing both ends against the middle. With one face they pledge themselves as Democrats; with the other they announce plans to tie a can to the long-eared symbol of the Party.

In solemn conclave in Bakersfield, December 15, Epic officials secured the resignation of Kate Richards O'Hare, chairman of the executive committee. This move was a direct result of a letter by Leonard Miller, editor of the *Epic News*, which accused Mrs. O'Hare of third-party activity.

At the same time, the Epic officials planned a convention (date of which is undecided) to select two members to head a production-for-use delegation to the national Party convention. This delegation will not support Roosevelt if he fails to espouse production-for-use.

A list of pertinent questions submitted by my secretary to a member of the Epic board of directors received answers which show how the wind is blowing. The questions, with

their answers, were:

Q: What is the End Poverty League going to do if Roosevelt fails to recognize a production-for-use delegation?

A: Support someone else.

Q: To whom will the support of the delegation go? A: Not definitely decided.

Q: Is Senator Culbert Olson a possible Epic presidential candidate? A: Yes.

Q: Will Epic support the Democratic nominee, regardless of his production-for-use attitude? A: We have not decided.

Q: Will Epic oppose a Townsend candidate, if his platform is based on the Townsend Plan in its present form? A: Yes.

Another member of the board pledged support to Roosevelt if he is nominated again.

At present, however, a battle is raging at the Epic Temple which may change the complexion of matters. Two groups are fighting for control. Each has definite ideas as to political strategy. But each has one idea in common: to kick Roosevelt in the pants if he fails to recognize a production-for-use delegation.

The picture is confusing. Epic's two principal moves in the past week are inconsistent; viz., disfellowshipping a board member for asserted third-party leanings and at the same time declaring that Epic may not support the Democratic nominee.

The consensus of opinion among political experts in the South is that Epic headquarters is like a rudder without a ship; that there is no real rank and file allegiance, and that the 800,000 voters who supported Sinclair will vote as individuals, not as a body pledged to Epic.

Nevertheless, it is an undeniable fact that a great bloc of dissatisfied voters exists in California. If competent leadership should emerge from Epic or any other similar organization, this bloc could be converted into an important political pressure group and could change the local political scene in almost any manner desired.

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LINCOLN STEFFENS SPEAKING--

BALDWIN AND LAVAL, you must admit, would much rather conquer power and territory without wars than with them. Mussolini interferes; he is for war for war's sake; as some artists and poets are out for art's sake. Vanity! The League, representing the Petty Powers who foresee that they may become Ethiopias, threw out the peace that the English and the French made with Mussolini at the cost of the colored slave state, and war comes nearer. War for peace's sake. All us pacifists can be for that: a world war for the sacred sake of peace. What we lack, among other things, is an insane asylum for statesmen or a penitentiary or a university. For it is obvious that Baldwin and Laval (less so) are sincere. If they could get for business what business wants without war they would carve up Ethiopia.

And the rest of us should everlastingly remember that all this is of the culture and the civilization that we stand for. The only people we are against are the Communists who are out to undermine the causes of our idiocies.

MAY I OFFER, without explanation, a suggestion to the extremists of business in San Francisco: that they do not kill Harry Bridges. He is not the cause of their trouble; he only personifies it. If he were killed the cause of their woes would not be removed, and the crooks should know that of themselves. Bridges was put where he is, and he is held there to represent and to speak and act for a group of the rank and file of the workers who govern themselves, who call their own strikes and, if Bridges were killed, would set up another "leader" and go right on gathering "leaders", strikers and piling up forces to achieve liberty from the business men who run business as they run politics, graft and government in the interest of business. And in their incompetence cause panics and depression. No, don't kill Bridges. He is a large and growing group, and can be murdered only in a massacre.

I HAPPEN TO KNOW, too, that the rugged individuals up there on the waterfront are planing for the old show-down they have so long ached for in the shipping line, but in a way I am on their side. I'd like to see a clash before I die. It would enable me to foresee something of the future and predict the life of the hereafter on earth with more certainty than I have now. As a newspaperman, however, I feel it my business to warn the rugged, and to encourage the business men of sense that it is too early to bring on a general strike now. Conditions are not ripe yet for the crisis that must come. And, with all my inquiries, I cannot find that the conservatives have got a leader of ability to direct their war; they have no general. Sincerity is not enough now; intelligence is called for.

SEEMS TO ME, the Japanese are over-rated for intelligence. They saw the failure of us whites and of our great white way, and imitated us like monkeys. Somebody might well acquire an ambition to write history that could be recognized and learned. Or must Japan go on down the bad road that England took? Must San Francisco go on up the road where Chicago fell among thieves?

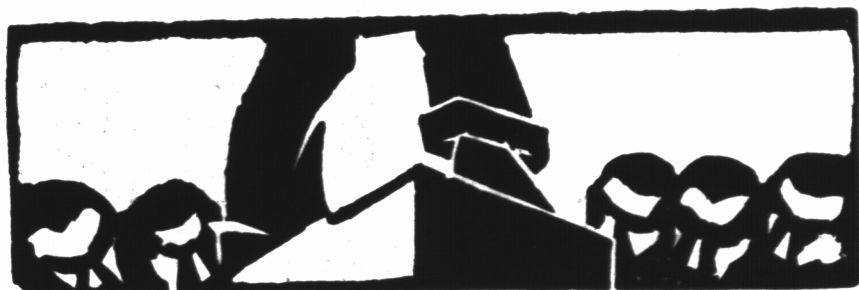
THE REPUBLICANS have found no one to lead them as president back into power. The nearest they have come is to

the children of Governor Landon of Kansas. Borah is willing, but so is our Governor Merriam. I am still for Hoover. He seems to have learned something but I still think he will get us there; he almost did before, you know. Let's give him another chance. I wish he could talk; I'd like to interview him.

STAKHANOVISM. The Soviet Russians have not produced workers who could handle the American machinery as fast as American workers can, and they want to. They want to be the best workers in the world. They have devised all sorts of incentives to make their people work; Socialist competition, shock brigades, five-year plan, and now something they call Stakhanovism, a name developed from the name of a worker in a coal mine who discovered a method of combining three workers into a team that increased their output five-fold. The speeder-up's name is Stakhanov. His service was recognized somewhat as a lucky stock-gambler would be honored in this country. Not only was he named a "hero of labor"; he was given an automobile, a trip to Moscow with a banquet in his honor, and enough extra pay to buy a lot of luxuries for his wife. *Time*, a very accurate reporter of world news, prints a photograph of the man over the caption; "Stakhanovism's great Stakhanov: workers of the world unite on his wife's silk lingerie and perfume". And the *Time* reporter points out that the hero did not invest for saving what he got; he spent it on what he and Mrs. Stakhanov wanted, some "pretty things they never had had". But the weekly magazine spreads the story to show, apparently, that the workers in power encourage the very speed-up they resist and denounce under capitalism. Inconsistent, these Reds. *Time* can't or doesn't see the difference between breaking your back for a boss who takes all your increase and cuts wages to get more, and putting strength and skill into a job for all but the greedy bosses' wives. It isn't speeding up that's wrong, it's the profiteering on the business. Stakhanovism is a better word, because it's a better thing than speeding-up. *Time's* bright young men can see that—before they are trained.

DR. F. E. TOWNSEND, without a candidate for President, except possibly himself, is counting on his 30,000,000 petition-signers for \$200 a month for all us old fogies. Thinks they will vote his way. I doubt that we grand old patriots can be bribed like that. A dollar or two at the polls on election day is nearer our price. In the first place the smaller sum is in cash and the \$200 is in the bush.

I SEE BY the New York papers that an obscure member of the staff of PACIFIC WEEKLY, Ella Winter, has been caught believing something said by an Irishman; and by an Irish wit named James Stephens, an author of fairy tales who has been pulling legs here and abroad all his absurd life. Nobody should have believed him; nobody ever should believe any Irish, as I have taught all my editorial life. But to think that Stephens would write a piece for George Moore for \$500 shows the kind of people Ella Winter has been associating with—professionally.



WHO COVERS THE WATERFRONT?

EXIT Max Miller to whom the waterfront was romance and sea breezes.

Real coverage of the waterfront—as differing from gang-plank reporting by byline writers who meet ships—is a job requiring the same sort of diligence a Washington correspondent is supposed to use. There are a number of similarities between the two assignments. Just as Washington is the political capital of the nation, San Francisco is in many ways the maritime union capital of the nation.

