AN ANALYSIS OF THE NEW YORK NEWSPAPER, "PM"

by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the publishing field, the past decade was one of innovation and revolution. One after another, new forms were devised, experimented with, and substituted for older techniques. Daring speculation with ideas placed successes like Fortune and Esquire on the market. A stream-lined Life with emphasis on spot photography enjoyed such a phenomenal success that it almost went into bankruptcy. Time, an approach to national journalism, presented a formula for the collecting and processing of news in all fields.

It was inevitable that this revolution in publishing should affect the daily press, a more conservative field, but not invulnerable to the influx of new ideas. Departmentalizing appeared more strongly in the Louisville Courier-Journal, the Richmond Times-Dispatch, the Christian Science Monitor, and other progressive newspapers. Feature sections reflected the influence of periodical make-up. On the whole, however, the daily newspaper's conversion was one of form rather than content. The newspaper pursued its conventional but dependable course.

In the later half of the decade, a rumor spread around the offices of the Luce Publications, (Time, Life, Fortune, etc.,) that Ralph Ingersoll, then general manager of Time, Inc., was experimenting with forms to penetrate the daily press and process news in a unique and strikingly original manner. The idea seemed

credible; if a phenomenal circulation could be amassed by a publication devoted to a weekly news summary, distinguished from similar periodicals by its news-processing techniques, what high prospects there might be for a daily paper which would adapt these same techniques for use in metropolitan journalism.

How long the idea for PM germinated in the mind of its creator, Ralph MaAllister Ingersoll, is a debatable point. Ferdinand Lundberg, commenting on the first issue, said that PM appeared "after five years of advance talk, publicity, gossip, and rumor."[1] Eugene Lyons places the time more conservatively at two years.[2]

The idea for PM, according to Lundberg,[3] came to Mr. Ingersoll during a pressman's strike in 1923, when all the New York papers put out small eight-page newspapers without advertising. Nothing came of it, however, until 1935 when Edward Stanley, then assistant to Kent Cooper, general manager of the Associated Press, joined Ingersoll. The two men set up an organization known as Publications Research, Inc., and plans for PM began to take shape.

The five years of preparing the groundwork were not smooth ones. As a result of many differences of opinion, Mr. Stanley withdrew from Publications Research, Inc. Daniel Gillmor, now editor and publisher of the weekly Friday and an enthusiastic

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1 Lundberg, Ferdinand, "PM, the Wall-Street-Popular-Front Tabloid," Harper's Magazine, Vol. 181, October, 1940, p.486.
2 Lyons, Eugene, "The Strange Case of PM," The American Mercury, Vol. 50, August 1940, p. 484.
3 Lundberg, op. cit., pp. 487-488.

Popular Fronter,[1] tossed in a large sum of money.[2] Once more,[3] a financial backer could not agree with Ingersoll, and Gillmor also withdrew his investment.

Lyons mentions that the first public notice of the new venture came in November, 1938, when:[3]

> ..... in a suite at the Hotel Plaza, under the firm name of Publications Research, Inc., Mr. (Dashiell) Hammett started to interview applicants for jobs on a nebulous newspaper that later jelled as PM. .... Then came the news that the brilliant Mr. Ingersoll was heading up the undertaking.

It was not until April, 1939, that Ingersoll severed connections with Time, Inc., in order to devote his full time to the development of the proposed newspaper.[4] Publisher Ingersoll worked doggedly. By January 15, 1940, he was able to set a date of publication and to make certain definite commitments about his newspaper.

A news story placed low on an inside page of the conservative New York Times stated:[5]

> A new evening newspaper of tabloid size to be sold at five cents is tentatively announced for publication on June 1 by Ralph McAllister Ingersoll, president of Publications Research, Inc. Mr. Ingersoll announced yesterday that he had completed financing arrangements for the new publication.
>
> It will depart radically from the present day newspaper, and will be styled on the news magazine with news departmentalized, much of it brief, and with more interpretation

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1 The "Popular Front" against Fascism consisted of an attempted coalition between the Communists in this country and the more liberal supporters of democracy in a concerted attempt to join forces against the threat of Hitler's Fascistic regime.
2 Lundberg, op. cit., p. 488.
3 Lyons, op. cit., p. 487.
4 New York Times, January 15, 1940.
5 Ibid.

> than is customarily given in the daily newspaper. Politically, it will be independent. In the early stages, no advertising will be solicited as such, but it will be handled as news as a service to readers.

The exciting announcements made in this story must have been part of a publicity release from the offices of Publications Research, Inc., for the same material, almost identically stated, appeared in the London Times, two days later.[1]

Promotion of the planned newspaper was not lagging. A well-developed program to stimulate nation-wide circulation swung into action early in the year. Publishing circles were buzzing with rumors for months before PM appeared. Here, promised Mr. Ingersoll, was to be "a new kind of newspaper,"[2] a veritable adventure in journalism.

As much as $400,000 was spent on promotion before PM ever published an issue.[3] Most of it was in the form of "confidential" memoranda from the pen of Publisher Ingersoll and from his promises grew high expectations for PM. Ingersoll's thesis was challenging and exciting; it stirred the average interested newspaper reader to visions of a golden age of journalism. The following passage illustrates his particular knack for promoting the new project in vivid and picturesque terms:[4]

> PM is a new kind of newspaper in that it imitates no existing publication. It has grown out of some five years of experimentation which began with a hypothetical

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1 London Times, January 17, 1940, p. 4.
2 Ingersoll, Ralph, "Confidential Memorandum," Publications Research, Inc., May 14, 1940, p. 3.
3 Schneider, Walter E., "Ingersoll Sees PM's First Year as Start in Fulfilling Pledges," Editor and Publisher, Vol. 74, No. 24, June 14, 1941, p. 9.
4 Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 3.

> question I posed myself: Suppose there were no newspapers in existence whatever, but simply, on the one hand, a great desire and need to know what's going on and, on the other, the raw material, the men, machines, ideas and knowledge of publishing with which that demand might be better satisfied than it is now. How would a reasonable and imaginative group of editors, writers, photographers and artists put these materials together in a daily publication supported directly by its readers -- rather than being supported indirectly by its advertisers?
> [1]

And again:

> First of all PM will be a complete paper. From the point of continuity, PM will be edited as if no other newspaper were being published. In other words, each issue of PM will cover the news between that issue and the last issue of the day before. It will not presume that people have read any other papers. In fact, they will not need to read any other to get all the news that is news.

It would be possible to quote Mr. Ingersoll's whole memorandum, as well as other ones of a similar nature, in order to further expound his pledges to the prospective PM readers. But since the "Confidential Memorandum" of May 14 will be referred to time and again as specific phases of the analysis are dealt with, suffice it to say that the promises were bold and appealing to the imagination -- not only to newspaper readers, but to professional journalists. This is witnessed in the fact that more than ten thousand persons applied for positions on PM's staff. Schneider has expressed the wondering attitude on the

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1 Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 4.

part of newspaper publishers who observed that:[1]

> Well-paid executives left lifetime jobs elsewhere in a gamble with Ralph Ingersoll on PM more than a year ago when his infectious dream inspired them. Much was promised by and expected of PM after Mr. Ingersoll assembled a staff of topnotchers and spent something like $400,000 for promotion before PM went on the street.

PM has now completed its first year. Its reception has been varied and changing, ranging from the enthusiastic acceptance by Saul Carson, writing in behalf of New York social workers who laud the new venture for "shouting a song of social significance,"[2] to the Saturday Evening Post's comment, "Just Another Tabloid."[3] It has been flayed by conservatives for being a fellow-traveling vehicle,[4] and by Social Justice and the New Masses as the "pro-Marxian afternoon tabloid" and the "pro-war paper that masquerades as progressive" respectively.[5]

Its reception by the less-articulate public can best be judged by circulation figures. Hitting a peak of 372,000 copies on its first day of publication, (June 18, 1940), the circulation fell to 200,000 after the trial subscriptions expired and the novelty of the newspaper wore off. According to Ingersoll's answer to an Editor and Publisher questionnaire at the close of the first year, the circulation is "about 100,000" at present.[6]

Therefore, judging from cursory printed comment and telltale circulation figures, one may safely assume that PM has fallen

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1 Schneider, op. cit., p. 9.
2 Carson, Saul, "An OK on PM," Channels, September, 1940, p. 156.
3 Stolberg, Benjamin, "Muddled Millions," Saturday Evening Post, February 16, 1941, p. 92.
4 Lundberg, Lyons, and Stolberg, op. cit.
5 As reprinted in PM, February 13, 1941.
6 Schneider, op. cit., p. 9.

short of the expectations of both its promoters and readers. Certainly it has not been financially successful, for without advertising revenues, PM must sell from 250,000 to 300,000 copies in order to break even.[1] Its turbulent financial history, which will be explained at length in a later chapter, is further evidence that something is amiss in the plan for a superlative newspaper.

It is the writer's plan that PM shall be observed from all angles, first of all as a newspaper business attempting to hold its own in a highly competitive metropolitan field and also to enter the realm of nationally-important newspapers, and secondly, as a newspaper striving to achieve certain goals and to uphold its own version of American journalistic principles.

Due to the fact that this analysis covers a nine-month period, it will be impossible to record a completely exhaustive study. There are variables to contend with which make a statistical study, devoted to the measurement of volume, practically impossible. Instead, the writer is attempting to draw a blueprint which will indicate the evolution of PM through certain basic changes in editorial policy and method. It is the object of this study to determine a trend which PM has introduced into the field of journalism with greater emphasis than any other existing publication that is, -- the admixture of information and commentary through a processing technique which renders fact and comment practically inseparable.

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1 "PM Needs Money," Business Week, October 12, 1940, p. 37.

In order to study PM, the writer used a practically complete file from July, 1940, to the end of March, 1941, covering nine months. Special attention was given to the editorial cast of the whole newspaper. Whenever possible, statistical analyses will be made of the nature of PM's editorial leanings. In addition, an attempt is made to assemble the departmentalized news and study the newspaper's content by departments. Each department -- i.e., foreign commentary, national news, labor, etc., presents an evolutionary picture in itself.

For emphasis, certain basic issues, such as the election and the draft, were chosen to be followed through with greater care, and all mention or reference to these issues, from any part of the paper, are noted.

Following an exhaustive study of these issues, a summary is made correlating the discovery of certain fundamental characteristics about PM and conclusions are drawn from this correlary.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND OF PM

Ralph McAllister Ingersoll

The trend toward personal journalism is nowhere more apparent than in PM where the personality of the editor and publisher, Ralph McAllister Ingersoll, is reflected from the first page to the thirty-second.

Ingersoll created PM; he breathed life into it, fanned its feeble breath to active, regular respiratory action, and has managed to sustain it for more than a year by means of several financial blood transfusions. Despite its circulatory troubles, he has not yet despaired in his attempts to make of it a sound, thriving organ of expression.

PM is Ingersoll's dream, and after one year, he is not ready to believe that its limited circulation figures indicate failure. When questioned by Editor and Publisher on the anniversary of PM's first publishing year, Ingersoll answered: "The only needed improvement is better execution of the original plans and better craftsmanship."[1] He feels that PM can make -- and is making -- a "great and important contribution to contemporary journalism" and this is being done through presenting "the truth of the news."[2]

Ingersoll is PM. Due to his arrangement with the stockholders, he holds complete sway over editorial policy. The

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1 Schneider, Walter E., "Ingersoll Sees PM's First Years Start in Fulfilling Pledged," Vol. 74, No. 24, June 14, 1941, p. 9.

2 Ibid.

comment emanating from PM has not been thrashed over by a board of bespectacled editors seeking to find the most objective expression through discussion of the issues involved. It has, instead, gone through Mr. Ingersoll's hands, and met with his approval, or, in the PM tradition, has been printed with the customary footnote explaining that the author's opinions are not necessarily those of the editor, nor need they coincide with those of the newspaper.

This one-man editorial board has been responsible for several staff conflagrations, notably the struggle with Leo Huberman, first labor editor, whose ideas about John L. Lewis did not coincide with Mr. Ingersoll's, and, more recently, the Ben Hecht friction.[1]

In PM, Ingersoll has wielded his personal influence to such a degree that it is unheard of to know PM without knowing Ingersoll. One of the few stories to be printed on the cover of the newspaper was the first installment of his "Truth About England"[2] series.

The role played by Ralph Ingersoll at the helm of the nation's most exciting newspaper during its first year has been that of a militant editor, fighting fearlessly for his conception of truth in the news. "PM is in business to tell as much of the truth as it can find out," he wrote, "because it believes journalism's function in a democracy is to seek

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1 Both of these cases are dealt with in detail under the "Staff Relations" section of this chapter.
2 PM, November 18, 1940, p. 1.

truth in contemporary life and to print it without fear or favor."[1]

This idea is not a new one with Ingersoll. Back in 1938, speaking on press freedom at the Boston Conference on Distribution, he said:[2]

> Independent journalism is still both possible and practical in the United States because what is good in American journalism is founded on the principle of finding out what happened and telling it without fear or favor.

Ralph McAllister Ingersoll was born in New Haven, Connecticut, on December 8, 1900, the son of Colin Macrae and Theresa (McAllister) Ingersoll. He is a grandnephew of Ward McAllister who created New York's "Four Hundred".[3]

As a youth, Ralph Ingersoll attended the Hotchkiss School in Lakeville, Connecticut. He served overseas during the World War and was graduated from Yale in 1921. He studied at Columbia University in 1922.

Ingersoll began as a mining engineer, working underground as a miner at the North Star Gold mine, Grass Valley, California, and at the Copper Queen mine of the Phelps Dodge Company in Bisbee, Arizona, during 1921 and 1922. He was division engineer for the Pilares de Nacozari Copper mine of the Phelps Dodge Company in Sonora, Mexico, in 1923. His interest in Mexico and in U.S. relations with that country was awakened dur-

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1 Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 10.
2 New York Times, September 28, 1940.
3 New York Times, March 16, 1938.

ing this period.

In 1923, Ingersoll turned to journalism, starting as a reporter for the New York American. From 1924 to 1926, he did free lance magazine article writing, both in this country and abroad. His first association with the New Yorker magazine was in 1925 when he became a staff reporter.

For five years, from 1925 to 1930, Ingersoll was managing editor of the New Yorker. It was during this period that he married Mary Elizabeth Garden, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. George Alexander Garden of 969 Park Avenue, New York City. They were married in Grace Church, New York City, on November 18, 1926. In 1938, Mrs. Ingersoll was granted a divorce in Reno on grounds of cruelty.[1]

Ingersoll's rise in the publishing field was rapid and brilliant. In 1930, he was appointed associated editor of Fortune, and served as its managing editor from 1930 to 1935. It was in this capacity that he gained his wide knowledge of the industrial empire in this country.

In September, 1935, Ingersoll became vice-president and general manager of Time, Inc. This organization was then publishing Time, Fortune, and the Architectural Forum, as well as sponsoring both radio and movie productions of "The March of Time." He was appointed publisher of Time in March, 1937.

The Ingersoll home is at Shadow Rock Farm, Lakeville, Connecticut. "Who's Who"[2] credits Ingersoll with the author-

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1 New York Times, March 20, 1938.
2 Who's Who in America, (1938-1939), Vol. 20, edited by Albert Nelson Marquis, Chicago.

ship of In and Under Mexico, published in 1923. He is an Episcopalian and a member of the Yale, Union, Racquet and Tennis, and Cloud clubs, all of New York. (His club affiliations are akin to those of many of PM's stockholders.)

Lundberg contends that Ingersoll's laurels were gained as a successful magazine promoter rather than as a newspaperman.[1] He writes:

> Save for a brief term on the New York American as a cub reporter, he had no experience in the gathering of raw news nor familiarity with the management of newspapers.

*****

In order to understand the forces which go into the creation of a journal of comment and opinion such as PM, it is well to consider the social environment in which the paper was conceived. It is very necessary to know who Ralph Ingersoll is and what he has done in his forty-one years, but it is more important to this study to know his interests, his associates, and in what kind of a social milieu his thinking has been directed.

Ingersoll might be termed as one of the "Intellectuals," that group of persons who write and publish and who are so placed as to be able to use their influence and their opinions in the espousal of a "cause." In better days, when social, political and international problems were a trifle less complex, these intellectuals were "the liberals." But in the late '30s,

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1 Lundberg, Ferdinand, "PM, the Wall-Street-Popular-Front Tabloid," Harper's Magazine, Vol. 181, October 1940, p. 486.

"liberalism was played out, Fascism was a fact, and if the Popular Front wasn't a step forward, what was?"[1]

This trend of thought was current among employes of the Luce publications and Ralph Ingersoll was known to be sympathetic to it. The Luce publications, it will be remembered, rose to their greatest prosperity during the depression when the social thinking of the people was being violently upset and new ideas and speculations about the future replaced the comfortable security of an earlier day. Riding the wave of this uncertainty, the Communist party gained ground from 1930 to 1935.

In the summer of 1935, the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International convened in Moscow and an anti-fascist Popular Front was decided upon as the best means of contending with Adolf Hitler, now a dangerous world power. "With the tide of fascism rising, all hands throughout the world were called upon to stop the onrush of the barbarians."[2]

The new policy caused great excitement in the United States where the trade unions, particularly the C.I.O,, were penetrated. The Popular Front policy enlisted followers in affiliated groups from coast to coast, and Luce's employes fell in line.

Lundberg stresses Ingersoll's relation to the Popular Front as an integral part of his plans for a new publication:[3]

> ..... at one time he talked about publishing an American edition of The Week -- a

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1 Lundberg, op. cit., p. 487.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.

> London weekly news-letter with a Communist slant edited by Claude Cockburn, once an American correspondent of the London Times. This news-letter had a wide circulation in New York among newspaper and magazine people and business houses. There was a quantity of news that the dailies suppressed or could not see; the reporting of the Spanish War had been biased; labor didn't have the press it ought to have; what about housing, the sharecroppers, and the Okies? The new paper, it was decided after other projects were abandoned, would tackle these problems; it would be a new version of the newspaperman's dream of a paper where this time, by God, the facts about "that traction deal" would see daylight.

Benjamin Stolberg, Saturday Evening Post writer, also accuses Ingersoll of being a "fellow traveler":[1]

> In 1937, Mr. Ingersoll organized a "study group" under V. J. Jerome, the "cultural commissar" of the Communist Party. While he was publisher of Time, that magazine followed the party line, cleverly and subtly, but none the less clearly, in its labor and book-review departments. The record is in Time's back numbers, for anyone to read.

Despite the differences in opinion among early backers,[2] the basic editorial attitude of PM, as planned by Ingersoll, did not change. In 1939, Mr. Ingersoll wrote the following memorandum:[3]

> What we would have, of course, would be an organ of the United Front. Not an organ dedicated to putting over the United Front

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1 Stolberg, Benjamin, "Muddled Millions," Saturday Evening Post, February 15, 1941, p. 92.
2 Edward Stanley and Daniel Gillmor.
3 Lundberg, op. cit., p. 486.

> or any part of it. But an organ that believed in the destiny of the people and that therefore all those conflicting elements of the United Front were, with greater or lesser efficiency, moving in the right direction.

In the afore-mentioned twenty-two page memorandum published privately and circulated in the spring on 1939, Ingersoll had this to say about PM's proposed editorial policy:[1]

> We are a group which believes in the existence of right and wrong and we believe that Right lies to the Left. But how far? Here I believe we can be agnostic scientists. I am willing to say frankly I do not know. I am willing to subscribe to journalistic inquiry admittedly and openly more interested in and more sympathetic to all left movements -- Liberalism, New Dealism, Socialism, Communism, Anarchy.

Lundberg also quotes Ingersoll as saying:[2]

> The first thing to be told publicly and emphatically and continuously about capitalism of course is that it doesn't exist or, if you like, that it exists everywhere. In other words, the sense that U. S. Capitalism must be against Communism is nonsense because in whole sections of our life in this alleged capitalistic country we have no capitalism at all ..... I would like to say .... frankly that we have an open mind on capitalism. We are not going to be so stupid as to be horrified by the idea of confiscation of property when we have had the phenomenon of property being confiscated -- by the State for public works, by the State through limiting profits, etc., for generations.

Whatever his social philosophy may have been in 1938, and 1939, it became apparent in 1940, not long after the pub-

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1 Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 11.
2 Lundberg, op. cit., p. 491.

lication of PM began, that Mr. Ingersoll had a change of heart. The blow-up of the Popular Front came with the Russo-German non-aggression pact; and Ingersoll, although still with a soft spot in his heart for the same trend of social progress looked to by the Communists, swung over to a new conception of America. Since late in 1940, beginning several months prior to the presidential election, he has been the chief exponent of the New Deal philosophy and an ardent champion of its chief, Franklin D. Roosevelt. He has espoused practically every issue promoted by the Administration and has led the fight for full aid to Britain, the lend-lease bill, convoys, sale of destroyers, and a new invigorating concept of America's destiny. Indeed, were PM to attain the circulation of the Chicago Tribune, it might conceivably become a powerful instrument in the war which, Mr. Ingersoll has been convinced for many months, we are already fighting.

Ralph Ingersoll is not a man of temperate opinions; his editorials bite and sting but never do they leave the reader coldly indifferent, as is indicated in a later section devoted to an analysis of the "Opinion" page. He is a fighting, crusading editor, who has successfully substituted his concept of "anti-fascist" for the Communist charges so frequently made against him.

PM's editor and publisher has best explained his relationship with the Communist party, if one might venture to call it that, in the following paragraphs from a full page editorial

entitled "Who Won the Election?"[1]

> A few years ago we who believed in the future of America as a democracy had on our side an able group of zealots schooled in effective foreign political techniques. They called themselves Communists and although they had once been against us they now attached themselves to us in a policy they articulated as "The United Front Against Fascism." We in the goodness of our hearts were glad to have them with us because they believed in so many things we did -- a wider distribution of wealth, civil liberties, trade unionism, a state more interested in the housing and education of its citizens, socialized medicine, and in the dignity of man. Moreover, their enemies, the reactionaries, were our enemies -- and we turned deaf ears to their detractors quite rightly, because we distrusted the sincerity of the criticism.
>
> Now these self-righteous people have made an alliance with their own and our enemies. What always troubled us about them was their lack of scruples and how they fought. They bit people in the clinches and they used their knees when the referee wasn't looking. Justifying themselves the way the torturers of the Spanish Inquisition used to justify themselves -- all's fair in love and a religious cause. Now they are kneeing and biting us and, to change the metaphor, if they are short on talent to confuse, deceive, detract, and destroy confidence. They have already muddled many an honest labor leader, many a public man of good will. They almost lost the wholly legitimate strike of the workers in the Vultee plant in California by mixing up able Attorney General Jackson. What they have done to John L. Lewis is nobody's business.

In an answer to a letter from a French Communist in this country, who advocated a "truce" with the Soviet Union,

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1 PM, December 2, 1940, p. 2.

Ingersoll had this to say:[1]

> First, about throwing Communists and Fascists into one bag. I don't. Most of the things the Communists fight for in this country I believe in: civil liberties, collective bargaining, housing reform, socialized medicine, etc. ... The point is: neither I nor anyone else has done any throwing. It's the Communists themselves who have crawled into the Fascist bag and curled up there..... I see Communists as .... self-appointed Messiahs with a very hard and doctrinaire religion to which they seek to convert the people. And convert no matter how it hurts or whom. ..... So that I do not consider the Communist's sincere belief that he is working selflessly in the people's best interests as proved at all. My own belief remains in the people -- and not in the ideas of any one group of theorists, however skilled and articulate. Or "sincere."
>
> If there is any note of sharpness in this answer to K.T. .... it will come in answer to his invitation: "Wouldn't it be better to make a kind of truce with them and postpone the discussion about how to create happiness for the people for afterwards, after the Fascists are destroyed?" For I was one who tried to make such a truce. I believed in the united front against Fascism. It was not liberals like myself who deserted this concept. They have tried to create this impression and so doing they've lied. It was the Communists who abandoned it when, for reasons of its own foreign policy, the Union of Socialist States of Russia abandoned it and came to an understanding with the Fascists in Berlin. And the rest of the Communists in the world followed them. K.T.'s letter has a sincere ring to it, But how can he ask me or any other anti-Fascist liberal a question like that -- ask us, whom the Communists deserted to support the foreign policy of Soviet Russia?

This, then, may be taken as Ingersoll's stand on the

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1 PM, December 24, 1940, p. 2.

United Front. He does not deny his former interests, but he violently condemns the course chosen by the Communists. In "Communists, Journalism -- and PM"[1] he expounds fully his present attitude toward the Communists in America.

Since by his own declaration, Ralph Ingersoll is not a Communist, nor even a "fellow traveler" in the common connotation of the word, he may be considered as a champion of American democracy and of democratic liberalism. His complete philosophy of national and inter-national affairs will be developed in a later section. Suffice it to say that his journalistic principles remain as set forth in his famous prospectus[2] and reprinted by PM numerous times:

> We are against people who push other people around, just for the fun of pushing, whether they flourish in this country or abroad. We are against fraud and deceit and greed and cruelty and we will seek to expose their practitioners. We are for people who are kindly and courageous and honest. We respect intelligence, sound accomplishment, open-mindedness, religious tolerance. We do not believe all mankind's problems are now being solved successfully by any existing social order, certainly not our own, and we propose to crusade for those who seek constructively to improve the way men live together. We are Americans and we prefer democracy to any other principle of government.

PM's Stockholders

In view of the Popular Front line of approach taken in early plans for PM, it is an enigma to consider the newspaper's

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1 PM, December 27, 1940, p. 2.
2 Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 11.

stockholders and realize the interests they represent. Here is a group of New York and Chicago industrialists, financial leaders, and business men, representing a number of the most influential families in America.

The original board of directors included O. B. Winters, Chester Bowles, Marshall Field, Mrs. Louis Gimbel, Daniel McCarthy, Deering Howe, John L. Loeb, Harry Scherman, M. Lincoln Schuster, Mrs. Marion Rosenwald Stern, Nathan W. Levin, John Hay Whitney, Garrard Winston, William Benton, Harry Cushing, Louis S. Weiss, John F. Wharton, Dorothy Thompson Lewis, Lessing Rosenwald, Dwight Deere Wiman. Of these, Whitney, Field and the Rosenwalds originally held the largest amounts. According to Stolberg:[1]

> Mr. Ingersoll was remarkably successful in interesting rich Americans in the new enterprise. He expressed the belief that it was "unique" in American journalism for so many wealthy families to get behind a new daily. Mr. Ingersoll was right. The $1,500,000. stock issue was oversubscribed by $1,000,000.

PM's leading block of stock was bought by Mr. Marion Rosenwald Stern, Sears Roebuck heiress, who invested $250,000 in the new venture. Mrs. Stern, according to Time, is represented on PM's board by her man-of-business, Nathan Levin, "who runs the 70-odd Rosenwald family pools."[2]

Lessing Rosenwald, also of Sears Roebuck Company, is another member of PM's board of directors.

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1 Stolberg, op. cit., p. 92.
2 Time, October 7, 1940, p. 56.

On the second of the three largest stockholders, John Hay Whitney, Time had this comment to make:[1]

> Socialite Jack Whitney ... not only likes to hit the jackpot but invest his money to do good.

Due to his subsequent role as guarding -- and sustaining -- angel of PM, Marshall Field III will be treated separately and at greater length.

The other backers are: Harry Cushing, vice-president of E. H. Rollins Company, bankers; George Huntington Hartford II, of the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company, (his investments are represented on the board by Daniel McCarthy, an executive of the same company);[2] Dorothy Thompson Lewis, prominent columnist, analyst and commentator; Dwight Deer Wiman, theatrical producer; Philip A. Wrigley and Harry Scherman, president of the Book of the Month Club and "amateur economist"[3] according to Time.

Also, Deering Howe and Garrard B. Winston of the law firm of Shearman and Sterling, attorneys for the National City Bank of New York. Winston, a Yale man, was undersecretary of treasury from 1923 to 1927, and is a former treasurer of the American Red Cross, as well as a member of the American, Illinois, New York, and Chicago Bar Associations.

Another director, John L. Loeb, is a prominent broker and a member of Kuhn, Leob and Company, which investigated the

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1 Time, op. cit., p. 56.
2 Lyons, op. cit., p. 486.
3 Time, op. cit., p. 56.

financial plans for PM suspecting that in some way or another, Time, Inc. was behind it.[1]

An article appearing in PM's "Business" news of July is evidence that stockholding does not comprise a "sacred cow" for this newspaper, at least not as far as Loeb is concerned.[2]

William Benton and Chester Bowles of the firm Benton and Bowles, advertising agency, are fellow investors in the journalistic experiment. Benton, who made a million in advertising before he was forty, retired to become vice-president of Chicago University in 1927. He is Ingersoll's age, was graduated from Yale in the same class with PM's editor, and married a New Haven girl.

Benton was in the advertising agency business with Lord and Thomas until 1929 when he founded Benton and Bowles, now a leading New York advertising agency. He served as president of the company until 1935 and as chairman of the board until 1936, when he retired from business, at the age of 36.

Like Ingersoll, he is an Episcopalian and a member of the Yale and University clubs. His background is given here in detail because it so closely parallels that of PM's editor-promoter -- in family background, Yale education, social status, phenomonal rise in the business world, and other factors, William Benton and Ralph Ingersoll have had strikingly similar experiences.

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1 Lundberg, op. cit., p. 492.
2 PM, July 28, 1940, p. 11.

Marshall Field

Most important of all the stockholders is PM's "Grade A angel,"[1] Marshall Field III, one of the wealthiest men in the United States and scion of the great Field fortune.

Marshall Field is 48 years old. He was reared and educated in England, an interesting fact to note in relation of PM's strong and unswerving pro-British stand, particularly since the October financial re-alignment in which Field played such an important role. He was a student at Eton College and Cambridge University.

Field's holdings are many. He is trustee of the estate of Marshall Field, director of the Continental Insurance Company, Continental-Illinois National Bank and Trust Company, and Marshall Field and Company.

Like Ingersoll, he also served during the first World War -- as a private in the First Illinois Cavalry in 1917 and afterwards, in the 122nd Field Artillery, 33rd Division. He was promoted to captain and arrived in France in March, 1918. He was particularly active in the St. Mihiel and Meuse-Argonne operations and was honorably discharged from service in February, 1919. Like Ingersoll again, he is a member of New York's exclusive Racquet and Tennis Club.

Field's listing in "Who's Who"[2] as a Catholic is worthy of note for PM has paid more attention to the affairs of the Catholic church than is customary in the metropolitan press.

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1 Time, op. cit., p. 56.
2 "Who's Who" in America, op. cit.

Ten full pages in the special 64-page propaganda piece, "What Are We Going To Do About It?",[1] are devoted to the threat of Fascism to the Catholic church and include articles by prominent Catholics and testimonials by leading Catholic dignitaries and church officials.

