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ALEX BITTELMAN, Editor

## The Aftermath of "The Jungle"

By FLOYD DELL

This is a chapter from a book on the life of Upton Sinclair, by Floyd Dell, which will be published on May 29th of this year.—ED.

IN 1905 there began to appear, in a socialist weekly, the Appeal to Reason, published in Girard, Kansas, a novel of the Chicago stockyards, by an almost altogether unknown writer: The Jungle, by Upton Sinclair. I can remember, as a boy of eighteen, reading in my Appeal that first chapter describing the wedding party of Jurgis and Ona, and my delight in the rich, full-blooded humanity of that scene. It was the happy prelude to what was to be, as week after week the story unrolled itself, a tragic panorama of working-class life, true, terrible, and magnificent.

The story was simple enough; it related the fortunes of a group of immigrants who lived and worked in the stockyards district—their struggle to get ahead, to own a home, to bring up their children decently, while all the time they are brutally exploited, preyed upon, robbed, outraged, by the unscrupulous forces which find in their poverty and ignorance and helplessness more opportunities for enrichment. The group is crushed, one by one, in the struggle; old men are thrown on the scrap-heap to starve, the women are drawn into prostitution to keep body and soul together, the children die; Jurgis himself goes to prison for smashing the face of a brutal boss, and when he comes out his little world had been destroyed as if by an earthquake—and he is left to wander, getting wisdom as he wanders, and coming at last to believe in a socialist reconstruction of this hideous world. At every point the story is enriched by the most vivid and relentless realistic detail; one is immersed in the filth and stench and cruelty of the stockyards, and one feels the sublime human aspirations which even there burn unquenchably in humble hearts.

For a while the knowledge that a great new novelist had appeared in America was almost confined to the readers of that socialist weekly—no small audience, however, for the "Appeal army" of enthusiastic subscription-getters had drummed up half a million readers for that publication. The first public, therefore, of this astonishing novel, was of farmers resting in stocking feet beside the stove of winter evenings, and of discontented workingmen in a thousand cities and towns—an audience which, whether rural or urban, understood the truths of human suffering which it so vividly portrayed. That was its first success—its recognition and acclaim by a proletarian audience. Then came recognition by fellow-writers, who heard of this strange and powerful novel being published in a socialist weekly, and sent for back numbers. David Graham Phillips wrote to the author: "I never expected to read a serial. I am reading 'The Jungle' and I should be afraid to trust myself to tell how it affects me. It is a great work. I have a feeling that you yourself will be dazed some day by the excitement about it. It is impossible that such a power should not be felt. It is so simple, so true, so tragic, and so human. It is so eloquent, and yet so exact." And, of course, Jack London, his comrade in the socialist movement, did not fail to acclaim this achievement. "The Uncle Tom's Cabin of wage slavery," he called it; and with that legend on the jacket and in the advertisements it was brought before the general American public in book form in 1906. It was an immediate and enormous success. It became a "best-seller" in America, England and the British colonies. It was translated into seventeen languages, and the world became aware that industrial America in its toil, its misery and its hope had found a voice.

2.

But the literary sensation in America had already become secondary to the shock of its readers in learning of the conditions under which their meats were prepared in Packingtown, not as affecting the workers but as affecting their own health—for the story dealt incidentally with the use of condemned meat. The author later remarked that he had aimed at the public's heart and by accident had hit it in the stomach. His deepest concern had been with the fate of the workers, and he realized with bitterness that he had become a celebrity not because the public cared anything about the workers but because it did not want to eat diseased meat.

The public was more or less prepared for such charges against the packers, on account of the "embalmed beef" scandal during the Spanish-American war. President Roosevelt, responding to a widespread popular demand, sent a commission to Chicago to make an investigation of conditions in

Packingtown. This commission was assisted, at Mr. Sinclair's expense, by Ella Reeves Bloor, who had been familiar with conditions there and had helped him in his seven weeks' investigation preliminary to the writing of the novel; and the researches of this commission appear to have confirmed the chief charges made in the book.

The young novelist accepted, as a socialist, the opportunity which this situation provided for agitation. But the packers, and large business interests in general, were aroused, and all their power and influence was used to keep this agitation from reaching the public, and to represent the young agitator as an irresponsible sensation-monger. He set up a publicity bureau, worked twenty hours a day, wrote articles, sent telegrams, and gave interviews to roomfuls of reporters; but so thoroughly had the newspapers been mobilized by the business interests as a medium of defense that the publicity he actually achieved for the workers' cause



DUTCH INDIES RISES.

Dutch Indian Capitalist: "Police! Soldiers! Help! Help!"  
—De Notenkraker, Amsterdam.

was slight; and on the other hand, his own reputation, in genteel literary and critical circles, and among the public at large, was seriously damaged. In the course of these efforts, President Roosevelt said to him: "Mr. Sinclair, I have been in public life longer than you, and I will give you this bit of advice; if you pay any attention to what the newspapers say about you, you will have an unhappy time." He might have taken this as a warning that his temperament was not suited to public life, for he could not get used to being lied about in the newspapers; but he persisted in his efforts, and he did have a very "unhappy time."

Nothing in particular was done about the workers' conditions. Even the president's meat-inspection law, as finally passed, had, in the opinion of those behind it, had all its teeth drawn first. Sinclair continued his attempt to agitate the question, but the public had been reassured, and the effort was futile. In The Brass Check, where the complete story of this period is told vividly, he says: "I look back upon this campaign, to which I gave three years of brain and soul sweat, and ask what I really accomplished." He had taken, he says, a few million dollars away from the Chicago packers, "giving them to the Junkers of East Prussia, and to the Paris bankers who were backing enterprises to pack meat in the Argentine." He had added a hundred thousand readers to the circulation of a popular magazine, which speedily repudiated its early muck-raking habits and became a defender of big business. And he has made a fortune for his publishers, who immediately became conserva-

tive and devoted their profits from "The Jungle" to promote a kind of writing hostile to everything in which he believed.

3.

"The Jungle" was in fact the climax of a literary movement in America which had aroused the fear and anger of large business interests. The great middle-class reform movement, marked in the political field by the careers of Bryan, Roosevelt and the earlier Wilson, had produced an audience sympathetic to the telling of unpleasant truths about American political and business conditions. In the magazine field this was called "muck-raking"; there were sensational revelations of the inside workings of Wall street by Tom Lawson, of municipal corruption by Lincoln Steffens, of Standard Oil history by Ida M. Tarbell, of Beef Trust finance by Ray Stannard Baker. In the fictional field there was a corresponding literature, written by such men as Robert Herrick, Frank Norris and David Graham Phillips. This literature had its social revolutionary fringe; Jack London was an avowed revolutionist, and such socialist critics of society as W. J. Ghent, John Spargo, Robert Hunter, Charles Edward Russell and William English Walling, had a wide hearing. A professor named Thorstein Veblen had written a devastating book called "The Theory of the Leisure Class," and phrases from it had passed into general intellectual currency. These conditions were sufficiently alarming, in a country where every year, in one great industry or another, there was a bitter struggle between employers and men, in which bullets were the decisive factor. And now a young man, by writing a book, had put a great industry on the defensive before the whole public. It was necessary to tighten the grip of business upon the intellectual world. The newspapers were already well in hand; but there was a group of free magazines which were making money out of "muck-raking"—the very center of the intellectual rebellion. Big business struck at this group of free magazines, effectively, through the medium of advertising. The magazine policies were changed. Writers were called off from investigations of industrial conditions. An immense campaign of optimism was begun, and a cheerful outlook upon American industrial conditions was preached and made synonymous with patriotism. The writers for the most part changed with the times, and adapted their views to the new editorial demand; the others were silenced or discouraged. A few prominent radical journalists, unable to tell the truth any longer in the magazines, bought one of their own; but they, too, presently succumbed to the spirit of the times. Sinclair quotes, in "The Brass Check," the titles of some representative articles from a recent issue of that once-daring magazine: "How We Decide When To Raise a Man's Salary," "The Comic Side of Trouble," "Interesting People: A Wonderful Young Private Secretary," "From Prize-Fighter To Parson."

The public, deprived of the intellectual stimulant of unpleasant truth before it had quite got used to it, was easily trained in more cheerful tastes. Those writers who sought to revive the art of muck-raking found themselves with an indifferent audience. "People aren't interested in that sort of thing any more." While as for fiction, the old genteel tradition reasserted itself, the standard of non-controversiality became identical with the standard of decency, and any author who dared to violate this standard ran the risk of finding himself removed in critical esteem beyond the pale of literary respectability.

The measure of the wrath of the masters of America and the docility of its intellectual class during this period may be taken from the Gorky incident, which happened in the spring of 1906, coincident with the Jungle agitation. The great Russian novelist, Maxim Gorky, had come to America to raise funds for the cause of Russian freedom—a cause long since made popular among even the respectable American intelligentsia by the writings of the American journalist, George Kennan. A great welcome was prepared for him. But it happened that two radical union leaders, Moyer and Haywood, were on trial for their lives in a western state in the course of an industrial war between the miners and the coal barons. Their cause had been espoused by the socialists, who now asked Gorky to sign a telegram of sympathy to Moyer and Haywood. He did so. A White House reception to Gorky was immediately canceled. And then

(Continued on page 7)

# At A Traitor's Grave

By FRED HARRIS

IT was, while traveling by train from Munich towards Heidelberg, that I met him. He was a big, stout man of about 40 years, humorous and jovial, smoking one cigar after another; as typical a German as ever I would find. His official position was that of a town clerk in a small Westphalian hamlet. He was now on his vacation, enjoying every moment and place.

"So you are also going to Heidelberg," he said, beckoning toward me; "well, you'll have to come with me to the cemetery, to visit the grave of Ebert."

I replied, that I hoped to find more interesting places than a graveyard, but I soon realized that my companion was in earnest, and that his piety was genuine.