No other city in America has gone into a General Strike as the direct result of a maritime union movement.

The following are some of the most important news sources for those who really can say, “I cover the waterfront”:

Chiefly important for color and for insight into the movement the unions are pushing is Harry Bridges, president of Local 38-79 International Longshoremen's Association.

If your paper or press association is using his statements accurately he will admit you into his office on Clay street, give you oral or written statements, answer your questions freely over the telephone. If your office is distorting his side of the story, you do not get his statements.

An assistant press representative to Bridges is Business Manager Henry Schmidt, broad, phlegmatic stevedore with milky blue eyes who is rarely known to exhibit an emotion.

Schmidt can toss to one side hundreds of pounds of cargo with a quick fling of his mighty right arm, tilt his hat back, return to the I. L. A. hall and bat out a three hundred word statement that is a masterpiece of clarity and deliver it to the press in a matter of minutes.

With the hardboiled I. L. A. admittedly the most important union source it is also conceded that the stiff-shirted Waterfront Employers' Association is the most significant employers' news source. Directly or indirectly it represents two score shipping companies, the majority of the principal lines operating here.

The same amount of intelligent generalship obtains here. It is, the reporter must understand, generalship in another territory for another cause. The campaign is to “keep the port open, save San Francisco shipping, keep business going”, rather than to better working conditions, provide unity of labor and defense against the interests. Life against profits.

In the Waterfront Employers' Association offices in the Matson building sits Charles Lyn Fox, public relations counsel, who is known in daily dispatches as “a spokesman for the Waterfront Employers' Association”. News clears through his office because the others kneel to a rigid policy of presenting the association through one voice, that echoes alike in all stories.

Fox, in his thirties, is a man who received training first as an English instructor, and later as city editor successively of the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* and the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

He will tell you in two minutes which ships are tied up by which unions and why the Waterfront Employers' Association believes they have tied the vessels up.

If he says a ship is tied up the ship is tied up.

The International Seamen's Union is another important source to break down for news. District segment of the I.S.U. is the Sailors' Union of the Pacific. Publicity chief for the San Francisco local of the S. U. P. is T. E. Byers, small, and thin like Bridges.

He, like Bridges, talks to a very small number of reporters.

Your organization must be approved by a vote of the union before you can get its statements.

Fireworks are now coming from the lesser known unions and their leaders must be pursued with the same energy required to cover the larger bodies.

A spokesman for one such union is Mervyn Rathbourne, secretary of the San Francisco local of the American Radio Telegraphists' Association, affiliated with the Maritime Federation of the Pacific Coast.

Rathbourne's organization is now in conflict with the employers. The A. R. T. A. is charging the Mackay Radio and Telegraph Company with interfering with union activities and with locking out several A. R. T. A. members following a recent strike.

The hearing is being conducted by the National Labor Relations Board in the Post Office Building, the first such hearing to be held there since the Wagner-Donnelly Relations Act was passed.

Rathbourne is also secretary of the San Francisco district council of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific and Bridges is president of the council.

There are maritime union members not holding top positions who will tip you off to news before it happens if you will not distort it or break it prematurely, and for obvious reasons they must remain unnamed. When warfare becomes physical, there are the police.

None of the waterfront spokesmen will give handouts of his side of the story. You must talk fast, prod them with intelligent questions. Times have changed since Max Miller turned author.

—DUDLEY SOLES



TO THE SUPREME COURT

SUPREME you are, above the Legislature;
Supreme, above the President himself;
But not supreme above your human nature,
Nor the class-interests that pad your shelf;
Nor yet above the people's will supreme
When they dismiss you as a fallen dream.

You were not builded at the world's creation;
You were not written into Sinai's law;
No Star of Bethlehem pledged you oblation;
Nor did the ages wait on you with awe.
You were an incident of yesterday,
And as but incident may pass away.

It was the propertied who sired your borning;
You sucked the milk of privilege at birth;
You have grown fat, unto the present morning,
That power and plunder so affirm your worth;
Plunder and power your first protection still,
To drug and prison yet the people's will.

You scorned the slave, in Lincoln's generation,
And sold the Nation to its bloody bath.
Have you learned nothing in your lofty station
That so you point us down the self-same path?
The slaves of war, the slaves of Mammon yet
May write a chapter you will not forget.

—ROBERT WHITAKER

THE ESSENTIAL LIFE OF CHRISTIANITY

BY GEORGE HEDLEY

IN SUPPORT of communist opposition to religion in general, and to Christianity in particular, Robert Briffault's recent article ("The Essential Lie of Christianity"—PACIFIC WEEKLY, October 14) marshals resources of anthropological research, historical knowledge, and philosophical analysis. To attempt a critical reply is an act of some temerity; yet not to attempt one would be, in the present writer's judgment, to leave unchallenged some fallacies no less real than those to which Dr. Briffault objects. With full respect for the article's erudition, and in complete sympathy with its author's passion for social reorganization, I beg leave to criticize some of its allegations of fact, to differ from some of its opinions—and, therefore, to suggest some variant conclusions.

I. Definitions

It is unfortunate that a scientist should have allowed himself to use words without careful explication of the specific senses in which he employs them. (Limitation of space condones this weakness to some extent—as Dr. Briffault himself suggests in his prefatory note to the three mammoth volumes of *The Mothers*. But if he indeed "hates controversy", as he declares in the same preface, he can avoid needless conflict by exactitude in terminology.) The very title of his recent article is misleading: a lie involves conscious, deliberate misrepresentation, whereas the feature of Christianity which Dr. Briffault principally dislikes is, at worst, an error in evaluation—perhaps fatal, as he contends, but definitely sincere, as he makes no attempt to deny. Conversely, "the essential truth of Christianity", as he speaks of it, is not at all in the realm of truth, which is an absolute, but in the realm of attitude, which is necessarily relative; he himself, after rejecting "more precise definition", immediately discusses it in terms of a "spirit".

Nor does he avoid the prevalent uncritical lumping together of all "Christianity", and of all "religion", as indistinguishable wholes. As a student of social history, he unquestionably knows better than to think and speak in sweeping generalities: it is therefore the more disappointing that, with all his acute analysis of conflicting thought-currents in the ancient and modern worlds, he makes no attempt to differentiate between, for example, the mystical individualism of Alexandrine theosophers and the forthright social declarations of Hebrew prophetism, or between Calvinistic preoccupation with the soul's destiny and "modernist" insistence on social reconstruction. Some religion, some Christianity, has been the people's opiate; some has been, as he rightly says, "far more poisonous than opium"; but the conclusion that all religion, all Christianity, are so to be judged is one which seems to me to be demonstrated neither by Dr. Briffault's article nor by an examination of the total body of relevant facts.

II. Facts

First then, let us examine certain considerations of fact suggested by the article before us. For convenience of reference I take them in the order in which they there appear:

(1) "The various unestablished Churches in America are . . . the instruments of the dictatorship of Big Business." This is undeniably true of some Churches, perhaps even of the majority. But as a generalization it is untenable in view of such recent episodes as the withdrawal of prominent Methodist laymen from that fellowship because of its "communistic

tendencies", and the forcing of Hugh S. Magill out of the General Secretaryship of the International Council of Religious Education because of his connections with the power trust. Previously in these columns I have alluded to the heroic stand for social justice of churchmen both obscure and prominent; in fairness to them I protest against their inclusion in a condemnation which is in no way applicable to their own records.

(2) The next question of fact is "long ago and far away". It relates to the Ionic philosophers and Epicurus on the one hand, and to Plato and Christianity on the other. Dr. Briffault applauds the former for their concept of justice in social terms, and condemns the latter for their mystical individualism. If, however, a tree is known by its fruit, the situation becomes surprisingly complex. Who actually outlined a scheme of social organization which denied private property to its officials, and demanded even the abolition of all family identities, because of the necessity of "dominance of social over individual interests"? Not Epicurus, but Plato. (See Davies and Vaughan translation of *The Republic*, pp. 126f, 179-183, 186f, 190, etc.) Who actually, without dialectic analysis but in simple behavior, "held all things in common"? Not the Ionians, but the first Christian community in Jerusalem. (Acts 2: 44f.) The theory of social good enunciated in Plato's *Republic*, the practice of common welfare in the apostolic fellowship, set beside the actual social sterility of Epicurus and the Ionic thinkers, confute the whole distinction which Dr. Briffault has sought to make. (N. B. If Dr. Briffault challenges the historicity of the Books of Acts, his position is nowise improved; for then the primitive Christian communism becomes an ideal invented and approved by the later Church which produced and circulated the document, and so still more a refutation of his theory of the basic individualism of Christianity in general.)