Mr. Field's political affiliations are listed in "Who's Who"[2] as "Republican." This must be considered as a pre-New Deal alignment, for Field's name has been actively associated with affairs concerned with the Roosevelt administration. The ardent championship given the Democratic candidate for President in the recent election is explained by Mrs. Marion Bachrach, former member of PM's Washington Bureau and now a member of the staff of U. S. Week, a weekly published in Milwaukee.

According to Mrs. Bachrach, merchants and retailers such as Field and the Rosenwalds were interested in backing PM as a pro-Roosevelt and pro-New Deal policy newspaper because they have gleaned a vast volume of business since Roosevelt's program toward recovery began some nine years ago. They fear, Mrs. Bachrach contends, that a reactionary administration might incite fear or insecurity in the minds of the people and that as a result of this upheaval of the status quo, spending might be curbed.[3]

This is a credible theory and one of the many clues which might be employed in an attempt to clear away the mystery created by some of the nation's wealthiest business people

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1 PM's Special Issue, "What Are We Going to Do About It," (undated), pp. 30-40.
2 Who's Who In America, op. cit.
3 Conversation with Mrs. Marion Bachrach, July 3, 1941.

backing a newspaper which not only aims to champion the underdog, almost without regard for circumstances, but which misses few opportunities to ridicule retail selling practices and the foibles of advertising -- businesses from which much of PM's generous backing has come!

After PM's making such a fetish of its freedom from advertising and the influence of advertisers, one is forced to stack up Mrs. Bachrach's comments on possible reasons for some investors being interested in PM and contemplate whether the privilege motive behind stock-buying in an experimental newspaper venture is not in the same sinful category as the use of influence on the part of the advertiser in regard to a newspaper's editorial policy.

It is difficult to judge which is the more dastardly journalistic practice. In fact, it is entirely possible that the probability of advertiser's influence is less of a threat to the newspaper's freedom, for an advertising contract is a more controlled variable and more easily replaced than the withdrawal of financial backing from a newspaper which is dipping into the red as deeply as is PM.

The justification for investment without vested interest can be found in the much-advertised contract between Mr. Ingersoll and PM's stockholders, who signed away to the publisher "complete, absolute and exclusive power to formulate editorial, advertising, production, and promotion policies."[1]

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1 Lyon, Eugene, "The Strange Case of PM," The American Mercury, Vol. 50, August, 1940, p. 486.

In October, when Marshall Field became PM's "sole and all-controlling angel" by virtue of a financial coup, PM had this to say about the new corporation:[1]

> In a statement after the stockholders' meeting, Mr. Field made it clear that there would be no change of any kind in the policies of PM, which will continue under the guidance of Ralph Ingersoll, present editor.

And, quoting Field:[2]

> ..... the paper can and will carry on under Mr. Ingersoll's editorship. It is his and my intention that the policy of the paper shall remain unchanged.

Time magazine, however, dealt with no delicacies in reporting the new arrangement:[3]

> One old PM obligation which Marshall Field did not offer to assume was Ralph Ingersoll's five-year contract which gave him the reins for five years. But Marshall Field was in full agreement with Publisher Ingersoll. .....

The financial operations and subsequent blood transfusions which have gone into saving PM's life will be developed in further detail in a subsequent chapter.

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It is interesting to note that of all the conjecturing there has been on PM's color -- and the indictments have run the spectrum of shades from pale pink to deep crimson -- there has been little or no accusation of PM's stockholders

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1 PM, October 18, 1941, p. 8.
2 Ibid.
3 Time, October 7, 1940, p. 56.

in relation to Communist leanings. Even Stolberg, a most severe critic of American capitalists who finance Leftist ventures, had only this to say:[1]

> The two largest stockholders on the board of directors ... were Marshall Field and John Hay Whitney. Neither Mr. Field nor Mr. Whitney nor any of the other wealthy stockholders could possibly be called a Communist or a fellow traveler.

One can only assume that there may be some particle of truth in Stolberg's thesis in his "Muddled Millions," -- a thesis born out by an observation of the financial backers of such anti-bellum American periodicals as the Nation, that wealthy men in America have always found great satisfaction in promoting liberal journalistic efforts and espousing the cause of the under-privileged. It may be that they ease their consciences by supporting an organ of expression dedicated to "the people." Perhaps it was this concept which inspired Time's commentary on Marshall Field:[2]

> .... one of the U.S.'s richest men, who at 47 years of age has been well psycho-analyzed and emerged with a desire to do good in the world.

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1 Stolberg, op. cit., p. 92.
2 Time, op. cit., p. 56.

PM'S STAFF

When the news circulated around New York publishing circles that a new metropolitan tabloid of extravagant proportions and unquestionable journalistic principles was to begin publication, more than ten thousand persons applied for positions on its staff. Even in a city the size of New York, 10,000 applicants indicated that the proposed paper was creating quite a stir, and that what this paper promised to be had meaning for thousands of professional newspapermen and women.

Of the 10,000 seeking positions, 400 persons were chosen: 200 for the technical and business side, and 200 editorial workers. Time[1] claims that at its peak, the editorial staff numbered 230.

Today, there are about 180 persons on PM's editorial staff. An exact figure on the number of original staff members who are still with the paper is not available, Editor and Publisher learned upon inquiry, but a rough estimate made by a PM executive indicated that 75% of the staff of last June is still with the newspaper.[2]

The choice of staff members was not dependent upon experience; many of them had never worked on a newspaper. Lundberg[3] describes the early PM as "heavily staffed with literary folk and political intellectuals," and "short on an absolute necessity; news-getters." Stolberg[4] claims that the majority of the staff members had had no newspaper experience, and that

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1 Time, Vol. 36, July 29, 1940, p. 51.
2 Schneider, op. cit., p. 38
3 Lundberg, op. cit., p. 489.
4 Stolberg, op. cit., p. 92.

some of them had no distinction as writers of any kind beyond the spurious build-up they received as "distinguished" authors in Communist and fellow-traveling circles.

From the first weeks of its publication, PM has been criticized for the political leanings of its staff members. Many of them were formerly associated, in one way or another, with Communist publications or fellow-travelling groups, as critics of the new paper soon discovered. Within a month, the rumors about PM's Communist affiliations were circulating and creating a great deal of unfavorable comment. Says Stolberg:[1]

> The number of Communists and fellow-travelers on the staff immediately became a public scandal. Mr. Ingersoll found it necessary to advertise in the New York Times that he was not running a Communist newspaper. He also published a denial in his own paper, attributing the "unprincipled rumors" to his competitors, and asking the Government to investigate PM.

How much of the accusation was rumor and how much was fact is difficult to determine; one can only present the evidence as revealed in the records of PM's staff members -- when these records are revealed.

Most of the information in the following summary of PM staff members was taken from the "Family Album," a regular feature on the "Opinion" page of PM. The "Family Album" consists of a picture of the staff member and one or two paragraphs on his activities, background and experience.

Raymond Abrashkin wrote the articles which exposed condi-

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1 Stolberg, op. cit., p. 92.

tions in the New York public schools and caused great excitement in the Board of Education, leading to subsequent action. Mr. Abrashkin was educated at the College of the City of New York, was graduated in 1931, and later taught in the New York schools. "In the summer of 1940 he quit teaching to report youth and education for PM .... he wastes no time in trying to help improve the New York school system."[1]

Duncan Aikman, author of "The Uncertain Republic" and the series on Miami, America's "Playtown", was a writer and journalist before he came to PM. He is one of the staff members who Lundberg specifically names as not being a Popular Fronter.[2]

Hilda Appel, copy-writer for the Advertising Digest, attended Mount Holyoke and got her bachelor of science and master of arts from Columbia Teachers' College. "She has taught physical education and health at a university, a normal school and a reform school. She comes from Allentown, lives in Greenwich village, is one of PM's busiest writers."[3]

Ned Armstrong, was named as re-write man in the News for Living department when that department existed. A native of San Francisco, he was raised in the East, attended high school in Flushing, and Columbia University. Starting on the Brooklyn Eagle, Armstrong later worked for the New Yorker and the World Telegram. He is the author of three novels and a number of

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1 PM, January 12, 1941, p.2 .
2 Lundberg, op. cit., p. 490.
3 PM, July 18, 1940, p. 18.

plays, and was a theatrical press agent for six years.[1]

Marion Bachrach, who was Washington Editor of PM's "News for Living" department until she joined the staff of U.S. Week, attended the University of Chicago and later ran a secretarial company which handled "anything from direct mail to debuts." Her activities include being a ghost writer, doing research for Washington Congressmen, and serving as editor and publisher of the Washington Legislative News. She is listed by Stolberg as a "fellow-traveler."[2]

Hannah Baker, editorial assistant in the National Affairs department, "handles liaison with PM's correspondents all over the country." A native New Yorker, she was graduated from Hunter College in 1930. Her background includes working in publishing offices, publicity, European travel. Before coming to PM, she managed the McClure Newspaper Syndicate for four years.[3]

Harry Baker, PM's picture manager, directs the staff of photographers. He is a native of Brooklyn and has been an executive in some of the country's leading photo syndicates for 17 years, according to PM.[4] His last position before coming to PM, was editor of International News Photos.

William Baumrucker, Jr., business and production manager of PM, is a native of Chicago and was graduated from Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1929. He was a plane designer

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1 PM, July 24, 1940, p. 13.
2 Stolberg, op. cit., p. 92.
3 PM, July 28, 1940, p. 18.
4 PM, July 29, 1940, p. 13.

for Curtiss-Wright for two years, then went to the Daily News and learned the ropes of newspaper production for nine years. Before coming to PM he was assistant mechanical superintendent and advertising production manager for the Daily News. The "Family Album" says of him:[1]

> His was the huge task of adapting the presses to produce the first newspaper ever printed with "frozen ink."

Victor Bernstein, of PM's foreign department was graduated from the Columbia School of Journalism in 1925 and has been doing newspaper work ever since, as a reporter in Providence and San Francisco, feature writer for the New York Times, and Berlin and Central European correspondent for the Jewish Telegraphic Agency for two years before coming to PM.[2]

Jack Blalock, PM copy reader, worked on eleven newspapers between his years at the University of North Carolina and his joining the PM staff.[3]

Gerald Blank, assistant on PM's Digest of Advertisement, writes merchandising stories and interviews department store officials for PM's "News for Living". He was graduated from City College in 1935 and worked at Gimbels' as mens' wear copy-writer.[4]

Robert L. Bliss is "idea man" for PM. As "Assistant to the Publisher in Charge of Promotion" he was back of the 2,000,000 letters and the advertising copy which introduced PM.

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1 PM, August 5, 1940, p. 13.
2 PM, August 8, 1940, p. 13.
3 PM, August 11, 1940, p. 8.
4 PM, August 9, 1940, p. 13.

His job is to think up new ways to win PM readers. He was graduated from Cornell in 1930 and served as assistant to the chief of J. Walter Thompson's Press Bureau before coming to PM.[1]

Margaret Bourke-White, termed a "devout fellow-traveler"[2] and "long-prominent in fellow-traveling groups .... still in the Communist-dominated American Artists' Congress,"[3] was PM's ace photographer during its early months. Although she resumed her commercial photography career sometime during the winter, she appears as radio commentator in PM following the beginning of the Russian war.[4]

Born in New York, Miss White attended Columbia University, and the University of Michigan, as well as Cornell University, from which she was graduated in 1927. She is the wife of Erskine Caldwell, PM correspondent now in Russia. She has taken pictures in 22 countries, photographing all kinds of American and foreign dignitaries, and "all kinds of people from Viscount Halifax to Stalin's mother."[5] She is known to be the first outsider to cover Russia's Five-Year plan. Before coming to PM, Miss White was an associate editor of Life. From 1929 to 1933, she was an associate editor of Fortune.

Miss White has produced two motion pictures, "Eyes on Russia" and "Red Republic," both dealing with the Soviet Union.

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1 PM, August 12, 1940, p. 11.
2 Stolberg, op. cit., p. 92.
3 Lyons, op. cit., p. 488.
4 PM, July 11, 1941, p. 5
5 PM, August 14, 1940, p. 11.

Bourke-White Finds Soviet Women Eager To Go To Front . . . Many Volunteer As Nurses

BY RADIO

Margaret Bourke-White (Mrs. Erskine Caldwell) reported over a Moscow-CBS hookup last night that she had seen Soviet women weeping because they couldn't go to the front.

The broadcast was in many places unintelligible because of static, but enough sentences and phrases came through to give a picture of Soviet civilians eagerly rallying to do their bit to defeat the Nazis.

Since the beginning of this war, Miss Bourke-White said, she had watched many women see their husbands off to the front, but had yet to see sorrow on a woman's face as she told her husband good-by.

"A young wife I know with a fine little three-month-old baby boy told me today that her husband leaves this evening," Miss Bourke-White said.

"'How do you feel about that?' I asked.

"'There is only one thing to feel,' she answered me. 'I feel envy. I want to go to the front, too.'

"On the other hand, women told me with tears in their eyes that they had volunteered to go as nurses to the front since the first day of the war. One woman said:

"'But there is such an enormous line of applications that I'm afraid they'll never even notice mine.'"

To keep the factories running smoothly, Miss Bourke-White said, the Russians have begun to apply military terms to production in factories.

"Evidently it makes the women's delicate hands accurate," she said.

Children are volunteering to do the housework and go to the grocery store for the wives of Red Army men, Miss Bourke-White reported.

Letters from little people all over the USSR are apparently being read over the Moscow radio, for Miss Bourke-White said:

"The first letter was from two girls doing scientific research in offices. . . .

"One of the letters read today over the radio was from the mother of a son in the Red Army. It says:

"'My beloved son . . . you were a perfect school boy and now I want you to attack the enemy as hard as you used to attack your school books.'"



Margaret Bourke-White

July 11, 1941, p. 5.

Bourke-White Finds Soviet Women Eager To Go To Front . . . Many Volunteer As Nurses

Margaret Bourke-White

Margaret Bourke-White (Mrs. Erskine Caldwell) reported over a Moscow-CBS hookup last night that the Soviet women were not the bad sort Soviet women were because they couldn't go to the front because they were in many places and fighting at the front, but because they were needed at work in the factories. Miss Bourke-White said, the Russian boys began to apply military terms to practically everything. Building a factory, she said, was the beginning of the war, Miss Bourke-White said she had wakened many times in the night to hear bombs exploding. Children are volunteering to do the heavy work and go to the front, she said. Miss Bourke-White was a witness on a steamer bringing Red Army men to see their families on a furlough, but had yet to see one. Her husband, Erskine Caldwell, reported last night a Moscow-CBS broadcast that he, too, was not sent overseas as a correspondent because they couldn't get to the front.

"But there is such an enormous line of applications that I'm afraid he'll never even get one," she said.

To keep the factories running smoothly,

She is the author of Eyes on Russia and U.S.S.R., a Portfolio of Photographs, the latter published in 1934. Among her photo-murals of note is the one she did for the Societ Counsel in New York City, also done in 1934.[1]

From this information, one might readily assume that Miss White has a consuming interest in the fate of the Soviet Union, if not a political affiliation with it.

Richard Boyer, who was Berlin and Mexican correspondent during his association with PM, received recognition for his work by being awarded the American Newspaper Guild for outstanding research and news-writing. Boyer was formerly associated with the New Yorker and Gillmor's Friday. Stolberg terms him an "undeviating fellow-traveler."[2] Mr. Boyer, now associate editor of U.S. Week, was the first correspondent to experiment with the technique which Ingersoll believes to be "a great and important contribution ... to contemporary journalism, the presentation of "the truth of the news ...without regard for consequences."[3] Boyer was sent to Germany and allowed to send back routine cable dispatches while gathering the real truth about Nazi Germany. He returned to this country and was "turned loose with his story, told to write it with the full understanding that he could not go back to Germany, that PM, in fact, did not want him to return."[4] His story was one of PM's early scoops. Ingersoll speaks of Boyer's

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1 Who's Who in America (1938 - 1939) Vol. 20, 1938.
2 Stolberg, op. cit., p. 92.
3 Schneider, op. cit., p. 9.
4 Ibid.

work with the highest praise.

Edward Brause, PM Foreign News writer, was graduated from Columbia University in 1929. He worked for the New York World News Service until the World terminated in 1931, after which he joined the Herald Tribune staff. In 1936, Brause joined the Havas News Agency and was with it until "his job was shot away by the fall of France in June."[1]

Bert Briller, research assistant in the map department of PM, checks the data that go into the cartography. A native of Brooklyn, he is a graduate of the College of the City of New York where he edited the college newspaper. He is also on the staff of The Chinese Student, a magazine of Far East affairs.[2]

Hugh Broderick, PM photographer, covered sports for 15 years. Another Brooklynite, he worked for International News Photos. He holds several prizes from Press Photographers' exhibits, flew to Labrador to cover the arrival of General Balbo and the Italian Aramada in 1933, and has specialized in air reporting.[3]

Philip Brooks, assistant to the promotion manager, is responsible for plugging PM's advertising and promotion programs and directs correspondence with readers. He attended Haverford, was graduated from Harvard, in 1939, and came to PM from J. Walter Thompson's press bureau.[4]

Bob Brumby, boxing and golf writer for PM, started with the

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1 PM, August 16, 1940, p. 11.
2 PM, August 18, 1940, p. 13.
3 PM, August 17, 1940, p. 2.
4 PM, August 20, 1940, p. 2.

Atlanta Constitution. He worked six years on Atlanta papers before coming North to another six-year stretch on the New York Daily News[1], covering sports and writing a Broadway column.

John Caldwell, assistant picture editor of PM, was night picture editor of the New York Journal for nine years.[2]

Leo Canavan, library clerk for PM, "has spent all of his working time in newspaper morgues -- four years at the Times, four at the Herald Tribune before he helped to set up PM's research department."[3]

Helen Canavarro, PM's clothes editor, does not always agree with boss Elizabeth Hawes. Born in Washington, she grew up in Honolulu, studied in Lausanne, Switzerland, and spent three years covering Europe before attending high school in Tarrytown, New York, and taking a course at the American Academy of Dramatic Arts. She was once comparison shopper for Macy's and came to PM from Frederick Loeser & Company where she was assistant stylist and did wearing apparel promotion.[4]

Allen F. Chellas, has served as personnel manager, rewrite man, reporter, and day makeup editor on PM. Previously he worked on Buffalo papers, for the Associated Press, in the bond and public relations department of a savings bank; as general manager of a paint sales agency and as salesman and consultant in an investment securities firm.[5]

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1 PM, August 21, 1940, p. 2.
2 PM, September 1, 1940, p. 2.
3 PM, October 6, 1940, p. 2.
4 PM, October 13, 1940, p. 2.
5 PM, December 22, 1940, p. 2.

Martin Clary, PM's chief police reporter, started 30 years ago on the old New York Press. He has worked his way across the country as reporter, rewrite man, and feature writer, coming to PM from the Brooklyn Eagle. He has written two books on economics.[1]

T. M. Cleland, typographer, designed Fortune ten years ago. At the age of 20 he got $1000. for designing a new set of type which made a million dollars for its manufacturer. He began the endless arguments and conferences out of which PM's format and typography grew two years ago.[2]

Kenneth G. Crawford, head of PM's Washington bureau, is one of the major figures on PM's staff who Lundberg vindicates absolutely of any "Popular Front" charges.[3] PM says this of him:[4]

> Mr. Crawford is a newspaperman's newspaperman. He served as national president of the Newspaper Guild after the death of Heywood Broun. Before joining PM he covered the Mississippi floods, the Illinois gang wars and the White House for the United Press, serving as telegraph editor and did politics in Buffalo and for six years was Washington correspondent of the New York Post. On the side he took the hide off the Washington lobby set up in The Pressure Boys and was a regular contributor to The Nation.

At the Memphis convention in July, Crawford was beaten for the presidency of the Guild by Donal M. Sullivan, court house reporter for the Boston Globe.[5]

Crawford's noteworthy activities on PM include his Washington Correspondence and his column, a commentary, "The 55th

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1 PM, January 5, 1941, p. 2.
2 PM, January 9, 1941, p. 2.
3 Lundberg, op. cit., p. 490.
4 PM, November 8, 1940, p. 2.
5 Monchak, Stephen J., "Press Heaves Sigh of Relief as 1940 Enters Closing Days," Editor and Publisher, Vol. 73, No. 52, December 28, 1940, p. 9.

Column."

Roger Dakin, is one of PM's assistant managing editors, termed "biographer and journalist,"[1] and has been a newspaperman for 16 years. As assistant promotion manager for the News, he staged the Golden Glove bouts and Harvest Moon balls as well as directing its straw polls.[2]

Tom Davin, research director, is formerly of the New Masses.[3] Lyons says he is described by PM as "formerly of Sheridan House," but nothing is said of his long association with the New Masses.[4]

Sutherland Denlinger, covered top-flight stories for the New York World and World Telegram for ten years before coming to PM to do reporting, re-write, and to mastermind military affairs. He served in the French Army during the first World War, as well as the Canadian Army and the American Red Cross. He has traveled all over the world as reporter, editor, scenario writer and magazine writer.[5]

Harry Feldman, PM's circulator, was formerly circulation manager in New York for Hearst. He is one of the staff mentioned as being absolutely clear of Popular Front charges.[6]

Leon Goodelman of PM's labor department "used to be regarded in left-wing circles as the 'brains' of the Communist youth efforts."[7] Stolberg mentions him as a former leader in the Young Communist League.[8]

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1 Lundberg, op. cit., p. 489.
2 PM, March 2, 1941, p. 2.
3 Stolberg, op. cit., p. 92.
4 Lyons, op. cit., p. 488
5 PM, March 16, 1941, p. 2
6 Lundberg, op. cit., p. 490.
7 Lyons, op. cit. p. 487.
8 Stolberg, op. cit., p. 92.

Elizabeth Hawes, PM's "News for Living" editor, has been active in the League of Women Shoppers which, despite its denials, is a standard Stalinist 'front,'" according to Lyons,[1] and Stolberg[2] mentions her in similar note.

Miss Hawes has an interesting background as a fashion designer and first became widely known for her book, Fashion is Spinach.

Leo Huberman, labor editor, in PM's early days, was according to Lyons, "at one time close to the fellow-traveling fraternity."[3] Stolberg would place him within it.[4] Humberman organized and ran PM's labor department until December, 1940, when he was dismissed for "incompetence."[5] According to Lyons:[6]

> Several nationally-known applicants for labor editor were turned down because they were not fully in accord with the CIO, they charge.

Huberman was -- particularly with John L. Lewis, and his strong feelings in this direction led to his expulsion from PM and the ensuing struggle between the American Newspaper Guild, functioning in his behalf, and publisher Ingersoll. (The details of this argument will be elaborated on in the closing section of this chapter.)

Selwyn James, who wrote a series of articles on feeding Europeans, is "an authority on foreign news,"[7] according to PM, which has this to say of him:

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1 Lyons, op. cit., p. 488.
2 Stolberg, op. cit., p. 92.
3 Lyons, op. cit., p. 487.
4 Stolberg, op. cit., p. 92.
5 See "Staff Relations" section of this chapter.
6 Lyons, op. cit., p. 487.
7 PM, December 15, 1940, p. 2.

> Before emigrating to the U.S.A., he worked on the Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, South Africa, as foreign affairs editorial writer, columnist, and assistant financial editor. For England's great liberal daily, The Manchester Guardian, Mr. James covered the Spanish War in Barcelona, Madrid and Bilbao; later he went to Soviet Russia, also for the Guardian. His first job was on the London Daily Mail, which later sent him to Paris.
>
> He has traveled widely, and has contributed articles to the London Economist, the London News Chronicle, the Statesman and Nation, and the South African Forum. Mr. James has his first U. S. citizenship papers. He is only 26.

James is the author of many of the emotional, sympathy-evoking stories on war in Britain, such as "If you ....., Knew Its Pubs,"[1] Stolberg claims that James is a former member of the Marylebone section of the Communist Party of Great Britain.[2]

Leo Hershfield, PM staff artist, was "famous for a decade before he came to PM." From 1929 to 1940 he drew for the New York Times as well as the Mid-Week Pictorial, Scribners', the Colophon and the New Yorker. A native of Knoxville, Hershfield attended school in Chattanooga and studied in the Art Student's League and the National Academy in New York. His first job was in the library of the New York World, to which he also contributed cartoons.[3]

Frank Jellinek, Mexican correspondent for PM, has an interesting background with reference to Communism. According to Victor Riesel, managing editor of The New Leader.[4] Jellinek is English and was on intimate terms with the leaders of the

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1 PM, January 12, 1940, p. 10.
2 Stolberg, op. cit., p. 92.
3 PM, January 25, 1941, p. 2.
4 Riesel, Victor, "Open Forum," American Mercury, Vol. 51, November, 1940, p. 377.

British Communist party.[1] Riesel writes, concerning Jellinek:

> He was in Spain during the Civil War and was one of the few correspondents to receive full cooperation of the Stalinite propaganda commissionars. His books were published by the British Left Book Club, which until the early days of war was a fellow-travelling organization. American Communists thought so well of Jellinek's PM dispatch that the Daily Worker reprinted it in the next day's edition as the only "impartial story" out of Mexico.[2]

Jellinek's correspondence on the story of Trotsky's assassination in Mexico was signed by his name and the identification, "Federated Press." Thus Ingersoll was using the same correspondent employed by the pro-Communist press organization. Riesel has more to say about Jellinek's attempts to "whitewash" the Trotsky murder.

John Kobler, PM's specialist on crime, is the author of a work called Some Like It Gory. Graduated from Williams College in 1931, he began as a legman for the New York Evening Journal. He was London correspondent for International News Service for a year and worked in the same position for a year in Paris. He resigned his position as transport editor for Time in order to free lance.[3] He wrote PM's series on gyp used car dealers.

Jules Korchein, PM's housing expert was, in Lyons' words, "formerly with a Soviet outfit in Moscow while his wife worked on the Moscow Daily News; until recently he was leader of a pro-Communist technicians' union in the CIO."[4] Stolberg goes as far as to call him a "former Russian government official

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1 Riesel, op. cit., p. 377.
2 The story referred to is that of Leon Trotsky's assassination in August, 1940.
3 PM, November 24, 1940, p. 2.
4 Lyons, op. cit., p. 488.

whose wife was an editor of the Moscow Daily News."[1]

Louis Kronenberger, an assistant managing editor of PM and originally "Opinion" division head, is characterized by Lyons as "a literary critic whose Muscovite predilections are common knowledge."[2]

George Lyons, managing editor, is formerly of the Scripps-Howard newspapers and is one of the staff members who is absolutely not a Popular Fronter.[3]

Robert Neville, foreign news editor for PM, traveled on news assignments through Europe, Asia and Africa before he came to PM. He attended the University of California, was graduated from Columbia School of Journalism, and worked as a reporter on the New York Post, Times, and Herald Tribune, later becoming foreign news editor of Time. He was caught in Granada during the Spanish war and just managed to escape from Poland in time in September, 1939.[4] His work for PM includes the series, "Inside Hitler's Europe."

Tom O'Connor, labor writer, has been termed by Lundberg, the "former leader of the Communist faction in the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild."[5] According to Lyons, he was "yanked straight across the country for PM."[6]

O'Connor was recently awarded the Heywood Broun memorial award by the American Newspaper Guild for his series of reports on coal mine safety conditions.[7]

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1 Stolberg, op. cit., p. 92.
2 Lyons, op. cit., p. 488.
3 Lundberg, op. cit., p. 490.
4 PM, September 5, 1940, p. 2.
5 Stolberg, op. cit., p. 92.
6 Lyons, op. cit., p. 487.
7 New York Times, June 25, 1941, p. 11.

Henry Paynter is an assistant managing editor of PM and author of the series of stories which exposed activities of fifth columnists in New York. Born in Chicago in 1889, Paynter attended the University of Illinois, enlisted as a private in the first World War and at 18 was commissioned the youngest flying officer in the AEF. He was worked on four Chicago and seven New York newspapers before PM, always as a crusading writer heading some investigational journalism.

PM, proud of Paynter's activities, has this to say of him:[1]

> September 2, Labor Day, he reported Nazi-fomented plans to sabotage American munitions plants, named those present at a meeting where plans to dynamite the Hercules Powder plant were discussed. Berlin objected to Paynter's charge. Ten days later vindication came with a shivering blast that is now American war history.

Louis Raemaekers joined PM's staff on September 8. A veteran cartoonist, Raemaekers is a native of Holland and "has distrusted Germans all his life,"[2] according to Elizabeth Sacartoff. The son of a liberal newspaper owner, Raemaekers "as heading fast towards a fameless life as a decently successful portrait painter"[3] until an editor saw one of his illustrations and decided that Raemaekers could draw. Miss Sacartoff's article states:[4]

> The very next year the Amsterdam Telegraf hired Louis Raemaekers as a full-fledged cartoonist. He kept the job for 32 years. He made himself rich and famous, and his paper and Holland proud to claim him.

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1 PM, September 15, 1940, p. 2.
2 PM, September 8, 1940, p. 2.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.

During the first World War, Raemaekers suspicion of Germany turned to active hate and his daily cartoons dramatized the atrocities of the German army.[1] According to Miss Sacartoff:

> Rumors spread that the Kaiser would give 12,000 marks for the Raemaekers head. A Cologne paper was reported to have written that after the war Germany would make Holland pay -- with interest -- for each columnized cartoon. Lawsuits were brought against him and the paper for endangering the neutrality of Holland.
>
> The United States saw the first Raemaeker cartoon in 1918. Many people still harbor the feeling that it helped get this country into war.
>
> In 1917 Louis Raemaekers came to the U.S.A. and worked for Hearst.....
>
> Today Raemaekers, a Septuagenarian, is a round-faced little man with polished cheeks, neatly matted hair and a wispy tuft under his lower lip. He looks like 50. He and his wife left their antique-filled mansion in Brussels and fled to England then left their grown-up children in England and fled to the U.S.A. -- with about 10,000 cartoons to his credit, mostly political.

The "Family Album" column devoted to Raemaekers' life was the longest and most complete found in the series.

David Ramsay, PM's assistant financial editor, "is listed without any reference to past activities, as though this were his first editorial job",[2] Lyons says, Presumably, Mr. Ingersoll is the only person unaware that Mr. Ramsay was editor and assistant editor, 1936-1938, of The Communist, official organ of the Communist Party of America, a responsibility hardly entrusted to anyone not high in the councils of the American branch of Stalin's

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1 Sacartoff, op. cit. p. 2.
2 Lyons, op. cit. p. 487.

export business."[1] Stolberg refers to Ramsay as a "former Communist editor and ghost writer for Earl Browder."[2]

Carl Randau, foreign editor of PM, and author of a series on Japan, gave Communist notoriety to the New York Chapter of the American Newspaper Guild, according to Lyon.[3] He was its first president.

Ben Robertson, Jr., has achieved fame as PM's correspondent in Great Britain. After Dalton Trumbo, a literary man, failed to manage the London situation completely, Robertson, a "trained city man,"[4] was hired from the New York Herald Tribune and sent over.