"I don't know," he reflected, "what you people in America thought of Ebert, but here in Germany you will hardly find a single one who has not a good word for his memory."

This, I already had found to be the truth, whenever I spoke to big business men, who, though violent in their denunciation against the social-democrats, had yet a word of praise for the dead president.

The reason for this is obvious, and shows the true position of the social democratic party of Germany. Ebert, together with his political henchmen, broke the revolution of 1918, and in doing so, restored order, and perpetuated capitalism, private property and wage slavery. That this restoration brought the most painful agony to the Germany economic system, was responsible for the terrible inflation period, (which is even today remembered more dreadfully by the Germans than the 4 year's war) and, as a consequence of this virtual bankruptcy, imposed upon the country the Dawes Plan, which actually reduced Germany to an inter-allied colony, all these factors are of little concern. The main thing to the Germany business man is that Ebert proved himself a loyal servant of capitalism, and strangled the workers' revolution.

Heidelberg was the birthplace of Ebert, and nursed his first political aspiration; and Heidelberg it was, that claimed his dead body, to place it in its graveyard; possibly the most beautifully laid out cemetery which I had yet seen.

It may, however, be doubted, whether Heidelberg's claim for the dead man's body was motivated mainly by piety, and if there were not more ulterior reasons for this. For it can not be denied, not even by a native of that fair city, that the dead president's grave is stimulating the tourist trade, and if, per chance, the train, which is carrying the visitor to the famous city on the Neckar, is over-crowded, compelling him to stand up while en route, then it becomes a matter of speculation, whether the acquisition of Ebert's earthly remnant was not a good piece of strategy for Heidelberg's virtuous citizens. To be sure, Heidelberg's cemetery is renowned as being feudal and fashionable, and from the angle of a real estate man such advantages should be paid for in hard cash; yet on the whole prospects are good, and many a piece of money is made by showing the visitor the place where "the first German president is resting."

On the next morning after my arrival in Heidelberg, my rabbit friend from Westphalia tucked me by my sleeve, told me that he was now going "up there," and beckoned me to follow. After passing through some of the most antiquated streets and viewing some very picturesque scenes, we arrived at our destination.

Be it said here that, if the promise of "pie in the sky" is somewhat elusive and cannot be definitely proven, the gratitude of the capitalist, in rewarding his deceased friends, is nevertheless tangible. As proof of this, I wish to state, that, if the choice for his grave had been left to the living Ebert, he could not have selected a more beautiful spot than the one which was so generously given to him by his capitalistic friends.

Laying at the top of a hillside, and overlooking the magnificent Neckar valley, amid beautiful flowers and shady trees, in a peaceful quietness, having for his company feudal lords and dukes, Ebert's grave will overawe any follower of hero-worship. The immense size of the solid block of marble (about 300 cubic feet) will indicate to any one, without being told, that some renowned hero, king, prince or president, has been laid to rest here. A very appropriate inscription, with gold letters, reads: "Das Wohl meines Volkes war mein Ziel." (The welfare of my people was my aim). This in spite of the fact that Ebert was as vacillating as a Calvin Coolidge.

## THE CALL

By ADOLF WOLFF

Hey! you poets,  
Come down here, I say!  
Mt. Parnassus's no place  
For poets of today.  
It's time you clawed out  
Of your ivory towers.  
Time you stopped gathering  
Moonbeams and flowers.

Oh come down to earth!  
And mix with the mob.  
There's waiting for you  
A he-poet's job.  
There's gold in the ore  
Of every day life.  
The gold of true song  
In labor's keen strife.

And please leave behind  
Your old golden lyre.  
A much newer instrument  
You will require.  
A bugle, a trumpet,  
Whose clear blast will call  
The workers to rally  
Till all Bastilles fall.

He is no true poet  
Whose soul is not thrilled  
By the war of the classes;  
Whose heart is not filled  
With visions of triumph,  
Of right over wrong,  
Who doesn't make this subject  
The stuff of his song.

I gazed at the artificial presumptuousness of the whole arrangement, and, in retrospect, reviewed the political career of Ebert and its effect on the country. His very rise to a world figure is definitely connected with the revolution of 1918, and its betrayal; the massacre and persecution of thousands of Spartacists and Communists, the assassination of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg; the reign of terror of Noske, Ebert's chief of police; the Weimar constitution and its compromise with capitalism. The result of this betrayal of labor is the present misery of Germany. It is an outstanding specter to anyone who visits that country.

While the former kaiser lives in luxury and splendor, from two to three millions of German workers are unemployed. One and a half million of them receive a dole of MK. 1.72 a day, (42c) while the other million of workers can not qualify to meet the necessary conditions upon which relief is paid, thus they are getting no support at all. Those that are working, like the textile workers in Chemnitz, earn a pittance of 50 pfennig an hour. (about 12c). Due to such starvation wages, and the inability to get work, the increasing number of suicides is alarming.

The weakness of the political regime of Ebert and the social democrats gave cause to innumerable political and military intrigues, especially in the south German states, where the republic has been reduced to impotency. So, for instance, was I told by a Bavarian, in Munich, that the official status of his country is that of a "royal republic." He was also proud of the fact, that the king had not deserted yet; and "always comes to the city when some festival or royal demonstration requires the presence of a king." Munich itself, boasts yet of its royal institutions, the various university departments, art galleries, castles and clubs still bear the prefix of "Royal." In Berlin, political intrigues were responsible for the defeat of the property expropriation measure, which was aimed at the former rulers, the majority of the social democrats voting for a generous compromise.

Such political oscillation could not result in anything but discredit for Ebert and his party, and ended in the election of a monarchial field-marshal to the presidency.

While such thoughts were passing in my mind, I viewed the comedy which was being staged, at the grave of the man most responsible for such conditions. Even fate had its little joke, for it so happens that in the rear of the grave, some "christian dignitary" found his resting place. In reverence to his "highness" an enormous statute of the "mother of god" some 15 feet in height, with outspread arms and wings was stationed there, no doubt, to protect the dead man's soul. Her profile is facing towards Ebert's grave. Thus he, who, though a yellow socialist, was at least an atheist, is now in the immediate neighborhood of the most orthodox symbol of the christian church.

The farce continued. A group of some 100 people, a "Gesangverein" from some other town, has now arrived, and is forming a circle around the grave. Absolute silence. The conductor gives his directions, and then the singing starts. Hymns in honor of the dead hero. Everybody stands motionless, hat in hand, in pious reverence.

The show is nearing its end. The singing has stopped. As a final act, the republican patriots march around the grave, no doubt, saying the prayer of capitalism, which is R. I. T. (Rest in peace, for the dead ones—rent, interest, profit, to the living).

## Aimee the Agent

By CYRIL FITZREYNOLDS

AS an agent of the meek and lowly Nazarene Aimee McPherson is a doubtful success. But as the impressario of a religious circus she has King Ben of the House of David tearing his chin foliage.

Aimee uses Jesus as a bear-hunter uses a baited trap. While the sinners or the suckers are getting tickled by the evangelist's gentle trap Aimee applies pressure to their funny bones as her nimble fingers go through their pockets.

Jesus died on a cross between two thieves, a poor man. Yet more thieves have grown fat under his auspices than there are hairs on a mountain goat's hide.

Some of those thieves are organized into trusts, like the catholics, the methodists and the anglicans. Others are independent, like "Billy" Sunday, King Ben and Aimee. They fight the trusts to bring in the spiritually ill, just as the health quacks attack the "medical trust" to attract the physically crippled whose mental garrets are devoid of intellectual furniture.

The catholic church peddles indulgences, enough splinters from the "sacred cross" to stock a lumberyard, saintly shinbones and occasionally vials of the "blood of the lamb." But they do this with pomp and show. The customer gets something for his money.

"Billy" Sunday hired his own troupe, his claqueurs and most of his penitents. Only the audience was unhired. They paid the bills. "Billy" threw a good

fit, swatted the devil, drank jug-fulls of water and in general gave a fair return for the admission fee.

"Billy" was male and made his main appeal to the female. Aimee is female and her drive is on, and for the male, body, soul and wallet.

To encourage masculine hopes Aimee had herself kidnaped, suspected of having an affair with a radio-operator and became a national figure. She employed an army of "skinners" to collect from those who did not care who fought the devil or how he was fought. She won and so did the devil. He is immortal and should worry. He has a steady job and if he does not get enough publicity to feed his ego he must be an opera star.

Aimee was indicted by a grand jury in Los Angeles for doing something or other to the majesty of the state. She attributed the grand jury's action to the devil and got so much money out of the population on the strength of the charge that the real estate operators used their influence to have the charges quashed lest all the dough available for the purchase of earthquakes might be diverted into Aimee's pockets.

Having skimmed the cream of Los Angeles Aimee wended her way east wrapped in a fur coat that would make the empress of Japan look like a recruiting agent for the Volunteers of America. She harangued thousands of people in wicked Chicago and three hundred of these became converts to the "Four Square Gospel" very likely for a consideration of one square meal. The rest of the

audience saw Aimee and perhaps thought she was good. We recollect that Chicago gave a handsome reception to Coue whose formula for all disease was: "Every day, in every way, I am getting better and better." Coue must have forgotten his own formula. He was better until he got worse and died.

Those who patronize Aimee's show, to get an eye-full could spend their money for a less worthy purpose. But those who contribute with the expectation that Jesus will get a percentage of it might as well invest it in Florida real estate.

## Construction Gang

Short squat men standing in ditches  
Peeping out at silk-stocking stenographers  
Hurrying from work.  
Work, Ha!  
Here's work!  
Eight long hours in a filthy stinking hole.  
Eight long hours of bend, dig, pitch.  
Bend, dig, pitch  
"Till your body aches  
And your tired brain burns in your head  
Like a shot of home-made booze  
And you laugh—  
Laugh a long rebellious laugh  
At silk-stocking stenographers  
Hurrying from work.