(3) "The leading of such a good life as would bring satisfaction to the individual soul, comfort it, and protect it from the sufferings to which it was exposed in an anti-social world" is the goal which Dr. Briffault attributes to Plato, and later to Stoicism and Christianity. Unfortunately for his argument, the phrase (except for the word "soul", which is not here essential) serves equally to characterize the goal of Epicurus. The distinction between Stoicism and Epicureanism is not that one sought a way of individual escape and the other did not: it is that the Stoics sought escape by endurance, and the Epicureans by enjoyment. To social reconstruction neither system, *per se*, made any genuine contribution, or pointed any charted way; and it may be argued that, as individuals, Epictetus the slave, Marcus Aurelius the emperor, and Seneca the critic of Neronian "conspicuous waste" (*animae naturaliter Christianae*), served humanity as much as did Epicurus the theorist and Lucretius the didactic poet (*animae naturaliter atomicae*?).

(4) It was not Dr. Briffault's central purpose, and it is not mine, to debate the historicity of Jesus. But his citations of Biblical materials are unhappy. (a) "The notion that such a prophet (Jesus) was an actual historical personage . . . was unknown, for instance, to Paul of Tarsus." Paul proves to be a poor instance, in view of his allusions to Jesus' human birth (Romans 1: 3, Galatians 4: 4), to his human character

(Philippians 2: 7f), to his words at the last supper (I Corinthians 11: 23-25), to his crucifixion (I Corinthians et. al. plur.), and to James of Jerusalem as "the Lord's brother" (Galatians 1: 19). It is perhaps noteworthy that Paul ventured to engage in strenuous controversy with James, and in this context speaks of him with something less than profound respect.) Paul indeed gives preëminence to the transcendent Christ; but he was by no means unaware of the historic Jesus.

(b) "Nazareth . . . is never mentioned in the Gospels." On the contrary, it appears as a city in Luke 2:4, as Jesus' boyhood home in Matthew 1:23, Luke 2:51 and John 1:45f, and as the scene of his first preaching in Luke 4:16-30. This question of Nazareth is in itself a trivium; but so flagrant a misstatement is unworthy of a scholar of Dr. Briffault's standing, and seriously weakens the argument to which it is attached.

(c) The equation of "Nazarene", a resident of Nazareth, with "Nazirite", a Hebrew religious fanatic—this is obviously the word to which Dr. Briffault has reference, though he fails to mention it—is of extreme dubiety; no sober philologist may ignore the variation in the middle vowel. At best, the contention here is a matter of opinion, and should not be stated as a fact.

(d) In citing "resist not evil" (Matthew 5:39) Dr. Briffault is both careless and cavalier. He is careless in using only the mistranslation in the King James version: the Greek reads not to *kakōn* (neuter)—"evil", but *ton kakōn* (masculine)—"him that is evil"; and other recorded sayings of Jesus exhibit plenty of resistance to evil, particularly in high places. Furthermore the context shows that the prohibited "resistance" is either aggression or, at the least, personal retaliation. But Dr. Briffault is cavalier in singling out this injunction, however interpreted, as the "culminating expression" of Christianity. Even in the Sermon on the Mount as it stands, the climactic position is given to the Golden Rule, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye also unto them: for this is the law and the prophets" (Matthew 7:12. Cf. Luke 6:31.)

III. Opinions

To the definition of good and evil in terms of social values I propose no objection. But I would add that not only is the "moral value of behavior . . . relative to its social effects", but also that all estimates of moral value spring from social origins: "morality" is, actually no less than etymologically, the *mores*, the customs of the group. It follows that any standard of ethical conduct, Epicurean or Platonic, communist or Christian, is to be understood as a social product. To realize this is to challenge the heart of Dr. Briffault's whole argument, which predicates both Ionic "Justice" and Christian "immorality" on purely abstract considerations.

Amos, who certainly believed in Oriental theocracy, scathingly denounced Israelite oligarchy—because he was a herdsman. Habakkuk, who took God for granted, bitterly condemned the imperialist wars of Alexander the Great, pupil of the entirely rational and logic-chopping Aristotle—because Habakkuk belonged to a conquered nation. Thus Habakkuk and Amos, no less than Alexander and Jereboam II, were the products of their own social situations; and neither mystic experience nor intellectual hypothesis is integral to the positions which they maintained. Even in the case of Plato, it is possible that the difference which Dr. Briffault notes between his early social rationalism and his later personal mysticism, as illustrated respectively in *The Republic* and *The Laws*, was due quite as much to the contemporary decay of Greek city-state organization as to a subjective acceptance of

an Oriental state of mind.

The principle holds for the whole field of our present discussion. "Life," a great professor of philosophy used to say—and he called himself a Christian, though he was denounced as a heretic—"begins with legs and not with logic." Rationalists have supported imperialism; mystics have preached and practised communism; the test lies not in the background of theory, but in the foreground of action.

But even from the point of view of theory, doubts arise as to the accuracy of Dr. Briffault's analysis. Christian morality, he declares, "is a doctrine of individualism, profoundly anti-social in its basic conceptions". It is possible, however, to view Christian individualism in quite a different light. The true individualism of Christianity is, I submit, not competitive but constructive: it is predicated on the ultimate worth of every individual, and so can never be satisfied until it eventuates in the complete welfare of every individual. It is precisely for the sake of social justice, for parity of opportunity and of realization, that Jesus is portrayed as insisting upon the self-abnegation of the ideal man. This is why modern churchmen oppose fascism, which denies the right of individual thought and expression; it is also why so many of them favor a socialist state, in which individual selfishness is subordinated to the common good. Granted that the welfare of society is the only legitimate goal; the fact remains that society consists of individuals—and that the best for all individuals demands a measure of restraint on all.

At this point (and this point is crucial) there is no essential conflict between Christian individualism and Marxian socialism: both seek justice by control—justice for society by control of the individual, justice for the individual by control of society. Historic Christianity has emphasized the appeal to individual motive, historic Marxism the necessity for social reorganization; ultimate victory for justice rests upon individual participation—participation of all individuals—in the reconstruction of the social order.

The last point of opinion on which I would touch is contained in an incidental phrase, and I suspect would not command Dr. Briffault's own wholehearted support. It is the statement that "Christian institutions have invariably been . . . the main support of absolutism, feudalism and capitalist exploitation". The main support? I dare question this. What about, as alternate candidates for this supreme odium, the law, the military establishments, the press, the systems of finance, the peonage, the wage contract? What about the major Marxian factor, "economic determinism"? I grant that "Christian institutions have often been among the supports of exploitation"; but I plead that these other forces have been a great deal more conscious, and noticeably more direct in their effects.

IV. Conclusions

Dr. Briffault concludes that "the complete abolition of Christianity in every form" is "the first requisite for rational social organization". He bases this conviction principally upon the essential individualism of the Christian ideal, secondarily upon the historic record of the Christian Church as an anti-social force. In contradistinction, I hold that a major service to social reconstruction can be rendered not by the abolition of Christianity, but by its restoration to its basic character. Recognizing the historic failures, I contend that the genius of Christianity, enunciated by Jesus in the succession of the Hebrew prophets, is one of complete social justice, of self-expression in the richest sense, of self-realization in social usefulness, of self-denial only in the interest of the common good. In these terms, Christian idealism becomes a

tremendous motive power applied to the wheels of social progress; and some of us Christians propose to apply that motive power until we are liquidated either by the communists whose purpose we share, or by the capitalists whose system we abominate.

It should be apparent that I am seriously concerned neither about the survival of the name "Christian", nor about the preservation of the Church as an institution; in earlier issues of this journal I have discussed the possibility of their elimination with, I think, perfect equanimity. But I offer to anti-religious radicals the suggestion that they have far more

deadly foes to face, and the further hint that a measure of discrimination will help them to distinguish real enemies from potential allies.