Robertson has traveled around the world in his 15 years newspaper experience. A native of Clemson, South Carolina, he is 35 years old and a graduate of the University of Missouri School of Journalism. His first job was as a reporter on the Honolulu Star - Bulletin. He traveled through India, Borneo and Java, and then got a job on the Adelaide (South Australia) News.

In 1929 he returned to the United States and went to work on the New York Herald Tribune. In 1934, he switched to the Associated Press, which sent him to Washington and London. During this time he covered the White House, the Supreme Court and the 1935 Naval Conference in London. In 1937 he left the Associated Press, did free lance writing, and wrote an article

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1 Lyons, op. cit., p. 487.
2 Stolberg, op. cit., p. 92.
3 Lyons, op. cit., p. 487.
4 Lundberg, op. cit., p. 489.

on Britain's king and queen for the Saturday Evening Post.[1] His London coverage has made him widely known to PM's readers.

Nathan Robertson, specialist in politics and economics, has been a Washington newspaperman since his graduation from the University of Michigan in 1923.

> In 1932-33 he headed the special AP staff which reported the Pecora banking investigation. For two years before joining PM's Washington Bureau he was assistant director of information for the Farm Security Administration. 1

Robertson's work includes the series on the findings of the SEC special committee on life insurance.

Kenneth N. Stewart, national news editor of PM, has been in journalism since 1933 and in June of this year received a Niemann Fellowship. Stewart, who is 40 years old, received a bachelor of literature degree in 1930 from Columbia, while working on the New York Herald Tribune. He has worked successively on the Fresno Bee, the El Paso Times, Atlanta Journal, New York Telegram, Paris (France) Herald, New York Herald Tribune, Literary Digest, New York Times, and PM. From 1932 to 1934 he taught journalism at Stanford University.[2]

James Grover Thurber, author of the column "If You Ask Me," came to PM by way of Ohio State, the Paris edition of the Chicago Tribune, five years as reporter on the New York Post, and several years on the New Yorker writing such morsels as Is Sex Necessary?, The Seal in the Bedroom, The Middle-Aged Man on

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1 PM, March 4, 1941, p. 2.
2 Editor and Publisher, "Fifteen Newsmen Receive Nieman Fellowships," Vol. 74, No. 23, June 7, 1941, p. 44.

the Flying Trapeze, and the Male Animal.[1]

PM says:

> This period has also given us that nebulous dough-like art that has been called both Mesozoic and Matisse, presented to the legions of Thurber fans from the fringe of the sub-conscious.

Thurber's column is devoted to nonsense with occasionally some rare common sense.

Dalton Trumbo, scenario writer and author of the successful novel, Johnny Got His Gun, was sent to London on special assignment. He was one of the literary men whose difficulties in reporting made place on the PM staff for more trained newsmen.[2]

James Arthur Wechsler, acting labor editor at the age of 25, has a long record for getting into scrapes -- first for ignoring high school censorship, then at Columbia where, as editor of the Spectator, he led a strike against the administration. As a leader of the American Student Union, he fought against vested interests in education. In the Nation, he took issue with Father Coughlin, and in PM, he has vigorously attacked Hoboken and has taken on Henry Ford.

Lyons says Wechsler was "on the staff of the Nation in its most rabidly pro-Stalin period and before that, editor of The Student Advocate, organ of the Communist-dominated American Student Union.[3] Stolberg[4] claims Wechsler supported the Communist

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1 PM, September 19, 1940, p. 2.
2 Lundberg, op. cit., p. 489.
3 Lyons, op. cit., p. 488.
4 Stolberg, op. cit., p. 92.

presidential ticket in 1936.

Leane Zugsmith, writer of PM's installment plan series, is from Louisville and is the author of six novels and a volume of short stories as well as a contributor to many magazines. Her stories appear in many anthologies and have been translated into five languages. She is the wife of Carl Randau of PM's foreign news department. She attended Goucher College, the University of Pennsylvania and Columbia University.[1]

This much PM has to say about Miss Zugsmith. Lyons elaborates on the above information to add that her name is familar to readers of The New Masses[2] and among signers of "Stalinist documents of various types." Stolberg refers to her as "another Stalinist."[3]

Although this is not a complete analysis of PM's staff, since sufficient information on each member could not be assembled, it is enough to indicate the trend toward younger, more fervent workers. Many of the staff members graduated from colleges and universities during the '30s and came to PM with a minimum of experience. A surprisingly large number are native New Yorkers or Brooklynites. Their backgrounds include periodical, publicity, literary and technical experience when actual newspaper experience is lacking. A good number have been accused of Communist activities or leanings in that direction.

If one were to assemble a composite PM reporter he would probably look something like this -- about 30 years old with a

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1 PM, October 20, 1940, p. 2.
2 Lyons, op. cit., p. 488.
3 Stolberg, op. cit., p. 92.

liberal education in one of America's larger universities, several years experience reporting or magazine writing, an avid interest in politics and public affairs, the reformer's zeal for expose and change, a liberal, somewhat leftist conception of what the world needs, and an axe to grind -- consistently and devotedly, for some one cause or another.

STAFF RELATIONS

By the very nature of this brilliant if somewhat undisciplined and juvenile staff which Mr. Ingersoll assembled, it was to be expected that all would not run smoothly. Ingersoll promised prospective readers that:[1]

> PM will be written in English -- as distinct from journalese.
> Probably the first words ever said on paper about PM declared that it should be written by men and women with a talent for words. Its staff will create its style, giving its columns their own personality.

In the beginning, all copy was to be put into type as written, without benefit of editing. This, however, was not as successful as expected, and, "after two days of woe a copy desk was installed, and now PM has one of the biggest copy desks in New York."[2]

As might be expected in a departmentalized newspaper, there was a good bit of confusion over division of news during PM's early days. Lundberg[3] relates that when the German consulate in

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1 Ingersoll, op. cit., pp. 8 - 9.
2 Lundberg, op. cit., p. 488.
3 Ibid.

the Whitehall building, New York, was bombed, men from the city and the crime departments of PM "argued heatedly in the corridors about which department should handle the situation, while newsmen from other papers went about gathering the facts."[1]

These minor difficulties would probably arise in the course of events in the growth of any newspaper, but more serious disturbances came up from time to time and were dealt with by Mr. Ingersoll before the eyes of the reading public. Notable instances of this are in the cases of Leo Huberman and Ben Hecht. Arthur Robb terms this custom "airing the family Laundry."[2] It is, Robb contends, a deplorable practice and difficult to justify.

The expulsion of Leo Huberman was the first in a series of staff conflagrations, and the most serious one. During the early days of PM, Huberman had written a series of articles on the background and labor activities of John L. Lewis, obviously his hero. After Lewis' espousal of Wendell Willkie, during the presidential campaign, Huberman's influence declined and on December 2nd, he was notified of his dismissal on charges of "incompetence as an editor of news, as a writer of news, and as manager of his department".[3]

The American Newspaper Guild took up the case in behalf of Huberman and demanded that Ingersoll justify the charge of incompetency or reinstate Huberman before January 20. After sev-

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1 Lundberg, op. cit., p. 488.
2 Robb, Arthur, "PM Airs the Family Laundry," in "Shop Talk at Thirty," Editor and Publisher, Vol. 74, No. 19, May 10, 1941, p. 56.
3 "Two Sides to a Labor Case," PM, January 17, 1941, p. 15.

Two Sides to a Labor Case

The Newspaper PM and the Newspaper Guild of New York have been discussing the recent discharge of Leo Huberman, formerly labor editor of this paper. The Grievance Committee of the Guild contested the dismissal. In handling this news story PM will print two stories in parallel columns, one written by the editors of PM and the other by a representative of the Newspaper Guild of New York.

Guild Statement

Ralph Ingersoll has until next Monday to reinstate Leo Huberman as editor of PM's labor department. If he refuses, the question whether Mr. Huberman was fired "for just and sufficient cause" will be referred to a standing committee of three independent arbitrators.

This was the unanimous decision of the six members, all PM workers, of the Grievance Committee of the Newspaper Guild of New York at their last meeting Jan. 13. The committee's resolution states:

"Inasmuch as the management has been unable, after full opportunity, to substantiate the charge of incompetence against Leo Huberman and show that he was fired for just and sufficient cause as provided in the contract, the Grievance Committee recommends that unless Huberman is reinstated by Monday, Jan. 20, the Guild will refer the case to the standing committee as set up under the contract."

Between Dec. 2, when Mr. Huberman was notified of his dismissal and Jan. 13, Mr. Ingersoll and the Grievance Committee met on three occasions to discuss the case. At the first conference on Dec. 5, Mr. Ingersoll told the Guild representatives that he had found Mr. Huberman incompetent as an editor of news, as a writer of news, and as manager of his department. He added that he considered PM's labor pages, in relation to their possibilities, the least successful of all PM departments. Mr. Ingersoll stated that the discharge had been made on the grounds of incompetence alone and not for any divergence of views on policy.

At the request of the Grievance Committee, he promised a bill of particulars to substantiate his charges.

per in matters of judgment on writing, editing and managing, and orders the editorial policy in national, international, sociopolitico or other areas? Either directly or by right of veto?

"2. Does the Newspaper Guild, holding a contract with the new Newspaper PM, want me, the editor of PM, to retain Leo Huberman in his position as editor of the labor page by requiring him to express and interpret a policy with which, after five months, he does not find himself in honest accord? Should Leo Huberman, an honest writer, an honest editor, and an honest workingman, be asked to write and edit in ways which are not totally compatible with his own point of view—to interpret a policy in which he has come sincerely to disbelieve?"

Bill of Particulars

On Dec. 13, the Grievance Committee again met with Mr. Ingersoll and requested once again the promised bill of particulars. A few days later the awaited memorandum came. It was a restatement of the charge of incompetence with an apology from Mr. Ingersoll that decisions in such matters were a question of "taste" which could not be explained.

On Dec. 30, before another unit meeting, Leo Huberman gave a detailed answer to Mr. Ingersoll's charge of incompetence. In his defense he stated:

"The Labor Department has received many, many compliments. It is almost the only integrated, purposeful department in PM—the only department which gives clear evidence of knowing what it's about and evidence also of progress toward its objectives."

PM's Statement

The following letter was received yesterday:

Dear Mr. Ingersoll:

The grievance committee provided for in the contract between PM and the Newspaper Guild of New York adopted the following resolution and instructed its transmission to you:

"Resolved, that inasmuch as the management has been unable, after full opportunity, to substantiate the charge of incompetence against Leo Huberman and to show that he was fired for just and sufficient cause as provided in the contract, the grievance committee recommends that unless Huberman is reinstated by Monday, January 20, the Guild will refer the case to the standing committee set up under the contract."

Sincerely,
NAT. EINHORN,
Executive Secretary

The Grievance Committee referred to is one chosen by the Newspaper Guild of New York from among its members on the staff of the Newspaper PM. The committee is responsible directly to the city body. The local unit advises with it.

'Sufficient Cause'

The clause in the contract between the Newspaper Guild and this newspaper referred to in Mr. Einhorn's letter, reads as follows:

"Discharges shall be only for just and sufficient cause or to reduce the force."

From this newspaper's viewpoint, the difficulty in the discussion of Mr. Huberman's dismissal arose in the failure of the contract to define the term "just and sufficient cause."

Mr. Huberman was a senior writer and

January 17, 1941, p. 15.

for just and sufficient cause as provided in the contract, the Grievance Committee recommends that unless Huberman is reinstated by Monday, Jan. 20, the Guild will refer the case to the standing committee as set up under the contract."

Between Dec. 2, when Mr. Huberman was notified of his dismissal and Jan. 13, Mr. Ingersoll and the Grievance Committee met on three occasions to discuss the case. At the first conference on Dec. 5, Mr. Ingersoll told the Guild representatives that he had found Mr. Huberman incompetent as an editor of news, as a writer of news, and as [redacted] department. He added that he considered PM's labor pages, in relation to their possibilities, the least successful of all PM departments. Mr. Ingersoll stated that the discharge had been made on the grounds of incompetence alone and not for any divergence of views on policy.

At the request of the Grievance Committee, he promised a bill of particulars to substantiate his charges.

When the PM unit of the Guild met Dec. 10 to discuss the promised bill of particulars, it received instead a letter from Mr. Ingersoll asking these two questions:

"1. Does the Newspaper Guild, having signed a contract covering the employes of a newspaper, take the position by implication that it directs the destinies of the paper in which he has come sincerely to disbelieve?"

Bill of Particulars

On Dec. 13, the Grievance Committee again met with Mr. Ingersoll and requested once again the promised bill of particulars. A few days later the awaited memorandum came. It was a restatement of the charge of incompetence with an apology from Mr. Ingersoll that decisions in such matters were a question of "taste" which could not be explained.

On Dec. 30, before another unit meeting, Leo Huberman gave a detailed answer to Mr. Ingersoll's charge of incompetence. In his defense he stated:

"The Labor Department has received many, many compliments. It is almost the only integrated, purposeful department in PM—the only department which gives clear evidence of knowing what it's about and evidence also of progress toward its objectives."

This, Mr. Huberman explained, was not his own appraisal of his work.

It was Ralph Ingersoll's.

Discusses Answer

That was the way Mr. Ingersoll had described his work in a confidential report to PM's stockholders Aug. 7, 1940, four months after Mr. Huberman had started work on PM and seven weeks after Vol. I, No. 1, had been published.

At the next management-guild conference, Mr. Ingersoll discussed Mr. Huberman's answer to his charge.

He admitted that the report to the stockholders was a "genuine document."

But, he said, he had set down the truth only "as I saw it" and "while it set down the truth, it made no attempt to set down all the truth."

To the members of the Grievance Committee this answer was less than satisfactory. In any case, they felt, Mr. Ingersoll had told enough of the truth in the report to disprove the charge of Mr. Huberman's incompetence.

Every one of the members of the committee was convinced that Mr. Ingersoll's case simply did not stand up.

PM staff members, all Guildsmen, know that many PM readers consider the labor department an honest, distinguished feature of PM—not merely "our most important identification as a liberal paper," as Mr. Ingersoll described it in his Aug. 7 report to his stockholders.

Well, Leo Huberman organized, developed and staffed that department. His Leviton strike series, readers and newspaper-

committee set up under the contract."

Sincerely,
NAT. EINHORN,
Executive Secretary

The Grievance Committee referred to is one chosen by the Newspaper Guild of New York from among its members on the staff of the Newspaper PM. The committee is responsible directly to the city body. The local unit advises with it.

'Sufficient Cause'

The clause in the contract between the Newspaper Guild and this newspaper referred to in Mr. Einhorn's letter reads as follows:

"Discharges shall be only for just and sufficient cause or to reduce the force."

From this newspaper's viewpoint, the difficulty in the discussion of Mr. Huberman's dismissal arose in the failure of the contract to define the term "just and sufficient cause."

Mr. Huberman was a senior writer and editor of PM. The management charged failure to meet the editor's standards in (1) writing, (2) editorial judgment and (3) executive management.

The Guild took the position that the editor of the paper must justify and explain in detail the elements on which he bases his judgment of writing, editing and managing. Its Grievance Committee felt Mr. Ingersoll's dismissal of Mr. Huberman was arbitrary and constituted a violation of the contract.

From the management's point of view the issue then resolved itself simply to this: the right of the editor of the paper arbitrarily to judge the competency of a senior departmental editor and writer by the editor's own standards on writing, editing and management.

No Guild Poll

Between now and the last meeting of the Grievance Committee and Mr. Ingersoll—a meeting held for the discussion of the Huberman case—the management understands that no poll of the PM Unit of the Newspaper Guild was taken. The Grievance Committee, responsible directly to the metropolitan body, Local 3 of the Newspaper Guild, acted in this instance on its own initiative without specific advice from the PM Unit. This is in accordance with its legal privileges.

The standing committee referred to in Mr. Einhorn's letter is a body composed of three members: one named by the Newspaper Guild, one by The Newspaper PM and the third mutually agreeable to both. The appointments have not been completed.

eral conferences, the Grievance Committee of the Guild asked Ingersoll for a bill of particulars on the charge and received instead a letter posing two questions:[1]

> 1. Does the Newspaper Guild, having signed a contract covering the employes of a newspaper, take the position by implication that it directs the destinies of the paper in matters of judgment on writing, editing and managing, and orders the editorial policy in national, international socio-politico or other areas? Either directly or by right of Veto?
>
> 2. Does the Newspaper Guild, holding a contract with the new newspaper PM, want me, the editor of PM, to retain Leo Huberman in his position as editor of the labor page by requiring him to express and interpret a policy with which, after five months, he does not find himself in honest accord? Should Leo Huberman, an honest writer, an honest editor, and an honest workingman, be asked to write and edit in ways which are not totally compatible with his own point of view -- to interpret a policy in which he has come sincerely to disbelieve?

Mr. Ingersoll has turned to verbosity to seek a loophole, but it is not invulnerable. Following his analogy, no strike leaders should be re-employed by a plant because their policies are inconsistent with those of the management, and therefore, working relationships might be unfavorable. This from the pen of the editor of a paper as whole-heartedly pro-labor as is PM appears unbelievable. Apparently, it makes a difference whose foot the shoe pinches.

Again the bill of particulars was requested and finally the

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1 "Two Sides to a Labor Case," op. cit., p. 15.

Two Sides to a Labor Case

The Newspaper PM and the Newspaper Guild of New York have been discussing the recent discharge of Leo Huberman, formerly labor editor of this paper. The Grievance Committee of the Guild is contesting the dismissal.

In fairness to both sides, because there is a conflict of interests involved, PM is printing the news of the controversy as it develops in parallel columns. One is written by the editors of PM, the other by a representative of the Guild.

Friday PM published both the Guild's and management's account of the day's news in what has come to be called The Huberman Case. Neither side saw the other's copy before it was printed. Today each side comments on the other's Friday report.

Guild Statement

In his published statement on the discharge of Leo Huberman, PM's labor editor, Ralph Ingersoll, said:

"From the management's point of view the issue then resolved itself simply to this: the right of the editor of the paper *arbitrarily* to judge the competency of a senior departmental editor and writer by the editor's own standards on writing, editing and management." (Italics ours.)

The Newspaper Guild, as a trade union, would be faithless to its membership if it did not do everything possible to protect its members against arbitrary dismissals—no matter whether the person being arbitrary is William Randalph Hearst or Roy Howard or Ralph Ingersoll.

The Guild cannot admit the unquestioned right of a publisher to fire employes as he pleases so long as he says, "I don't like this man's work." The Guild insists that judgment of competency must be reasonable and rational, not arbitrary. In the case of Leo Huberman, who was recognized by his fellow employes and by the public as a brilliant workman, Mr. Ingersoll's judgment did not seem reasonable.

Since the contract between PM and the Guild provides for arbitration of such disputes, the Guild therefore proposes to take the matter to arbitration.

There have been a great many discharges on PM in its brief history, some for economy's sake, some for incompetence. The Guild challenged some of them, obtaining reinstatement and the later rehiring of others. Many of the discharges, the Guild has not challenged, recognizing their necessity or justification. No discharge case—nor, indeed, any other dispute—has previously gone to arbitration. They have been adjusted one way or another by "talking it out" around the conference table. In the Huberman case, however, much talk has not brought a meeting of the minds, and it therefore seems altogether proper to rely on the decision of an impartial third party.

PM's Statement

The case for Mr. Huberman's competency is set upon the Leviton strike series, which he wrote. PM is proud of that job. But the fact is: It wasn't for too many such articles, but because, unhappily, he accomplished so few in six months that Leo Huberman's competency was questioned.

This paper's difference with the Newspaper Guild continues to be a difference in interpretation of the term "dismissal for just and sufficient cause": The question whether the editor's decision—that a man's writing, editing and managing is not the best that can be had for the paper—is final. Can such a decision be acted on without violation of a contract with the New York Newspaper Guild? Can it be acted on without assaulting that union's position vis-a-vis its members' employers? Obviously this is a very difficult problem for a paper whose policy has been, still is and will continue to be firmly based on belief in the legitimacy and importance of collective bargaining in this industrial democracy.

January 19, 1941, p. 15.

statement came, but it was not satisfactory to the Committee. At a later unit meeting Huberman answered Ingersoll's charge of incompetence by quoting the following statement:[1]

> The Labor Department has received many, many compliments. It is almost the only integrated, purposeful department in PM -- the only department which gives clear evidence of knowing what it's about and evidence also of progress toward its objectives.

The statement was Ingersoll's, made in a confidential report to PM's stockholders on August 7, 1940, four months after Humberman had begun work on PM.

PM adopted the policy of printing news of the Guild-PM proceedings on the Huberman case in double-column form, with an italicised explanation of the situation at the head of the individual stories.

According to the editorial note on the second story,[2] PM published the original accounts of the Huberman case, as written by both sides, without either side seeing the other's copy before it was published. Two days later, the comments by both sides on the other's claims were published.[3]

On January 21, Ingersoll's letter to Nat Einhorn, executive secretary of the New York Guild, was published, with the reminder in a prominent editorial note, that "Mr. Einhorn's reply will be published when received."[4] It appeared on January 23.[5] On January 30, following an ever-growing summary of action to date,

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1 "Two Sides to a Labor Case," op. cit., p. 15.
2 Ibid, p. 14.
3 Ibid.
4 PM, January 21, 1941, p. 14.
5 PM, January 23, 1941, p. 14.

Huberman Dispute Nears Arbitration

The Newspaper PM and the Newspaper Guild of New York have been discussing the recent discharge of Leo Huberman, formerly labor editor of this paper. The Grievance Committee of the Guild is contesting the dismissal. The following letter was sent by Ralph Ingersoll to Nat Einhorn, executive secretary of the New York Guild, yesterday. Mr. Einhorn's reply will be published when received.

Jan. 20, 1941

Dear Mr. Einhorn:

On January 14th you wrote me that unless Leo Huberman were reinstated as Labor Editor of PM by Jan. 20th, you would ask that the matter be put to arbitration. I replied that I would take the matter under advisement.

Since then I have reviewed the case and regret to inform you that you have failed to convince me that Mr. Huberman should be reinstated.

If your decision remains firm then, I shall take it for granted that you will submit the case to arbitration.

The contract defines the arbitration committee as a committee of three—one man named by you, one man named by The Newspaper PM and the third member defined as mutually agreeable. If your arbitrator and ours are unable to agree upon the third member, as I read the contract, we are to call upon the United States Conciliation Service. To date we have not agreed on the third member. I will wait to hear whether you have further ideas on this subject.

I am sorry that you did not care to continue our conversation. I did not feel that we had exhausted the possibilities of frank discussion. As I told you at our last meeting, I was prepared to continue the discussions at your pleasure.

Sincerely,
RALPH INGERSOLL.

January 21, 1941, p. 14

Guild Answers On Huberman Case

This newspaper and the Newspaper Guild of New York have been discussing the dismissal of Leo Huberman, former labor editor. The Guild contested the dismissal, and has asked that the dispute go to arbitration, as provided in the contract between the union and the management. Last Tuesday we published a letter from Ralph Ingersoll, Editor of PM, to Nat Einhorn, executive secretary of the New York Guild, in which Mr. Ingersoll said he "did not feel we had exhausted the possibilities of frank discussion." Following is Mr. Einhorn's reply:

Jan. 22, 1941

"Dear Mr. Ingersoll:

"Writing to the Guild on Jan. 20 regarding the dismissal of Leo Huberman from his post of labor editor of PM, you stated that you did not feel that the possibilities of frank discussion between us had been exhausted.

"We must recall to you that at the first of our three meetings on what the Guild believes to have been an unjust discharge you declared your mind was decided. Nothing in our subsequent conversations has led us to believe otherwise. On the other hand, the Guild remains firmly of the opinion that Leo Huberman is a competent writer and editor and that the reading public agrees with us on that.

"Because our discussions were fruitless insofar as they might lead you to change your opinion as to Mr. Huberman's alleged "incompetence," the Guild thinks continuance of such discussions would be no more than a filibuster designed to prevent a proper solution of this grievance. Therefore the Guild proposed turning the matter over to the standing committee provided in its contract with your newspaper.

Sincerely yours,
Nat Einhorn."

January 23, 1941, p. 14.

Ingersoll's reply to Einhorn's reply was published. In his accompanying "memorandum," Ingersoll's has evolved a clever bit of logic in an attempt to prove that the Guild can not hold PM to the accepted standards of competency because PM is unique![1] He says:

> My position is this:
> The standards by which Leo Huberman's competency must be judged are those of a paper which, from its inception, has been defined as unusual, unorthodox, and exceptional. PM was founded on the proposition that it was not to be "just another newspaper." It was founded on the proposition that it must justify itself by peculiar ability in writing and editing. PM's standards, therefore, are and must be extraordinary and special standards, peculiar to itself. This was known from the very start of the enterprise -- to every editor and writer and to the public at large. This was the kind of paper your contract was made with.

The last exchange of letters printed in PM[2] left the impression that the Huberman affair was anything but finished. Ingersoll refused to accept any of the names submitted for the standing committee between the Guild and PM, and the Guild refused to withdraw the case.

According to Nat Einhorn, however, the Huberman affair was settled in a manner satisfactory to both the Guild and the Labor editor.[3] Einhorn writes:

> As provided in the contract between the Newspaper Guild of New York and the Newspaper PM, an arbiter, Aaron Horvitz, was proposed by the United States Conciliation Service. Mr. Horvitz began as an arbiter and since both sides were anxious to dispose of the matter he was able to mediate a settlement which was

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1 PM, January 30, 1941, p. 20.
2 PM, February 5, 1941, p. 20.
3 Correspondence with Nat Einhorn, Executive Secretary, Newspaper Guild of New York, Local 3, American Newspaper Guild, July 25, 1941.

Ralph Ingersoll Explains Position on Huberman Case

PM's Editor Defines Areas of Disagreement With Newspaper Guild Over Employe's Dismissal

The Newspaper PM and the Newspaper Guild of New York have been conferring on the discharge of Leo Huberman, former labor editor of this paper. The Guild is contesting the dismissal. On Jan. 22, Nat Einhorn, Guild executive secretary, wrote to Ralph Ingersoll, editor of PM, saying the Guild proposed submitting the dispute to arbitration. Mr. Einhorn said:

"Because our discussions were fruitless insofar as they might lead you to change your opinion . . . the Guild thinks continuance of such discussions would be no more than a filibuster designed to prevent a proper solution of this grievance."

Mr. Ingersoll sent the following letter and memorandum to Mr. Einhorn yesterday. The reply will be published when received.

Dear Mr. Einhorn:

I assure you that I have neither closed my mind nor seek to filibuster—as you suggest in the letter I received from you last week.

I know our difference of opinion is an honest one—that you think I have violated my contract with you in discharging Mr. Huberman, whereas I see no inconsistency in my action—otherwise I would not have taken it.

What I have sought in our discussions, and am still seeking, is to find the source of this difference of opinion. Just what is it that we disagree about? For we both agree that Leo is an honest workman, an honest editor and an honest man. You feel I have no right to dismiss him and I feel I have. I suggested that we go on talking simply because I saw no profit in going to arbitration when we had not even identified the difference of opinion we sought to arbitrate. (It's always been within your power to put the case in arbitration whenever you chose.)

You and I have only one objective in all our dealings: to improve labor relations between the management and the staff of the newspaper PM.

Toward this end I submit for your consideration a memorandum I jotted down over the week end. It is an attempt to distill from all our conversations the essence of what it is that has made us so often seem to be talking at cross purposes. I think I have it—and with it a formula for the settlement of our differences in connection with Leo Huberman.

The essence of our difference is a difference of opinion on the standards by which his competency to fill the job of labor editor of PM is to be judged. When we reach an agreement on this point—whether in negotiation or, if we fail there, in a court of arbitration—we will have no difficulty whatever in deciding whether Leo Huberman is to be reinstated or whether my decision to dismiss him stands.

The memorandum is enclosed.

Sincerely,

cause to fire him. He meets your standards. You have told me so.

My position is this:

The standards by which Leo Huberman's competency must be judged are those of a paper which, from its inception, has been defined as unusual, unorthodox and exceptional. PM was founded on the proposition that it was not to be "just another newspaper." It was founded on the proposition that it must justify itself by peculiar ability in writing and editing. PM's standards, therefore, are and must be extraordinary and special standards, peculiar to itself. This was known from the very start of the enterprise—to every editor and writer and to the public at large. This was the kind of paper your contract was made with.

Is it now your contention that in signing this contract I put myself in a position where I must retain, in posts of senior authority—as the stars in our dramatic production—men whose claim to tenure is based on their competency to hold jobs on other newspapers? Are they to be judged by the standards of competency your Guild applies to other newspapers, but which we expressly rejected from the beginning? If that is your claim then, in making the contract with you, I have forgone the right to create the PM which we described to the public and which all of us have had in mind and in our hopes.

If, on the other hand, I still have these rights, I shall insist on exercising them—for no evidence the Guild has brought forward has convinced me that I have erred in my judgment that:

1 Leo's style of writing
- a) is neither creative nor distinguished
- b) is not really what PM needs or wants.

2 Leo's editing—choice of stories to cover and decisions on how to development them—does not interest, excite, stimulate and amuse as much as I have a right to hope for in the editing of a department invented by me and one in which I still feel the journalistic possibilities have hardly been scratched.

3 Leo's management — *compared with*

source of this difference of opinion. Just what is it that we disagree about? For we both agree that Leo is an honest workman, an honest editor and an honest man. You feel I have no right to dismiss him and I feel I have. I suggested that we go on talking simply because I saw no profit in going to arbitration when we had not even identified the difference of opinion we sought to arbitrate. (It's always been within your power to put the case in arbitration whenever you chose.)

You and I have only one objective in all our dealings: to improve labor relations between the management and the staff of the newspaper PM.

Toward this end I submit for your consideration a memorandum I jotted down over the week end. It is an attempt to distill from all our conversations the essence of what it is that has made us so often seem to be talking at cross purposes. I think I have it—and with it a formula for the settlement of our differences in connection with Leo Huberman.

The essence of our difference is a difference of opinion on the standards by which his competency to fill the job of labor editor of PM is to be judged. When we reach an agreement on this point—whether in negotiation or, if we fail there, in a court of arbitration—we will have no difficulty whatever in deciding whether Leo Huberman is to be reinstated or whether my decision to dismiss him stands.

The memorandum is enclosed.

Sincerely,

RALPH INGERSOLL.

The Memorandum Referred to in Mr. Ingersoll's Letter Follows:

GUILD: Leo must be reinstated because he is competent as a writer and editor. If Ingersoll cannot prove that Leo is incompetent then Leo has been fired without "just and sufficient cause," the contract has been violated—and Leo's reinstatement is compulsory.

INGERSOLL: By the Guild's standards, as revealed in conference, I agree that Leo is wholly "competent." I based my position on Leo's 1) writing, 2) editing, 3) management.

1 The Guild has defined its standards of competency in writing by stating that it would defend the competency of a writer whose book I introduced in evidence. Call him Mr. X. Leo is a better writer than Mr. X.

2 The Guild has defined its standards of competency in editing by repeated statements that its officers, joined with PM readers known to them, judged Leo's department as the most satisfactory in the paper.