—MAX GELTMAN.

# Cotton Slaves in the South

By NORMAN SILBER

THE Department of Agriculture publishes a list of food values. From that list you will find that the cheapest food on which life may be sustained is corn meal and bacon. That is exactly what the cotton slave in the south eats—home grown corn, ground in a small, filthy neighborhood mill and the cheapest imaginable bacon—fat back, butts meat or belly. This constitutes his food day in and day out, summer and winter, week days, Sundays and Christmas.

The U. S. Census Bureau discloses the fact that over fifty per cent of the farmers haven't a cow. They sometimes raise chickens on a farm, but that delicacy is for sale and not to be eaten. Likewise eggs are never eaten on the majority of farms. The only variety the farmers have from the universal diet of fat bacon and corn bread is the occasional addition of collard leaves, field beans or sweet potatoes.

The art of cooking did not progress to any extent on the southern farms. The only cooking utensil known is the frying pan. Corn bread is merely a dough made of corn meal, water and lard warmed in a fry pan. The center of the corn bread is raw. The fat bacon is not cut into strips but is merely warmed in a fry pan. When field peas or collard leaves are prepared for the table, they are also warmed in a fry pan together with the bacon. Sweet potatoes are baked on the hearth of an open fireplace.

What neither the Department of Agriculture nor the Census Bureau publish, however, is the low wage scale which prevails in the cotton belt. Labor is hired by the year and a whole family is hired at the time. The usual rate for a family is \$300 a year. Since this sum is paid in the form of credit extended in a commissary or general store, and since these lien stores are well noted for their long profits, the cash equivalent would be nearer \$200.

This sum must be sufficient for food, clothes, furniture, medicine and everything except living quarters, which is furnished by the owner.

The house is a dilapidated shack containing two rooms. In some localities tenant houses are built with mud chimneys. These chimneys are forever falling in and setting the houses on fire, but it is very easy to extinguish a fire when it starts and it only takes a day to repair a fallen mud chimney.

## WAR!

We must have war. Down with the spicgories!  
Let hatred wake, and murder walk the land.  
The Moscow dogs must go! Say what you please,  
Our standard Oil we'll safeguard with the brand.

Up with the flags and let the boy-scouts drill;  
Call out the citizens and beat the drum;  
Put Old Abe's picture on the screen, and thrill  
The patriotic hearts of all the dumb.

On to Berlin! Excuse me, Mexico!  
Wipe out the yeller heathen—cursed race!  
Conscript the husky morons—let us go—  
You bet we'll keep "Ma Kellogg" in his place.

Slay, tar and feather, lynch and jail the reds,  
Burn, beat, and murder all the pacifists,  
Behind bars with the workers, break their heads,  
—We'll make a dozen fortunes out of this!

Coose-step the willing heroes to the fray,  
(We ought to lose a million dubs or more),  
Down with the Tools of Moscow! Candy? Say,  
On to the front! we must—we must have war!  
—HENRY GEORGE WEISS.

Windows and doors are hand-made. The floor is made of rough boards with large cracks between them. The walls are also made of rough boards and also contain cracks through which the wind enters.

There is no ceiling and the roof is made of shingles through which the stars shine. When it rains, the shingles swell rapidly and the rain enters only through the larger cracks. No pretense of paint or whitewash is in evidence and there is nothing by way of decoration or ornament except that the walls are covered with old calendars, circus posters and other picture advertisements. The family portraits hang on the walls, of course.

No attempt is made to keep the house or yard tidy. Everything wallows in filth. Very often the outhouse is adjacent to the well and since the well is deeper it takes only a few seconds for the filthy seepage to reach the drinking water. Malaria fever is the pet complaint and a farmer spends one-third of his life in bed. Doctors are scarce and money with which to pay them still more so. Faith is pinned to one of the numerous brands of patent medicines with which the country abounds.

The social life of these farmers is zero. They never go to church. They do not take any active part in politics and show no interest in any events. Their main topics of conversation are hunting, fishing, circulated rumors concerning shooting scrapes and hard times. Their deplorable plight they lay at the door of progress which brings the automobile, the good roads, and a disbelief in god.

I am afraid that the peasantry in the south will be harder to organize than were the peasants of Russia. Certainly, they are just as illiterate and their physical courage is not very substantial. Even the ku klux klan found it hard to reach them with their propaganda, because they are tired and disinterested—in everything.

## Horrors of Prison Life in Poland

Report of the I. C. W. P. A. Delegation to Poland to Investigate Into the Conditions of the Political Prisoners.

ON the initiative of the International Class War Prisoners Aid (British section of the International Red Aid) a delegation of British Members of Parliament visited Poland in the end of November, 1926, in order to investigate into the conditions of the political prisoners. The delegation consisted of J. Beckett, M. P., and A. Shepherd, M. P. Mrs. Horrabin was secretary to the delegation. It reported to a meeting of pressmen on Friday, December 17th, 1926.

Mr. J. Beckett, M. P.: Ladies and gentlemen, whilst in Poland, we have been trying to find out the truth of the various allegations of political persecution there. We arrived back last Wednesday morning and felt that it would be desirable to get some of the things we wanted to say, into press as soon as possible. We have not yet had time to prepare any detailed statement that could be circulated, but will just give, on behalf of the three of us, a short statement on the more important things we have to say about Poland, and then there can be questions which we shall be glad to answer in order to bring out anything that we might have missed.

### Large Numbers Protested.

In 1922, conditions were so bad that a very large number of French writers, professors, doctors, and professional people generally, issued their protest to the Polish government about the conditions of the prisons and treatment of political prisoners. This protest caused a very great scandal, and as a result the Polish Parliament set up an Investigation Committee of representatives of various parties, and a radical deputy, named M. Thugutt, was the chairman. This committee was granted complete facilities for its work and carried on, for two years after which it presented its report. On the report being issued, it was found that all represented parties were very strongly unanimous against the conditions in the prisons.

The report is too lengthy to quote just now, but the report has been practically confirmed by various authorities, although sometimes the allegations against the Polish government are made in moderate language. This Committee of Investigation made 10 recommendations as to the methods that should be used to ensure the necessary safeguards being given to citizens against arrest and to the press against suppression, and to all against unfair treatment generally. When approached on the matter, the answer of the government was: "Yes, we know things were bad when that Committee reported, but they are quite all right now."

One of the first things we felt it would be useful to do, was to interview Mr. Thugutt and get his opinions. Mr. Thugutt is not influenced by any party. We saw him in the Polish Parliament (known as the "Sejm") on 10th December. He told us that conditions were little, if any, different from when the report was issued. Not one of the 10 recommendations has been carried out, and although it was hoped that the new government would have

given a political amnesty and improved conditions, in his opinion there had been no improvement or reform of any kind.

### International Figure.

These things were further born out by an open letter which was issued in September, 1926, by Madam Sempolovska, and addressed to Marshal Pilsudski. Madam Sempolovska is a well-known international figure in prison reform circles. She belongs to no party and is a sort of semi-official person, entrusted by the government with the task of carrying out the transfer of prisoners between Poland and Russia, and therefore she has certain limited facilities. She has worked among political prisoners for 31 years, and in her open letter she points out that she therefore considers that she has not only the right, but the duty to say publicly what she thinks on this question of the conditions

of the prisoners which she considers are in a serious and sad state. She reminds Pilsudski of the service she rendered him when he was in Russian prisons years ago under the Czarist regime for being a rebel against Czardom. She gives some startling facts. We interviewed her both at the beginning and at the end of our visit. The facts we are going to give you are from our own personal observation, mostly confirmed by her, and largely also, by Mr. Thugutt.

### Letters To Pilsudski.

Mrs. Horrabin: When the Czarist regime existed in Russia, Madam Sempolovska rendered aid to Pilsudski and various Polish patriots who were imprisoned, and on the strength of her work she wrote this open letter calling upon Pilsudski to help the political prisoners. In this letter she stresses the need for a political amnesty.

## THE CHURCH

Whether in Jerusalem two thousand years ago or in Mexico today, the Church has always been the enemy of progress, the foe of freedom, the strangler of truth. Now, as of old, its God drives Man out of Eden, lest, having eaten of the Fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, he also eat of the Fruit of the Tree of Life. The "light" of the Church is darkness and, wherever it has had the power, "How great has been the darkness thereof."—Covami.

The Church gets up at midnight when the Race in sleep is thrall'd,  
And, ere the slumb'ers waken, it the way to life has walled;  
Illuming facts are taken from accusing history's page,  
And love's torch-bearers murdered by the priesthoods in their rage.

The Church fights never fairly, never on the open plain,  
But tigerlike and stealthily, with gibbet, dirk and chain;  
Up thru the gloom of ignorance, unseen, unheard, felt-shod,  
It creeps upon its victim, and strikes "in the name of God."

The Church will swear allegiance unto any cause that lives,  
Teach anything, preach anything, serve any cause that gives;  
Will, for a price, robe right in sackcloth, wrong in silk array,  
Will crown a Constantine and cheer a Calvin on his way.

The Church spreads like a upas over heart and soul and mind,  
Grows powerful and fattens as the Race grows lean and blind;  
Forever and forever it is siding with the kings,  
Is at the throat of Labor and is breaking Freedom's wings.

The Church still strives to rule us now as in the yesteryear,  
To keep the Race on knee before the wizened God of Fear;  
The Priest still serves the Slave Lord, and the Slave Lord serves the Priest,  
And Truth is ever warring with the ever-hungry Beast.