For such challenges as that of Dr. Briffault we are nevertheless grateful, for they put us on our mettle. Ultimately the reply will be made, not in the realms of history and theory in which he and I have tarried so long, but in the field of the social struggle. There it will be incumbent upon the Christian to prove, at the last, whether "The Essential Lie of Christianity" can be refuted, overcome, by the essential LIFE of Christianity.



"WASHINGTON, THE MOST RADICAL STATE"

BY CLIFF MOSBY

DREW PEARSON and Robert S. Allen in their syndicated column, "Washington Merry-Go-Round", stated that, "Emil Hurja," Postmaster Farley's man Friday, "after a political survey of the states, had reported Washington as the most radical."

This naturally calls forth the query, how radical is the State of Washington? What is the actual situation, both politically and economically, that influenced Hurja to bestow this honor upon it?

Since the days before the World War, when the I. W. W. were strong in the Northwest, Washington has had an active militant labor movement that has often been labeled by the conservative press of Seattle, Tacoma and Spokane as "Red".

Many readers of PACIFIC WEEKLY will recall the "Revolution" hysteria of Seattle's ex-mayor Ole Hanson, just after the war, when the Central Labor Councils of Tacoma and Seattle called a general strike in support of the shipyard workers. At that time the Seattle Union Record, a labor daily, had a circulation of 40,000. "Workmen's, Soldiers' and Sailors' Councils" existed in Tacoma and Seattle. At weekly mass meetings, the halls were packed and sometimes thousands turned away. Business men and politicians had the jitters, seeing visions of the "Red Revolution" just around the corner. However, after Mayor Ole Hanson, Seattle's knightly St. George, had "saved America from Bolshevism by crushing the general strike" (it failed through lack of preparation and poor tactics), the labor movement became quiescent. The skilled craftsmen of the A. F. of L. were enjoying "Coolidge prosperity", while the loggers and lumber workers were left unorganized or compelled to join the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen, the bosses' substitute for the I. W. W., which had lost most of its effectiveness during the war persecution.

* * *

During the past three years, the labor movement and unions in the State have recaptured some of their war day vigor, as is witnessed by the recent Longshore and Timber Workers' strikes.

The politicians of the State, always having their ears

attuned to the ground, have taken due cognizance of this and have acted accordingly.

Just prior to the 1932 election, a shrewd, as well as powerful figure, appeared upon the Washington political horizon in the person of John C. Stevenson, better known as "Radio Speaker John C. Stevenson". Since being nominated and elected on the Democratic ticket to the Board of King County Commissioners (Seattle and vicinity), Stevenson has built a powerful vote-getting machine. By making a deal with the Republican holdover member, Wilmer Brinton, Stevenson was able to maneuver himself into the chairmanship of the board. This tactic has enabled him to command a firm grip on patronage matters.

Stevenson is and was, prior to his election, Seattle branch manager of the Painless Parker chain dental parlors. In this capacity he has engaged in fifteen and thirty-minute radio speeches, sponsored by his employer. The subjects of his talks consist of comment, definitely left in color, on current economic and political matters. At times, Stevenson gives series of lectures, educational in nature, on various questions. His talks have the quality of being well prepared. Having a good command of English, the "Radio Speaker" has built up a listening audience of thousands of devoted followers throughout the State. Incidentally, he has also built up the popularity and business of the Dr. Parker Painless Dental Offices.

After election, his political enemies in Seattle tried to railroad him out of the State on extradition charges from New York. Some thirteen years ago, a John C. Stockman was indicted in Buffalo on a stock swindling scheme. He mysteriously disappeared and had not been heard of until Stevenson's rival, Johnny Dore, who was then mayor of Seattle, charged that the popular "Radio Speaker" was the missing stock salesman.

In his election campaign, Stevenson had proved by County Records that the downtown property in Seattle, much of which is held by banks and mortgage companies, was assessed too low in comparison with residential property. He proposed to remedy this situation. After election, business men and the downtown property holders, fearful that Stevenson would

fulfill his campaign pledge in this regard, joined hands with their man, Mayor Dore, and proposed to "shuffle John off to Buffalo".

However, they reckoned without Gov. Clarence D. Martin, who was under political obligation to Stevenson on account of accepting the "Radio Speaker's" support in the 1932 gubernatorial campaign. He refused to honor the extradition papers.

In 1934, "Steve", as the "Radio Speaker" is familiarly known by his friends, entered the primaries for the Democratic senatorial nomination. In a three-way race, both he and his major opponent, Lewis B. Schwellenbach, a Seattle lawyer, who had made an unsuccessful fight against Gov. Clarence D. Martin for the 1932 Democratic gubernatorial nomination, covered each other with well-directed barrages of mud. Both claimed the honor of being more radical than the other. Schwellenbach espoused Upton Sinclair's plan, The Commonwealth Builders Inc., as it is known in Washington, until he had secured the nomination. In the subsequent campaign against his Republican opponent, Reno Odlin, Schwellenbach soft-pedaled the issue.

Because of not being well known in the eastern section of the State where a conservative farm vote predominates, Stevenson lost the nomination to Schwellenbach, by a slight margin. In Seattle, however, where he enjoyed large pluralities, the "Radio Speaker" was able to nominate and elect, with the exception of the sheriff, his personal slate to the County Offices.

Thus, he is in a strategic position to make a race for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination next year against the incumbent, Governor Clarence D. Martin.

The Governor, a wealthy flour miller of Cheney, Washington, who inherited his money from his father, is a colorless personality. He was nominated and elected through the expenditure of huge sums, having nothing else to commend him, except for the fact that he was a native son. He is a conservative who has tried to fly the progressive colors. During the Longshore strike he remained neutral, but his sympathies for the bosses got the best of his political judgment this past summer. The Governor called out the National Guard in Tacoma and Aberdeen to try and break the Timber Workers' strike.

Martin thus has alienated the West Side (Puget Sound) radical vote. Stevenson has taken full advantage of this break to stress his sympathies for the workers, by making speeches at the Seattle and Tacoma joint Labor Day picnic and other progressive meetings.

The Democratic politicians are well aware of this threat. They are also dissatisfied with the present Governor, who they charge has retained too many Republicans in office. As a result, ex-senator C. C. Dill is being groomed for the race.

Senior Senator Homer T. Bone (of Neutrality Legislative Bill fame) known in the State for fighting the "power trust" for fifteen years, has sought office as a Socialist, Farmer-Laborite, Republican and Democrat, finally succeeding in the latter capacity. He previously had served one term as a Farmer-Laborite in the State Legislature, where he made an unsuccessful fight to allow municipalities to sell electric power beyond their corporate limits. Since Bone's election to the Senate, this bill has passed.

Nobody knows just where the Senator stands in regard to the various factions, fighting for supremacy in the State Democracy. They all clamor for his endorsement as he is perhaps the most popular political figure in Washington at the present time. Bone has always championed the municipal

owned City Light Plants of Tacoma and Seattle. This is a sacred cause as far as the electorate of the West Side is concerned and has always been a sure source of vote-getting for the politicians of the Left.

There is also a Left Wing minority in the State Legislature, which was headed at the '33 sessions by Representative N. C. Mann of Seattle. This faction is hooked up with Stevenson, as is U. S. Representative Marion Zioncheck of the Seattle Congressional District.

The picture would not be complete without giving a brief sketch of Lieutenant Governor Victor A. Meyers, popular orchestra leader of Seattle, who affords the comedy relief. After losing a mayoralty campaign, in which he posed for camera men à la Gandhi, he ran for the Lt. Governorship as the "Forgotten Man for the Forgotten Job". His main appeal to the voters was a demonstration, and accompanying talk, on his particular method of applying diapers to a baby. This usually threw the crowd into prolonged peals of laughter.

* * *

Recently a convention of the Washington Commonwealth Federation was held on October 5 in Tacoma. This organization purports to be a "United Front" of the following groups, Labor, the Grange, Continental Technocracy, United Producers, A.T.A., Ass. Consumers, Women, and Commonwealth Builders Inc. The latter and the Technocracy group make up the hub around which the rest rotate.

The Federation refused to cooperate with the Communists and build a real "United Front". They also refused to seat delegates from the unemployed organizations, apparently fearing that these two groups might inject some real vigor into the movement. The Federation barred the Reds on the ground that the Communists do not believe in achieving economic security through "democratic processes". Evidently the Federation has failed to learn anything by the fate of the Social Democrats in Germany.