3 The Guild has defined its standards of competency in management by pointing out that Leo recruited his staff, got his department into the paper every day—so what's all the shooting about?

If these standards are accepted, to repeat, I agree that Leo is a competent man.

My issue is purely and simply with the standards chosen.

1 My difference of opinion with the Guild on the score of standards in writing was clearly revealed when each of us gave our frank opinion of Mr. X.'s writing—the Guild that he met their definition of competency, I that I didn't like his writing and wouldn't buy or print it.

2 Again, in discussing editing, I stated that Leo's Leviton series alone really impressed me—while the Guild was pleased with Leo's whole record.

Thereby a sharp difference of standards was revealed.

3 Finally, in management, there is the Guild's definition that to recruit a staff and supervise its work well enough to produce a department a day is competency in management. Whereas I stated flatly that this was not enough to satisfy PM, that Leo had not used the authority given him by me in a satisfactory way—and I compared his record in management with the record of another department head whose managerial ability I thought really first rate.

So—here our difference is really clarified. The Guild is judging Leo by one set of criteria—and, finding him innocent, proceeds to defend him. I am judging him by another set of criteria—and, finding him guilty of not mounting up, am firing him.

Now, what does the contract say?

It says no man shall be fired except for "just and sufficient cause." And "incompetency" has been admitted as a "just and sufficient cause."

OK—but "incompetency" according to whose standards? The Guild must agree that different newspapers and magazines have different standards. Shall the Guild's standards or PM's prevail?

If the contract is interpreted as giving the Guild the right to determine the standards, I agree that I am required by the contract to rehire Leo—for I would have no which we described to the public and which all of us have had in mind and in our hopes.

If, on the other hand, I still have these rights, I shall insist on exercising them—for no evidence the Guild has brought forward has convinced me that I have erred in my judgment that:

1 Leo's style of writing
- a) is neither creative nor distinguished
- b) is not really what PM needs or wants.

2 Leo's editing—choice of stories to cover and decisions on how to development them—does not interest, excite, stimulate and amuse as much as I have a right to hope for in the editing of a department invented by me and one in which I still feel the journalistic possibilities have hardly been scratched.

3 Leo's management – *compared with standards set by other employes of PM*—is lacking in quality.

And it is my feeling that the issue can be joined only on this ground. If the Guild can prove that *its* standards are to prevail, I concede and will rehire Leo. If the Guild cannot, then PM's frankly exceptional standards shall prevail and I will expect the Guild to withdraw as gracefully as I promise I will if they prove their interpretation of the contract is legally sound.

Guild Reaffirms Position on Firing

The Newspaper PM and the Newspaper Guild of New York have been conferring on the discharge of Leo Huberman, former Labor Editor of this paper. The Guild is contesting his dismissal. On Jan. 27 Mr. Ingersoll wrote to Nat Einhorn, Guild executive secretary, outlining what he considered the standards under which competency should be judged. Mr. Einhorn's reply:

February 3, 1941

Dear Mr. Ingersoll:

I regret that a slight illness last week kept me from answering your letter of January 27 more promptly.

After considering that letter the Guild wishes to reaffirm the position it took in its letter to you dated January 14. At that time we stated that unless Mr. Leo Huberman was reinstated by Monday, January 20 the Guild would refer the case to the standing committee set up under its contract with PM.

We believe the issues involved in this case may be clarified during the deliberations of the standing committee.

Sincerely yours,
Nat. Einhorn
Executive Secretary

Meanwhile, discussion of the choice of a third member of the standing committee for arbitration of the dispute has been proceeding. This is Mr. Ingersoll's reply to a letter from Mr. Einhorn suggesting three names for that post:

February 4, 1941

Dear Mr. Einhorn:

This is in reply to your letter of January 20th in which you suggest three names as your suggestion for the third member of the standing committee established in the contract between the Newspaper Guild of New York and PM.

I regret that none of these names is satisfactory to the management of PM.

Sincerely,
Ralph Ingersoll

February 5, 1941,
p. 20.

> satisfactory to both.
>
> Huberman was reinstated to his post for the period from his discharge to May 2, 1941, with full back pay, a total of $1200.
>
> In turn it was agreed that Huberman would resign a few days later. The settlement and Huberman's letter were published in PM at about that time.
>
> Inasmuch as Huberman was at that time working on a book and was also an associate editor of U. S. Week, I need not tell you that the settlement was satisfactory to both Huberman and the Newspaper Guild of New York.

Certainly Ingersoll's handling of the Huberman dismissal did not promote greater staff unity. An editorial, "Who's Ganging Up on Whom,"[1] appearing in PS, the house organ of the PM unit, Newspaper Guild, concludes as follows:[2]

> Is it possible that the management is ganging up on the Guild just a bit, trying to confuse and beclous a straightforward issue between an employer and a union with a variation of the familiar technique of the red herring?

One of the most interesting pieces of evidences arising from the conflict between labor editor and editor-in-chief is Huberman's "Answer to Ralph Ingersoll's Charge of Incompetence," a ten page rebuttal dated December 30, 1940, which appeared in PS.[3] In it, Huberman lists the particulars of his case -- newspaper sales records to prove that PM's labor page was in demand, compliments given him by Ingersoll on certain stated stories, the results of an early PM reader survey with labor ranking second only to radio. The Huberman document is unusually interesting reading, both for the light it casts on staff relations

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1 PS, Vol. 1, No. 13, January 6, 1941, pp. 1-2.
2 Ibid., p. 2.
3 Ibid, pp. 2-10.

and as a behind-the-scenes view of PM.[1]

Among other things, Huberman reveals that PM's office is not the smoothly functioning machine that it should be in order to fulfill its editorial objectives. Ingersoll has publicized his theory of staff independence.

As in any cooperative project, however, conferences are necessary, and these, according to Huberman, were almost impossible to arrange.[2] He writes:

> The hardest job I had on the paper and one of the few I was not able to solve satisfactorily was getting to see Ralph Ingersoll.
>
> The week before I was fired will serve as an example. He left for England in October. When I returned from Atlantic City the end of November, I tried to get an interview with him. I had not seen him for two months. He was in and out of the office when I returned but it took me three days to get half an hour with him.
>
> This was not unusual, it was typical.
>
> In the days just after publication began, I had to see him frequently, if only for a few moments, because there was a barrage of memos that required answers. It seems that the "emotional balance which can withstand violent assault, "which is a requisite of senior editors, was lacking in the top management. Labor is, indeed, a field "in which such vital issues are involved, and passions are easily aroused." Almost every article we published brought an indignant phone call or letter, and the memos, oral and written, flew thick and fast from top management.
>
> Were we pro-CIO as was charged? Was it true that the whole staff was Red? Why

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1 For complete document, see p. 63.

2 Huberman, Leo, "Answer to Ralph Ingersoll's Charge of Incompetence," PS, Vol. 1, No. 13, January 6, 1941, p. 8.

few people on the staff really understand the standards I am expecting them eventually to meet. But how could they so soon, because they have only had their own experience to judge by and like anyone else it will take them many painful lessons to learn. By the simple act of transference from Roy Howard's Payroll to ours they have not become miracle men. They were no different after they joined PM's staff than they were the day before. Everything about PM is in black and white for them, but it will take them time and much teaching to understand these things."

The air of frankness which Ralph Ingersoll tries to create in his dealings with the PM staff is totally lacking in the Huberman case.

The question of why Leo Huberman was fired is not answered by the charge of "incompetence."

UOPWA
No.16

> was Wolchock's union up in arms about the lead article? Etc., etc., ad nauseam.
>
> I had the answers but I couldn't ever get to the boss -- even for a few minutes. The best thing I could do -- and this I did -- was to watch for him on his way to the toilet, and catch him there.

Another case of staff rebellion occurred this spring when Ben Hecht wrote a column of verse reviewing Lindbergh's public career. The occasion was the flier's resignation from his commission as Colonel in the Army Air Corps Reserve which PM noted briefly under "File and Forget", carefully omitting the poetry. Mr. Hecht, at Malibu Beach, immediately sent a "strong telegraphic squawk"[1] tendering his resignation.

Two days later, the exchange of telegrams between Ingersoll and the frustrated versifier were printed, along with the verse that had been left out. "The space might have been put to better use,"[2] commented Arthur Robb, in relating the flare-up.

A week before the Hecht rebellion, PM printed a story on the activities of William Rhodes Davies, written by Kenneth Crawford and George Reedy of PM's Washington bureau. Although the story was printed as written, it produced a protest from the writers because of its insignificant placement "where the want ads should be, if PM carried any want ads."[3] Again the exchange of telegrams followed. These were printed with the full text of protest and reply prominently displayed.

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1 Robb, op. cit., p. 56.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.

In his "Shop Talk at Thirty," Mr. Robb has this to say about PM's telegraphic staff disputes:[1]

> It appears that all these controversies have been on genuine differences of opinion, despite the natural suspicion that they might have been "barney fights", sham battles to produce reader interest and circulation. It is a new trick in journalism, but we doubt that it is a real contribution to the art of informing the public. We don't believe that Mr. and Mrs. PM Reader give two whoops about the scraps between Ralph Ingersoll and his writers, any more than they would about a technical dispute between Mr. Sloan and the superintendent of the Oldsmobile plant. Every newspaper, every business organization, every family, have these flare-ups, but they don't come within our definition of news unless they produce specific and evident consequences.
>
> The various viewpoints expressed by Winchell, Hecht, Crawford and Reedy, also Ingersoll, are a far cry from the journalism of a generation ago, which operated on the theory that the story and not the man who wrote it was news. The newspaper was bigger than any man on its staff, bigger than all of them put together, and it is difficult to imagine a newspaper owned by Adolph S. Ochs, Victor F. Lawson, or William Rockhill Nelson filling columns with inter-office memoranda between the editor and his reporters or writers. They had a tough enough job in whittling the available news of importance to the public into the space available for its publication. And it seems to us that they set a sounder basis for genuine journalism than can be found in PM's practice of conducting its business in a sidewalk showcase.

PM, however, finds the men who write the news -- and particularly the men who edit the news, very important. It is convinced of the value of keeping its staff before the public, through all manner of experiences, including arguments with "the chief."[2] Whether this policy has any value may be questioned--Robb

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1 Robb, op. cit., p. 56.
2 Ibid.

asks for Ingersoll's justification of the practice and imagines that PM's editor might say that he is performing a service both for the public and for newspapers at large by giving people plenty of information on what goes on behind the scenes.

This, then, is the background of PM -- a triangular structure with Ralph McAllister Ingersoll, creator, publisher, editor, promoter, in the center, serving as the intermediary between his brilliant but temperamental staff of writers on one hand and his benign stockholders on the other, all the while conscious of the larger group, PM's readers, and even larger, untouched group of potential readers. To strike the right balance among these elements is a real and challenging problem, demanding the full attention and the utmost ingenuity on the part of one man, even a man as skilled in promotion as is Mr. Ingersoll.

CHAPTER III

FOR WHOM IS PM WRITING?

It is well in the beginning of this study to pose the theoretical question, "For whom is PM writing?" The answer is not a simple or direct one; indications of it will be found from time to time throughout the subsequent sections of this paper.

Nowhere in his prospectus does Ralph Ingersoll make a forthright statement on the nature of his prospective reading audience. He is "for" people who are "kindly and courageous and honest"[1] and who are willing to pay a nickel to support a newspaper which will be printed without the "curse" of advertising. Aside from this, he does not specify the nature of his potential reading audience.

Saul Carson claims PM's assistant editors know:[2]

> .... precisely what Ingersoll means when he tells his staff they must go after a circulation of 1,000,000 recruited from among the more intelligent readers of New York's two successful tabloids, the Daily News and the Daily Mirror.

Since PM has failed to elucidate on the type of readers it expected to gain, it is necessary to build some theories concerning the hoped-for reader groups and then to examine them in the light of evidence collected during PM's first year's experience.

One may assume that although Ralph Ingersoll hoped to glean the cream of the tabloid-reading group, his Time-Life-Fortune background caused him to cast an eye in the direction of the more

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1 Ingersoll, Ralph, "Confidential Memorandum," Publications Research Inc., May, 1940, p. 11.
2 Carson, Saul, "An OK on PM," Channels, September, 1940, p. 157.

intellectual business and professional group. The coast-to-coast distribution of his prospectus indicated that he was interested in promoting PM as a national newspaper carrying the torch for journalistic principles and reforms of which the tabloid-reading class was largely unaware. The higher reading group became interested in these promises of a journalistic Utopia, however, and an interesting proportion became trial subscribers.[1] But the trial or "honeymoon" period, as Schneider calls it, came to an end, as do all good things.

The next step in holding PM's readers was to carry water on both shoulders by maintaining the same high level in the foreign and national commentary, the art, music, drama and book reviews, particularly in the Sunday section, and at the same time add the lure of sensationalism in crime stories, champion the underdog with renewed vigor, particularly in the department devoted to news of "Labor and the Unemployed," and sprinkle a bit of well-photographed cheese-cake[2] throughout. The sports section needed no change in slant; its tone was sufficiently low to meet the exigency.

The use of crusades with their appeal to the oppressed and their awakening of rightuous indignation among victims is another evidence of a bid for the support of the tabloid-reading class, largely a lower-income group.

Failing in its attempts to secure the volume of circulation necessary to support PM by means of its national circulation and

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1 Schneider, Walter,E., "Ingersoll Sees PM's First Year as Start in Fulfilling Pledges," Editor and Publisher, Vol. 74, No. 24, June 14, 1941, p. 9.

2 "Cheese-cake" is a slang term in newspaper circles referring to the introduction of the sex angle.

metropolitan following, Ingersoll may have looked to compromise by fitting his paper to its readers. Although this may be unconscious and undirected, there is some evidence that a concentrated effort is being made to slant PM to its readers, to cater to their likes and dislikes and at the same time hold to as many of the original plans as possible. This can only be done by determining who PM's readers are and what they expect of it as a newspaper.

Proof of Ingersoll's recognition that his first high hopes for PM meant little in attracting circulation is his admission of failure in "What Is PM?",[1] a promotional piece designed to stimulate the much-needed circulation at the end of PM's first year.[2] Ingersoll writes:

> And now, near the end of its first year, PM is at last sure enough of what it has to offer, confident enough of its own strength, to go back to the public and promote itself. For its 100,000 present readers are only one-half of the readers PM must have before it has accomplished its greatest ambition -- that it be responsible to and supported exclusively by its own readers, to whom it must truly belong.
>
> - - - We like introducing you to PM at this stage of the game because we can skip all the false starts and forget all our failures -- the ideas which sounded good to us but didn't work out in practice.

According to another promotional piece quoted in Editor

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1 As quoted by Schneider, op. cit., p. 38. (A copy of this promotional piece was requested by the writer. Several other pieces of promotional literature were forwarded instead and no copy of "What Is PM" was forthcoming.)

2 Schneider, op. cit., p. 38.

and Publisher:[1]

> PM bases its successes not on the number of its readers but on their kind and character ... PM's fight to establish a new 100 per cent free newspaper responsible only to its readers and its own beliefs -- has been a hard fight. PM lost many readers because it cannot make a single compromise with its principles in order to hold them.

"What Is PM" was circulated throughout New York City only after a careful sampling campaign, "designed to give the circulation a sudden and much needed boost."[2] Irvin writes of it:[3]

> Nine different but typical neighborhoods of New York have been selected for this sampling campaign. PM will watch closely the results in each neighborhood. It will assume that the neighborhoods in which the sampling campaign is most productive is most likely to find new readers and then will bear down.
>
> The sample will be followed with free copies which in turn will be followed by a strong solicitation for readers.

Surely this scientifically planned sampling campaign, termed "expensive" by Irvin,[4] should have aided PM in arriving at a relative idea of the type of individuals who constitute the newspaper's readers. Irvin's comment on the distributional plan and its technique was published in June, 1941; in late September, 1941, a responsible member of PM's promotion department answered a definite query on the results of

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1 Irvin, T.S., "Now Is the Time for Promotion," Editor and Publisher, Vol. 74, No. 23, June 21, 1940, p. 27.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.

the campaign in the following manner:[1]

> Your question, "For whom is PM aiming?" is one I can't answer in the light of the sampling we did this summer. That information is still being mulled over by the editors and promotion department. The answer isn't yet absolutely determined and if it were, I don't think I could give it out yet.
>
> .... the general aims of PM remain what they were ... as outlined by Mr. Ingersoll in some of his initial promotion.

Nor was Irvin, when queried in September, able to furnish any additional information on the sampling campaign nor on the theoretical question posed in this chapter.[2] Says Mr. Irvin:

> ....the last time I talked to Harold Smith, PM's promotion manager, about three weeks ago, he told me that the campaign was still going on and that they had reached no conclusions from it as yet.
>
> As to the question, "For whom is PM aiming?" your guess is as good as mine. I think from the very first they have aimed and attempted to reach an audience of "Liberals" -- whatever that is. If there is any change discernible in the newspaper since last year, I think it is one occasioned by the sharpening of the war situation. Today PM seems to be decidedly a "New Deal" paper going all out for our entry into the war.

In order to scrutinize PM for its component parts, the group they are slanted for and the apportionment of news space, a typical issue has been analyzed. Tuesday, January 28, 1941, was chosen as a fairly typical issue, since it is in PM's seventh month of publication and in a relatively dull period, unmarked by any special crusade, report, or other project.

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1 Correspondence with Allen Rose, PM's Promotion Department, September 26, 1941.

2 Correspondence with T.S. Irvin, Editor and Publisher staff member, September 29, 1941.

ANALYSIS OF THE CONTENTS OF A TYPICAL ISSUE ... TUESDAY, JAN.28

Type of News	%	No. Pages Appearing On	Full Page	Upper Half	Lower Half
WAR NEWS	23.3	9	3	5	
NATIONAL NEWS	11.04				
Nation at large	3.3	3	1	1	1
U.S.-Foreign Relation	2	3			3
Washington	.9	1		1	
Prosec. of Appeasers	4.84	3	2		1
"OPINION"	3.25				
Editorial (1)	1.25	1		1	
Editorial Features	2	1			1
LABOR NEWS	13.2	5	5		
OTHER NEWS	12.53				
Weather	5	3	1		2
Business	.34	1		1	
Obituary (1)	.19	1		1	
New York State	7	3	2	1	
CRIME	1.60				
Sex	1.56	1			1
Non-Sex	.04	1		1	
FEATURE MATERIAL	18.5				
Radio	8	3	2	1	
Arts	2	2		1	1
Movies	5.5	2	1	1	
Food	3	1	1		
ADVERTISING DIGEST & NEWS	6.25	2	2		
SPORTS	9.4	3	3		
INDEX	.72	1		1	
MASTHEAD, ETC.	.21	1			1
	100.00				

CHART I

This analysis indicates an uncertain slant. War news is written with a general appeal; news of labor is proportionately larger than news of the nation, and obviously prepared for consumption by the masses.

An analysis such as this does not make it any easier to point to one definite group or another and say "Here is what PM is after." And since PM's promotion staff is unable to shed any light on the matter, an answer to the question posed at the beginning of this chapter is impossible at the time of writing. Until this question is answered, however, the slant of PM will continue to be wavering and uncertain, and the newspaper, consequently, to be weak.

Until it has determined what reading group it wishes to reach, and goes about reaching that group with a definite and coordinated effort, PM may expect many more criticisms such as Dwight Marvin's reply to Editor and Publisher's questionnaire.[1] Eventually, PM will have to find the answer to his question:[2]

> It (PM) is an attempt, apparently, to offer tabloid technique to readers in a higher intellectual and social scale than those addicted hitherto to the tabloid.
>
> It has its place; but is that place large enough for permanence?

---

1 Marvin, Dwight, (Editor of the Troy, N.Y., Record newspapers and president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors) as quoted in "PM Is Many Things to Editors Appraising It from Sidelines," Editor and Publisher, Vol. 74, No. 24, June 14, 1941, p. 8.

2 Ibid.

Here Is PM As Others See Us

Social Justice

Beasts or Human Beings

DR. NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, president of Columbia University, speaking before the faculty and student body of the New York school the other day, invited those who disagree with his Anglophile enthusiasms "to resign their faculty positions in ordinary self-respect."

The *New York Herald-Tribune* headlined the story:

"Dr. Butler Tells Columbia Staff to Accept War Policy or Resign."

P.M., the pro-Marxian afternoon tabloid, went even further: *"Support Britain or Quit Columbia, Dr. Butler Tells Faculty and Students."*

The 78-year-old educator said:

"Let there be no doubt where Columbia University stands in this war . . . between beasts and human beings."

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Daily Worker

PEOPLES CHAMPION OF LIBERTY, PROGRESS, PEACE AND PROSPERITY

Vol. XVIII, No. 37 — NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 30, 1941

Weather

Local—Increasing cloudiness and warmer, moderate southwest winds, average temperature 28.

Eastern New York—Increasing cloudiness followed by intermittent light snow in north.

Challenge 'P M' Editor's 'Report' On British C. P.

British Daily Worker Staff Member Answers Distorted 'Interview' Printed Here by PM Editor on Activities of Communists

(By Cable to the Daily Worker)

By Philip Bolsover

LONDON, Dec. 12.—The charitable thing to do is to suppose that Ralph Ingersoll is "suffering from amnesia," declared Claude Cockburn of the staff of the London Daily Worker when he was asked to comment on Ingersoll's reported interview with him as printed in PM, New York news-

92 THE SATURDAY EVENING

(Continued from Page 90)

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THE SATURDAY EVENING POST

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ne new enterprise. He expressed the belief that it was "unique" in American journalism for so many wealthy families to get behind a new daily. Mr. Ingersoll was right. The $1,500,000 stock issue was oversubscribed by $1,000,000.

The two largest stockholders on the board of directors, announced in February, 1940, were Marshall Field III and John Hay Whitney. Neither Mr. Field nor Mr. Whitney nor any of the other wealthy stockholders could possibly be called a Communist or a fellow traveler.

PM Conducts Its Own Lynch Trial

• PM—that marvellous "friend" of the underprivileged—published a story yesterday which is an invitation to a lynch verdict against Joseph Spell.

Although the trial of the Negro defendant is not yet over, PM has gone out of its way to proclaim it "a fair one." It does so in the face of the fact that Negroes were excluded from the jury on a rank subterfuge, that PM along with the Daily News and other capitalist newspapers had already tried and found him "guilty," and that, as a result, the trial takes place in the midst of a distinctly prejudiced atmosphere.

The insidious campaign which PM is now carrying on against Negroes in connection with the Spell case, shows that its recent series on the Negro domestic workers was only a deceitful pose. For the employers invariably use such anti-Negro stories as a pretext for denying Negroes jobs, for intimidating Negro communities, and for dividing Negro and white workers.

From their experiences in the Scottsboro case, progressive Americans cannot consider a trial fair where Negroes have been excluded from the jury in violation of the Constitution. As they see the familiar threads of hysteria and discrimination being woven around this case, the people will in-
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PM Shows Its Fangs

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Fortunately the pr take the "beast" sta United States Sen Clark of Missouri ch as "an old, senile rea propagandist, and a politician."

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92 THE SATURDAY EVENING

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Early in 1940, the advance publicity began to appear. The promotion was superb. The new paper was to be a thing of beauty. It was to print "unorthodox news," "all the news that *is* news," the news behind the news. It was to be highly departmentalized and the articles in each department were to be signed. It was to be uncorrupted by advertisers, but would have a department called News for Living, which would digest the advertising in the other papers. Above all, PM was to be written by "the most brilliant staff ever gathered together on one newspaper."

The promoter, prospective publisher and editor was Ralph M. Ingersoll. He had been managing editor of the New Yorker until 1931, then managing editor of Fortune, and in 1936 had become publisher of Time.

was remarkably successful in interesting rich Americans in one new enterprise. He expressed the belief that it was "unique" in American journalism for so many wealthy families to get behind a new daily. Mr. Ingersoll was right. The $1,500,000 stock issue was oversubscribed by $1,000,000.

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PM appeared on June 18, 1940. According to the advance publicity, more than 11,000 experienced newspaper people had applied for jobs. Yet the majority of the staff of 151 had had no newspaper experience, and some of them had no distinction as writers of any kind beyond the spurious build-up they had received as "distinguished" authors in Communist and fellow-traveling circles.

The number of Communists and fellow travelers on the staff immediately became a public scandal. Mr. Ingersoll found it necessary to advertise in The New York Times that he was not running a Communist newspaper. He also published a denial in his own paper, attributing the "unprincipled

FIFTEEN CENTS

NEW MASSES

Death in the PM

Ralph Ingersoll got an idea and a million and a half dollars. What happened. The pro-war paper that masquerades as progressive. You can't fool all of the people. . . .

NEWSPAPERMEN have long toyed with the idea of a paper without advertising. The theory was that such a conservative adver- circulation, moved it up to a choice position on page two. Day by day he waxed more warlike, though at first he hedged with such phrases as: "Don't read any political significance into these remarks. They're not to suggest I would like to have this country go to war. I wouldn't. . . ." months he was unmistakeably calling war, the sooner the Axis pact to join this newspaper-of-the-future, about forty have been fired on forty-eight hours' notice. Ingersoll once made a speech in which he said he couldn't afford to pay for overtime, but that those staff members who turned out the most work would survive. Somebody mentioned the Wage-Hour Act, and he officially backed down. Recently the situation was improved when the New York Newspaper Guild secured a contract. Ingersoll had once believes in the institution of the trade union in

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PM Shows Its Fangs

• PM pretends to be an anti-fascist newspaper. But last Tuesday it published a scurrilous attack upon the Jewish people.

In an article signed by Ben Hecht, another so-called liberal, PM attributed to Jewish Americans the filthy racism which is common to Nazis and other whelps of imperialism. Hecht's idea of "attacking" the Nazis is to call them "the New Jew."

Although the fascists are stormtroopers of Big Business for spreading war hysteria and racial strife, the PM article dismisses them with some nonsense about an inner "biological" urge. According to Hecht a Nazi is "the invention of a people apart, a people never to be assimilated, an automatic and ritualistic figure to be identified wherever he stood as the Jew."

Apparent in this mystical claptrap, is a virulent attack upon the Jewish people, the same sort of slanders one hears from Coughlin and Henry Ford. In whipping up an hysteria for President Roosevelt's war program, PM reveals the racist poison which is common to both belligerents. The German imperialists slander the British people as "no good"; the British imperialists assail the German people as "Huns." Now PM gives voice to the slurs that American imperialism spreads against Negroes, Jews and other minorities.

Hecht has already sold himself to the Hollywood moguls for their vicious movie campaign against the Soviet Union, the one country where anti-Semitism is • That PM should now

Thus we are all things to all men — depending only on each man's ability to distort facts.

Sensationalism and Crime News in PM

In its treatment of crime news, PM tries various approaches, some from a sociological angle, others with an eye to news, and still others with an outright sensational cast.

The place of crime news in PM was broadly defined in the prospectus:[1]

> PM does not believe in horror for horror's sake -- but its editors will not deny its readers truth of social importance simply because it's unpleasant.

One of the first signs of sensationalism appeared in the story, "Blonde Butterfly, 27 Drowns on Gay Party."[2] This news story, with its heavy innuendo from beginning to end, implying "high" night life, is reminiscient of the New York Mirror, and the Graphic of the '20s.

On the same day, John Kobler's story, "Ten Years of Mystery: Where is Judge Crater?"[3] was printed. This reeks of sensationalism, with its background of the night club habitue, married to a divorcee, through the story of the Judge's mysterious disappearance, the steps leading up to it, and the subsequent secretive proof of murder.

In September there appeared an eight-page feature on "Murder, Inc.,"[4] the organized murder gang in Brooklyn, written by John Kobler. This is not sensational in content. It is written

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1 Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 10.
2 PM, August 4, 1940, p. 12.
3 PM, August 4, 1940, p. 13.
4 PM, September 19, 1940, pp. 14-21.

Blonde Butterfly, 27, Drowns on Gay Party

. . . Westchester Tragedy Discloses Ellen Nash, Model, Had Child, Back Home in South



Ellen Legge Nash (left) and her friend, Vicki Grey.

The drowning of Ellen Legge Nash, 27, a blonde model, during a gay weekend at Mamaroneck, is viewed by her intimates as the tragic end of a butterfly existence that started seven years ago when she left Keyser, W. Va., for the big city.

Frequenter of fashionable night clubs, Miss Nash disclosed only to her best friends that she had a small child back home and was a divorcee. One of the spots where she was well known was the Stork Club, also frequented by Neal R. Andrews, wealthy cosmetics manufacturer.

Visiting Mr. Andrews and his divorced wife, Dorothy Hall, Miss Nash stripped off her clothes and dived into the Andrews swimming pool while her friend, Vicki Grey, went to get a bathing suit. The official verdict was drowning by accident.

Inquiry disclosed that Miss Nash came from Keyser, W. Va., registered in 1934 with a model agency, which got her jobs with

What was to have been a gay week end at the Mamaroneck home of Neal R. Andrews, wealthy cosmetics manufacturer, and his divorced wife, Dorothy Hall, ended in tragedy for Ellen Legge Nash, 27, blonde model, who came from West Virginia seven years ago for a career in the big city.

Returning from a cruise on Long Island Sound with Vicki Grey, another model, Miss Nash stripped off her clothes and dived in Andrews' swimming pool while her friend went to get a bathing suit. Her nude body was found under 10 feet of water by Mr. Andrews and a neighbor's gardener. She had been dead 15 minutes. The official verdict was drowning by accident.

August 4, 1940, p. 12.

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August 4, 1940, p. 12.

as any explanation of a fascinating project or business. Twenty-three photographs and four sketches comprise this interesting "Picture Story of an Industry."[1]

A news story connected with the Murder, Inc., tale appeared the following day. It is safe to say that John Kobler's story, "Goldstein and Strauss Found Guilty ... Will Die for Murder, Inc., Butchery"[2] is as dramatically written a crime story as one could find. The descriptive lead and breathing action intensify the whole story.

The DeTristan kidnapping case on the West Coast, in which the son of a noble family was kidnapped, is covered thoroughly by PM, even to a careful and rather scholarly analysis of the kidnapping note, but there is no sensationalism about this story.[3] It is a good example of a news story written with action but without the cheap and sickening appeal of sensational detail.

A raid by plain-clothes men on a New York society gambling den was given a double spread with nine pictures and a full-page back cover picture on December 23.[4] This story may have been over-played and written by a class-conscious reporter but it is not sensational.

The sociological approach is evident in "Hillbilly Family Here Rejoices: Father Jailed for Beating Child."[5] This is the story of a pitiful Kentucky family in New York, of poverty and

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1 PM, September 19, 1940, pp. 14-21.
2 PM, September 20, 1940, p. 7.
3 PM, September 22, 1940, p. 7.
4 PM, December 23, 1940, pp. 16, 17, and 32.
5 PM, January 24, 1940, p. 16.