# Results of the Imperial Conference

By C. P. DUTT

THE British Empire is the huge territory seized and held by the tentacles of British capitalism stretched out over the whole surface of the globe. Over a quarter of the world, both in area and population, is within its grasp. A white population of a few million, a minute fraction of the whole, is attempting to monopolize for its exclusive benefit these vast stretches of country against the rest of the population of the world. The problems involved in the maintenance of this system have enormously augmented since the war. It was the object of the Imperial Conference to consider and settle these problems. For over a month, starting from October 20th, the white rulers of the empire were engaged in this task. What has been the outcome and what is its significance?

The general opinion, as expressed both in the imperialist and in the labor press of this country, has been that the main result of the conference consists in a further move towards independent status on the part of the white dominions. This view is radically wrong and indicates that even left wing labor representatives have fallen a victim to the clever camouflage by which British capitalism disguises its actions. The question of status of the dominions was not the central question of the conference, nor was the result of the conference in any way a recognition of their increasing independence.

## A Secret Conference.

The first and foremost difficulty in eliminating the results of the conference lies in the secrecy and silence with which it surrounded itself. To judge of its results it is necessary to bear in mind both what is known to have been discussed, and what was actually reported of its proceedings, and what was not reported. Most of the real work was done in secret session, behind closed doors, and no report given. The empire rulers are becoming increasingly more afraid either to confess their failures or to reveal what they are engaged upon. As an indication of this it is sufficient to notice that three years ago the last conference made public half of the Lord Curzon report on foreign relations, this year nothing of Baldwin's report has been published.

## Inter-Imperial Relations.

It is true that the Conference, as far as is known, most prominently concerned itself with, firstly, the constitutional questions of inter-imperial relations, and secondly, with greater significance but less publicity, with the problems of foreign relations.

The constitutional issues arising from the difference of interest taken between the white rulers of the centre and of the dominions form the most apparent obstacle to empire unity. The economic development of the dominions, the changes in the relative strengths of the chief imperialist powers resulting from the world war, and especially the relative decline in the strength of British imperialism, have caused the white dominions to demand an ever-increasing measure of freedom from central control. Both Mackenzie King, the Canadian Premier and General Hertzog, the South African Premier and Nationalist Leader, had been returned to power by parties representing nationalist or separatist tendencies which had decisively defeated the conservative or loyalist parties in their countries.

## The "Free" Dominions.

The report on international relations published in full, appears to show that Great Britain has made great concessions. It declares "every self-governing member of the empire is now the master of its destiny. In fact, if not always in form, it is subject to no compulsion whatever."

A great deal is made by the decision that henceforth the governor-general represents the crown and is "not the representative or agent of His Majesty's Government."

The press, no doubt, obediently responsive to hints from above, proclaimed with all its force that the king was now the "Empire's only link." All were united in this view from the capitalist "Economist," which hailed the realization of "our long cherished ideal that the empire should depend on a state of mind and not on any set of formal institutions," to Jansbury's weekly, which declared that the dominions were now republics in all but name, and the governor-generals relegated to the position of errand boys.

## The Power of the Purse.

The whole thing is a trick and represents a clever diplomatic victory for Great Britain. The more realistic press of the United States has not failed to point out that Britain loses none of its power by creating the new empire status, while the French paper "Le Journal" crudely declares that the British Empire will still cling together while London holds the purse. In fact the domination of British capitalist power over the dominions has been strengthened and not weakened by the change. The crown is only the intangible and unattackable symbol of British capitalism. The governor-generals, as representatives of the crown, will receive all information, and have access to all secret documents. The part they will play will be the larger for being behind the scenes.

The use of the crown as a binding link over the dominions will no doubt be fully demonstrated in the next war. How far the representatives of British imperialism succeeded in actually tying the hands of the dominion leaders and committing them to support of Great Britain in the next war, it is not possible to say, for the vital discussions on foreign relations took place under an impenetrable cloak of secrecy, but it is possible that the chief endeavors were devoted to entangling the dominions rather than to demanding promises and declarations in black and white. The "Crown" link provides an incomparable weapon for this purpose. When the war comes, full use will be made of the "Entente" trick, and every effort will be made to stampede the dominions by insisting that they have been bound in honor, and that the only alternative is to secede from the empire.

The dominions object to being compelled to support the struggle of British capitalism for power in Europe. Their representatives came prepared to raise all sorts of awkward questions about the Locarno Pact. Nevertheless, astute British diplomacy here also seems to have been victorious. Though the dominions still may not sign the pact, they appear to have been argued out of their scruples against it. It may be that their attitude was determined by the knowledge that they were dependent on Britain for imperial defense, and naturally enough, therefore, with regard to foreign policy it was "frankly recognized that the major share of responsibility rests now and must for some time continue to rest" on the British government.

## The Dominions and Defense.

Great Britain may have scored a victory as far as the question of supporting the Locarno policy goes. But on the much greater issue on which the endeavors of British capitalism have long been bent, viz., the task of persuading the dominions to shoulder part of the burden of imperial defense, there has been no progress. Payment towards the cost of armaments is the material expression of imperial



Wall Street: Looks as if Nicaraguans want Diaz as president.

solidarity, and for this the dominion representatives refused to lift a finger, at least in public. They were ready enough to welcome the Singapore base, the growth of imperial air forces, etc., but they politely regretted that they were not in a position to undertake financial responsibility. The clearest illustration of the dominions' outlook on this matter is seen in the figures of their payments per head of population for the upkeep of the navy. While the amount paid per head in Great Britain is £1 6s. 10d., Australia pays 13s. 2d. per head, New Zealand 8s., South Africa 1s. 9d., and Canada 13 cents. This gives a fairly true estimation of their relative valuations of the benefit of keeping within the British Empire.

It is Australia and New Zealand that especially feel the need of protection. They are in the fighting ground of the next war. Their six million inhabitants are doing their best to exclude the teeming millions of Asia from invading the vast areas that they so sparsely occupy. The recent visit of the American fleet to Australia met with an enthusiastic reception, much to the disgust of the British Navy League. The U. S. A. as much as hinted that Australia might reckon on her as a protector. It will be remembered, also, that when the Labor government declared against going ahead with the Singapore base, Australian politicians hinted very broadly that in that case they would have to look elsewhere for protection. The need of the empire being so much greater than that of the other dominions, and their financial tie being so strong (the Australian public debt, practically all held in England, is over £1,000 millions for a population less than that of London), it is not surprising that at the Imperial Conference it was always Bruce,

the Australian Premier, that was put forward to defend British policy.

## Great Britain and Empire Trade.

Yet even Bruce could not help raising the question of the economic stability of Great Britain, and his doubts were immediately echoed by all the others. Here the real fundamental economic problem of the empire was touched upon, but it could not be solved. All the attention, all the display was given to the superficial political questions, while the economic questions were practically ignored, with a tacit admission that nothing could be done about them.

Of course, for propaganda purposes it was proclaimed that economically also the British Empire is becoming closer knit together. It is reported with jubilation that the proportion of British trade with the empire has increased, but it is not pointed out that the absolute total has gone down, now that the dominion trade with Great Britain shows a diminished proportion both as regards exports and imports.

The dominion premiers emphasize too that they have in fact given increased preference to Great Britain. They do not mention that this preference is insignificant in comparison with the heavy all-round increases in the height of the tariff walls. As a matter of fact, the Balfour Committee in its survey of overseas markets, notes that the tariff rates imposed on British exports have increased within the empire by 66 2-3 per cent in the same period that the general tariff rate of foreign countries on British exports has decreased by 20 per cent.

These figures disclose at a glance the whole impossibility of welding the empire together by means of imperial preference. The subject was therefore quietly put on the shelf at the Conference in spite of the fact that it forms an indisputable part of the scheme of empire unity as contemplated by British imperialists. Such a scheme of imperial preference can only be based on the idea that Britain remains the workshop of the empire, while the other parts supply the raw material, and nothing will induce the dominions to consent to this.

## Mond's Dream Shattered.

On this rock also foundered all the schemes of "nationalization" of imperial production, such as those prominently put forward by Sir Alfred Mond. In this connection it is striking to note the outburst of indignation in the whole Australian press that occurred during the visit of the Empire Parliamentary Delegation last September, when Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., naively asked why Australia should experiment with and establish secondary industries when such already existed in Great Britain. The time for Australia to be self-contained, he said, would come when its population was 106 millions and not six millions.

The Australian press points out, firstly, that restriction to primary protection means unemployment and poverty, and secondly, that already more workers are employed in factories and secondary industries than in agriculture or mining. The farmers themselves depend more on the home market than on export. Thus the "Daily Standard" (22-9-26) says:—"Excluding wool we find that out of 520,670,000 units of production only 156,900,000 were sent abroad."

The conclusion is drawn that any possibility of immigration, of colonization, depends on the establishment of great secondary industries.

## The Failure of the Emigration Policy.

The colossal failure of the Empire Migration schemes destroys the second main plank in empire coordination. The whole policy of holding the dominions as a monopoly for white men depends on being able to colonize them from Great Britain. Yet in Australia, for example, the increase of population since the war has been practically limited to the natural increase. Meanwhile the unemployment rate increases in all the dominions, all mass migration schemes came to nothing, and Great Britain is unable to supply the types that are able to be absorbed in the colonies.

The new empire policy of concentration on the crown colonies and mandated areas can only accentuate the dangers threatening the empire. It means further economic decline in Great Britain. It means intensified competition with the rival imperialists of the U. S. A., etc. Finally, it will inevitably give a part impetus to the movement for national liberation on the part of the exploited masses in the colonies. The subject populations grow in consciousness in proportion to the growth of capitalist exploitation.

The threats to the British Empire are growing and increasing. It is not enough, however, merely to speak of the inevitable decline of British imperialism. It is necessary to analyse the changes that are taking place in each of the dominions and their significance in the development of imperial relations in relation to the decline of British capitalism as a whole. It is necessary to show their importance for the struggle against the deceptions and illusions of social reformism, with its slogan of a Commonwealth of Nations, of socializing the empire and the impossibility of social revolution in Great Britain.