Their platform consists of the following and fifteen other planks, "1. We favor production for use for all and the abolition of the profit system."

Just how this is to be accomplished, the Commonwealth Federation fails to make clear as they state that they are neither a "third party or an old line party movement". It might be added here that the Federation is still in the organizational stage. It is scheduled to meet in convention again next April, when it is hoped that after sounding the sentiment of the membership, definite policies as to the direction in which the Federation will go politically, can be formulated. However, as is published in their paper of October 19th issue, the *Washington Commonwealth*, they are "determined to make a stand—maybe a LAST stand in this state for the principles of HUMAN RIGHTS ABOVE PROPERTY RIGHTS". It is to be hoped that the Federation can do something of a realistic nature in this regard.

Not to be caught napping, the Chambers of Commerce and Business Men's Associations are sponsoring a fascist youth organization called the Order of Cincinnatus. The membership is composed of young white collar workers and business men's sons under the age of thirty-five. Their program calls for "a stronger, more efficient and less expensive government". The Order has made notable gains in Seattle where they have succeeded in electing three members to the City Council, incidentally unseating one of Stevenson's henchmen, Frank F. Fitts. During the Longshore strike, Councilman David Lockwood, the first member of the Cincinnatus to gain office, voted consistently to back up Mayor Charles L. Smith

in sending police to the docks for the protection of scabs.

* * *

While all this political shadow-boxing has been going on, Labor meantime has learned valuable lessons the past two summers in the Longshore and Timber Worker strikes. The workers are closing their ranks and preparing for bigger struggles ahead. While not winning the closed shop or a complete victory, the Timber Workers' strike was instrumental in gaining a minimum wage of fifty cents an hour and a forty-hour week in the industry.

The bosses are also preparing. Since the Longshoremen's victory, various "Citizens Committees" have been formed in all cities of importance. The name "Citizens Committee" is a smoke screen to hide the identity of the membership which is composed of business men belonging to the Chambers of Commerce. At the first sign of unrest among the workers, the "Committee" floods the newspapers with large advertisements, announcing how much money the community and the workers will lose in wages by a strike. They are absolutely "impartial". The "Citizens Committee" believe in the "American right to strike", yes indeed, but they also believe in the "American right to work", or in more realistic language, the right to import scabs.

Perhaps the reactions of the workers to this and the political jockeying in the State is best indicated by the answer of Stubb Andrews, militant member of the rank and file during the recent Timber Workers' strike. When asked what he thought the chances were of the workers in the State gaining their demands for economic security through a victory of the Left Wing Democrats at the polls in 1936, he replied, "Hell, the only way a working stiff ever gains anything is by organizing and fighting the bosses on the picket line."

Evidently other workers are of the same opinion. Since the settlement of the Timber Workers' struggle, strikes have been breaking out with ever greater frequency. The latest have been the Fisher Flouring Mills and the Ferryboatmen's strikes in Seattle. Mayor Charles L. Smith, taking a leaf out of ex-mayor Ole Hanson's book, claimed that he had proof of a "Communist plot to prolong the flour mill strike, and provoke a general 'sympathetic' uprising". The mayor does not seem over-endowed with originality in his great discovery.

HOLLYWOOD-WEEK

(Hollywood News Bureau—Exclusive to PACIFIC WEEKLY)

CATHOLIC BOYCOTT

CATHOLIC hierarchy is forcing renewal of Legion of Decency pledges of all communicants, first taken on December 9, 1934, to offset Hollywood's back-sliding. Secret meeting of bishops last week intimated that the theatres exhibiting objectionable films would be blacklisted as well as the offending pictures. Catholic hierarchy can well take heed of position of Germanic section of Roman Catholic Church to-day, join the Peoples' Front, use its strength now to boycott anti-labor, reactionary, chauvinistic, militaristic, fascist pictures!

MR. SMALL REGRETS

RESULT of Peoples' Front reception to *Red Salute* is the steadily growing rumor of impending bankruptcy of Reliance

Pictures, which releases through United Artists. Producer Eddie Small counters rumor with announcement of six pictures for the 1936-1937 program, not the least of which is to be the life of Jim Fisk, based on Matthew Josephson's *The Robber Barons*, which will "expose the shady methods used at the start of their careers by the men who are to-day America's most highly respected financiers". No fool, Eddie Small will probably never make the life of Jim Fisk, and is merely trying to do lip-service to non-partisanship. Eddie Small will undoubtedly return, if his bankers permit him to continue, to the production of the wish-fulfillment type of film that made Reliance's first profits. Started in 1933, Reliance's first was *I Cover the Waterfront*. It earned big profits again this year with *The Count of Monte Cristo* which were counteracted by losses on fascist *Red Salute* and innocuous *The Melody Lingers On*.

FASCIST

PARAMOUNT seeks to grab junior following of the radio-serial *Jimmy Allen's Air Adventures* by importing the network boy-hero, Jimmy Allen (Murray McLean, Chicago actor) and Speed Robertson (Robert Fiske), for the picture, *The Sky Parade*, which also features William Gargan, Katherine DeMille, Kent Taylor. Radio program, an electrical transcription, is sponsored on the West Coast by Richfield Oil, in mid-West by Skelly and Hickok. It is a jingoistic saga of an air-minded boy and cue for promotion of national youth organization, *Jimmy Allen's Air Cadets*, which vies with Hearst's *Junior Birdmen of America*. The club which claims membership on the West Coast alone of more than 450,000, nationally at close to 2,000,000, gives insignia, printed flight lessons, monthly club news to its members through Richfield gasoline service stations. Big Paramount-Richfield-Skelly-Hickok tie-up will result! . . . For anti-labor motif watch 20th Century-Fox's *Black Gang* with Paul Kelly, Arline Judge, mining film.

WRITING'S A CRAFT, TOO

LEADERS of Hollywood's Screen Writers' Guild are interested in assuring that other American writers will not "scab" in supplying story material in the event of a Hollywood battle between guilds and producers. Thus, this week, Hollywood's Screen Writers' Guild seeks tie-up with Dramatists' Guild and Authors' League of America to unite all literary creators under closed-shop system. At present Authors' League is parent body of all authors' organizations, is under presidency of *Green Pastures* author Marc Connelly. Says Connelly: "Each body is autonomous and concerned at present solely with the ethics and economics of its own writing field."

CLOSED SHOP FOR STUDIOS

LEADERS of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers this week announce that hereafter the motion picture studios will operate under a closed-shop agreement.

Ostensibly a big gain for film-labor, the agreement has film workers puzzled, has them mystified at the sleight-of-hand performance by bureaucratic officialdom. What are the terms of the agreement? How was it accomplished? What is the gain for the workers? Why did the producers give in so easily? How could workers organized in the IBEW be transferred to the IATSE without having been consulted?

The move goes back to 1933 when IATSE had successfully

organized Hollywood labor. A strike, called by the leadership, was broken by IBEW officials, who were rewarded by studio recognition. IATSE leaders swore revenge, connived for two years at ways and means of getting their fingers back into the dues-pot, until last week when Paramount Sales Convention met in Chicago. Then IATSE called out all of its theatre workers in that city, threatened a nation-wide theatre strike, unless it got control of all studios, unless its workers replaced IBEW maintenance men in all theatres. Workers in Hollywood had not been consulted, waited patiently while executives, labor leaders, Hays' office representatives flew to New York to ponder.

The result, sketchily announced: IATSE gets control over all cameramen, still photographers, "grips", carpenters, lamp operators, laboratory technicians, film editors and operators in the studios. IBEW has right to organize maintenance men in theatres. Sound men in the studios, second most important film craft, will go either to IATSE or IBEW in sixty days, after arbiter "who shall be favorable to both unions and producers" shall decide and "his decision shall be final".

The first important consideration to-day is unity of the workers; this Hollywood labor understands. Has it been achieved? The answer is "no", even though at first glance it seems as though the jurisdictional dispute between the leadership of the two unions has been settled.

The sound men will probably be split—actual operatives going to IATSE, electrical, maintenance and construction men going to IBEW. The cameramen, most important studio craft, has been split. Because they are organized in independent American Society of Cinematographers, first cameramen have been permitted to remain in that union, but assistants and second cameramen and still photographers must give up ASC cards, must go to the IATSE until such time as they become "firsts". This, all without consulting the ASC!