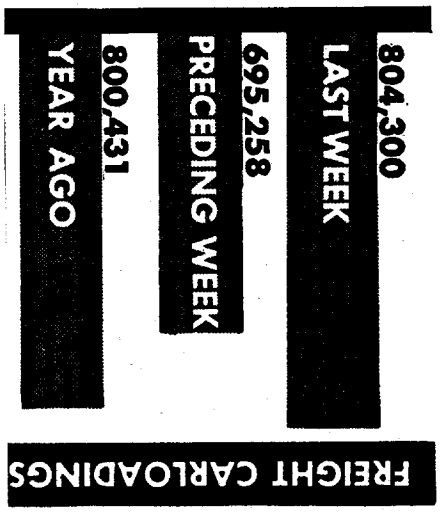
Goldstein and Strauss Found Guilty ... Will Die for Murder, Inc., Butchery

By JOHN KOBLER

Outside the Brooklyn courtroom, where for 11 days Martin (Buggsy) Goldstein and Harry (Pittsburgh Phil) Strauss had been on trial for the murder of Irving (Puggy) Feinstein, the corridor was jam-packed. The crowd had been waiting 45 minutes for the blue ribbon jury to reach its verdict.

It had been a day of raw sensations. First Assistant District Attorney Turkus's blistering summation that wrung sob after sob from terror-cowed little Buggsy Goldstein. "These sniveling creatures . . . these organized murderers. . . ."

Then Judge John J. Fitzgerald's charge to the jury, knocking the prisoners' last frail chances into a cocked hat. "I charge you that Seymour Magoon (squealing Murder,



September 20, 1940, p. 7

maladjustment and a bewildered father who beat his child. It is distinctly a domestic tragedy, filled with pathos. One questions the value of publicizing it.

Another well-grounded crime story approached from the sociologist's viewpoint is the Ned Armstrong-John T. Howard collaboration, "The Story of Four Young Lives That End Tonight."[1] An introductory note declares:[2]

> Our purpose here is to trace, from the facts available, the life pattern of each of these four young men, pulling together the threads of behavior and accident that made them companions in the death chamber at an age when most young Americans are thumbing their draft cards.

The writers employ technical, psychological terms to describe the characteristics of the four condemned to die. There are evidences of thoughtful interpretation throughout the story. The ending is particularly notable:[3]

> The psychologists and moralists probably can take each of our young men and place an analytical finger on a primary cause that led him to his unhappy end -- poverty, environment, mental or moral weakness.

John Kobler's "Portrait of a Killer,"[4] on the other hand, is a study that is sensational, gory, and unnecessarily detailed. Writes Kobler of George Cvek, the criminal who murdered several women:[5]

> His sexual appetites are animalistic rather than perverted. His rapes were after-thoughts, incidentals to the main business of robbery.

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1 PM, February 13, 1941, p. 15.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 PM. March 5, 1941, pp. 12-13.
5 Ibid., p. 13.

The Story of Four Young Lives That End Tonight

The Events Leading Up to the Executions in Sing Sing

By NED ARMSTRONG *and* JAMES T. HOWARD

Four young Americans will die tonight in the death house at Sing Sing Prison. If things go according to schedule, the first will walk to the electric chair at the traditional hour of 11 o'clock, and the others will follow at brief intervals. Then society will close the book, having taken life for life as provided by the law.

We will not attempt here to measure the justice of the penalty imposed. The four young men were found guilty by New York juries as holdup killers, their convictions were affirmed and their trials declared fair by the appellate courts. Under the law, murder in a holdup is first degree murder, punishable by death.

Our purpose here is to trace, from the facts available, the life pattern of each of these four young men, pulling together the threads of behavior and accident that made them companions in the death chamber at an age when most young Americans are thumbing their draft cards, wondering when they will be called for compulsory service.

Their Faces

Look at the large photo herewith and study the faces of Walter Dowling, 21; George Dolny, 23, and Archangelo D'Agosto, 27. The group photo was taken last June at Brooklyn police headquarters when they were formally charged with the murder of a Brooklyn bartender. A careless glance might give the impression of three Brooklyn toughs, products of poverty and environment. The answer is not that simple.

Dolny, standing, is what the crime magazine writers would call the "brains" of this gang. He is a bright, handsome youngster who completed four terms of high school at the age of 12. His I.Q. of 117 makes him a standout in the intellectual rating of death-house inmates.

George Dolny was born of Polish parents



They were condemned for killing a Brooklyn bartender. One is called "the brains of the mob," another "just a good-natured dope," the third, "psychopathic, a borderline case." From left they are Walter Dowling, George Dolny, Archangelo D'Agosto.

PM Photo by Irving Haberman

at liberty only three months, from Oct. 9, 1939, to Jan. 21, 1940. In that period he was charged with three murders, for one of which he must die tonight.

The probation report describes George Dolny as "a moral moron." It calls him "cold, haughty, defiant and brazen." City detec-

who rooted for the Dodgers, predicting ultimate victory; who loved dance bands on the radio, though he couldn't dance; who liked sports, though he couldn't swim.

Just how Red D'Agosto got involved in a holdup murder, his first crime, isn't exactly clear in spite of all the witnesses and their

set apart because his crime was a different one, the murder of a policeman in a holdup at 18 E. 13th St., just off Fifth Ave., on Sept. 14, 1931, almost 11 years ago.

Three young men were robbing Byrne and his customers when Sgt. Timothy Murphy from Mercer Street police station walked in. He was killed instantly as one

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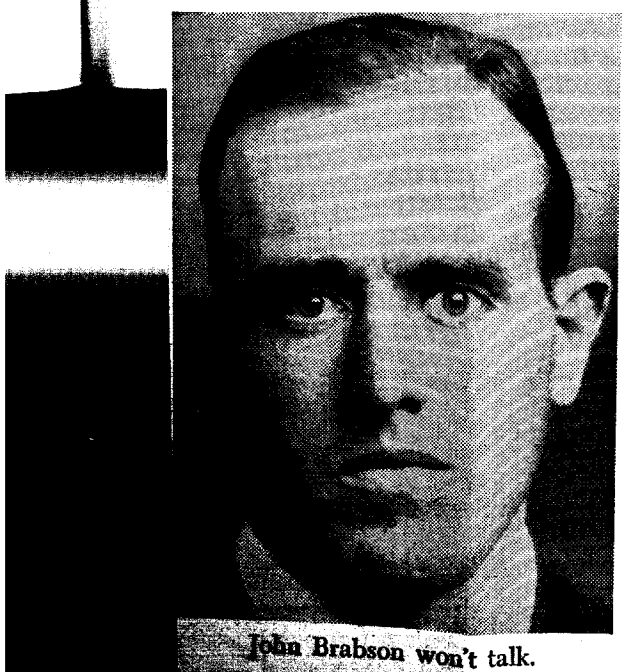
George Dolny was born of Polish parents Sept. 11, 1917, in Bloomfield, N. J., the youngest of three children. His father, a shoe factory worker, moved to South Brooklyn when George was very small and sent him to the public schools.

His criminal tendencies emerged in adolescence and brought him his first prison term for robbery at 19. Since then, he was at liberty only three months, from Oct. 9, 1939, to Jan. 21, 1940. In that period he was charged with three murders, for one of which he must die tonight.



They were condemned for killing a Brooklyn bartender. One is called "the brains of the mob," another "just a good-natured dope," the third, "psychopathic, a borderline case." From left they are Walter Dowling, George Dolny, Archangelo D'Agosto.

PM Photo by Irving Haberman



John Brabson won't talk.

The probation report describes George Dolny as "a moral moron." It calls him "cold, haughty, defiant and brazen." City detectives and court attendants, who don't like terms like "moral moron," prefer to describe him as a potential Dillinger now permanently out of circulation.

Walter Dowling, left, hands clasped, comes of Scotch parentage, the fifth child in a family of six. He was born in South Brooklyn, in the neighborhood of 14th Street and Fifth Avenue, and met George Dolny in school.

Unlike Dolny, Walter had great difficulty with his lessons, barely managed to finish the eighth grade at 16. His bright pal, two years his senior, was his natural leader. Authorities believe it was Dolny who led Dowling into his first holdup in 1936, when both were sent to Sing Sing. He was on parole, working in a shoe factory, when Dolny came out of prison and looked him up.

Our third Brooklyn boy, Red D'Agosto, is entirely different from his pals. He is a chubby, short Italian, 27, second oldest of seven children in an industrious Bay Ridge family.

Red D'Agosto, described by his acquaintances as "a good-natured dope," got out of an ungraded 6-A class in public school at 16. He went to work as helper on a truck, $12 a week, and stuck at the job faithfully for 11 years until he was arrested for murder.

He was the sort of boy who liked movies, particularly westerns with Gary Cooper; who rooted for the Dodgers, predicting ultimate victory; who loved dance bands on the radio, though he couldn't dance; who liked sports, though he couldn't swim.

Just how Red D'Agosto got involved in a holdup murder, his first crime, isn't exactly clear in spite of all the witnesses and their testimony.

He had only a slight acquaintance with Dolny and Dowling. He was in Charlie's ice cream parlor at 1277 69th St. the evening of Jan. 1, 1939, when one of them got him on the phone.

He was waiting for his brother, Tony, to go to a hockey game, but he dashed away without a word to meet Dolny and Dowling in a New York tavern. Soon the three were back in Brooklyn, where D'Agosto was deposited in a diner to wait while Dolny and Dowling did their night's work.

In a garage a block away, at 6024 Eighth Ave., the record says, the two young thugs held up John Erickson, a tavern keeper, and his bartender, Michael Fitzpatrick, shooting Fitzpatrick when he resisted. They fled with $394, which they split.

Double-Crossed

D'Agosto waited all night in the diner for his double-crossing pals, then boarded a street car for home, chatting on the way with two policemen he knew. When the cops picked him up, he blurted out everything he knew, involved himself by a statement that he was the "finger man" who pointed out the garage where Erickson kept his car.

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Three young men were robbing Byrne and his customers when Sgt. Timothy Murphy from Mercer Street police station walked in. He was killed instantly as one of the [redacted] opened fire.

Seized Six Years Later

Six years later a lifer in Sing Sing squealed and detectives journeyed to Pittsburgh, where they seized John Brabson, alias Norman J. Brabson, 31, a steel worker. Beyond denying the charge, Brabson has said nothing since, has refused to undergo mental and physical examinations.

With the exception of John, the Brabson family has no known criminal record. The father and John Brabson's one brother are responsible working-class citizens in Pittsburgh, where they once owned their home. In the depression, it was lost by foreclosure. The mother says John has suffered severe headaches from infancy, but there is no way to prove that there is something wrong with his head because he won't let himself be examined.

The psychologists and moralists probably can take each of our young men and place an analytical finger on a primary cause that led him to his unhappy end—poverty, environment, mental or moral weakness.

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Their Faces

Look at the large photo beneath and study the faces of Walter Dowling, 21; George Dolny, 23, and Archangelo D'Agosto, 27. The group photo was taken last June at Brooklyn police headquarters when they were formally charged with the murder of a Brooklyn bartender. A careless glance might give the impression of three Brooklyn toughs, products of poverty and environment. The answer is not that simple.

Dolny, standing, is what the crime magazine writers would call the "brains" of this gang. He is a bright, handsome youngster who completed four terms of high school at the age of 12. His I.Q. of 117 makes him a standout in the intellectual rating of death-house inmates.

George Dolny was born of Polish parents Sept. 11, 1917, in Bloomfield, N. J., the youngest of three children. His father, a shoe factory worker, moved to South Brooklyn when George was very small and sent him to the public schools.

His criminal tendencies emerged in adolescence and brought him his first prison term for robbery at 19. Since then, he was at liberty only three months, from Oct. 9, 1939, to Jan. 21, 1940. In that period he was charged with three murders, for one of which he must die tonight.

The probation report describes George Dolny as "a moral moron." It calls him "cocky, haughty, defiant and brazen." City detectives and court attendants, who don't like terms like "moral moron," prefer to describe him as a potential Dillinger now permanently out of circulation.

Walter Dowling, left, hands clasped, comes of Scotch parentage, the fifth child in a family of six. He was born in South Brooklyn, in the neighborhood of 14th Street and Fifth Avenue, and met George Dolny in school.

Unlike Dolny, Walter had great difficulty with his lessons, barely managed to finish the eighth grade at 16. His bright pal, two years his senior, was his natural leader. Authorities believe it was Dolny who led Dowling into his first holdup in 1938, when both were sent to Sing Sing. He was on parole, working in a shoe factory, when Dolny came out of prison and locked him up.

Our third Brooklyn boy, Red D'Agosto, is entirely different from his pals. He is a chubby, short Italian, 27, second oldest of seven children in an industrious Bay Ridge family.

Red D'Agosto, described by his acquaintances as "a good-natured dope," got out of an ungraded 8-A class in public school at 16. He went to work as helper on a truck, $12 a week, and stuck at the job faithfully for 11 years until he was arrested for murder.

He was the sort of boy who liked movies, particularly westerns with Gary Cooper; who rooted for the Dodgers, predicting ultimate victory; who loved dance bands on the radio, though he couldn't dance; who liked sports, though he couldn't swim.

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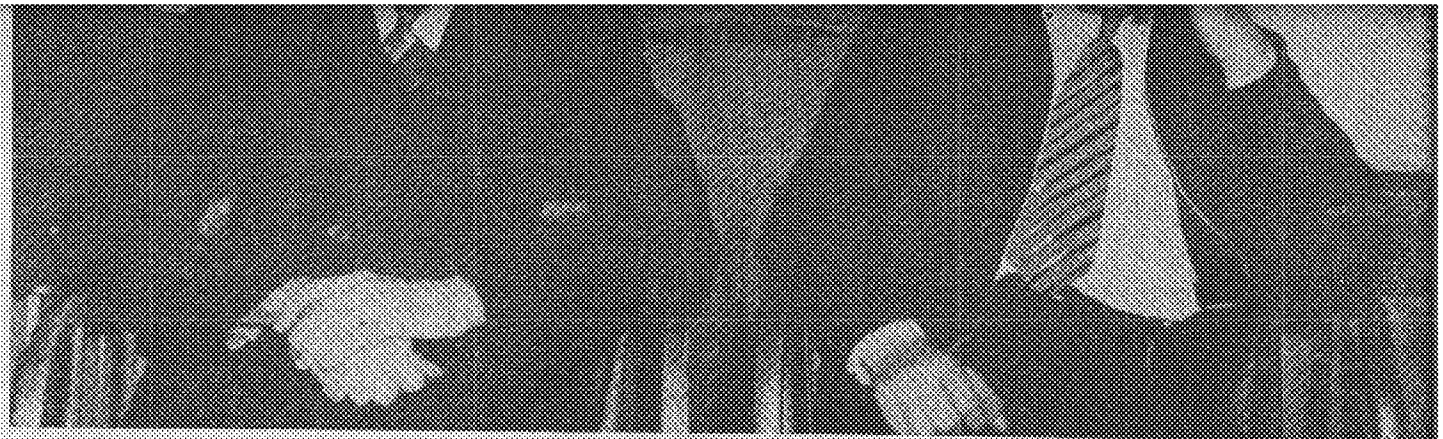
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They were condemned for killing a Brooklyn bartender. One is called "the brains of the mob," another "just a good-natured dope," the third, "psychopathic, a borderline case." From left they are Walter Dowling, George Dolny, Archangelo D'Agosto.

PM Photo by Irving Haberman



John Brabson won't talk.

The Story of Four Young Lives That End Tonight

The Events Leading Up to the Executions in Sing Sing

By Nan Ammermann *and* James T. Howard

Four young Americans will die tonight in the death house at Sing Sing Prison. If things go according to schedule, the first will walk to the electric chair at the traditional hour of 11 o'clock, and the others will follow at brief intervals. Then society will close the book, having taken life for life as provided by the law.

We will not attempt here to measure the justice of the penalty imposed. The four young men were found guilty by New York juries as hoodlum killers, their convictions were affirmed and their trials declared fair by the appellate courts. Under the law, murder in a holdup is first degree murder, punishable by death.

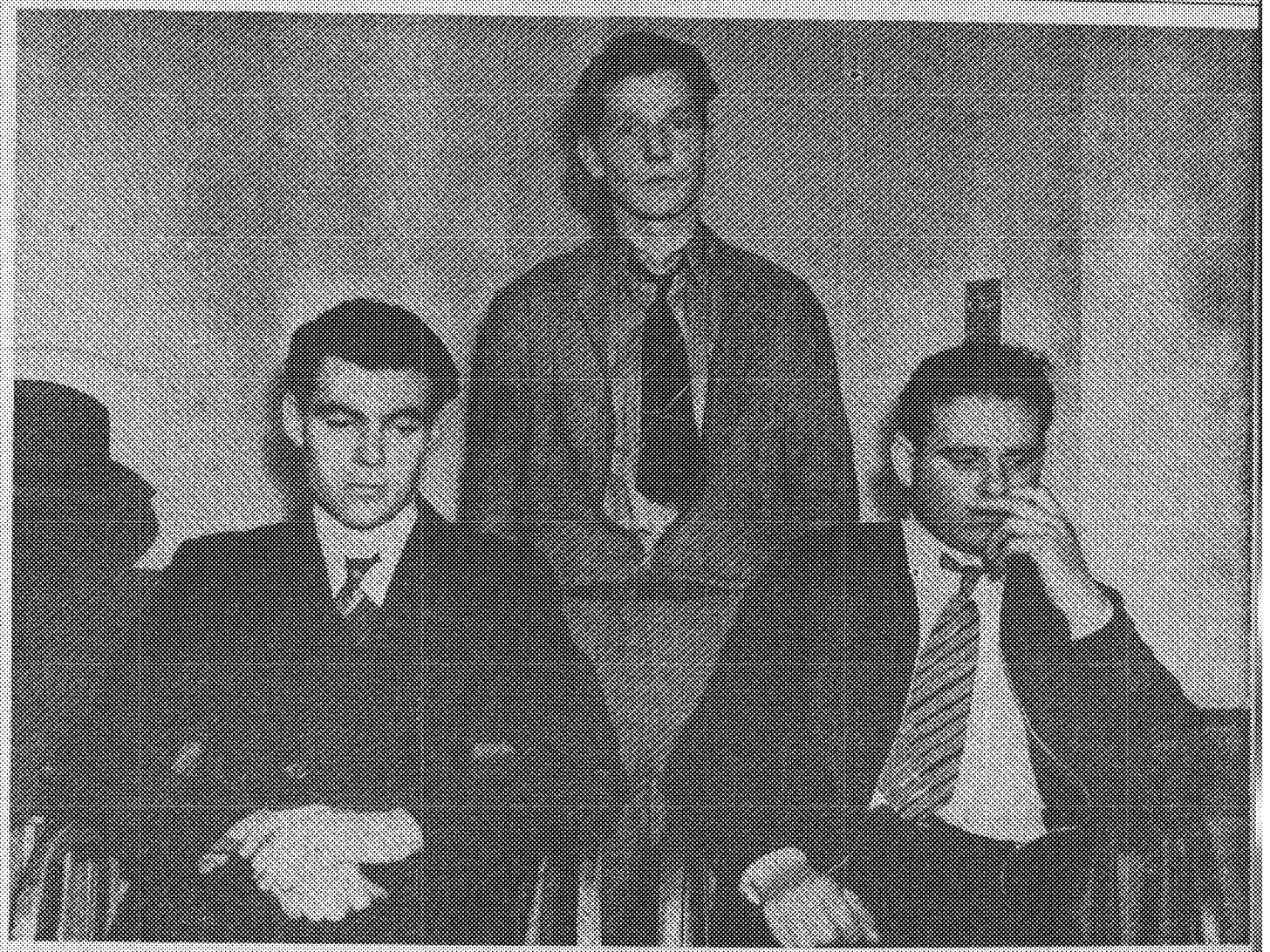
Our purpose here is to trace, from the facts available, the life pattern of each of these four young men, pulling together the threads of behavior and accident that made them companions in the death chamber at an age when most young Americans are thumbing their draft cards, wondering when they will be called for compulsory service.

Their Faces

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steel worker, died when George was 5. His mother, a practical nurse, moved to Brooklyn with her children.

George was a good student, a leader in his class, a boy who was liked by his teachers and his fellow students. He was graduated from Public School 109 in 1931 and entered Boys High School. He was a good athlete, played baseball and basketball, and was a member of the school's track team.

He was graduated from Boys High in 1935 and entered Brooklyn College. He was a member of the Phi Sigma Delta fraternity, and was active in student affairs. He was graduated from Brooklyn College in 1939 with a B.S. degree.

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(Continued on Page 16)

> He was indifferent to the appearance, age and condition of these victims. One was elderly, another pregnant, a third plain.

Ned Armstrong's coverage of the Schenk tax evasion trial included the details of Joseph Schenk's expenditures on wine, women and other vices but only in relation to the trial. It was not sensational in the style of the '20s.[1]

The high mark of sensationalism in PM was the covering of the Strubing rape case. This Connecticut incident was not a pretty story, but its news value to PM, as champion of racial tolerance, was increased by the fact that it involved a society matron and her negro butler. Mrs. John Strubing, a former Philadelphia debutante, accused her negro butler of rape and of pushing her into a reservoir and then driving away in the belief that she had drowned.

The first story on the Strubing case was a straight news recital, sparing no details,[2] but in less than two days PM devoted a full page to a John Kobler story, "What Is the Truth in the Spell Rape Case?"[3]

Kobler writes in the first person of the racial entanglements which made the Strubing case a cause celebre and aroused the ire of the National Society for the Advancement of Colored People. With this as a springboard, he reviewed the details of the incident, including Mrs. Strubing's version of the alleged attack.

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1 PM, March 13, 1941, p. 18.
2 PM, December 12, 1940, p. 11.
3 PM, December 20, 1940, p. 10.

Chauffeur Confesses Kidnap, Attack

All day long and for half of last night, police questioned a Negro chauffeur, Joseph Spell, 31, on the suspicion that he had raped and attempted to kill the blonde, socially prominent Mrs. Eleanor Strubing, 32, of Greenwich, Conn. Then Spell confessed, fully corroborating the hysterical story Mrs. Strubing told after she was found wandering on a highway, wet, bedraggled and scarcely conscious.

Spell was booked immediately on the charge of rape and may also have to face kidnaping charges under the so-called Lindbergh law, a Federal statute providing the death penalty for a kidnaper who takes his victim across a State border.

Mrs. Strubing, daughter of a Philadelphia banking family, is the wife of John K. Strubing, account executive with Compton Advertising, Inc., 630 Fifth Ave.

He was out of town when the chauffeur they had hired only a few weeks ago broke into the bathroom while Mrs. Strubing was taking a shower. Threatening her with a knife, Spell ordered her into an adjoining bedroom, where he attacked her the first time. Then he forced her to dress, took her downstairs and assaulted her twice more.

Thereafter, according to her story and Spell's confession, he bound her hands and feet, placed her in her car and drove to a lonely spot, where he attempted another assault.



Mrs. Eleanor Strubing
Photo by Wide World

The chauffeur drove Mrs. Strubing home, attacked her a fourth time, ordered her to write a ransom note demanding $5000, and bound her again and took her in his car to the northern tip of Kensico reservoir in New York State, where he threw her from a narrow bridge. She fell into shallow water and was able to clamber to the highway.

December 12, 1940, p. 7.

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Mrs. Eleanor Strubing
Photo by Wide World

The chauffeur drove Mrs. Strubing home, attacked her a fourth time, ordered her to write a ransom note demanding $3000, and bound her again and took her in his car to the southern tip of Kensico reservoir in New York State, where he threw her from a narrow bridge. She fell into shallow water and was able to shamble to the highway.

December 12, 1940, p. 7.

What Is the Truth in the Spell Rape Case?

'The Load Has Been Put on Me,' Protests Butler, Accused of Attacking His Employer . . . Where Is the Kidnap Note? the Defense Asks

By John Kobler

Efforts are being made to make the case of Joseph Spell, Negro butler, accused of raping his white employer, Mrs. John K. Strubing, Jr., a *cause celebre*.

The *Daily Worker* referred to Mrs. Strubing's story of being raped four times, tied hand and foot and tossed into Kensico Reservoir as "wild."

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has retained Samuel Friedman, a seasoned criminal lawyer, in Spell's behalf, and set private detectives on the trail of an independent investigation.

The NAACP extends legal aid to a Negro defendant only when it believes him to be (1) innocent, (2) in peril of inustice because of his color. Of the Spell case it says:

"We were not satisfied on the following points: (1) that nobody heard an outcry either in the house or when the police approached the car, (2) that the kidnap note was not found."

But Archibald H. Tunick, assistant prosecutor of Greenwich, Conn., and staff detectives stand pat on their first announcement that Spell's story substantiates Mrs. Strubing's.

No Direct Testimony Yet

Direct testimony from Spell, held on open charges in the county jail at Bridgeport, and Mrs. Strubing, recuperating in her Greenwich home, have yet to be heard.

In an effort to separate fact from rumor I have spent three days in Greenwich. I was not permitted to see the signed statements in Mr. Tunick's possession. I was not permitted to talk to Spell. I did learn this:

On the evening of Tuesday, Dec. 11, three people were in the Strubing home on Greenwich's fashionable Round Hill Road. They were Mrs. Strubing, Spell and the general houseworker, Virgus Clark, who is Spell's common law wife. Mr. Strubing [illegible] story of Virgus Clark, a neat, round little woman of 32, who has loved Joe Spell since they were kids together in Lafayette, La.

"Joe went out about 7 in his Chevrolet," she told me. "He had been drinking pretty heavily lately because he was worried about his mother being sick back home (police later found a gallon jug of Italian Swiss Colony burgundy three-quarters empty and an opened quart of Wilson's rye whisky). But he didn't seem drunk to me. He told me he was going to spend the evening with the boys in White Plains.

Found by Truckman

"I had been suffering from cramps all day. So I took two aspirin tablets, two Anacin tablets and a drink of whisky. I then turned down Mrs. Strubing's bed and went to my room in the attic.

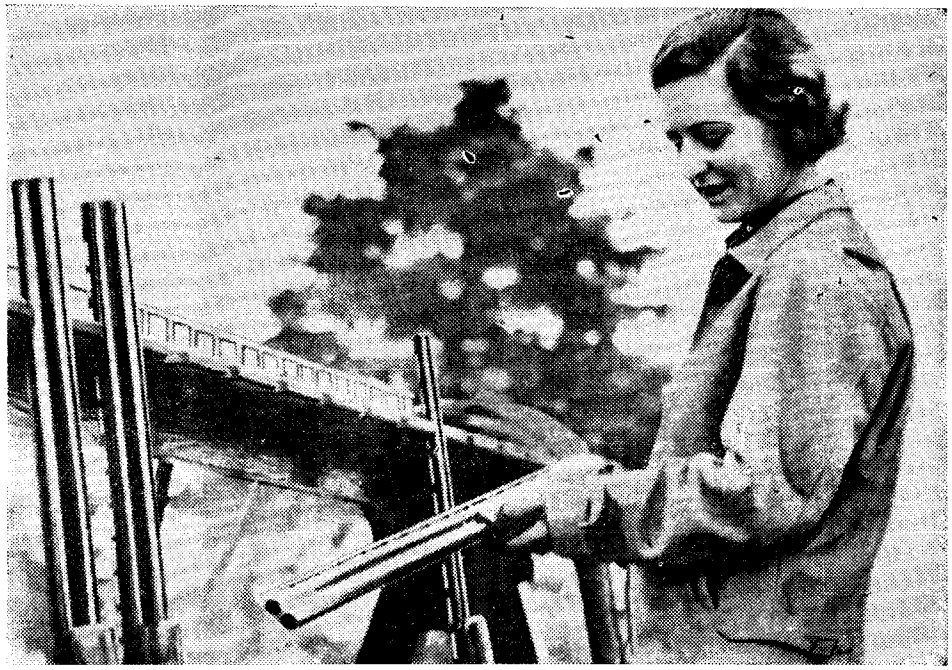
"It must have been about midnight that I heard the dog (a big German shepherd named Viggy) barking in the hallway. I got up, took him into my room and went back to sleep.

"I heard nothing more until 6 a.m. The police were walking around the place. They had Joe handcuffed. They took us both to the police station."

Approximately one hour earlier a truckman, rumbling past the Kensico Reservoir some 20 miles from the Strubing home, saw Mrs. Strubing staggering along the roadside, wet and coatless. He rushed her to the North Castle police station, whence she was removed to St. Agnes Hospital.

I pass over the conflicting stories which issued in driblets from various police officers. The latest, and, so far, only sequential story was one attributed to Detective Sgt. Martin Nee after he had interviewed Mrs. Strubing in the hospital:

Mrs. Strubing left the Moores' at about 9:05 or 9:15 p.m. and drove home alone. She put her car away, fed the dog, and went up to her bedroom. She decided to



A crack markswoman, Mrs. John K. Strubing, Jr. (the former Philadelphia debutante Eleanor Paul), is shown competing in a society trapshooting meet.

Philadelphia Record *Photo*

have to get out and walk. . . . Then he pushed her over a guard-rail and into the water.

Mrs. Strubing swam around a while and found she had trouble with the fur coat she had on. She took it off and let it float.

The man stood on the bank and threw stones at her. She floated around in the water and saw him leave. He must have thought she was drowned. He went away.

Then she pulled herself up to the road. . . .

Told of Note

Mrs. Strubing was later quoted as saying that her attacker had forced her to leave a note for her husband, demanding $5000 ransom. Before leaving the house, she said, she tore up this note and stuffed the pieces into her coat pocket. According to a later version, she had left the note on the living

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Next morning Samuel Friedman, the NAACP attorney, was allowed to pass two hours with Spell. To reporters he afterward announced:

"He is completely innocent. It is true that he made a statement freely to the prosecutor, but it is no way incriminating. What he has just told me does not jibe with the police story. He will plead not guilty."

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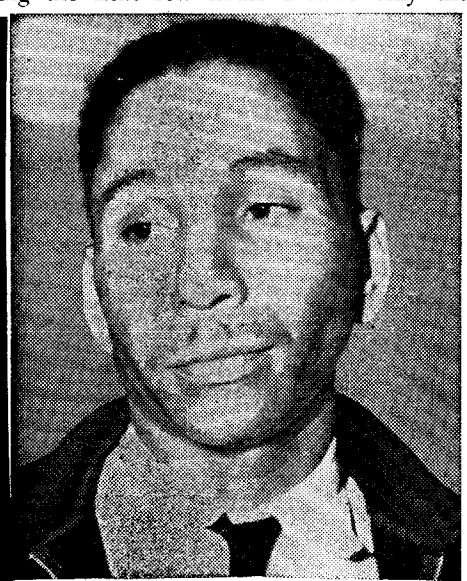
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Toward 6 o'clock Mrs. Strubing drove off in her Mercury car to dine with William B. Moore, a New York attorney, and his family on nearby Cedar Hill Road.

For what happened inside the house during the next few hours I have only the



Joseph Spell

Greenwich Time Photo

then turned down Mrs. Strubing's bed and went to my room in the attic.