# In the Wake of the News

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY

CHINA still occupies the center of the world stage. All the imperialist powers stress their friendship for the nationalist movement but continue to send warships and troops to Shanghai and indicate a decided preference for a victory for the militarist brigands who have been peddling Chinese territory to the foreigners for decades and persecuting and plundering the Chinese masses. The newspapers have not yet arisen to the heights of fancy lying they bedeviled us with during the world war. But they are on their way, and if the powers start hostilities on Chinese soil we might as well be prepared for a deluge of falsehoods picturing the Cantonese as hordes of bloodthirsty savages hungry for white victims.

So far the pages of the capitalist press are open to a few faint squeaks from those who favor the Cantonese. All those who know the facts of the situation in China, privately admit that the Cantonese are bound to win. Even missionaries whose business it is to keep the masses supplied with fables, agree that the day of the militarists is gone by and that China, like Turkey, will cut the gordian knot of unequal treaties with the sword. The alleged victories won by the Sun Chuan Fangs and other reactionary generals are disproven between editions. The capitalist papers are ready to write a lurid headline flashing a Cantonese defeat on the slightest provocation, but whenever they fail to give you the approximate number of dead, wounded and captured you are justified in being a bit skeptical.

As the situation stands at the time of writing, the Cantonese are advancing on Shanghai. Between them and their objective are the forces of Sun Chuan Fang, an ally of Chang-Tso-Lin. In all probability the imperialists are supplying Sun with arms and money. But the militarists lack the mass support which the Cantonese have won as a result of their progressive appeal to the workers and thru knowledge of the fact that wherever they have succeeded in driving out the militarists they have immediately legalized the trade unions and peasants organizations. In the territories under the control of Chang-Tso-Lin and his allies the unions are outlawed.

The Cantonese have approximately two-thirds of China under their control. The main struggle is now taking place in the rich Yangtse valley, the industrial heart and the commercial centre of the country. Chang-Tso-Lin threatens to come down from the north with his mercenaries to aid his harassed ally Sun Chuan Fang, but General Feng is waiting on the side lines with a disciplined force of 50,000 men ready to make chop suey out of Chang's army if they get too far from home. Wu-Yei-Fu who was quite a big gun in Chinese affairs a few years ago, and the favorite tool of Great Britain, has spurned the attentions of Chang who would let bygones be bygones provided Wu got busy and started in to work. Wu vows that he would just as soon be robbed by anybody else as by Chang, who he trusts only a little more than he trusts the Cantonese.

Chang is nothing if not vitriolic. When he learned that Wu could not be wooed by sweet words he seized the weapon of sarcasm and proceeded to jab it into Wu's emotional ribs. He charged Wu with loafing on the job for several months while his friends were being roasted on the Cantonese spit. Wu was an ineffective, incompetent, played-out general, he said. Naturally this did not make Wu any more inclined to betake himself to a shady nook and pen sonnets to Chang's eyebrows. Indeed, he gave Chang to understand that any Manchurian soldiers that trotted over Wu territory would be liable to make it their last resting place. This is very good. Let us hope those two brigands will get real crazy and fight it out with bare knuckles until both win.

The Peking government has nothing left but a few ministers and a letterhead. The ministers are still allowed to be at large in the various capitals. Indeed, there is reason to believe that most of them are secretly in favor of the Nationalist Government. A Peking dispatch stated that the political element in that government favored the Cantonese but what can a government without soldiers do? Chang-Tso-Lin has the soldiers and tho he has no more legal right to determine the policy of the government than I have, swords are mightier than proclamations yet, and Chang has the swords. Still the Peking government has a few kicks left in it and with one of the last of these is ejected the British customs agent for refusing to perform his duty or accept instructions from the Peking government. The newspapers informed us that foreign ministers representing other imperialist powers including the United States protested against the Briton's dismissal, but later on we are informed in an official

communication from Washington that Minister MacMurray did not protest. It is almost impossible even for expert debunkers of the news that appears in the capitalist press to separate the false from the true.

Britain has not yet succeeded in securing what they call a concert of the powers against China, tho she has made a most inharmonious noise trying to make the world believe that she had. It is true that the United States has dispatched warships and troops and has given Admiral Williams carte blanche to do as he pleases in the crisis, nevertheless Washington is not blind to the possibility that her finance barons, concessionaires and traders may be able to get something out of the Chinese pot at Great Britain's expense.

The British government's policy shows that there is a conflict in the cabinet between the extreme conservatives represented by Churchill, Birkenhead and Joynson Hicks and the moderate Tories led by Chamberlain and Baldwin. The main difference between the two factions is, that the former would use Mussolini tactics while the latter prefer more subtle methods. Churchill seemed to think the Chinese could be frightened by a display of force. Chamberlain knew that force had the opposite effect. Churchill is aiming at the premiership and he is hunting around for an issue to ride into power on. Cablegrams from Moscow indicated a strong belief in that quarter that the British government would use the Chinese situation to break off relations with the Soviet Union. This would be more possible than a year ago in the opinion of the Tories because of the flopping over to the right of the so-called left leaders of the British Trade Union Congress.

In the preliminary debate on the Chinese situation, J. H. Thomas defended the government openly



President Green of A. F. of L. leading war on Communism. Puzzle: Find Green in this picture.

and brazenly. Ramsay MacDonald's speech was objectively a defense. He agreed with Chamberlain that the marines were going to China for police duty but feared that somebody would pull a trigger and start trouble. Stanley Baldwin in reply regretted that he could not send the London Metropolitan police instead. Even the liberal faker Lloyd George was more vigorous in his criticism of the government than MacDonald. Judging from the news dispatches at hand as these words are being written, the left wing of the Parliamentary Labor Party, such as it is, took the leadership of the opposition on this question out of the hands of MacDonald, and demanded that the Cantonese demands be granted by the government. This was of course refused. British warships are still ploughing the seas to China and a bloody war, that may develop into a world conflagration, is in the offing.

The British government rewarded the right wing leaders for their treachery to the miners in calling off the General Strike, by introducing a bill outlawing the general strike or any kind of a strike that the government may feel like branding political. While the right wing leaders may pretend to oppose this, they have no intention of doing so, as the existence of such a law will enable them to stop all demands for a general strike in the future with the reply that it is unconstitutional. However, a little thing like a law is a weak defense against the

demand for something when it is backed up by the collective might of millions of organized workers.

BENITO MUSSOLINI has blossomed forth as the champion press agent of the world. If he has time to do anything else besides grant interviews to American newspapermen and debutantes, where the time comes from is a miracle. Benito wanted to get into the Chinese scrimmage, for a price, of course. One of his organs declared that force is the only argument a Chinaman understands, unless money is available. The fascist sheet wants to know why the Cantonese have not been already cut to pieces if all the corruption money is used up. Perhaps the editor knows whereof he speaks. Italy sold herself to England in the early days of the world war and she has been peddling herself ever since to the highest bidder. Italy, under fascism, has become the most outstanding political prostitute among bankrupt nations. The Italian workers will need a huge pile of gas masks when cleaning up time arrives.

THE dispute between the United States government and Mexico is marking time. Talk of compromise is in the air. The Mexican government reports that the clerical revolts have been completely crushed. It is evident that the Calles administration feels strong enough to use the steam roller on the catholic church but it is doubtful if he is as willing to organize the workers and peasants for resistance to the oil, mining and land magnates. Most of the foreign concerns having oil, land and mining concessions in Mexico registered under the new decrees and evaded trouble. The big American oil companies held out. So far Calles has succeeded in staving off a decisive showdown with the United States thru the courts, which granted injunctions to the oil companies staying the government's threat of enforcing the confiscatory decrees. What will be the immediate outcome, time only can tell.

IN Nicaragua Admiral Latimer, Wall Street envoy, continues to follow in the wake of the liberal armies, declaring neutral territory every piece of land they chase the Diaz forces out of. Kellogg has notified Sacasa, the constitutional president, that he will never be recognized. In view of this attitude it is rather amusing to read that the state department is opposed to intimating that it would look with favor on Diaz's resignation lest such action might be construed as interference in the internal affairs of Nicaragua. Now, who said that "Nervous Nell" Kellogg is not clever?

WHETHER you feel relieved or not because the United States is as good as out of the world court, it is so. The senate reservations were not accepted in full by England and Borah, Reed, Johnson, Moses and other anti-courtiers are in great glee. Coolidge is mum as usual. The defeat of several pro-court senators in the last congressional elections cured him of his enthusiasm for the court. Having failed as usual to carry anything he proposes to victory, "Cal" made another bid for fame by launching another fake disarmament conference. A good time to pull it off, we admit, while the United States and England and all the other imperialist powers to a lesser extent, are crushing the weaker nations with naval and military force. Coolidge proposes a conference in Geneva with a view to reducing naval appropriations. His recent defeat by the big-navy crowd impelled him and his backers to try this tack.

London correspondents report that England does not object to seeing submarine construction paired down to a minimum because that is where France is strong, but England does not like the idea of reducing the number of light cruisers on her list since she claims her trade routes are the longest in the world and need protection. This is another farce and nothing will come of it except more hot air. This is the usual jockeying that continually takes place between the powers in the intervals of peace. There cannot be any hope of turning swords into pruning hooks as long as capitalism exists.

SHALL Coolidge run for another term? William Randolph Hearst, democrat, and Henry Ford, nothing in particular, think he should. Nicholas M. Butler, chief ballyhoo man of Columbia university thinks he should not. In fact "Nick" declares more or less emphatically that "Cal" will not run. Perhaps, and perhaps not. One thing is certain: The imperialists will run two candidates, on both old party tickets and both will be equally willing to serve big business here and abroad. The workers and farmers must organize their own party, a Labor Party, and stop wasting their time guessing what particular capitalist puppet succeeds in getting into the White House for four more years.