The other craft unions formerly in IBEW go to IATSE, their status unchanged, although they might split if the men were permitted to decide democratically the union of their choice.

Hollywood labor must consolidate these splits, must force IATSE President George Browne to fulfill his promise of "industrial unionism", the battle cry with which he opened the fight for IATSE recognition.

Why did the producers so readily acquiesce? Louis B. Mayer answers: "American Federation of Labor leaders were concerned over the plans of the International Alliance in the theatrical field, swinging their organization toward a policy of industrial unionism". Thus, the producers agreed because they knew that the agreement would split Hollywood labor, would act exactly counter to George Browne's promise.

As yet Hollywood workers know but the bare outlines of the agreement which was enacted behind closed doors, is still kept secret. They are marking time until they are informed . . . hoping that at least the "closed shop" agreement is true so that the rank and file movement may become even stronger!

HIGH FINANCE

IF PROPOSED DEAL between Chase National Bank and Floyd Odlum goes through, the Atlas Securities-Lehman Brothers group will control nation's motion picture business with investment of between \$30,000,000 and \$40,000,000. Already in Paramount for \$6,000,000 and in RKO through the purchase of the Sarnoff-RCA interests for approximately \$12,000,000, Odlum is now negotiating with Chase for its 50 per cent interest in 20th Century-Fox for between

\$15,000,000 and \$20,000,000. Chase, however, in the face of the rising war market, is holding out for a higher price, representing a 100 per cent return, plus interest on its investment.

TECHNIQUE

ELECTROLYTIC PRINTING of the day's news, line by line as it is broadcast from a radio station, on a machine to cost no more than \$50 is forecast for homes within 90 days by *Transradio News Service*. *Transradio* is backing the manufacturers, is prepared to give broadcasting service as soon as the machine is on the market. *Transradio* is also interested in machine for home reception of three color motion pictures and animated cartoons in color, forecast for 1936.

BOOKS

WIFE OF A GENIUS

BY UNA JEFFERS

How much leeway shall we allow a genius? "Let him swing the whole circumference," Mrs. Conrad would certainly answer; for if few geniuses have been so difficult as Joseph Conrad, certainly few have been so generously and wholeheartedly served.

After the briefest of courtships Conrad met the young English girl one morning with an air of gloomy determination and the startling words; "Look here, my dear, we had better get married and out of this. Look at the weather. We will get married at once and get over to France. How soon can you be ready?" The forceful sailor had won her heart already, and in no time at all they were crossing the Channel one night in dirty weather through a wallowing sea. Conrad's "You would inspire a dead man with distrust," as he gazed upon his sea-sick bride, was fair preparation for all his future candors.

Fascinating and strange she found him, his exaggerated punctiliousness alternating with a thoughtlessness and self-absorption that in a normal man could only be described as incredible selfishness. Perhaps he was troubled by some problem in his writing, and when they started to pay a visit in the rain he would don all three traveling coats and leave her with none. She kept silence, preferring the gentle downpour to the tempest of his wrath if he should discover her plight and his own discourtesy. Or during some difficult delays while traveling she would be left fourteen hours without a drink, at a time when she was a nursing mother. The night before she was to enter a hospital for an operation, his nervousness and worry prompted him to invite thirty people for an impromptu supper-party. He had a queer habit of appropriating any new object, tray or book; she had to buy four work-tables for herself, until his room would hold no more, before she could keep one. And always there was the battle with malaria and gout—a gout which, like Proust's asthma, was induced as often by psychical as by physical provocation. If his friends bored him, or his publisher hurried him, or if he wrote too long in his "torture chamber", his hands and feet swelled with gout and his exaggerated nerves filled the house with unrest. We see her bandaging his hands and hastening to fetch some medication, only to be called back at once by smoke and cries, for he had clawed loose his bandages, exposing the cotton, then lit a cigarette and set himself on fire, or again she is up in the middle of the night, tempting his uncertain appetite with the

intricate sauces that delighted his fastidious palate.

Mrs. Conrad seemed never to resent any of these incidents. It is as if she had considered, "Here am I, an ordinary woman, in the amazing position of wife to a Prodigy. In return for this fortune and the tremendous excitement of life with him, I can give the care that will enable him to function; for his genius and irritability, my capable service and tireless serenity."

It is permissible to wonder what would have happened if the war, for instance, had thrust Conrad into some other work. What if his keen insight and his fluency with languages had led him into the Diplomatic Corps? (His tendency on shipboard to be a martinet, of course, was not singular among ship's officers!) Would he have constrained himself to maintain invariably that suavity of manner so marvelously his when he found every circumstance favorable?

The latitude proper for genius as distinguished from normal man is a fascinating problem. Was old Max Nordau right in his theory of Genius and Degeneration? Shall we encourage all self-indulgence in him who is creating a masterpiece—sensibly aware though we are that there exist already more masterpieces in every art than the world can take time to contemplate? Must we anticipate some Swinburne-Watts-Dunton débâcle if we stabilize the nerves of these unshackled god-endowed ones? Mrs. Conrad's book* is not interrupted for an instant by such speculations.

Conrad's morbid susceptibility and restless temper, and pathological derangements, rendered his intense concentration on his stories, written as these were in a harassing idiom foreign to him, a painful and distressing battle unrelieved by any truce, for he was goaded both by ambition and the pressing need to earn a living. It is interesting to notice that during these years of ferment Mrs. Conrad, if we may judge from the photographs in the book, changed from a rather exotic, sensual, indolent-looking girl to a woman of ample proportions whose face is full of dignity and self-control and friendliness.

Despite a turn of phrase often banal, and an apparent lack of any plan except time sequence, Mrs. Conrad has produced a book unique in the depiction of genius, by dint of setting down simply and sincerely innumerable episodes covering their thirty years together. She writes of life in England, in town and country; travel abroad in war and peace; sons and grandsons; distinguished men, Galsworthy, W. H. Hudson, Cunninghame Graham, Arthur Symonds, Epstein, Lord Northcliffe: she writes of all imperturbably—of all except perhaps Ford Madox Hueffer Ford. She does not try to analyze or explain, but we miss nothing of Conrad's long struggle, and her unquestioning belief in his greatness would even convince one who had never read a word of his. There is really fine writing in her closing pages, poignant in their simplicity and grief. Too lame to move from her chair she hears Joseph Conrad call his morning greeting to her through the closed door between their rooms, hears the accustomed nervous tap-tap of his fingers against his chair, and then a sudden gasping cry to his servant and "a confused shuffling sound almost as a ghost had fallen to the floor, then silence". An eternal silence between them.

OUTLINE OF THE SOCIAL THEATRE

THE AWAKENING OF THE AMERICAN THEATRE,
by Ben Blake. (Tomorrow Publishers) 25 cents

(Reviewed by James Burr)

IN THIS booklet of sixty-two pages Ben Blake has given a clear and concise outline of the background and development of the social theatre in America. Blake, being an active participant, writes authoritatively of this movement, which

*JOSEPH CONRAD AND HIS CIRCLE, by Jessie Conrad.
(E. P. Dutton & Co.) \$3.75

has evolved out of the depression.

The struggles of the worker-artists who battled privation and poverty to establish a dramatic art possessing a definite social viewpoint is an exciting story. It is a story which proves that the spirit of adventure and of the pioneer has not disappeared from American life.

By 1930 the little theatre movement had suffered serious disintegration due to its "art for art's sake" orgy. The crash swept away the financial support and therefore the life of the majority of the little theatres remaining in existence at that time.

Our commercial stage had become almost entirely preoccupied with the trivial and the mediocre. The few attempts at realism were done in the spirit of complete futility. The decadence of the professional theatre was almost complete.

Then in 1930 the Workers' Laboratory Theatre commenced experimental production of one-act plays that dealt with the realities of the working class. They brought the theatre to thousands of people who had never known the culture of dramatic art or were deprived of it because of their economic situation. At the present day the results of this pioneering effort are a host of amateur groups throughout the country affiliated with the New Theater League and the existence in New York of the professional Group Theatre and Theatre Union. For and friend alike admit the tremendous influence which this movement is having upon both the amateur and the commercial theatre of to-day. The voice of the movement, *The New Theatre Magazine*, in two years' time has grown from a mimeographed bulletin to a monthly magazine with a circulation of eighteen thousand.