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Mrs. Strubing left the Moores' at about 9:05 or 9:15 p.m. and drove home alone. She put her car away, fed the dog, and went up to her bedroom. She decided to take a shower.

While doing so, she heard a man in her bedroom. He called out to her. She told him to get out of the bedroom and wait for her if he had anything to say to her.

As she came from the shower, Sgt. Nee said, Mrs. Strubing, apparently assuming that the man had obeyed, was practically naked. She saw him in the bedroom.

He pushed her back on the bed and attacked her. He kept threatening her with a pen-knife.

Forced to Dress

Then her assailant told her to dress, as she was before. She dressed. Then he took her into the kitchen, bound her hand and foot with cord.

She screamed, thinking Virgus would hear her. Her assailant took her into the living room, and assaulted her again on the divan. (Another attack was later said to have taken place in the house and still another in the car.) Then he carried her from the house, placed her in her car and drove away. Where they went, she doesn't know.

They drove around, then parked in some driveway. Some car, she believed to be a police car, told him he couldn't park there, so he went. Where, she doesn't know. But they ended up on Route 22, near the reservoir.

According to Sgt. Nee, the rapist pulled up alongside the bridge. He said they'd



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Philadelphia Record *Photo*

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However Spell may have spent the early hours of Dec. 11, he calmly returned to the Strubing home, where, on the basis of Mrs. Strubing's story, police arrested him. They claim that his alibi of being in a White Plains tavern all night was broken by the tavern-keeper himself.

At Greenwich police station he was questioned for 15 hours.

From that inquisition detectives emerged with the statement that Spell had broken down and signed an admission, which substantiated the main points of Mrs. Strubing's story.

'Open Charges'

Town Judge Lewis Sisson held Spell on "open charges" and set bail at $15,000. Under Connecticut law a prisoner can be held indefinitely without arraignment. The duty of the local court is to show cause in preliminary hearings why the prisoner should be tried. If it so finds, the case comes within the jurisdiction of the Superior Court in Bridgeport.

The NAACP stepped into the picture on Dec. 12. Thurgood Marshall, its legal adviser, told me:

"We will stay in the case only if Spell denies the charge. So far he has been held incommunicado. I have not been able to see him. Mrs. Spell saw him for a few moments in the presence of detectives. At that time he told her, 'The load has been put on me.'"

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Histories Checked

Meantime, as part of its investigation, the NAACP has carefully checked the histories of Joe Spell and Virgus Clark. They are two Negroes who've seen a mess of trouble.

They came of respectable, hard-working parents. Joe's mother was steward of the Methodist Church. Virgus's people were Catholics. He worked as a garage mechanic. In 1926 he married. Two months later his wife left him.

In 1928 Joe joined the field artillery at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, and became an assistant supply sergeant. Around this time his mother, a chronic invalid, took a turn for the worse. Joe went AWOL twice to see her. In 1935 he got an honorable discharge; he and Virgus decided to live together.

They became domestics, working at various army posts. They bought a Chevrolet and managed to send his mother between $15 and $30 every month.

Last April they went to work for Mrs. Loretta Morningstar in Harrison, N. Y. (Joe's mother had been getting worse all the time and he was drinking more heavily.) Mrs. Morningstar fired him. He returned and demanded $30. Alarmed, she wrote him out a check, then had it stopped. Joe was arrested and got a suspended sentence.

On Nov. 1, through a Greenwich employment agency, the couple got work with the Strubings.

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In an effort to separate fact from rumor I have spent three days in Greenwich. I was not permitted to see the signed statements in Mr. Trnick's possession. I was not permitted to talk to Spell. I did learn this:

On the evening of Tuesday, Dec. 11, three people were in the Stroubing home on Greenwich's fashionable Round Hill Road. They were Mrs. Stroubing, Spell and the genial housemaker, Virgie Clark, who is Spell's common law wife. Mr. Stroubing, a former football star (Princeton, class of '20) and Compton Advertising, Inc., executive, was in Cincinnati on business.

Toward 8 o'clock Mrs. Stroubing drove off in her Mercury car to dine with William B. Moore, a New York attorney, and his family on nearby Cedar Hill Road.

For what happened inside the house during the next few hours I have only the



Joseph Spell

Greenwich Time Photo

three turned down Mrs. Stroubing's bed and went to my room in the attic.

"It must have been about midnight that I heard the dog (a big German shepherd named Viggy) barking in the hallway. I got up, took him into my room and went back to sleep.

"I heard nothing more until 6 a.m. The police were walking around the place. They had Joe handcuffed. They took us both to the police station."

Approximately one hour earlier a truckman, rumbling past the Kensico Reservoir some 20 miles from the Stroubing home, saw Mrs. Stroubing staggering along the roadside, wet and coatless. He rushed her to the North Castle police station, whence she was removed to St. Agnes Hospital.

I pass over the conflicting stories which issued in dribblets from various police officers. The latest, and, so far, only sequential story was one attributed to Detective Sgt. Martin Noe after he had interviewed Mrs. Stroubing in the hospital.

Mrs. Stroubing left the Moores at about 9:05 or 9:15 p.m. and drove home alone. She put her car away, fed the dog, and went up to her bedroom. She decided to take a shower.

While doing so, she heard a man in her bedroom. He called out to her. She told him to get out of the bedroom and wait for her if he had anything to say to her.

As she came from the shower, Sgt. Noe said, Mrs. Stroubing, apparently assuming that the man had obeyed, was practically naked. She saw him in the bedroom.

He pushed her back on the bed and attacked her. He kept threatening her with a pen-knife.

Forced to Dress

Then her assailant told her to dress, as she was before. she dressed. Then he took her into the kitchen, bound her hand and foot with cord.

She screamed, thinking Virgie would hear her. Her assailant took her into the living room and assaulted her again on the divan. (Another attack was later said to have taken place in the house and still another in the car.) Then he carried her from the house, placed her in her car and drove away. Where they went, she doesn't know.

They drove around, then parked in some driveway. Some car, she believed to be a police car, told him he couldn't park there, so he went. Where, she doesn't know. But they ended up on Route 22, near the reservoir.

According to Sgt. Noe, the rapist pulled up alongside the bridge. He said they'd have to get out and walk. Then he pushed her over a guard-rail and into the water.

Mrs. Stroubing swam around a while and found she had trouble with the fur coat she had on. She took it off and let it float.

The man stood on the bank and threw stones at her. She floated around in the water and saw him leave. He must have thought she was drowned. He went away.

Then she pulled herself up to the road.

Told of Note

Mrs. Stroubing was later quoted as saying that her attacker had forced her to leave a note for her husband, demanding $5000 ransom. Before leaving the house, she said, she tore up the note and stuffed the pieces into her coat pocket. According to a later version, she had left the note on the living room table. The night brought Grimm fake the picture of a possible Lindbergh Law investigation. But the note has not been found and they have been withdrawn.

However Spell may have spent the early hours of Dec. 11, he calmly returned to the Stroubing home, where, on the basis of Mrs. Stroubing's story, police arrested him. They claim that his alibi of being in a White Plains tavern all night was broken by the tavern-keeper himself.

At Greenwich police station he was questioned for 13 hours.

From that registration discrepancy emerged with the statement that Spell had broken down and signed an admission, which substantiated the main points of Mrs. Stroubing's story.

Upon Charges

Even Judge Lewis Stern held Spell on seven charges and set bail at $15,000. Under Connecticut law a prisoner can be held indefinitely without arraignment. The duty of the local court is to show cause in preliminary hearings why the prisoner should be held. It is so finds the case comes within the jurisdiction of the Superior Court in Bridgeport.

The NAACP stepped into the picture on Dec. 12. Thurgood Marshall, its legal director, told me:

"We will step in the case only if Spell denies the charge, so far he has been held

A crack marksswoman, Mrs. John K. Stroubing, Jr. (the former Philadelphia debutante Eleanor Faul), is shown competing in a society trapshooting meet.

Philadelphia Record Photo

incommunicado. I have not been able to see him. Mrs. Spell saw him for a few moments in the presence of detectives. At that time he told her, 'The heat has been put on me.'"

Next morning Samuel Friedman, the NAACP attorney, was allowed to pass two hours with Spell. To reporters he afterward announced:

He is completely innocent. It is true that he made a statement freely to the prosecutor, but it is no way incriminating. What he has just told me does not jibe with the police story. He will plead not guilty."

The preliminary hearing has been twice postponed because both defense and prosecution want Mrs. Stroubing's testimony and she was reported still ailing in the hospital. A third date has been set for next Tuesday. At that time Mrs. Stroubing is expected to accuse Spell from the witness stand.

Histories Checked

Meantime, as part of its investigation, the NAACP has carefully checked the histories of Joe Spell and Virgie Clark. They are two Negroes who've seen a mess of trouble.

They came of respectable, hard-working parents. Joe's mother was steward of the Methodist Church. Virgie's people were Catholics. He worked as a garage mechanic. In 1920 he married. Two months later his wife left him.

In 1928 Joe joined the field artillery at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, and became an assistant supply sergeant. Around this time his mother, a chronic invalid, took a turn for the worse. Joe went AWOL twice to see her. In 1933 he got an honorable discharge. He and Virgie decided to live together.

They became domestics, working at various posts. they bought a Chevrolet and managed to send his mother between $15 and $20 every month.

Last April they went to work for Mrs. Loretta Morningstar in Harrison, N. Y. (Joe's mother had been getting worse all the time and he was sending more heavily.) Mrs. Morningstar fired him. He returned and demanded $30. Aroused she wrote him out a check, then had it stopped. Joe was arrested and got a suspended sentence.

On Nov. 1, through a Greenwich employment agency, the couple got work with the Stroubings.

What Is the Truth in the Spell Rape Case?

'The Load Has Been Put on Me,' Protests Butler, Accused of Attacking His Employer . . . Where Is the Kidnap Note? the Defense Asks

By Joan Kenyon

Efforts are being made to make the case of Joseph Spell, Negro butler, accused of raping his white employer, Mrs. John K. Stenbing, Jr., a cause célèbre.

The *Daily Worker* referred to Mrs. Stenbing's story of being raped four times, beaten hard and foot and tossed into Kensico Reservoir as "wild."

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has retained Samuel Friedman, a seasoned criminal lawyer, in Spell's behalf, and set private detectives on the trail of an independent investigation.

The NAACP extends legal aid to a Negro defendant only when it believes him to be (1) innocent, (2) in peril of injustice because of his color. Of the Spell case it says:

"We were not satisfied on the following points: (1) that nobody heard an outcry either in the house or when the police approached the car, (2) that the kidnap note was not found."

But Archibald H. Trunck, assistant prosecutor of Greenwich, Conn., and staff detectives stand pat on their first announcement that Spell's story substantiates Mrs. Stenbing's.

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In an effort to separate fact from rumor I have spent three days in Greenwich. I was not permitted to see the signed statements in Mr. Trunck's possession. I was not permitted to talk to Spell. I did learn that:

On the evening of Tuesday, Dec. 17, three people were in the Stenbing home on Greenwich's fashionable Round Hill Road. They were Mrs. Stenbing, Spell and the general housekeeper, Virginia Clark, who is Spell's common-law wife. Mr. Stenbing is away on business.

Mrs. Clark, a neat, round little woman of 32, who has loved for Spell since they were kids together in Lafayette, La., told me:

"Joe went out about 7 in his Chevrolet," she told me. "He had been drinking pretty heavily lately because he was worried about his mother being sick back home. (police later found a gallon jug of Italian Swiss Colony burgundy three-quarters empty and an opened quart of Wilson's rye whisky). But he didn't seem drunk to me. He told me he was going to spend the evening with the boys in White Plains.

Pound by Truckman

"I had been suffering from cramps all day. So I took two aspirin tablets, two Anacin tablets and a drink of whisky. I then turned down Mrs. Stenbing's bed and went to my room in the attic.

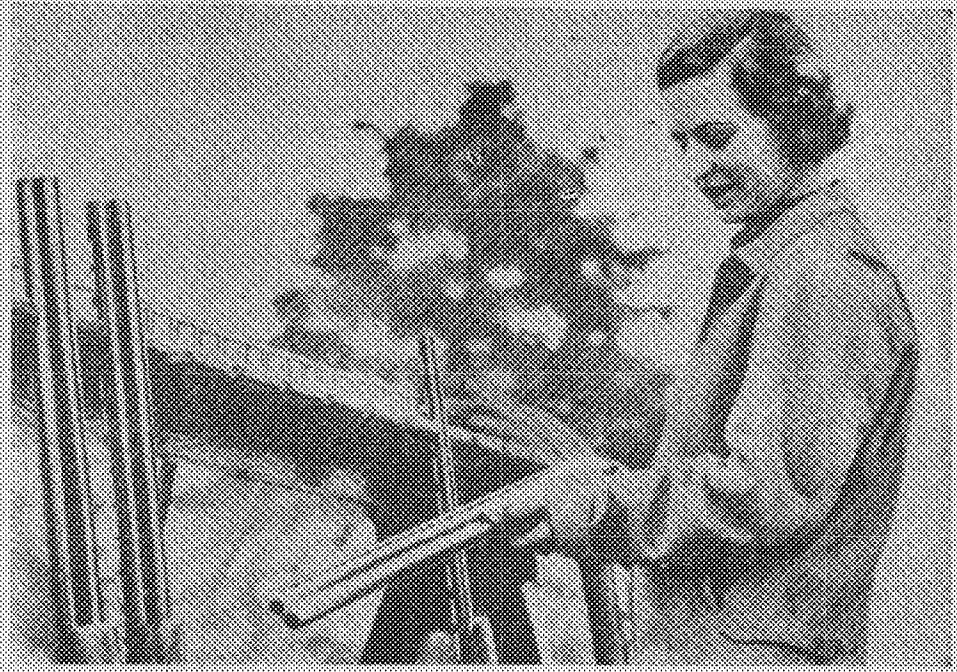
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"I heard nothing more until 6 a.m. The police were walking around the place. They had Joe handcuffed. They took us both to the police station."

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Philadelphia Record Photo

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Told of Note

Mrs. Stenbing was later quoted as saying that her attacker had forced her to leave a note for her husband, demanding $50,000 ransom. Before leaving the house, she said, she tore up this note and stuffed the pieces into her coat pocket. According to a later version, she had left the note on the living

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The preliminary hearing has been twice postponed because both defense and prosecution want Mrs. Stenbing's testimony, and she was reported still ailing in the hospital. A third date has been set for next Tuesday. At that time Mrs. Stenbing is expected to confront Spell from the witness stand.

The December 24[1] and January 21[2] stories were confined to straight reporting but the personal touch re-appears on January 22 in Kobler's story, "Ten Jurors Chosen in Strubing Case."[3] Again, the negro angle is stressed, as it is the next day when the statement of a negro juror is quoted:[4]

> This is a case of a person against a person, not a race against a race.

Three stories appeared on January 23, in connection with the rape case. One gave Mrs. Strubing's testimony verbatim; another was a feature comprised of three sketches of court room scenes.[5] The third was a Kobler story of the crime reporter's own impressions as "Spell's Rape Trial Resumes ... And It's a Fair One."[6] Character and background sketches of the Judge, State's Attorney and jury are given here by Kobler.

Kobler continues to report full details of the testimony in the story of January 24, "Mrs. Strubing in Tears When Asked If She Resisted Attack,"[7] and January 29, "Spell Testifies Mrs. Strubing Led Him On, Did Not Resist."[8] The latter story is dramatically written with adjectives used to the best advantage.

One February 2, Kobler reports, "Here's Why Spell, Negro, Was Cleared of Raping Eleanor Strubing, White."[9] Written in the present active, with a high degree of suspense maintained through-

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1 PM, December 24, 1940, p. 10.
2 PM, January 21, 1941, p. 11.
3 PM, January 22, 1941, p. 10.
4 PM, January 23, 1941, p. 12.
5 Ibid., p. 13.
6 Ibid., p. 18.
7 PM, January 24, 1941, p. 10.
8 PM, January 29, 1941, p. 13.
9 PM, February 2, 1941, p. 10.

Spell's Rape Trial Resumes . . . And It's a Fair One

By John Kobler

BRIDGEPORT, Conn., Jan. 28.—The fifth day of the Strubing rape trial was adjourned from last Friday until today, because an ancient Connecticut custom sets aside Mondays for the judges to catch up on their memoranda. So maybe this is a good time to catch up on my own impressions.

Since last Dec. 11, when Joseph Spell, Negro butler, was arrested and charged with raping his employer, Mrs. John K. Strubing, Jr., people have asked me: What are you newspaper men holding out? Is Spell getting a fair trial?

To the first question the answer is: Nothing. Crack, conscientious reporters like Grace Robinson of the *Daily News*, Mike Claffey of the *Journal-American*, Maureen McKernan of the *Post* and many others are reporting every relevant, printable fact.

Fair Trial?

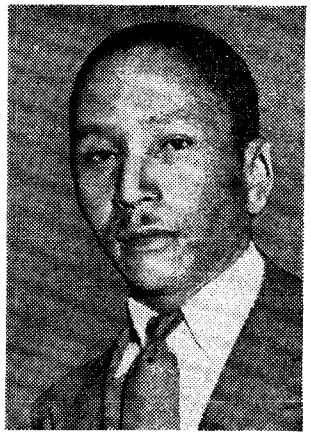
Is Spell getting a fair trial? Within the limitations of the American jury system, yes. Even the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Sam Friedman, the lawyer it retained to defend him, admit this. Mr. Friedman told me:

"No white man, however poor or underprivileged, ever got a better break. If the jury votes guilty there can be no comebacks."

It's true that Spell was grilled 15 hours steadily at the time of his arrest. Supreme Court Justice Black has ruled that such unbroken inquisitions are violations of constitutional rights. But this is routine police procedure, no matter what color the defendant.

It is also true that many newspapers, PM included, printed reports that Spell had confessed. No evidence of that has yet been produced.

The trial itself has been conducted as fairly as most, allowing always for the imperfections inherent in our trial system. The degree of fairness can best be measured in terms of the people who administer it. Let's have a look at them:







These are the outstanding figures in the trial of Joseph Spell (left) Negro chauffeur, accused of raping Mrs. John K. Strubing, Jr. Symbolically between accused and accuser is Judge Foster. *Photo by John De Biase, PM Staff*

Order in the Court

The Judge. Carl Foster is a frosty, no-nonsense oldster with nearly 20 years' experience on the bench. Next year, at 70, he retires. Local reporters and jurists consider him tough, hardboiled, yet sentimental. He will weep when handing out maximum penalties. In this trial he has bent over backward to insure fairness. At the start he told Mr. Friedman:

"I don't care if your client is white, black or yellow. I'm not interested. Just go in there punching and he'll get every consideration he's entitled to."

Judge Foster permits no gum-chewing in court, no cameras in the building and no sketching. (*William Sharp of our staff nearly got tossed in the clink for doodling a line.*)

The State's Attorney. Lumpish, bulldog-jawed, Lorin Willis favors the when-did-you-stop-beating-your-wife line of questioning witnesses. He has been known to reduce strong men to tears on the stand with his deadly tenacity. He is straitlaced, a rock-ribbed Republican. He refers continually to Spell as "that Negro."

When Mr. Friedman was cross-examining Mrs. Strubing in an effort to show that she did not resist Spell's alleged attack, Mr. Willis broke in with:

"He (Friedman) has been torturing and badgering the witness."

Judge Foster immediately excused the jury, then said:

"Mr. Friedman has conducted himself in a difficult case and with a difficult witness according to the rules. The state attorney, however, is not to be condemned, and I am surprised that this has not happened before."

Mr. Friedman moved for a mistrial on grounds that Mr. Willis's remark was improper. The motion was denied.

The Peers

The Jury. The average age of the six men and six women (all white) is 46; average education, high school. One woman is a college graduate. One man explained in his venireman's questionnaire that his education was "the average American citizen's."

There were two Negroes among the 39 original veniremen (5 per cent of Fairfield County's 300,000 population is colored). One was peremptorily challenged by the state, the other excused by the court because he had once belonged to the NAACP.

With one exception, all the jurors swore they had no prejudice against Negroes, would accept a Negro's word as readily as a white man's; had read little or nothing about the case, discussed it with practically no one and formed no opinion. If true, this would constitute a dream jury.

The exception was juror No. 3, a Mrs. Peter Richmond, born in Virginia, who admitted she might have some prejudice. Nevertheless, with some misgivings Mr. Friedman gambled on her on the theory, as he explained it to me, that if she were honest enough to admit prejudice she would try hard not to let it interfere with her rational judgment.

Another curious choice was juror No. 12, Patrick Callahan, a 75-year-old farmer, who admitted that if he found himself in a pronounced minority in the jury room he would likely change his opinion. Yet Judge Foster refused to excuse him and cited a Connecticut precedent of 1881 that a juror had the right to be influenced by majority opinion.

Spell's Rape Trial Resumes . . . And It's a Fair One

By Joan Foster

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Mrs. Strubing Tells the Jury Spell Assaulted, Abducted Her

Young Matron Is Halting and Unsteady on the Stand . . . Husband Watches and Grits His Teeth

By Jones Kowicz

BRIDGEPORT, Conn., Jan. 28.—Eleanor Strubing approached the witness stand a trifle unsteadily surrounded by a trained nurse, her lawyers and immediate members of her family. Then, under the gentle prompting of State's Attorney Louis Willis, she began—yesterday—the most painful recital I have ever heard in a courtroom.

She is petite, this 32-year-old product of wealth and privilege, with her shoulder-length light-brown hair and incisive, rather haughty profile. She wore a greenish plaid suit and matching Tam o' Shanter. She spoke in a high, melodic voice. She spoke of what had happened in her Greenwich home on the night of Dec. 10 between herself and her Negro butler, Joseph Spell.

Her husband John, one-time Princeton quarterback, now an advertising executive, sat facing her some 20 feet away, now nodding encouragement, now rubbing his forehead, now gritting his teeth. The only unmoved person was the defendant, Spell, the eyes in his burnished African mask of a face never left his ex-employer's.

A Man's Voice

She told her story haltingly, wavering on the verge of collapse, then mustering control. She looked at Spell only once—to identify him.

"As I stepped out of the shower, I heard a man's voice calling, 'Mrs. Strubing.' I saw Joseph standing there in the passageway. The bathroom door was ajar. I said, 'What do you want?' I told him to go away.

"I put a towel over me and went into the bedroom toward a closet for a bathrobe. I saw he was still there.

"I was so frightened. I made a dash for the closet and grabbed a bathrobe. He said he wanted $35. After I said he could have it . . .

". . . he just stood there and stared at me in an awful way. And he didn't say anything. He had on black gloves. He never took them off all night. I asked, 'What do you want?' He said, 'You know what I want.'

Dog Came Out

"I was trying to push him out of the room and he had his foot braced in the door. I was in the hall and he had me down and was choking me. . . . My dog (a German shepherd) came out. I got hold of his collar, but he slipped away.



Shackled to Deputy Sheriff Frank Kilpatrick, Joseph Spell is brought to court. *Photo by John De Biase, PM Staff*

"He never said what I was so afraid. I remember he had a red pocketbook. I don't remember when I first saw it. I was afraid he would cut my veins.

"He cut off a piece of my dress for a gag. I never struggled one bit."

Q. Why not?

What could I do? . . . He made me open my mouth and even my teeth and gagged me. He picked me up out of the chair and took me out to my car and put me into the front seat. I pleaded with him.

"We drove off. I don't know where. He made me keep my head down on his lap under the wheel. We backed on to a bumpy road and stopped. A policeman came along and said, 'Move on, buddy. No parking here.' And we backed out. I thought, I've lost my chance.

Drove to Reservoir

"He drove back to the garage and carried me into the house. He attacked me again on the living-room couch. I'm sure he raped me three times altogether. Once on the dining-room floor, I think.

"He took me out again in his car. He finally let me hold my head up and I could see. (They ended up near Kensico Reservoir.) He said, 'I'm going to let you out.' I realized something was going to happen.

"He pushed me in the water. I swam out. I took off my fur coat. He threw stones at me. He drove away and came back several times. I swam to shore and crawled up the bank.

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"He drove back to the garage and carried me into the house. He attacked me again on the living-room couch. I'm sure he raped me three times altogether. Once on the dining-room floor, I think.

"He took me out again in his car. He finally let me hold my head up and I could see. (They ended up near Kensico Reservoir.) He said, 'I'm going to let you out.' I realized something was going to happen.

"He pushed me in the water. I swam out. I took off my fur coat. He threw stones at me. He drove away and came back several times. I swam to shore and crawled up the bank.

sat facing her some 20 feet away, now nodding encouragement, now rubbing his forehead, now gritting his teeth. The only unmoved person was the defendant, Spell; the eyes in his burnished African mask of a face never left his ex-employer's.

A Man's Voice

She told her story haltingly, wavering on the verge of collapse, then mustering control. She looked at Spell only once—to identify him.

"As I stepped out of the shower, I heard a man's voice calling, 'Mrs. Strubin.' I saw Joseph standing there in the passageway. The bathroom door was ajar. I said, 'What do you want?' I told him to go away.

"I put a towel over me and went into the bedroom toward a closet for a bathrobe. I saw he was still there.

"I was so frightened. I made a dash for the closet and grabbed a bathrobe. He said he wanted $35. After I said he could have it . . .

". . . he just stood there and stared at me in an awful way. And he didn't say anything. He had on black gloves. He never took them off all night. I asked, 'What do you want?' He said, 'You know what I want.'

Dog Came Out

"I was trying to push him out of the room and he had his foot braced in the door. I was in the hall and he had me down and was choking me. . . . My dog (a German shepherd) came out. I got hold of his collar, but he slipped away.

"I screamed Virgus's name (Virgus Clark, Spell's common-law wife, who shared a room with him on the top floor.) There wasn't a sound. He choked me. I had no breath.

"I don't remember anything more until I was on the bed. I knew then what was going to happen. I thought about the telephone. But I knew he would kill me before help would come.

"He told me he was going to take me out in the car and kidnap me. He made me write a letter which he dictated. He asked for a $5000 ransom to be placed outside the house. I put it in an envelope and addressed it to my husband (who was away on business in Cincinnati). He said he would take care of it. (This letter has never been found.)

"He put me in a kitchen chair. He took out string. I didn't dare move."

Q. (By Willis): "Why not?"

"He kept saying, 'Sh Sh. I'm going to . . . He never said what. I was so afraid. I remember he had a red penknife. I don't remember when I first saw it. I was afraid he would cut my veins.

"He cut off a piece of my dress for a gag. I never struggled one bit."

Q. Why not?

"What could I do? . . . He made me open my mouth and even my teeth and gagged me. He picked me up out of the chair and took me out to my car and put me into the front seat. I pleaded with him.

"We drove off. I don't know where. He made me keep my head down on his lap under the wheel. We backed on to a bumpy road and stopped. A policeman came along and said, 'Move on, buddy. No parking here.' And we backed out. I thought, I've lost my chance.

Drove to Reservoir

"He drove back to the garage and carried me into the house. He attacked me again on the living-room couch. I'm sure he raped me three times altogether. Once on the dining-room floor, I think.

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"He pushed me in the water. I swam out. I took off my fur coat. He threw stones at me. He drove away and came back several times. I swam to shore and crawled up the bank.

Mr. Willis then delivered the witness to Sam Friedman, Spell's lawyer, and almost instantly Mrs. Strubing's manner changed. From confusion and near hysteria, she changed to anger and defiance.

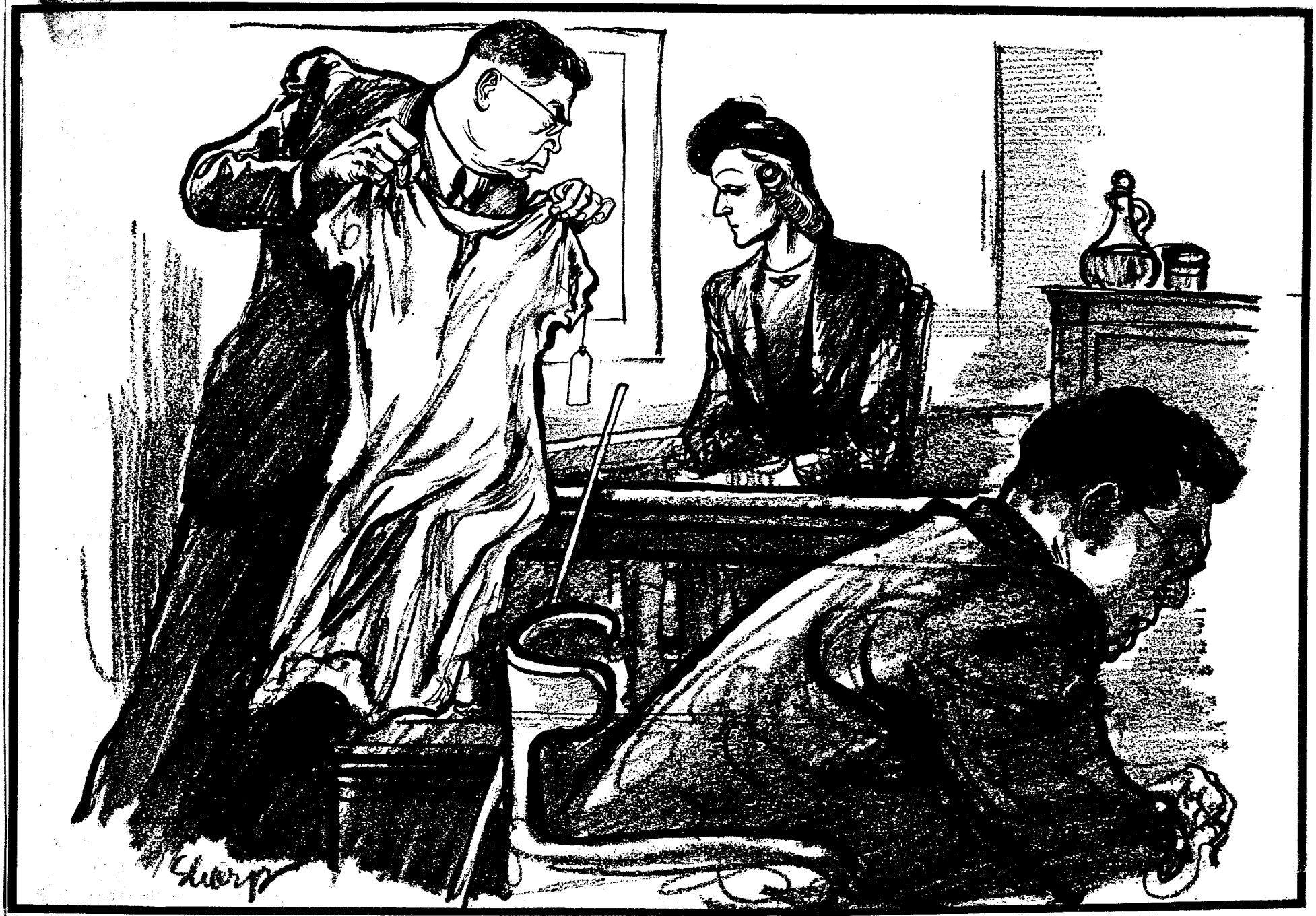
Is She Strong?