# Disintegration in Belgian S. P.

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

THE powerful Belgian Socialist Party, which for its size can boast as large a collection of cabinet ministers as any Socialist Party in the world, is beginning to crack as its continued support of capitalist governments makes it more and more unpopular with the Belgian working class. Its leader, Emile Vandervelde, the revisionist, who long before the war had "discovered" that Marxism was "out of date" and who during the war and post-war period was his majesty's minister in various cabinets and even prime minister for a time, is at present part of a coalition government in which the capitalist parties have a majority of the ministers.

The Belgian masses, who for a long time followed Vandervelde blindly as a result of his promises that the working class of Belgium would get some definite advantages out of his participation in various cabinets, find their lot slowly worsening instead of getting better. Consequently, they are beginning to desert the Socialist Party and, at the same time, an opposition, or left wing movement, is growing up within that organization. The man who has succeeded in putting himself at the head of the opposition for the moment is De Brouckere, (an old time "orthodox Marxist" of the Kautskian school). He is playing the game of left leader to prevent the opposition movement from going too far to the left and his real attitude is revealed by the fact that he has been and still continues to be a delegate from Belgium to the League of Nations, and thus participates in the super-government of imperialism. Nevertheless, he sounded the warning at the special congress of the Belgian Labor Party in Brussels recently to the effect that further participation in the coalition government would result in the disintegration of the party. He declared that the party and the parliament, in which its deputies make up the largest single party bloc, had capitulated before the bankers who are the real masters of Belgium. He felt that all the Socialist Parties of Europe were standing at the crossroads, that if they continued on the path of cooperation with capitalist governments and coalition ministries, they would be completely swallowed up in the capitalist system and will have ceased to represent the interests of labor and its struggle for emancipation. "I have confidence in the triumph of Socialism," he ended, "and if you make

a mistake the torch will fall from your hands and others will raise it again."

But Vandervelde, the seasoned capitalist cabinet minister and real leader of the party, is not easily to be frightened by such warnings. Capitalism still requires his support to carry through the stabilization of the Belgian franc and the rationalization of Belgian industry at the expense of the Belgian working class. He boasted of the achievements of himself and his party in helping capitalism to survive the storm which it had raised among the masses through its policy of plunging the world into war. He boasted of the stabilization of the Belgian franc. He boasted that the participation of himself and his party had aided in the stabilization of capitalism, which in simpler English means that he had made capitalism more secure. He declared that he was not only afraid of a government more to the right of the present one, but also of a government more to the left! Either of these would endanger stabilization. He was supported by the



Mussolini—"The attempted assassination is due at 12:50 prompt. What shall I wear for it?"  
—Simplicissimus, Munich

yellow trade union leaders and the conference finally authorized the executive to draft a legislative program on the basis of further participation in the capitalist government by socialist ministers, this program to go to a referendum.

In the meanwhile, the opposition within the Belgian Labor Party grows and the support of the Communist Party by the working masses grows also. The Belgian Communist Party, which since its inception has been very small, and, thanks to the continued belief of the masses in the leadership of Vandervelde and the Belgian Labor Party, was till recently comparatively without great mass influence, has been growing very rapidly. The repeated failure of the socialists in the Vandervelde coalition government to fight for the most elementary interests of the masses, the complete capitulation of the Poullet-Vandervelde coalition cabinet before the attacks of high finance, the formation of a bankers' government with the support and participation of the social-democratic leaders, the abandonment of a proposed capital levy on the rich and the substitute of a 50 per cent increase in the taxes hitting the masses, the recognition of the American debt, the handing over of the government-owned railroads to a private company—such is the kind of socialism that the Vandervelde coalition policy has given to the Belgian workers.

In October 1926, the Communists participated for the first time in municipal elections (municipal elections are held in Belgium every six years). The party, which is numerically and financially weak, was able to put forth candidates in only 63 municipalities, which municipalities embrace only 28 per cent of the total electorate. The party has only about a thousand members, but it got 70,000 votes and succeeded in electing 26 candidates. In the big industrial cities, the Communist vote varied between 25 and 30 per cent of the social-democratic vote, running in one case as high as 61 per cent. This represents a tremendous advance for the Communists. The Socialist Party during the period in which it acted as the savior of capitalism degenerated so far that it is even incapable of making the about-face that de Brouckere proposes in order to save some shreds of its reputation. The Belgian Labor Party, one of the oldest and best organized reformist parties in Europe is decaying. The future belongs to the Communist Party of Belgium.

## The Aftermath of "The Jungle"

(Continued from page 1)

the American papers, at the instance of the Czarist embassy, began to denounce Gorky, on the pretext that he had "insulted" the American people by bringing with him as his wife a woman to whom he was not married. It was known to those who made the charge that Russian revolutionists married without the churchly processes which alone were "legal" in Russia, and that Madame Andrieva was his wife according to the revolutionary code; they had known that all along, and had not made use of the fact. Now they unloosed upon him the furies of a hypocritical moralistic journalism. He was hounded out of New York hotels, denounced in every pulpit and newspaper in the country; his mission was destroyed. And the American men of letters who had been proud to be invited to dine with this Russian giant, were afraid to brave that storm; one and all, the respectable writers turned tail and fled, not daring to call their souls their own—a black day in the calendar of American letters. Great reputations fell that day, Mark Twain's among them, in the minds of boys and girls, now grown up, who saw that humiliating and cowardly action with the clear eyes of youth and were ashamed for their country. If American literature is now less timid about sex, that young indignation may have something to do with it. But those boys and girls did not know why America and American men of letters had suddenly become so prudish: they did not know that Maxim Gorky's influence had been destroyed in that sudden journalistic whirlwind, not because of the lack of churchly blessings upon his union with Madame Andrieva, but because he had rashly intruded into an American economic struggle on the unfashionable side. He, and the writers of America, must be taught a lesson, and made to realize who was running this country and what happened to anybody who tried to interfere with them.

The stage of Upton Sinclair's literary career, immediately ensuing upon his immense celebrity as author of *The Jungle*, falls within this period when "muck-raking" was being outlawed and editors and writers taught a lesson by those in control of American business. He was one of the few who dared to brave this Thermidorian reaction, and he was chief of those to suffer from it. It is his temerity which explains the fact that his reputation in America as a novelist fell during that period to zero, or lower. He missed, by remaining a "muck-raker," his chance of regaining literary respectability. His next novel, *The Metropolis*, published in 1907, was an attack on New York society; and *The Money-changers*, published in 1908, was an exposé of Wall Street. Nor is this explanation to be discounted by the fact that *The Metropolis* and *The Money-changers* were not very good novels.

The point is worth laboring. Novels far inferior

to these two would, in that period, have maintained Upton Sinclair in American critical esteem, if they had been of a different tendency; not to realize that is to be ignorant of American criticism and its fashions. It was the fashion to sneer at Upton Sinclair, and to accept the yellow-journal pictures of him, in which he was represented as a mere sensation-monger and a fool to boot.

George Brandes, generally accounted the world's greatest modern critic, was astonished at this American neglect of one of its greatest writers; on visiting this country in 1914, he took pains to say to the reporters who met him at the steamer that there were three American novelists whom he found worth reading, one of these being Upton Sinclair. The statement, as it generally appeared in the press, referred only to Frank Norris and Jack London, omitting Upton Sinclair's name altogether. Doubtless it was naively regarded as incredible that anyone should really take this disreputable "muck-raker" seriously. . . . And it was not until a new rebellious literature and criticism emerged after the war, under the leadership of Sinclair Lewis and H. L. Mencken, that Upton Sinclair was again mentioned among American writers by any reputable native critic, who was not a Socialist.

## HELP WANTED

THE New Magazine is as hungry for short stories of approximately twelve hundred words, as an evangelist is for a wealthy sinner. The proletarian woods are full of writers who can draw a word picture of things that happen around them. Poetry is welcome though, to paraphrase a heavenly invitation, many may come but not all will be chosen. Cartoonists are the salt of the earth, without them our press would look like a file of the Weekly People. In addition to the decorative value of a cartoon there is more propaganda condensed in a good drawing than in several hundred phrases.

Since The New Magazine is not in a position to pay, for anything except the printing of it, and since we are so under-staffed that our week is one long day, we urge our contributors who may not receive even a letter of thanks for their pains that the victim who is charged with the responsibility of getting out The New Magazine has so much other work to do on The

DAILY WORKER that picking letters out of a typewriter, after writing heads, editorials and trying to find out what is happening in half a dozen world capitals is cruel and unusual punishment. Letters written in such a physical condition might drive the recipient to reading the New York (Porno) Graphic.

But like the three wise men of the east who saw the star in the west which led them to the stable in Bethlehem, we also see a star in the west, though we have been waiting for it to come our way so long that we now see two stars instead of one. When this star eventually arrives the staff will be augmented by one individual and the clouds of gloom that have been hanging over three over-worked slaves will be dispelled somewhat.

Poets whose compositions have gone into the waste basket by mistake, writers whose names have been omitted for the same reason and cartoonists whose drawings have been vivisected to suit a make-up man's fancy, are appealed to in humbleness of spirit to stop grinding their teeth in righteous wrath and to begin turning out masterpieces for The New Magazine.



# Cantonese Correspondence

By Y. F. NAI

The Nationalist government, despite the fact that none of its ministries yet has its entire personnel here from Canton, is now fairly established in Wuhan, as the entire area of Hankow, Wuchang and Hanyang is to be renamed. The work of all ministries is going forward as smoothly as it was at the southern capital.

For a variety of reasons, principally those of proximity to business, banks and the foreign representatives, the foreign affairs, and finance, and communications ministries have established their quarters in Hankow. Mr. Hsu Chien, minister of justice, has taken quarters in Wuchang, but also has offices here. The Political Council is holding regular sessions, three times weekly, sometimes in Wuchang, sometimes in Hankow. Some of the party organs will have quarters in Wuchang, others here.