To those who are not familiar with the history of the social theatre, this booklet should be required reading. To those who have followed the movement, Ben Blake's book will give a well coordinated picture. The reader is left with the conviction that the only force which is capable of stifling this progressive culture is the rise to dominance of fascist reaction.

KNOWS HIS MINERS

HORSE SHOE BOTTOMS, by Tom Tippet. (Harper & Bros.) \$2.50

(Reviewed by George Van de Wetering)

READ in a desultory fashion the first few pages of Tom Tippet's *Horse Shoe Bottoms*. Soon, however, I became interested. When the English group of miners, newly come to America, realize their class interests, the story begins to take on vitality. With Old Bill as the boss of Horse Shoe Bottoms Mine, in Illinois, there is still that human relationship (despite many defects) which frequently existed between an employer, himself a workman, and his employees. The pride of an honest laborer believing in his work is the common bond of sympathy between them. This understanding is completely lost when Old Bill loses his power, and the mine is controlled by men who have no regard or feeling for the miner and do not make any attempt to understand him.

Mr. Tippet tells of the lack of safety devices with resultant accidents, of the miners' struggles to organize and the vicious attempts of the operators to stop organization. There are incidents that make one's blood boil. The death of the boy George, the self-sacrifice of Haywood, and above all, the rise to leadership of John Stafford make absorbing reading. To the bourgeois class it may seem strange that John loves coal with a love that is transmitted to his children. Such a love for productive labor developed by a group of men facing common dangers is not easily grasped by those who live safer lives. Even Ellen, John's wife, who would like to break away from the coal mines, finds coal too strong for her.

When John dies from illness contracted in the mines, the union is fully accepted. Blacklists have been abolished and the workday has been shortened. The miners dare to say to

the boss: "Things have changed, man. We know our power. We dig your coal."

The characters already mentioned and others, although by no means lacking in reality, are not yet as rich in emotional life as I should like to have them. I don't know whether *Horse Shoe Bottoms* is Mr. Tippet's first novel or not, but I imagine he will write other works with his characters more richly portrayed. Again it may be that I am looking for something in them that there could not possibly be. Tom Tippet knows his miners, while I do not.

What the author hopes for from the future is perhaps hinted when he has John Stafford say: "Labor will rule America, some day."

EXCELLENT READING

THE LEGEND OF ST. COLUMBA, by Padraic Colum
(Macmillan) \$2.25

(Reviewed by Alan Campbell)

IRELAND's sixth century saint, Colum-cille, (dove of the church) was a robust and persistent sort of person whose eventful life as retold for young readers by Padraic Colum makes excellent and varied reading.

The book opens with a legend foretelling the birth of the saint: Finn's hound, Bran, refuses to hold her quarry when she tracks it down on the very spot where Colum-cille is to be born, the loveliest glen in Donegal. The story abounds with delightful legends portraying the fidelity of birds and animals to the saint. . . It is a hearty narrative told with suitable simplicity and directness. One can readily understand how this warrior-saint is still held in such high esteem—Padraic Colum stresses the blending of peasant simplicity and shrewdness which made Colum-cille. Elizabeth Mackinstry's illustrations are in keeping with the style of the story.

BRILLIANT EXPOSITION

THE SYMBOLS OF GOVERNMENT, by Thurman Arnold. (Yale University Press) \$2.50

(Reviewed by Myer Cohen)

PROFESSOR ARNOLD has written a brilliant exposition of the contradictions and paradoxes which stand between man and the development of successful governing techniques. With a wealth of illustrative material he shows how man succeeds in tripping himself up by developing a set of principles, assigning to the institutions created in their image certain symbolic values, and then, when a practical situation arises, being blocked from achieving a generally recognized desirable result by the symbolism attached to the institutions. Neither man's motives nor any inherent nature of the social sciences are responsible for this apparent impasse. Avoiding the old bogey of whether or not the social sciences are really sciences, the author argues that the development of a science of government faces to-day the same problems that medical science faced several centuries ago:

There was a time when physicians marched around the palace of Versailles in protest against the adoption of surgical techniques. That time has gone forever in medicine, simply because of a change in attitude. That time is still with us in government. Phenomena similar to the medical parade of protest may be found in every newspaper and in every conversation among men of character and respectability, to-day, whenever they talk about social problems.

In government there are no recognized techniques, nor do we have any recognized methods of political training. The student leaves government to the politician, with the result that ignorant and psychopathic personalities, who frequently

are dramatic actors versed in the skills of ceremony and ritual, seem more proficient in leading masses than do men of learning.

The significance of Symbolism in its hold on our ways of thinking is nowhere clearer than in the current dispute over government "interference" with business. In the public mind to-day, the symbol of bureaucracy adheres to government, and the concepts of inefficient management and of unjustifiable interference with individual rights cling to bureaucracy. Business, on the other hand, operates under the symbol of freedom. The result is that

. . . in the quaint, poetic fancy of our day, the United States Steel Corporation has become an individual whose powerful organization must be protected at all hazards from tyranny.

Professor Arnold concludes not with the naive plea that we avoid the use of theories and the symbols which grow up around them, nor that we adopt any particular set of theories, but rather that we substitute for the present set of symbols surrounding political organization, a new set of symbols embodying respectability. The theories on which such a set of symbols must be based should meet the following tests:

. . . (they must) be effective both as a moral force, and as an intellectual playground, yet . . . permit politicians to come out of the disreputable cellars in which they have been forced to work.

In the reviewer's opinion this book will be attacked by Communists as an open invitation to Fascism, by conservative groups as a disrespectful treatment of revered institutions, and by liberal reformers as immoral. That it should mean all things to all people is basic in the conception of the book. Briefly, the author pleads that those who have decided what set of values they consider Good must learn the all-important techniques of establishing and administering the institutions which will enable them to realize the Good Life.



CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

GEORGE HEDLEY was for eleven years a theological professor, and is the author of "A Christian Year" and of numerous articles in fields both political and religious.

CLIFF MOSBY is a Tacoma (Wash.) newspaperman.

MYER COHEN took his doctorate in Industrial Relations at Yale Law School and is now on the staff of the San Francisco School of Social Studies directed by Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn.

DUDLEY SOLES is a San Francisco newspaperman.

UNA JEFFERS, herself the wife of a genius, is particularly qualified to review books such as the one by Mrs. Joseph Conrad, discussed by Mrs. Jeffers in this issue.

GEORGE VAN DE WETERING is a graduate of the University of Washington, with graduate work at Columbia and Stanford. He is now head of the English Department at the Santa Cruz Senior High School.

JAMES BURR is a writer living in Southern California.

ROBERT WHITAKER is a retired minister living in Los Gatos, California. He writes poetry and articles and is well known as a speaker on various subjects.

CORRESPONDENCE

TANAKA'S WORD COMING TRUE

Editor, Pacific Weekly,

The secret memorandum of Baron Tanaka should be re-read to-day. In it he said:

"In order to conquer the world we must first conquer China . . . with the resources of China at our disposal we shall pass forward to

the conquest of India, the Archipelago, Asia Minor, Central Asia and even Europe."

To many Americans unfamiliar with Far Eastern affairs, Baron Tanaka's secret memorandum is ridiculous. They think that the exposed document is nothing but an invented piece of Chinese or Communist propaganda against the Japanese imperialist. They think that such ambition would never mature to reality.

The primary step outlined by the document is already an accomplished fact; Manchuria is in the grasp of the Japanese imperialist's claw which, in cooperation with the Chinese militarists at Nanking, plunders and murders the Chinese people. North China is being forced by the Japanese imperialist to secede from China. The Chinese people are being enslaved.

Intelligent Americans recognize the sincere imperialistic aims of the document; the barbaric actions of the Japanese imperialist in North China at present is a reflection of the document. Pecuniary lust makes the American imperialist close his eyes in a voluntary nervous response to the Japanese imperialist's advance. They urge the Japanese imperialist on to more plunder and murder by granting the so-called "wheat loan" to the Chinese militarists at Nanking for the purchase of munitions, and for harmonic cooperation with the Japanese imperialist to suppress the Chinese people who are trying to unshackle themselves from the heavy chains of peonage. Through controlled press they give a vicious countenance to the Chinese people, branding all those who want peace and freedom as Reds.