She understood at once where Friedman's questions about her athletic tastes (did she play golf, badminton, trap shoot, ice skate?) were leading and finally shot at him snappishly: "I'm not a weak woman. I don't mind making that admission." (She is 5 feet 4; weighs 120 pounds.)

But what stuck in my mind as deep as anything that had been said all day were the words early this morning of a semi-literate shoe repair man, one of two Negroes among the 39 veniremen from whom the jury was picked. To the question about prejudice pro or con he answered:

"This is a case of a person against a person, not a race against a race."

Exclusive Sketches of Connecticut Rape Trial



Mrs. John K. (Eleanor) Strubing, 32-year-old Greenwich, Conn., social leader, testified yesterday in the trial of her Negro butler, Joseph Spell, that he had

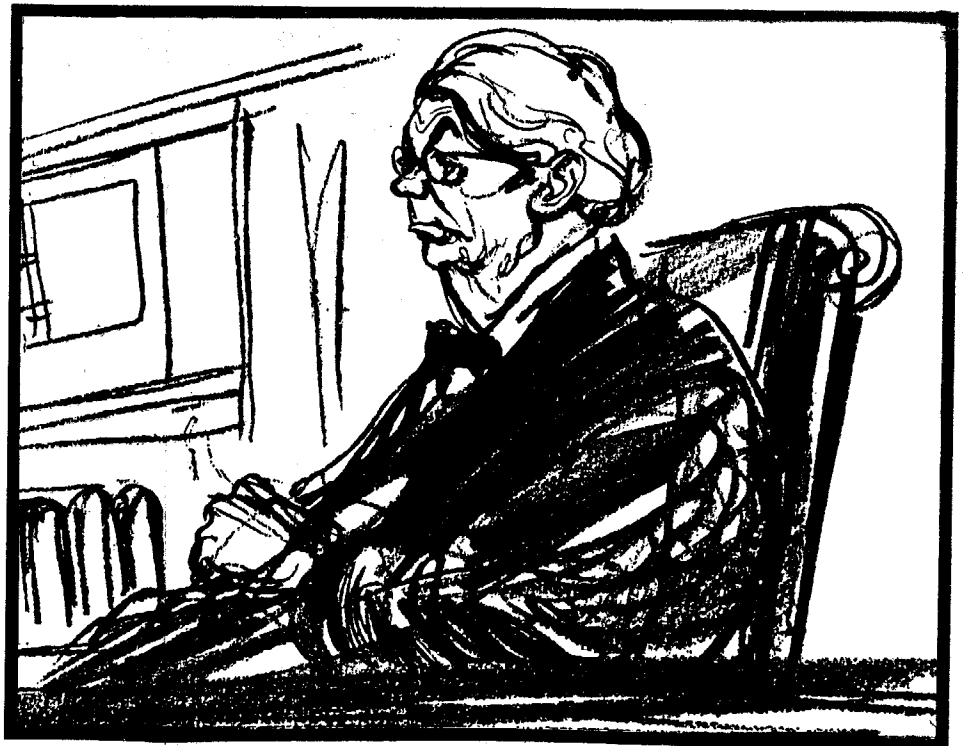
He was not permitted to sketch in court. When he did draw one line, two deputy sheriffs seized him roughly and took him to the sheriff's office. The



Mrs. John K. (Eleanor) Strubing, 32-year-old Greenwich, Conn., social leader, testified yesterday in the trial of her Negro butler, Joseph Spell, that he had attacked her three times. She identified the dress held up by State's Attorney Willis as the one she had worn. William Sharp, PM artist, attended the trial. He was not permitted to sketch in court. When he did draw one line, two deputy sheriffs seized him roughly and took him to the sheriff's office. The sheriff released him but wouldn't let him re-enter the courtroom. These drawings he made afterward from memory.



A deputy sheriff sat behind Spell during yesterday's session. Sharp says he was watched by equally tough-looking deputies.



Judge Carl Foster presided at the trial, to which only attorneys and newspapermen were admitted. The jury is composed of six men and six women.

Mrs. Strubing in Tears When Asked if She Resisted Attack

By JOHN KOBLER

BRIDGEPORT, Conn., Jan. 24.–For four terrible hours yesterday Sam Friedman, defense counsel, tried to show that frail, unstrung Eleanor Strubing did not resist when her Negro butler, Joseph Spell, allegedly attacked her.

Before Friedman's cross-examination began a group of reporters were arguing in the courthouse's vast, stone lobby.

"It's tough, I know," said one, a woman. "This case is why men seldom get tried for rape. Most women would rather let the thing go."

Another reporter (male) put in, "Sure, I sympathize with that sentiment. But remember this guy faces 30 years in the pen. Friedman's got to grill her."

Courtroom Scene

When Mrs. Strubing came in she was dressed as she was yesterday in green plaid and accompanied by a nurse.

During her first few minutes on the stand she remained composed. But as Friedman fired away hotter and faster, the tears began to flow, she twisted helplessly in her chair, and whimpered time and again, "I don't know . . . I'm so confused . . . I can't remember."

Among Friedman's heaviest broadsides were these:

Q. You were badly frightened when you saw him first. Still you came outside into the bedroom (*a towel thrown around her*), when you could have gone back into the bathroom. Is that right? A. Yes . . . but I don't remember if he was in the bedroom.

Q. When you were on the bed, you don't recall tearing his face to pieces with your nails? Or kicking him? A. Oh, no. I was so frightened. He would have killed me.

Q. There was a telephone near the bed. You could have knocked it over by reaching out. But you didn't. A. No.

Q. The only thing that kept you on the bite or kick him in any way? A. No. I wanted to live.

The points that Mrs. Strubing didn't know or couldn't remember included: how and where Spell entered her bedroom in the first place; exactly how she pushed him through the door into the hall; how the jewelry which she said Spell took ever got back again into her jewel-box; why, when he demanded money, it suddenly occurred to her to ask him whether he was in trouble with a woman in White Plains ("It was the first thought that popped into my head"); when she was gagged and when she wasn't, at what point he produced a penknife (she thought the first time she saw it was in the kitchen).

She was, however, pretty sure about the following points: after the first alleged rape he made her put on every article of clothing she had been wearing that day; he wore heavy, black driving gloves throughout; (to what degree, if any, he undressed, she didn't remember); he had been drinking; she tried to buy him off by offering him the flat silver; when the car was approached by a policeman who flashed a light inside, she was sitting up straight (she assumed she was still gagged when she didn't call for help); they drove at terrific speed because Spell feared police were pursuing them.

No Explaining

"How is it," Friedman asked, "that you can remember all these details, and yet you can't remember a simple thing like how you got back into the house?"

Shoulders heaving and face contorted with pain, Mrs. Strubing sobbed: **"There's no way of explaining what happens to your mind when you're being raped."**

She was followed on the stand by young Dr. Francis G. Zeier, the general practitioner to whose home she was taken by a

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Q. There was a telephone near the bed. You could have knocked it over by reaching out. But you didn't. A. No.

Q. The only thing that kept you on the bed was fear? A. Yes.

Q. (*Referring to the time when she said she was forced to sit down at her writing desk in the living room and write a* $5000 *ransom note to her husband John.*) There's a telephone on the desk. Did you use it? A. Of course not.

Q. *Mrs. Strubing had said that Spell took her into the kitchen, sat her on a chair in the center of the room and went to a basket on the wall, a distance of perhaps seven feet, for some string with which to bind her.*) Did you attempt to run to the door? . . . when he tied you up, you didn't tear his face, remember); he had been drinking; she tried to buy him off by offering him the flat silver; when the car was approached by a policeman who flashed a light inside, she was sitting up straight (she assumed she was still gagged when she didn't call for help); they drove at terrific speed because Spell feared police were pursuing them.

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Under cross-examination he conceded that in certain highly specialized instances normal intercourse could cause similar injuries. But, he added gratuitously, he did not concede it in this case.

He pooh-poohed the contention that a woman can't be raped unless willing.



Mrs. John K. Strubing, left, who accuses her Negro butler of rape, posed voluntarily for photographers yesterday. With her is a nurse.

Photo by John De Biase, PM Staff

fired every bottle and twice the room began to flee. She twisted helplessly in her chair and whimpered time and again, "I don't know . . . I'm so confused . . . I can't remember."

Among Friedman's heaviest broadsides were these:

Q. You were badly frightened when you saw him first. Still you came outside into the bedroom (*a fact Friedman stressed, her*), when you could have gone back into the bathroom. Is that right? A. Yes . . . but I don't remember if he was in the bedroom.

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Mrs. John K. Strobing, left, who accuses her Negro butler of rape, posed voluntarily for photographers yesterday. With her is a nurse.

Photo by John De Biase, FM Staff

NEW YORK PM, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 29, 1941 NEW YORK 13

Spell Testifies Mrs. Strubing Led Him On, Did Not Resist

Negro Defendant in Rape Case Says He Did Not Intimidate His Employer

By JOHN KOBLER

BRIDGEPORT, Conn., Jan. 29. — It was Joseph Spell's turn on the stand.

The jury had heard Eleanor Strubing's broken, confused story of being raped three times Dec. 10 by this Negro houseman and then flung into Kensico Reservoir and left for dead.

For five days it had listened to some 20 state's witnesses, including the young doctor who attended Mrs. Strubing; the detectives who took down her first statements and those who arrested Spell; and Mrs. Strubing's trained nurse. They substantiated her story.

And now, the State having rested, at noon of the fifth day, it was Joseph Spell's turn. He used it to proclaim that Mrs. Strubing had led him on, that she had, in effect, seduced him.

Married at 16

First his counsel, Samuel E. Friedman, expert criminal lawyer hired for Spell by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, elicited these biographical facts:

¶ Spell was born in Lafayette, La., 31 years ago.

¶ At 16 he married Medora Williams, who left him three months later.

¶ He worked variously as a poolroom helper, railroad laborer, chauffeur, mess boy in the Army.

¶ Since childhood he had pal'd around with a Lafayette girl, Virgus Clark, and in 1936 she went to live with him. They worked together as domestics, she a cook, he a butler, throughout the West, wandered to White Plains and finally, on last Nov. 4, were placed by Greenwich's Brennan Agency in the Strubing home.

to bark. . . . She was afraid he would wake up Virgus.

"I put on my clothes. And she put on hers. Then she straightaned the bed. And then we went downstairs.

"We sat down on the Duo-Fold (settee). She was talking and telling me things. I asked would it be all right here. She slipped her girdle off. We started to do what we intended to do. She stopped and said, 'Are you sure you're not going to hurt me?'

Then, according to Spell, Mrs. Strubing grew panicky lest they be seen through the windows and at his suggestion they went to his car, where they sat for some 40 minutes.

"She said, 'Are you sure you're not going to let anything happen to me? I can't afford to have anything happen to me. I wouldn't want Mr. Strubing to know about this.'

He testified that they then became intimate. This, he insisted, was the only time all night.

Because she was again alarmed by the dog barking, he said, he suggested they go out for a ride. He said they parked a while on Westchester Avenue near White Plains.

"We talked and played with each other. . . . I turned around and drove back toward the house. [*He denied altogether that they had gone back, fetched her car and sallied forth again.*] Near Kensico Reservoir she said, 'Let me out.'

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As Spell launched into the events of Dec. 10, Mrs. Strubing's husband John, haggard and tight-lipped, entered the courtroom and took a seat facing Spell. He heard Spell say:

"I came back at 10 o'clock. Mrs. Strubing's car was in the garage. I went up to her room and knocked on the door. It was part open. She said she was in the bathroom and asked, 'What do you want?'

"I said, 'I want to speak to you about getting some money.'

"She said, 'Wait and I'll be out.'

"I waited 10 or 15 minutes at the door. When she came out, Mrs. Strubing had on a robe with a cord around it. She was wearing slippers.

"She was between the closet and the bed. I was between her and the door.

'Anything I've Got'

"She said, 'I'll see what I can do for you. I haven't much cash. I've got $6.50. You can have that till tomorrow. You know you can have anything I've got.'

"She gave me the money and I said, 'Thank you very much. That's very nice.' And she said, 'You've been awfully nice to me.' And I gives it to her, 'You've been nice yourself.' She looked up and smiled. She said:

'You can have anything I've got.'

"I said, 'I've known that all along.'"

"She said, 'It will be all right, if you promise not to say anything about it,' I said, I won't, but what about you?' She said, 'I can't afford to.' Then I says, 'If that's the way you feel, okay.'

"She said, 'Okay.'

"She went to the bed. I took my clothes off. She pulled back the spread."

Friedman asked whether the couple were intimate then.

Spell: 'No, we did not. The dog started want Mr. Strubing to know about this.'

He testified that they then became intimate. This, he insisted, was the only time all night.

Because she was again alarmed by the dog barking, he said, he suggested they go out for a ride. He said they parked a while on Westchester Avenue near White Plains.

"We talked and played with each other. . . . I turned around and drove back toward the house. [*He denied altogether that they had gone back, fetched her car and sallied forth again.*] Near Kensico Reservoir she said, 'Let me out.'

"I unlatched the door. She pushed it open and jumped out. I said, 'what's wrong? Come back.' She said, 'I'm all right. Go on.' She stepped into the water.

"I thought if I went back to the car she'd come to her senses and come back. I was scared of what'd do, maybe she'd hurt herself. She kept saying she was all right and for me to go on."

Cross-Examination

Presently he was silent. He had spoken for nearly three hours.

And now State Attorney Willis was on his feet for the cross-examination. Spell moistened his lips.

Q. Didn't you go upstairs [*when he returned to the Strubing house*] to put back Mrs. Strubing's jewelry? A. No.

Q. You told Sergeant Teufel [*of the Greenwich police*] that you left the house at 7 and didn't come back till 5. That was false, wasn't it? A. I told him that because I didn't know what he wanted me for.

Q. You didn't know whether he wanted you for rape or murder. . . . You came back to find out about Mrs. Strubing. You say you were anxious about her. Yet you didn't go upstairs to see? Why? A. I didn't want to disturb her.

Q. Didn't you know it was wrong to have intercourse with her? A. I didn't know it was wrong if she was willing.

Q. She led you on? A. Yes, by words and action.

Q. What happened was all her fault? A. As far as I can see.

Q. You thought Mrs. Strubing's body was floating in the Reservoir, didn't you? A. No, because I knew where I left it.

Instantly, Willis pounced on that word *it*.

The cross-examination wound up with Spell's admission that for 13 hours after his arrest he had lied to the police.

out, the story is a masterful bit of reporting, but not completely in good taste. On this score, one questions the repitition of the State's warning to the jury:[1]

> If you have a reasonable doubt, you must acquit Spell, regardless of what it does to her. But an acquittal brands her as a woman unfit for decent society. There can be no hole dug deep enough to hide her shame.

The treatment of crime in PM seems to depend largely upon the writer and the nature of the story. Frequently, sensationalism is present, with none of the disgusting symptoms removed. But also present is a keen understanding of juvenile delinquency and of the social conditions which foster crime. Both approaches are used frequently and effectively. In this, PM presents a contradiction.

NEW YORK PM, SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1941

Here's Why Spell, Negro, Was Cleared Of Raping Eleanor Strubing, White

By JOHN KOBLER

BRIDGEPORT, Conn., Feb 1.—At the stroke of midnight, Friday, Philip Strubing, a well-born young Philadelphia lawyer, snatched up a telephone in the sheriff's office. In the adjoining courtroom the trial of Joseph Spell, Negro butler, charged with raping his employer, Mrs. Eleanor Strubing, had just ended after eight days. Philip Strubing, eyes bleary, mouth grim, put through a call to the house on Greenwich's fashionable Round Hill Road, where for 14 hours his brother John and John's wife Eleanor had been waiting to learn the jury's verdict.

In his summation the day before, State's Attorney Lorin Willis had warned the jury: "If you have a reasonable doubt, you must acquit Spell, regardless of what it does to her. But an acquittal brands her a woman unfit for decent society. There could be no hole deep enough to hide her shame."

On the telephone, Philip Strubing told his brother: "They acquitted him."

Race Issue Barred by Court

It was at 10 o'clock Friday morning that stern old Judge Carl Foster began his charge to the jury. Connecticut law permits a judge to comment fairly on the evidence. It permits him to give his own impression, stressing certain portions, minimizing others. He may even direct a verdict.

Judge Foster said:

"The fact that the complaining witness is a white woman and the defendant a colored man must not be considered."

Unlike other judges, he stood during his entire charge of one hour. As he reviewed the two versions of what happened on



"I can't understand why she said what she did," Spell said after acquittal.
Photo by Wide World

4:30. Another uproar. "They're coming back!" Another false alarm. A woman juror wants to send a message home.

And now nerves begin to wear. The reporters organize a table of dime-limit poker. They play listlessly. Nobody's heart is in the game.

Judge Foster snoozes in his chambers.

In the courtroom, some Negro reporters huddle around counsel's table.

The *Daily Worker's* Ernest Moorer moves among his colleagues trying to poll press opinion. He doesn't get much co-operation.

7:03. The jury goes out to dinner.

8:00. It returns. The reporters' poker game is resumed.

A reporter steals outside and tries to get

pecially after her frank admission that she might be prejudiced against Negroes.

Yet it was Mrs. Richmond who helped change her sister jurors' minds. They balloted once an hour for 12 hours.

At dinner time they stood 9-3 for acquittal. At 11 p.m. they stood 11-1, the holdout being a middle-aged housewife. Then came the reading of Sgt. Teufel's testimony. The lone woman was still unconvinced until Mary M. Sullivan, an unmarried young stenographer, made a forceful interpretation of that testimony.

Spell Going Home to Louisiana

On his way back to his cell, Spell, still handcuffed, talked freely, but without elation.

"I'm goin' back home to Lafayette (La.)," he said in his Deep South drawl, "and stay with my ma as long as she lives. I want to take Virgus with me, but that's up to her.

"We're flat broke now. But I'm the kind of a guy that can take any job to make a livin'. But no more butling'. That was too big a burden on my shoulders."

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which retained Sam Friedman as his lawyer, probably will stake Spell to living expenses for a while.

"No, sir, I never doubted they would find me innocent," he said. "I wasn't worthy to be convicted.

"I got nothin' to say against Mrs. Strubin'. I don't know why she said what she did. But I never was angry. . . ."

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By Joseph Kinsley

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Photo by Wide World

March 29, Spell's version that Mrs. Strubing had invited him to her bedroom, Mrs. Strubing's that he had broken in, he stressed the fact that Spell had admitted intercourse.

"Did Mrs. Strubing consent?" he asked. "That is the question you must decide."

Judge Foster reviewed the testimony of Dr. Leon Zeldis, who had examined Mrs. Strubing after the alleged attack. Dr. Zeldis had found no bruises on her body, no scratches on her face, no evidence of struggle.

Judge Foster reviewed the testimony of Mrs. Strubing's maid, Virgie Richmond, who had testified that Mrs. Strubing had told her she had been attacked. Mrs. Richmond had also testified that Spell had told her he had had intercourse with Mrs. Strubing.

Judge Foster reviewed the testimony of Spell's wife, Virgie, who had testified that Spell had told her he had had intercourse with Mrs. Strubing.

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"The fact that the complaining witness is a white woman and the defendant a colored man must not be considered."

Unlike other judges, he stood during his entire charge of one hour. As he reviewed the two versions of what happened on Round Hill Road the night of Dec. 10, his magnificent actor's voice now thundered, now sank to a shuddering whisper. Sweat began to bead his temples and chin.

"I charge you," he said, "that even if Mrs. Strubing used poor judgment, even if she didn't flee when she saw Spell in her bedroom, such facts do not give the accused any license to have sexual relations against her will.

"I charge you that even if on one or more occasions Mrs. Strubing, through weakness or fear or for any other reason, consented and on one occasion he had forcible relations, such one act would be rape."

At 11:07 that morning the jurors filed out.

12 Noon. John Strubing, after nervously pacing the lobby an hour or two, goes home to his wife.

They Plan to Go South

Philip Strubing sticks close to Sheriff Edward Platt's office, rarely talking with reporters. But once he tells them that Eleanor Strubing is under strict medical regimen, that she waxes flors and does other manual chores as occupational therapy. Her husband plans to take her South.

The New York *Post's* big, motherly Maureen McKernan talks, as one woman to another, to Virgus Clark, Spell's common law wife. "No matter what happens," says Virgus Clark, "he's still a young man. We'll go some place and change our names. . . . If they send him away, I'll get a job. I don't know why I shouldn't find one. I haven't done anything wrong."

1:07 p.m. Somebody yells, "They're coming in!" We all pile into the courtroom. But the jury is only going out to lunch.

2:20. The jury returns. A deputy sheriff observes confidently, "It won't be long now."

back!" Another false alarm. A woman juror wants to send a message home.

And now nerves begin to wear. The reporters organize a table of dime-limit poker. They play listlessly. Nobody's heart is in the game.

Judge Foster snoozes in his chambers.

In the courtroom, some Negro reporters huddle around counsel's table.

The *Daily Worker's* Ernest Moorer moves among his colleagues trying to poll press opinion. He doesn't get much co-operation.

7:03. The jury goes out to dinner.

8:00. It returns. The reporters' poker game is resumed.

A reporter steals outside and tries to get a peek into the jury room. A juror spots him and yanks down the shades.

10:55. The jury is back! But it has reached no verdict. It wants to review the testimony of Sgt. John Teufel of the Greenwich police. The passage that interests them is this:

The Crux of the Case

Sgt. Teufel testified that Dr. Francis Zeier, who examined Mrs. Strubing, quoted her as having pleaded with Spell not to inseminate her. The Sergeant said the doctor told him that apparently Spell did not inseminate her. The defense argued that if Spell showed this consideration, there must have been an arrangement, an agreement.

11:05. The jurors, some of them barely able to keep their eyes open, retire again.

Seven minutes later they are back. Foreman Warren Wood stands up. Sgt. Teufel's testimony has clinched it.

"Not guilty!"

Spell does not flicker an eyelash.

States's Attorney Willis rises, like a man in a dream, and asks the court, as provided in Connecticut statutes governing major indictments, that Spell be held in custody another two days until the State decides whether to appeal the verdict, press other charges or drop the case altogether. (Theoretically, both Spell and Mrs. Strubing could still be charged with adultery). Then he, too, wanders dazedly from the courtroom.

What happened in that jury room? On the first ballot, the jurors stood six to six, all women but one voting guilty, all men but one voting not guilty. The one woman then voting for the Negro's acquittal was Mrs. Elizabeth Richmond, young Virginia-born housewife, whose acceptance by the defense had raised many an eyebrow, es-

of a guy that can take any job to ma livin'. But no more butling'. That was big a burden on my shoulders."

The National Association for the vancement of Colored People, which tained Sam Friedman as his lawyer, p ably will stake Spell to living expenses a while.

"No, sir, I never doubted they w find me innocent," he said. "I wasn't wo to be convicted.

"I got nothin' to say against Strubin'. I don't know why she said she did. But I never was angry. . . ."

Crusades in PM

PM is a crusading newspaper and has been from the day its prospectus declared:[1]

> We are against people who push other people ..... We are against fraud and deceit and greed and cruelty and we will seek to expose their practitioners. We are for people who are kindly and courageous and honest ... we propose to crusade for those who seek constructively to improve the way men live together.

If one were to define these crusades in the broadest sense -- the political campaigning, the "putsch" against Lindbergh and other appeasers, the "Labor" department's condemning of anti-unionists Henry Ford and Tom Girdler, the support of Thurman Arnold's trust-breaking activities, the endorsement of other phases of civil reform and improvement -- all might be considered in this section. But since eahh of these has been considered in its more definite category, the following study will be confined to the crusades for reforms within New York City. For in these prosecutions, PM has shown itself a courageous friend of the New York millions and has kept faith with its declared conception of a better life -- "A less expensive life with more for your money and more fun it it."[2]

The first three municipal crusades, those against watered meat, rotten chicken, and milk monopolies, were directed at getting more for their money for New York's residents. Each of them continued over an extended period, with later developments printed with new interest when these occured.

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1 Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 11.
2 Ibid., p. 7.

Watered Meat Crusade

This crusade began on August 7, 1940, with front page fanfare and a startling picture. "Watered Meat Costs Millions"[1] the top head-lines declared. In succinct boxed form, the meaning of watered meat to New York's housewives is set forth with the conclusion:[2]

> It's a racket. And New York housewives are the victims.

The story, written by Ned Armstrong and Leo Jay Margolin, appears in the "News for Living" section and contains a thorough explanation of the problem involved, the meaning of terms, the techniques for watering, the fines and tests, as well as a boxed explanation of the "Law Against Watered Meat."[3] The second page is devoted to five interesting and comprehensible illustrations.[4]

The following day's story quotes Dr. Elmer Rice, New York Commissioner of Health, on his department's policy of "educating" rather than prosecuting on watered meat.[5] This is grist for PM's editorial mill and Dr. Rice's blatant ignoring of the greed motive was costly to him in the ensuing weeks. On this day, the court record of prosecutions, with fines and the names of the provision companies, was included in the story. Seven pictures showed the meat samples going through the laboratory processes.[6]

The practice of watering meat, it might be explained, grew out of a legitimate means of curing meat by pumping brine into it. Up to 10 per cent, the pumping of brine is legal, but New York provis-

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1 PM, August 7, 1940, p. 1.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., p. 26.
4 Ibid., p. 27.
5 PM, August 8, 1940, p. 26.
6 Ibid., p. 27.

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NEW YORK DAILY

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VOL. 1 No. 37

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Special Mail Edition with
August 8 Radio Schedules

LATE NEWS EDITION

THIS PAPER IS HONESTLY DATED

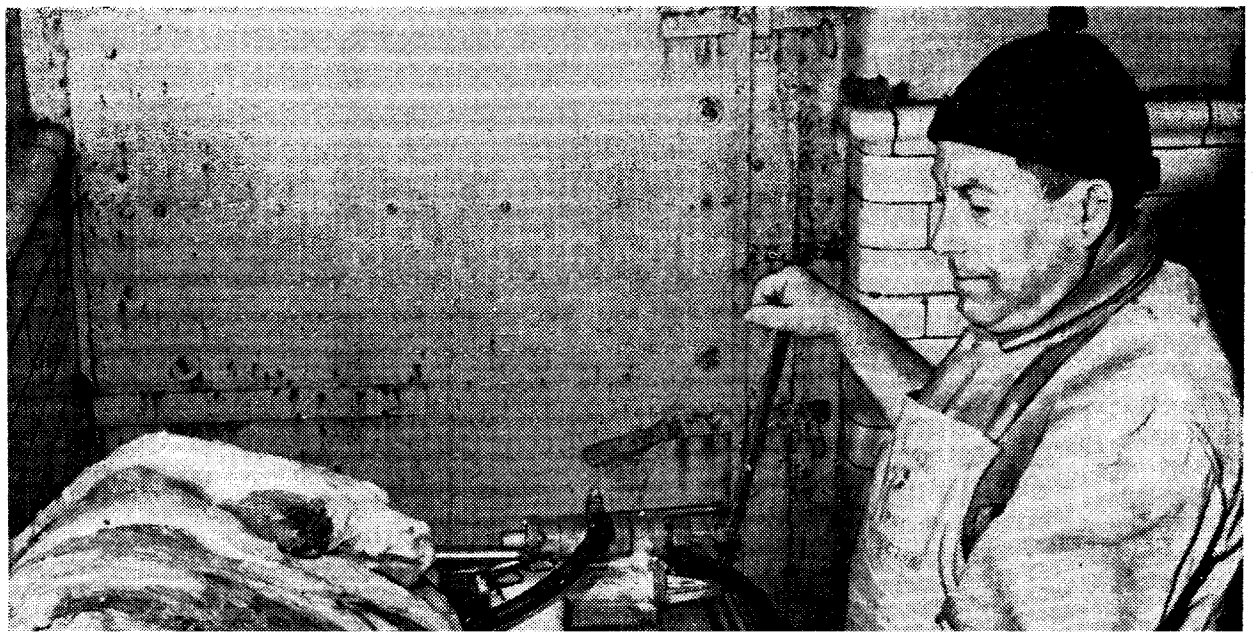
We do not follow the usual practice of pre-dating today's paper to make you think it's tomorrow's.

We put this paper to press with our regular city edition, covering all last minute news, with the latest pictures available.

Radio programs are listed 24 hours in advance

Watered Meat Costs You Millions

Pages 26 & 27



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Watered Meat

The machine on the right is being used legally. Machines like it, used illegally, can cost the housewife $3 on a $4.80 piece of brisket; do cost New Yorkers between two and five million dollars every year.

The machine is used to pump brine into briskets, hams and tongues. Up to 10 per cent, the pumping of brine is legal. There's a law against excess pumping.

But excess pumping is common. And conviction for illegal pumping—repeated convictions—means only small fines; fines that are only an infinitesimal fraction of the profit to be made.

It's a racket. And New York housewives are the victims. For the full details see Pages 26 and 27 today.



How water is pumped into meat. This provisioner shows the legal use of the pump for curing briskets. Right hand controls pressure, left hand the needle.

Photo by Alan Fisher, PM Staff

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Photo by Alan Fisher, PM Staff

New York Housewives Pay Millions for Watered Meat . . .

Meat Dealers Pay Small Fines for Routine Convictions . . . Continue Racket Openly

By NED ARMSTRONG *and* LEO J. MARGOLIN

(Copyright by the Newspaper PM., Inc.)

By pumping excess water into hams, briskets and tongues, wholesale meat provisioners in New York are defrauding the public of millions of dollars a year.

Three and one-half years ago a law was passed to stop this racket. But the racket still is wide open.

PM reporters, visiting markets in Brooklyn, Manhattan and the Bronx, made 13 purchases of meat.

The meat was taken to a reputable laboratory for analysis.

More than half of the meat bought was found to be illegally adulterated with water.

Three of the samples found to be watered were obtained from three of the largest meat provision wholesalers in the city.

No attempt was made by PM's reporters to make an exhaustive survey. The samples were taken to show how openly the racket operates. No survey is needed to prove the scope of the fraud. The records of the Municipal Term Courts teem with convictions and fines against some of the largest wholesale meat provisioners in the city. But this does not imply the racket is being effectively combatted.

The convictions are routine. The fines are small.

For example, the court records show that Blue Ribbon Provisions, Inc., of 180-184 South Elliott Place, Brooklyn, has been convicted of watering meat 33 times in the last 31 months; more than one conviction every 30 days.

Yet with this record, this firm was fined only $5 on each of 11 convictions.

The Department of Health is the municipal agency charged with the enforcement of the law prohibiting the adulteration of meat with water.

This is the situation the department faces.

Up to a few years ago, the big meat packers used to corn or cure briskets of beef, hams and tongues the way grandmother did.