For these reasons a re-organization of the municipal governments of the three cities is to be made, under one central control and with one mayor, the greater city to be known as Wuhan. This will be the Nationalist capital. Details have not yet been worked out.

## Financial Stabilization.

The first notable action by the Nationalist government, after setting up in Hankow, from the domestic point of view, was the launching of a far-reaching plan for the financial stabilization of Hupeh Province. The plan, which includes proposals for two bond issues, one to redeem the reckless and unsecured bond issues of former so-called "governments," and another to take up even more reckless currency issues of former regimes, has already been approved by the Political Council.

Mr. T. V. Soong, the Minister of Finance, is preparing to float both issues within the course of a few weeks. He has already won the assurance of the financial circles here that they will be favorably received. In foreign circles here, Mr. Soong's plans have won high commendation, on two counts: One, because they are looked upon as designed to go far toward restoring confidence in the province; and, two, because they are looked upon as an indication of the general financial policy of the Nationalist government vis-a-vis financial obligations inherited by that government in new territory taken under control.

## Important Regulations.

On the side of the government's relations with the powers, while there has been no definite action of any far-reaching kind, yet the pourparlers between Mr. Eugene Chen, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the representatives of Great Britain, the United States and Japan are considered to be fraught with great potentialities and we can look toward a profound change in the relations of the powers with China.

These conversations were started immediately upon the arrival of Mr. Chen in Hankow. Within an hour of his arrival, he received the first call from

Mr. Miles Lampson, the new minister to China from Great Britain. Much significance seems to be attached to Mr. Lampson's coming to Hankow before even going to Peking, to which, theoretically, he is accredited. Mr. Chen and Mr. Lampson conferred almost daily for over a week, after which Mr. Lampson went to Peking for the holidays. The conversations are expected to be resumed early in the new year.

For the United States, Mr. Ferdinand Lathrop Mayer, counsellor of the legation at Peking, came to Hankow to meet the Nationalist government's foreign minister. Mr. Sadao Saburi, chief of the treaties bureau of the Japanese foreign office, was here for the Japan government. His conversations with the Nationalist foreign office also stretched over many days.

## Workers Win Wage Increases.

Despite sensational reports to the contrary, the labor situation in the Wuhan area is not acute. There have been strikes and threats of strikes, and a few strikes are going on at the present writing. Nothing on a big scale, however, is contemplated, so far as can be judged by the temper displayed by both sides. There has been every indication on the part of employers of a realization that a sharp rise

in wages is justified. This has already been done in several trades, notably in the printing trades and in the case of the carrying coolies. Workers in some of the Chinese shops have struck for more pay and got it.

The new British declaration of policy submitted to the diplomats at Peking last week and made public on Christmas Day, which proposes, in effect, the immediate enforcement of the Washington customs surtaxes, their collection through the Customs Administration, and their allocation to the Chinese authorities in power at the places of collection, is not likely to receive the endorsement of the Nationalist government, it is believed here.

No Nationalist official will give out any indication of the government's attitude toward the proposal. It is not, in any event, officially before the government. It has not been submitted to the government for either ratification or rejection.

It is true, of course, that the Nationalist leaders are inclined to be pleased with the declaration's observation that Peking authority has reached the vanishing point and that, on the other hand, a strong government has arisen out of the Nationalist movement from Canton. That, observers here believe, is a recognition by the British authorities in China that the Nationalist government, now making its capital at Wuhan, represents more of real Chinese authority than the so-called government in the old northern capital; that, in fact, the Nationalists have a greater right to be considered the "Government of China" than does the old mandarinat in Peking.

While the Nationalist government would get considerable revenue under the proposed British plan, its enemies would get still more additional revenue. The Nationalists have long taken the stand that it is unjust that customs revenues should be collected in Nationalist territory and given to their enemies. This objection, it is assumed by observers here, would not be overcome by the mere fact of this additional income accruing to the Nationalists by the collection of these surtaxes at customs points under their control. While the Nationalists would get some of the revenue, so would their enemies, and the latter would get the larger share.

The fact remains, of course, that the Nationalist government is at the present moment (in Canton) obtaining the equivalent of the proposed surtaxes by means of its production and consumption taxes. These are to be enforced at Hankow within a few weeks. They have been in effect at Canton and Swatow for several weeks. Theoretically, it has been pointed out by the Nationalists, these taxes should not, of necessity, be levied at points of entry for goods. They should be levied at the point of consumption. But the value of goods is usually lower at the actual point of entry than at interior points, where it is finally used, so traders really benefit by its collection at entry points.

## We Accept Your Challenge

By ADOLF WOLFF

Brother Green we've heard your yelp,  
Chorused by your jackal choir.  
We're not going to cry for help,  
Your barking does no fear inspire.

Do your damndest brother Green  
Rage like yours affords us joy,  
We've heard it said and we have seen,  
The Gods make mad whom they'd destroy.

Communists are here to stay!  
Those whose yellow goat we get,  
May yelp and howl and bark and bray,  
Their doom as union lords is set.

You're the eunuchs who would train  
The workers to be docile slaves,  
Emasculate them and thus gain  
Rewards that masters give to knaves.

We're the vanguard that must lead  
The workers to the battlefield,  
To fight the powers of vested greed,  
Till beaten to the dust, they yield.

Your's is the cause of the master class  
To whom the workers you betray.  
Our's the cause of the toiling mass  
For them, with them we'll win the day.

# Young Comrade Section

## HELLO EVERYBODY

The Pioneer Editorial Committee in New York City greets all the readers of the "Tiny Worker" and the "Young Comrade Section." We want to get acquainted with all of you as we are going to take charge of the "Young Comrade Section," which is going to take the place of the "Tiny Worker" and the previous "Young Comrade Section." So come on you Grand Rapids Pioneers and other Pioneers and workers' children, send in your articles, poems and stories to be printed in your section.

PIONEER EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

## What Does This Picture Mean?



## ANSWERS TO PUZZLES

The workers own Russia. Russia has NO child labor.

The American capitalist government has just sent battleships to Nicaragua. Three years ago Lenin died in Russia.

In the Philippine Islands the American capitalists are making a lot of money out of rubber.

The answer to the Picture Puzzle is—Albert Weisbord. The strike is in Passaic.

M. Nodell, Chicago, Ill.  
J. Woodal, Oakland, Cal.  
Nick Vartarie, Luzerne, Pa.

## LINCOLN AND THE WORKERS

February 12th is Lincoln's birthday. In the Northern states that day is celebrated, but in the Southern states it is not, and there is a reason for it. The bosses and plantation owners of the South hate Abraham Lincoln because it was Lincoln who took away their slaves from them, and set them free.

Although Abraham Lincoln freed the Negroes, who are a part of the working class, he is not our hero. But, he is the hero of the merchants and bosses of the Northern states. The Civil War was not really a workers' war for freedom, but a war between the bosses of the North who had no slaves and the plantation owners of the South who needed slaves. In the election for president, Abraham Lincoln, who stood for the Northern bosses, won. The Southern bosses then decided to withdraw from the union and to form their own government. Lincoln said "no" and we had the Civil War, in which thousands of workers of the North and the South were killed and wounded.

During the war President Lincoln freed the slaves not because he pitied them but in order to weaken the South. That is why Abraham Lincoln is not really our hero like Comrades Lenin, Karl Marx, Ljebknecht, Luxemburg, Frank Little, Debs, and many others who fought and died for the working class. But although he is not our hero, he was a fighter for freedom in his day and helped the Negroes, a part of the working class, to get their freedom.

For this we remember him and follow his example in fighting for freedom, not for a part of the working class, but for the whole working class.

## FUNNY

What kind of fish lives on land and expects to become president some day?  
A "poor fish," of course.

## THIS WEEK'S PUZZLE

No. 1.

There is a new kind of puzzle. It spells the name of a famous leader of the working class in five letters. Read the poem and see if you can guess his name.

My first letter is in LITTLE, but not in BIG  
My second is in EACH, but not in FIG.  
My third is in NEAR, but not in FAR.  
My fourth is in PIONEERS, but not in STAR.  
My fifth is in CHILDREN, but not in MESS.  
My whole is a name for you to guess.

Send all letters to Pioneer Editorial Committee, c/o Young Comrade Section, 33 First Street, N. Y. C., stating your name, age, address and number of puzzle.

## BIG NOTE.

The Pioneer Editorial Committee is making arrangements to run a big concert in New York City, for the readers of the Children's page who can come. Watch for the date and place next week.

## YOUNG COMRADE CORNER

### GOING TO SUBSCRIBE.

Dear Comrades:—My father is not working at present and we do not know when he will be working. I asked him if I could subscribe to the Young Comrade. He told me if he would get a job I could subscribe. I hope he gets a job. **Martin Batiuk.**

# DRAMA

## A HAND-PAINTED PAPER CUTTER

"Pinwheel," a play of New York in four parts, by Francis Edwards Faragoh, at the Neighborhood Playhouse.

FRANCIS Edwards Faragoh handed the Neighborhood Playhouse the manuscript of a hard-boiled little play about a stenographer who wanted romance and found only pork chops and a husband. The many scenes span as on a pinwheel. The play was as American as the New York Graphic and as real as a brass spittoon. It was laid in a subway, at Coney Island, an office, a stockroom, a poolroom, a movie, a cabaret, a cheap flat, a cheaper furnished room. Its people stenographers, bootleggers, pool-room bums, sugar daddies, taxi drivers, bookkeepers, were real enough for any child to recognize. The manuscript may have had its weak spots. But it also had its great moments.