The Japanese imperialist's loud cry against Communism in China is but a smoke screen hiding his satanic action from the eyes of the

peoples of the world. The smoke screen is too thin for thinking minds and keen eyes. The Japanese imperialist policy can easily be seen as the policy set forth by the Tanaka Memorandum.

Berkeley, California

Shou-chin Yui

SINCLAIR AND MARX

Editor, Pacific Weekly

I note in your issue of December 23, a California teacher has been studying Marx and quotes me for the purpose of showing how wrong I am as against the rightness of Marx. I request that the teacher will deal with the following quotation spoken by Marx in Amsterdam in 1872:

"Of course I must not be supposed to imply that the means to this end (the revolution) will everywhere be the same. We know that special regard must be paid to the institutions, customs and traditions of various lands, and we do not deny that there are certain countries, such as the United States and England, in which the workers may hope to secure their ends by peaceful means."

All my differences with so-called Marxists come from the fact that I read these words of Marx many years ago and paid attention to them, while the so-called Marxists do not even know they were spoken.

Another saying of Marx which should be more frequently quoted is: "I am not a Marxist."

Pasadena, California

Upton Sinclair

"THEY TELL ME--"

TILLIE LERNER came through Carmel on a flying trip complete with hitch-hiker and news of her novel finished and sent to Random House. To the hitch-hiker she entrusted her (borrowed) car for the night, while she sat up bewailing the fact that the novel was no good, that she should never have written it, that she wasn't a writer, and wondering whether any other writer had ever felt like that. She got her car and hitch-hiker back in the morning and Bennett Cerf reports that he does not share her feelings about her novel. It will appear early in the spring. Tillie will send her three-year-old daughter to her folks in Omaha and move to San Francisco shortly.

LESLIE T. WHITE, who reviews books for "Pacific Weekly", wires from New York that Harcourt, Brace have accepted his autobiography, "Me, Detective", and the publishers write that they think they have an interesting and significant book. Since "Pacific Weekly" is the first non-pulp magazine for which ex-Detective White has written, we take pride in his success. "Liberty" has put in a word for serial rights, and Warner Brothers for movie rights of his book.

TESS SLESINGER, at work at Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, has been investigating some of the really dramatic hot spots of Southern California, and it is reported she is planning a novel on the difference between the two worlds—Hollywood and the bustling agitated centers of human struggle not twenty miles distant. When an intellectual and an honest writer sees for herself something that is happening, a work of art may easily result.

ILYA ILF AND EUGENE PETROFF evidently made a hit in Hollywood. They were asked to write a scenario on their American impressions, were given \$750 advance, and completed the job in three days. They are now on the road again collecting more impressions.

The Soviet movie which Metro has been working on—on and off—for four years has reached the \$400,000 mark for expenses, has had writers of every shade of opinion working on it—from Boris Pilnyak to Isaac Don Levine (and also the Spewaks and Anita

Loos)—but it appears now to be permanently shelved. Al Lewin, who is in charge, says he sees no way out to do a film on Soviet Russia without propagandizing either way.

MEANWHILE a Soviet opera has been written, libretto by Mikhail Sholokov, music by the great Russian composer Shostakovich, on the collectivization theme of Sholokov's novel, "Seeds of Tomorrow" (Knopf). The opera is to be presented in Russia shortly. Shostakovich's "Lady Macbeth of Minsk" was performed at the Metropolitan in New York last season.

THIS MAGAZINE'S reference to Bill Prohme's death in Honolulu has created considerable interest among publishers, a number of whom were inquiring last week for his notebooks. Lewis Gannett, in his column in the N. Y. "Herald Tribune" told of Prohme keeping notebooks for years and of the brilliant book reviews he wrote for the Honolulu "Advertiser", in which paper he also ran a column. Bill also completed a novel about Rayna Prohme, but one night, dissatisfied with it, he burned the 70,000 words written. He evidently resented Vincent Sheean's picture. Prohme has a son Rupert (by a former wife) at Stanford University. Rayna Prohme was married first to Sam Raphaelson, the playwright, whose play, "Accent on Youth", has just appeared in the movies.

SAN FRANCISCO has always been a gourmand's town. Recent travel books, such as Basil Woon's, enlarge on its restaurants and eating houses. One of its best known literary figures, Charles Erskine Scott Wood, author of "Heavenly Discourse" and "The Poet in the Desert", understands food and drink as few men do, and knows just which Chinese commission merchant, which grocery store, which Italian wine-maker are the ones to patronize. Best of Colonel Wood's wines are the ones he makes on his hill at Los Gatos with Vincent, his Italian friend and gardener. At Christmas time the Colonel's friends participate in his and Vincent's handiwork. Appropriately Colonel Wood is at present at work on a revision of his play, "Circe". But food and politics mix as well as food and poetry. The latest politician to open a restaurant in San Francisco is Lou Rose, who was former California campaign manager for Upton Sinclair and more recently Treasurer of

the United Labor Ticket. In his last place on Powell Street students of all shades of political opinion would drop in and discuss till the wee hours. The new dining room is in the Hotel Worth at which Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt stopped incognito on her last trip to San Francisco.

Mr. Rose advertises a lot in "Pacific Weekly". His ads help to stave off fascism in California, so go and sample Mrs. Rose's waffles.

OUR RECENT NOTE that James Stephens said he had written Moore's "Story-Teller's Holiday" for \$500 set literary New York on its ear. Several New York newspapers got busy checking up on us. Carolyn Marx quoted Burton Rascoe, T. R. Smith and Ernest Boyd in the "World-Telegram"; an enterprising reporter for the "Herald Tribune" caught up with James Stephens as he was boarding his boat, and extracted an absolute denial from him.

On inquiring from George Gordon Moore and Mollie and John O'Shea, to whom the remark was made by Stephens at luncheon at the Saint Francis Hotel, O'Shea said it seemed to him that Stephens had indeed engaged in a Story-Teller's Holiday.

Una Jeffers said she never did believe it and added: "Suppose some little poet from Little Rock said he'd written 'Tamar!'" And this columnist ruefully wondered how she'd feel if someone remarked one day: "You know that column 'They Tell Me—' really was written by Nicholas Murray Butler."

ARCHIBALD MACLEISH is preparing a story on Anti-Semitism in the United States for "Fortune". He has agents all over in center in the country gathering material for him, and we hear that some of the liberals on this job are surprised at what they are finding—big corporations and small shops all acting as incipient Nazis.

ELLA WINTER



NEXT WEEK

THE NATURE OF AMERICAN IDEALS

by Elmo A. Robinson, associate professor of Philosophy at the State College, San Jose. The first of four installments is entitled "Is There a Consensus of Opinion?"

AN HONEST PATRIOT LOOKS AT WAR

by James Steele who contends that the cry of "national defense" is a fraud.

THE "DEATH CHAMBER" OF THE LOS ANGELES POLICE DEPARTMENT

by Richard Bartel, telling of the seven "accidental" fatalities in the Chestnut Heights jail.

THE MESSAGE

Short Story by Peter Quince, crowded out of this issue.

Continuing the study of Marxian theses. Lincoln Steffens. Hollywood-Week. Ella Winter's "They Tell Me."

IN

PACIFIC WEEKLY

ANNOUNCING --

HERE AND THERE IN SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH is the title of a summary by Dr. D. T. MacDougal of the activities of President Roosevelt's Science Advisory Board.

Dr. MacDougal describes the manner in which scientific contributions are made, and concludes that the Russian experiment will need to be modified to accomplish its idealistic purposes.

Dr. MacDougal, a scientist of international prominence, is the author of several books and director of the Carnegie laboratories in Carmel, California, and Tucson, Arizona. Incidentally, he is an associate editor of PACIFIC WEEKLY.

His summary of President Roosevelt's Science Advisory Board will appear January 9 in

PACIFIC WEEKLY

BOTH ENDS

Thanks for the sample copies. I like the journal awfully well and subscribed at once for it. This week's issue hasn't come yet, but am hoping it will turn up on Monday. I'd hate losing a single copy of it. How stimulating and searching it is!

—Don Jonson

I have taken small space in the S. F. Chronicle, the S. F. News, the Socialist Pulse, the Argonaut, and the Labor Clarion. Except the News, I have spent more money in your publication than in any of the others, yet in proportion to the money spent, the space taken in Pacific Weekly has been more resultful than that in any other medium.

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