As staged by the Misses Lewisohn at the Neighborhood Playhouse this play is a failure. I do not share the feeling of the critics that its form is at fault. The episodic play is ancient English dramatic form, perhaps the true English dramatic form. People who insist that audiences lose interest in a story strung together out of short scenes, forget that Hamlet is still pretty good. Broadway, of course, demands three rigid acts with not more than two different sofas. But Broadway only follows rules. Somebody else has to lay them down or break them up. Mr. Faragoh is one of the pioneers.

Unfortunately, his Pinwheel fell into the wrong hands. The producer of the play "Broadway" might have made it shine like brass. The ladies of the Neighborhood Playhouse tried to aestheticize it. They clipped and trimmed it. Too often they cut to the quick. They stylized the acting in the first part—God knows why; then finding that it simply wouldn't do, they dropped into straight stuff. They sheathed the metallic lines in tremulous sighs and attenuated yearning. They smothered the sharp-cut characters in bizarre settings, constructivism sterilized by soft lights and velvet drapes. A good play got lost in shadows. It emerged here and there for a trenchant moment, but in general it remained a queer hybrid, not wholly real, not wholly fantastic, its hardness dulled, its realism sentimentalized, its beauty prettified. You can't make a page from the Graphic into a Dybbuk. To the Neighborhood Playhouse goes the honor of converting a good sharp sword into a dainty, hand-painted paper cutter.—HARBOR ALLEN.

### BROADWAY GOSSIP

"The Little Spitfire," Myron C. Fagan's amusing comedy, will come to the Bronx Opera House Monday night. The company includes: Arthur Aylesworth, Dulcie Cooper, Edward H. Robins, Eileen Wilson, Lester Vail, Peggy Allenby, Dudley Hawley, and Edna Earle Andrews.

"1928," the revue scheduled for the Intimate Playhouse, in the Bronx, is announced to open Saturday night, Feb. 19.

### LAURA HOPE CREWS



One of the principals in "The Silver Cord," the Sidney Howard play at the Golden Theatre.

## MUSIC

### NEW YORK SYMPHONY

Four concerts are scheduled by the New York Symphony Orchestra next week. This Sunday afternoon in Mecca Auditorium, Elizabeth Reitherberg will be the soloist, with Otto Klemperer conducting. The program follows: Concerto Crosso No. 4 in A-minor—Handel, Aria "Der Freyschutz"—Weber, Konzertmusik fur Blas Orchestra—Hindemith, Songs—Strauss, Prelude and Isolde's Love Death from "Tristan and Isolde" Wagner.

The concerts in Carnegie Hall next Thursday afternoon and Friday evening, will have Pablo Casals as the assisting artist. The program includes: Overture, "Oberon", Weber, Concerto in B-flat Boccherini, Symphony No. 7 Bruckner.

Sunday afternoon, February 20, in Mecca Auditorium, Alexander Brailowsky will be the soloist.

### PHILHARMONIC

Wilhelm Furtwaengler will include the Seventh Symphony of Nicholas Miaskovsky next Thursday evening and Friday afternoon at Carnegie Hall. The program will open with the Second Symphony of Brahms and close with the "Tannhauser" Overture.

This Sunday afternoon at Carnegie Hall Mr. Furtwaengler has scheduled the Beethoven "Leonore" Overture No. 2, the Seventh Symphony of Beethoven, Tchaikovsky's "Romeo and Juliet," and Berlioz' Rakoczy March.

Next Sunday afternoon Paul Kochanski, will be the soloist with the Philharmonic orchestra.

## The New Plays

### TUESDAY

"SPELLBOUND," described as a prohibition drama, dealing with anti-liquor bigots, by Walter Elwood, will begin a series of special matinees Tuesday afternoon at the Klaw Theatre, Mary Forrest is the producer. In the cast are Esther Stockton, Bud West, Arthur Morris, James J. Morton, Richard Bowles, Arthur Gray, Charlotte Altemus and Adelaide Fitzallen.

"POSSIBILITIES," by J. S. and Ernest W. Martin, will be presented by Clara Tree Major, at a series of special matinees, beginning Tuesday afternoon at the Princess Theatre. The play, it is stated, deals with philosophy.

# AMUSEMENTS

## "SINNER"

"Weaves a spell".....Times  
"A hit".....Telegraph  
"Unusual combination of drama and comedy".....Journal

with

ALLAN DINEHART and CLAIBORNE FOSTER

KLAW THEATRE West 45th Street. Evs. 8.30.  
FIRST MAT. TOMORROW.

## B.P.

A play you won't forget

## THE LADDER

By J. FRANK DAVIS

WALDORF Thea., 50th Street, East of Broadway.  
Eve. 8:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat.  
SPECIAL MATINEE Washington's Birthday (Tuesday, Feb. 22).

WINTHROP AMES' GILBERT & SULLIVAN OPERA CO. All performances exc. Thurs. Evgs.

## PIRATES of PENZANCE

THURSDAY EVENINGS ONLY

## IOLANTHE

PLYMOUTH West 45th Street. Evnings, 8:30.  
Mats. Thurs. & Sat., 2:30.  
EXTRA MATINEE Washington's Birthday (Tuesday, Feb. 22).

## CIVIC REPERTORY

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## EVA LeGALLIENNE

### WEEK OF FEB. 14th

Mon. Eve., Feb. 14. "Master Builder"  
Tues. Eve., Feb. 15. "Cradle Song"  
Wed. Mat., Feb. 16. "Master Builder"  
Wed. Eve., Feb. 16. "Three Sisters"  
Thur. Eve., Feb. 17. "Cradle Song"  
Fri. Eve., Feb. 18. "John Gabriel Borkman"  
Sat. Mat., Feb. 19. "Twelfth Night"  
Sat. Eve., Feb. 19. "Cradle Song"

### WEEK OF FEB. 21

Mon. Eve., Feb. 21. "Master Builder"  
Tues. Mat., Feb. 22. "Master Builder"  
Tues. Eve., Feb. 22. "Cradle Song"  
Wed. Mat., Feb. 23. "Cradle Song"  
Wed. Eve., Feb. 23. "La Locandiera"  
Thur. Eve., Feb. 24. "Three Sisters"  
Fri. Eve., Feb. 25. "Cradle Song"  
Sat. Mat., Feb. 26. "Cradle Song"  
Sat. Eve., Feb. 26. "John Gabriel Borkman"

## Neighborhood Playhouse

466 Grand St. Drydock 7516  
Every Eve. (Except Mon.) Mat. Sat.

### "PINWHEEL"

By Francis Edwards Faragoh  
"THE DYBBUK"—Feb. 17.

## Theatre Guild Acting Company in BROTHERS KARAMAZOV

Week Feb. 14—PYGMALION  
Thea. W. 52 St. Evs. 8:15  
GUILD Mats. Thu. & Sat. 2:15

### THE SILVER CORD

Week Feb. 14—Ned McCobb's Daughter  
John Golden Th. 58, E. of B'y Circle  
Mts. Thurs. & Sat. 5:07S.

## An AMERICAN TRAGEDY 6 MONTH

A Longacre West 48 St. Mts. Wed and Sa.

RITZ Thea., 48th St., W. of B'y. Evs. 8:30. Mats. WED. and SAT. 2:30.

## Bye Bye Bonnie

Musical Bon Bon with Dorothy Burgess, Rudolph Cameron, Louis Simon, William Frawley.

Sam. HARRIS THEA. West 42nd St. H. Twice Daily, 2:30 & 8:30

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## MUSIC AND CONCERTS.

## N. Y. SYMPHONY

KLEMPERER, Guest Conductor  
MECCA AUDITORIUM, Sun. Aft., Feb. 13  
SOLOIST RETHBERG  
ELISABETH HANDEL, Concerto Grosso No. IV in A minor, for String Orchestra and Cembalo (Mr. Klemperer at the Cembalo); WEBER, Aria "Der Freyschutz"; HINDEMITH, Konzertmusik fur Blas Orchester; STRAUSS, Songs; WAGNER, Prelude and Isolde's Love-Death from "Tristan und Isolde."  
TICKETS at Steinway Hall, 113 West 57th Street, Room 1001.  
George Engles, Mgr. Steinway Piano.

### MUSIC NOTES.

Ernesto Berumen gives his piano recital at Aeolian Hall Sunday Evening, February 20, featuring music of modern Spain by de Falla, Turina, Albeniz and Granados.

Beatrice Pinkham, at her second piano recital in Town Hall next Thursday evening, will play numbers from Bach, Handel, Chopin, Liszt, Grieg and some moderns.

Nobu Suzuki, the Japanese contralto, at her debut in Town Hall, next Saturday afternoon, will include a program of German lieder, groups of Schubert, by Wolf, Werkmeister, Mahler and Roger.

## PHILHARMONIC

FURTWAENGLER, Conductor  
at CARNEGIE HALL  
THIS SUNDAY AFTERNOON at 3:00  
Beethoven—Tchaikovsky—Berlioz  
Thurs. Eve., Feb. 17, at 8:30—Fri. Aft., Feb. 18, at 2:30  
Brahms—Miaskovsky—Wagner  
Sunday Afternoon, Feb. 20, at 3:00  
Soloist: PAUL KOCHANSKI  
Arthur Judson, Mgr. (Steinway Piano)

Aeolian Hall, Sun. Eve., Feb. 20, at 8:30

## BERUMEN

SPANISH PROGRAM  
Works by De Falla, Turina, Albeniz and Granados  
Haensel & Jones, Mgrs. Steinway Piano

TOWN HALL, Sat. Afternoon, Feb. 19, SONG RECITAL

## Nobu Suzuki

Concert Mgt. Daniel Mayer, Inc. Steinway Piano.

TOWN HALL, Thurs. Evg., Feb. 17, 8:30 PIANO RECITAL BEATRICE

## PINKHAM

Concert Mgt. Daniel Mayer, Inc. Chickering Piano.