Immersed in Brine

The raw or "green" meat was immersed



The Law Against Watered Meat

Sanitary Code, City of New York

Sec. 140a. No person shall bring into the City of New York, or have, keep, sell or offer for sale in said city, any cured, smoked, or otherwise processed beef (voluntary muscle tissue of the adult bovine animal), tongue, ham or "Cali" ham (shoulder or pork), which is adulterated.

Such cured, smoked or otherwise processed meat shall be deemed adulterated:

(1) If it contains any gelatin or fat injected or pumped into the meat.

(2) If it contains added water greater than ten percentum (10 per cent) of the weight of the meat.

"Added Water" defined. Added water as herein used shall be taken to mean and include the water content of meat in excess of four times the weight of the protein found in the meat.

No person shall have upon any vehicle transporting meat any hypodermic syringe, pump or other device that can be used for the injection or pumping of any fluid or other substance into the meat. (*Adopted January* 12, 1937.)

night emerged from pushcarts and shanties to blossom forth as corporations with presidents, vice-presidents, secretaries and treasurers. They created brand names, hired trucks, and loaded their meats with water until they squirted brine when touched.

The housewife who buys an excessively watered brisket doesn't know what happens to all the meat when it is cooked down to a picnic tidbit. The loss of some water is natural (about 20 per cent). That the loss is 40 to 60 per cent escapes her. She has not found out what is happening.

But delicatessen dealers and restaurant owners soon found out what was happening. They pay for uncooked meat, have to be paid for what they buy after it is cooked. And if the meat loses 40 to 60 per cent of weight in cooking they know at once because it shows up in diminished receipts. But because they could do nothing about it, the delicatessen dealers and restaurant owners bought as cheaply as they could then passed their loss on to the public by making prices for cooked hams, tongues and corned beef higher and higher.

$1 Loss in Leakage

She buys, let's say, a 10-pound brisket that has been watered 33 1-3 per cent. They are common. It would cost her at current prices about $3.

A dollar's worth of her purchase will leak

the only one that high and it was paid by a firm that has been prosecuted 18 times in 30 months. The occasion was the firm's 15th conviction.

One firm has been convicted 10 times, has paid $290 in fines. Another has had 12 convictions out of 13 prosecutions, has paid only $565 altogether.

One provision house in the million-dollar-a-year class has been convicted 15 times. It has paid only $1950 in fines.

The only suspension of license on record was against a provisioner with three convictions. The suspension was for three days.

The fraud is going on, despite Section 140-A; despite the Department of Health.

Here is how the fraud hits the housewife, specifically in terms of a brisket she might buy in any market.

For example, the court records show that Blue Ribbon Provisions, Inc., of 180-184 South Elliott Place, Brooklyn, has been convicted of watering meat 33 times in the last 31 months; more than one conviction every 30 days.

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This is the situation the department faces.

Up to a few years ago, the big meat packers used to corn or cure briskets of beef, hams and tongues the way grandmother did.

Immersed in Brine

The raw or "green" meat was immersed in a brine solution for a period long enough to cure the chunk completely. From 18 to [illegible]ys were necessary, the length of time [illegible]ng upon the thickness or toughness [illegible]ut.

[illegible]en, however, this method left the [illegible] center under-preserved. The brine [illegible]tion, penetrating the meat by absorp[illegible]n, did not reach the center or "heart."

Corned beef briskets and hams with gray [illegible]r greenish centers were not uncommon. The center, for lack of adequate curing, was in a state of decomposition.

The big meat packers, experimenting to avoid spoilage, finally found a method to insure the meat against underpreserving.

They found that by pumping brine solution into the heart of the cut before placing the meat in a vat to cure they could not only prevent spoilage of the center but reduce the time needed for curing.

The Needle

They invented a hollow needle and a pressure pump to do the job.

Today, by this method, hams, briskets and tongues are cured in from 10 to 4 days. The method is known as "pumping meat." In a rush, it is possible to cure a piece of meat by "pumping" within 24 hours.

The new method, used honestly, is all right. And most New York provisioners are honest. The trouble is, however, that some provisioners, part of whom began by collecting meat scraps with a horse and wagon, soon found that pumping gave them an entree into one of the richest food industries in the city, and not all of them were honest.

Previously excluded from the prosperous business of wholesale meat curing because of the expensive equipment necessary and



A Delicatessen Price List
. . . Corned beef or turkey?
Photo by Alan Fisher, PM Staff

the slow turnover, these provisioners hailed the pump as their big chance.

Small provisioners rented space where they could find it, got licenses from the Board of Health, became wholesalers.

They soon found that pumping brine into meat was more than a quick cure method. It was an ideal price slashing weapon.

A six-pound brisket commonly will hold four pounds of added water. The added water can be sold at the same price as the meat. The dealers pumped.

As competition became heated, more and more water was pumped into more and more hams, briskets and tongues by more and more dealers.

Every time a salesman found himself under-bid he quoted a few cents cheaper, and then called the provision house to tell them how much more water to add.

The industry rapidly acquired eager recruits. The fringe of the meat trade over-

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On Jan. 12, 1937, the Board of Health recognized watered meat as a serious problem and enacted a law designed to stop the fraud.

That law is Section 140-A of the Sanitary Code. (The section is given in full on this page.)

Misdemeanor

It makes it a misdemeanor to adulterate meat with excess water, and convictions call for a fine of $2000, one year in jail, or both.

Under the Sanitary Code the Department of Health also has the power to suspend the license of persons or firms found to represent a serious public menace.

What has happened?

Since the law has been in effect provision houses have been caught repeatedly with watered meat on their premises. They continue to operate and are operating today.

Like the Blue Ribbon company, provisioners have repeatedly gone into court and pleaded guilty. But their fines have been small.

The legal records of the Board of Health show, to take nine of the larger provision dealers alone, that they have been convicted 80 times out of 90 prosecutions.

There were 25 $25 fines, 16 $5 fines, 7 $10 fines, and 10 $50 fines.

The highest fine was $500. It has been

convictions out of 13 prosecutions, has paid only $565 altogether.

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Here is how the fraud hits the housewife, specifically in terms of a brisket she might buy in any market.

$1 Loss in Leakage

She buys, let's say, a 10-pound brisket that has been watered 33 1-3 per cent. They are common. It would cost her at current prices about $3.

A dollar's worth of her purchase will leak out on the way home, or evaporate in the cooking pot.

That's a moderate example. One 16-pound brisket cooked by PM for analysis lost 10 pounds of weight. At market prices that was a loss of $3 on a $4.80 purchase.

The delicatessen dealer is no better off than the housewife when he buys meat, but the housewife pays his loss in the end. He is honest. But he has to protect himself.

The delicatessen dealer buys the meat to cook it and to sell the finished product as cold cuts. He pays for the gross weight of the meat, including the water. He loses the water, 46 to 60 per cent, in his cooking. cooking.

Paying 25 cents a pound wholesale for corned beef brisket, the loss of water makes his real cost closer to 50 cents. To make his profit and allow for overhead he makes the usual 96 per cent. to 100 per cent. mark up.

Watered meat is the reason corned beef sells as a luxury item in delicatessen stores at 98 cents to $1.00 a pound. It explains the delicatessen dealer's charge of $1.20 a pound for tongue. Tongues can be "pumped" with more water than briskets.

Watered meat is why brisket, the cheapest cut on the cow carcass, a cut known as the "poor man's cut,' is nevertheless more expensive than turkey.

Watered meat is why corned beef, when the loss of weight is charged off, becomes more expensive than porterhouse steak.

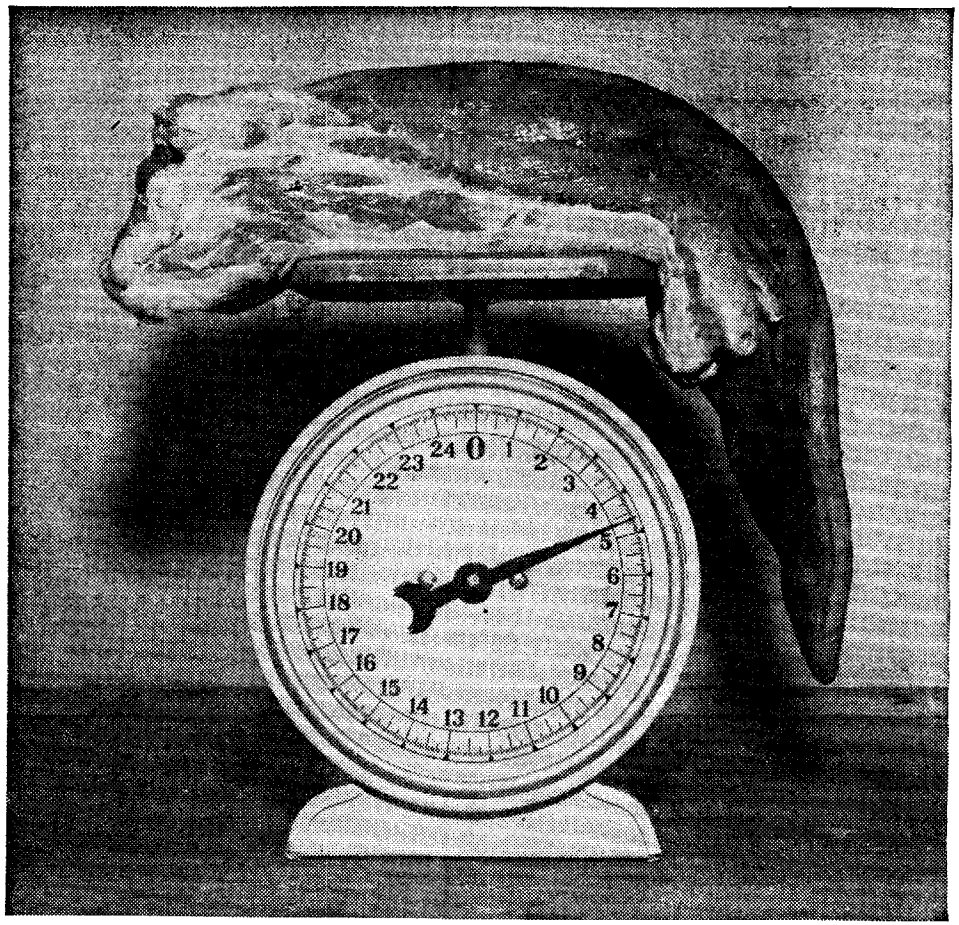
The housewife pays.

PM reporters will describe their first day of shopping for watered meat tomorrow; will tell where pumped meat was found in Brooklyn, Manhattan and the Bronx. They will name names, show court records.

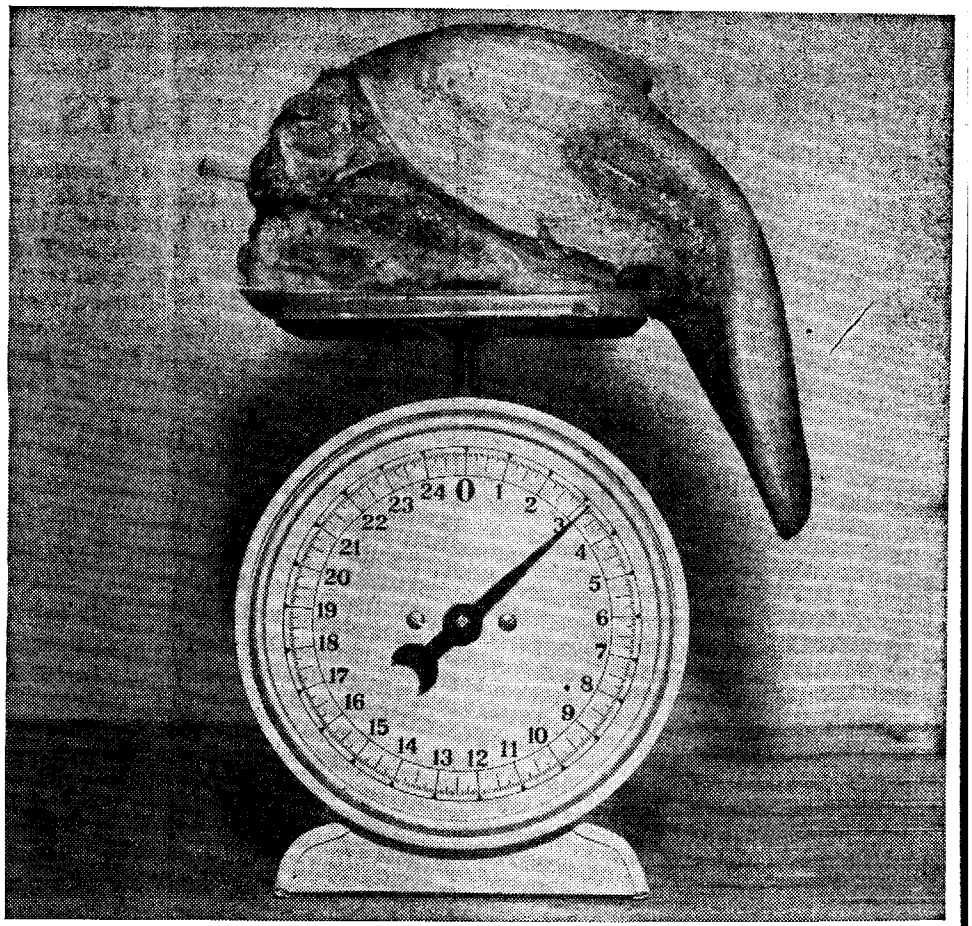
NEWS FOR LIVING

NED ARMSTRONG (Consumer News, Housing), HELEN CANAVARRO (Clothes), GILBERT DEWART (Religion), JEAN EVANS (Fun), MAXINE FINSTERWALD (Beauty), HELEN GWYNN (Health), RICHARD G. HUBLER (Youth), ROMAN SLOBODIN (Education).

. . . This Is A Sample And How It Was Tested



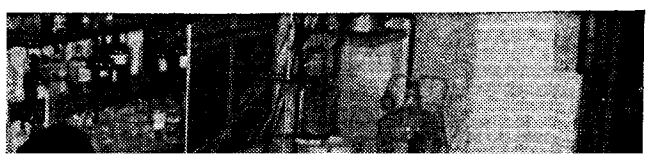
When this tongue was purchased it weighed 4 pounds 10½ ounces. At 24 cents a pound, cost was $1.08.



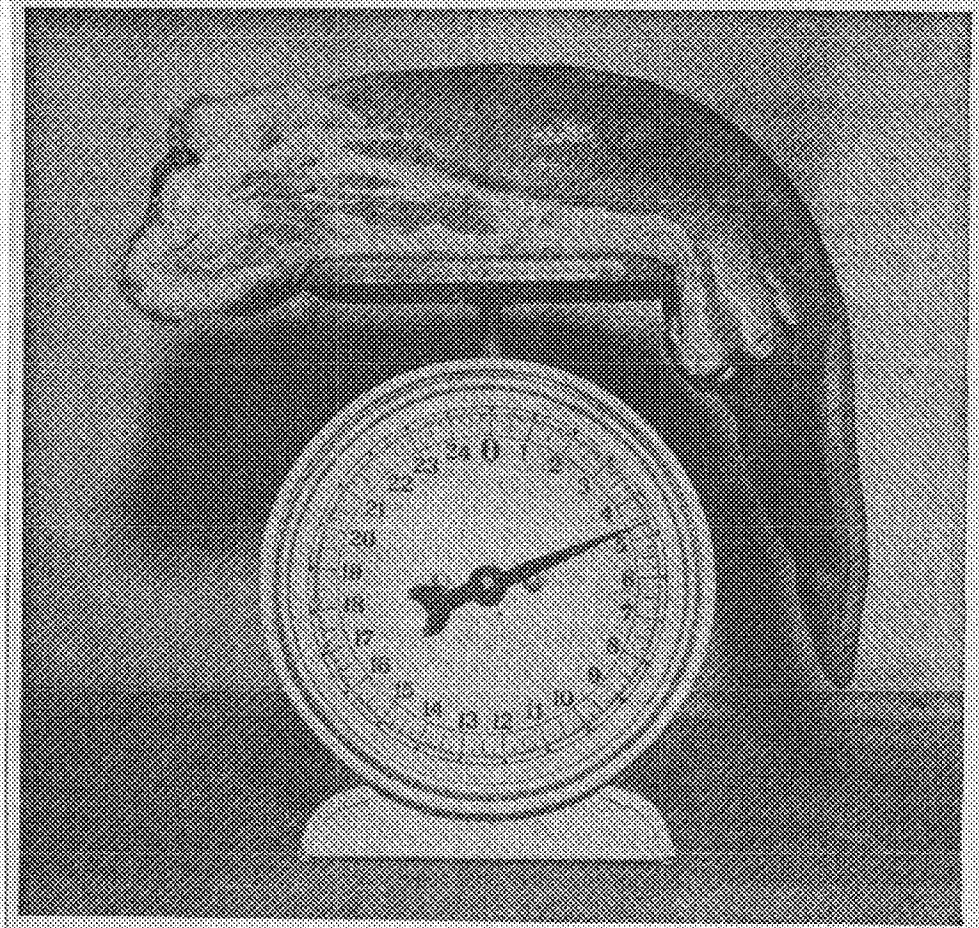
Weight after cooking: 3 pounds, 2½ ounces. Weight loss: 32 per cent. Normal tongue should lose 20 per cent.



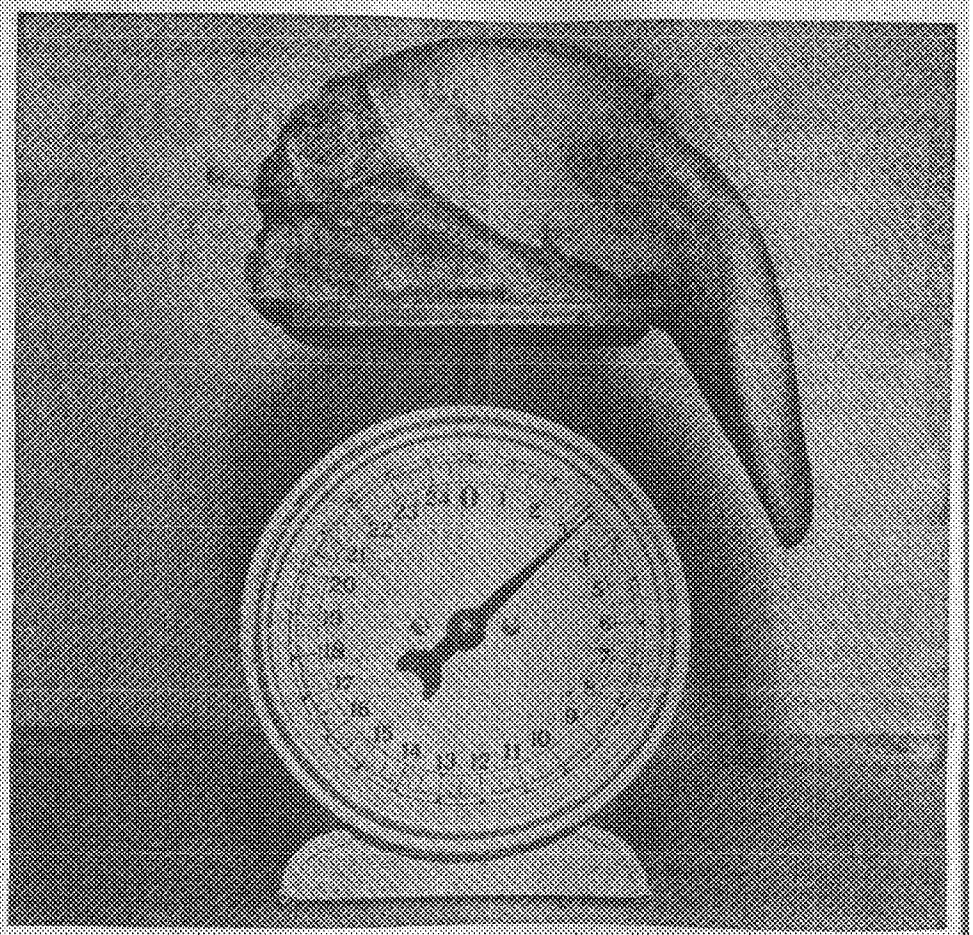




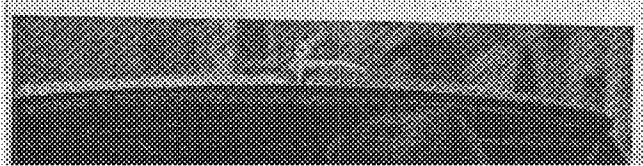
. . . This Is A Sample And How It Was Tested

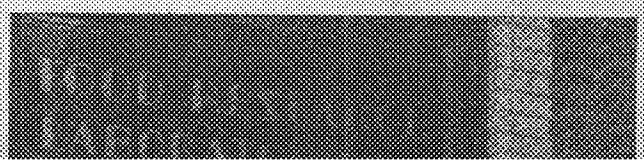


When this tongue was purchased it weighed 4 pounds 10½ ounces. At 24 cents a pound, cost was $1.08.



Weight after cooking, 3 pounds, 25 ounces. Weight loss, 32 per cent. Normal tongue should lose 20 per cent.





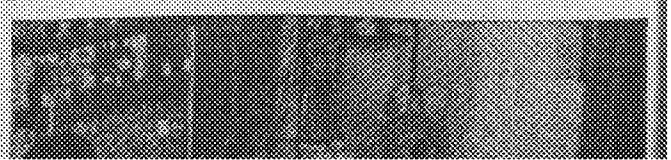


Photo by Ava Flagg

Sandra Wells, PM Coaching, takes a body composition measurement to help a client track progress.

Photo by Ava Flagg

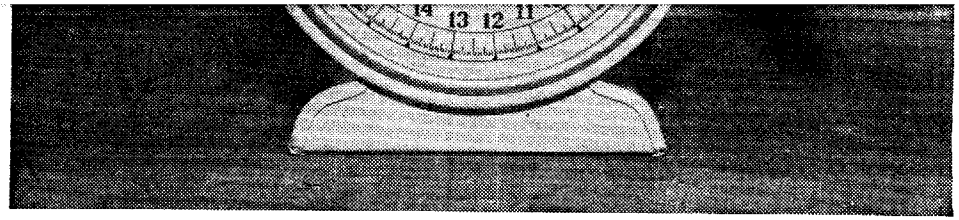
Wells uses a tape measure to measure a client's waist.

Photo by Ava Flagg

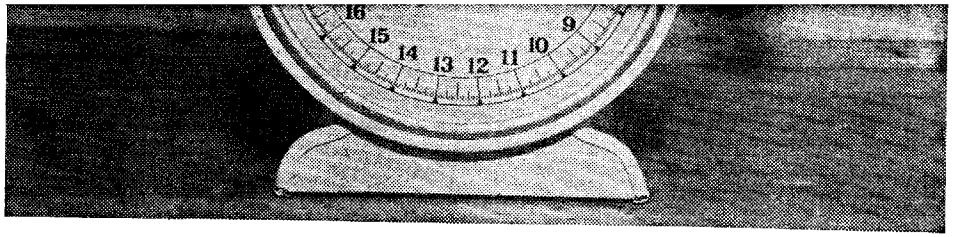
Wells uses a pinch caliper to measure body fat percentage.

Photo by Ava Flagg

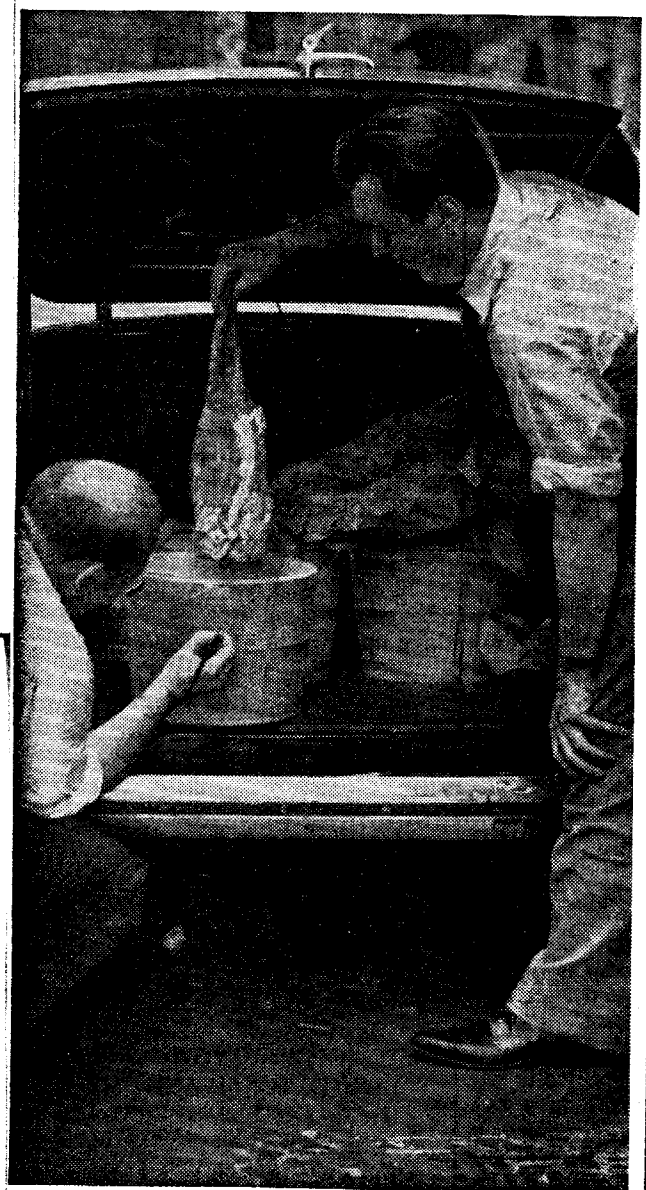
When this person was purchased it weighed 4 pounds 14½ ounces. At 24 years old, it weighed 4 pounds 14½ ounces. Weight after 60 days: 3 pounds, 12 ounces. Weight loss: 12 percent. Normal human weight should lose 20 percent.



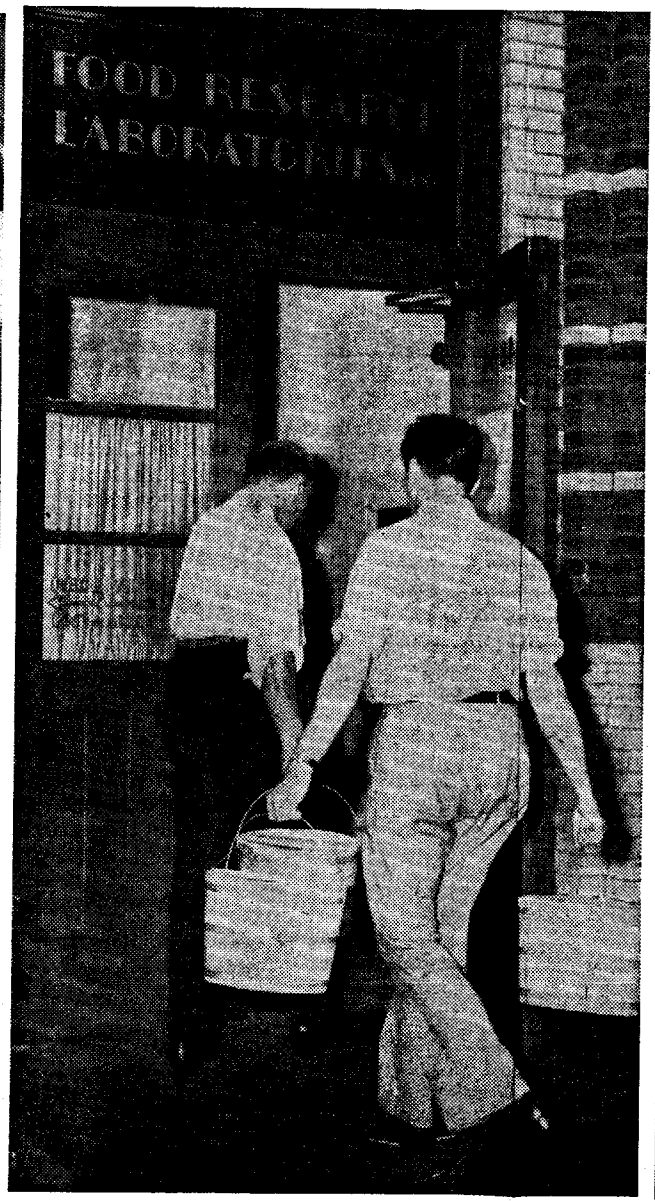
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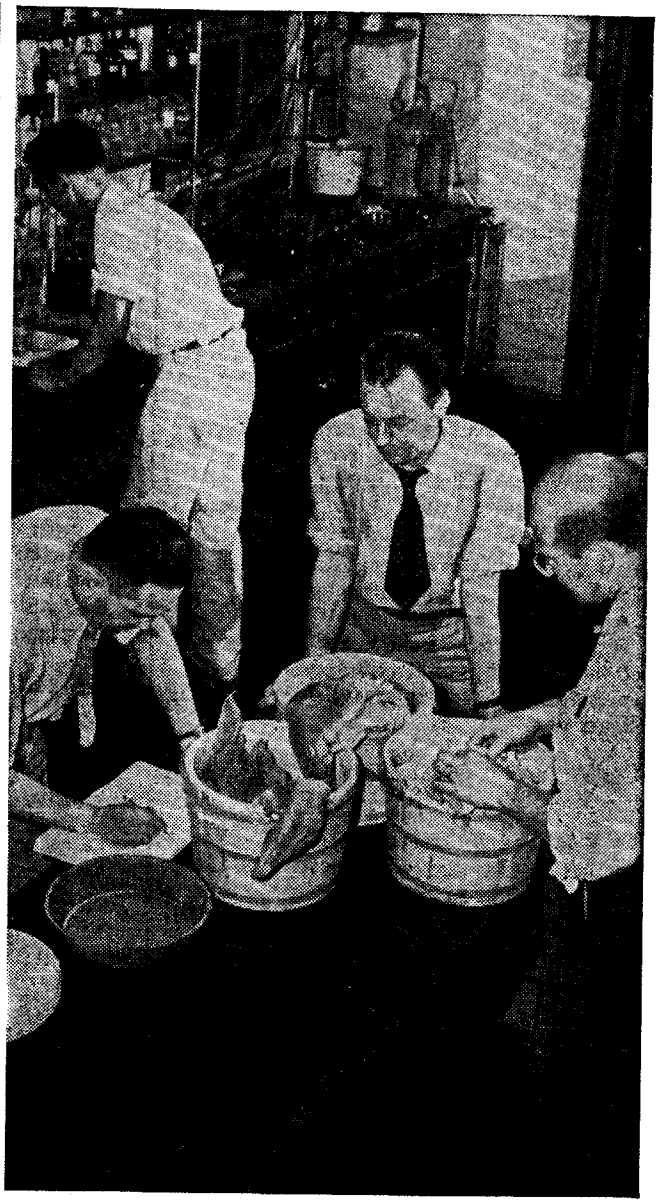
Weight after cooking: 3 pounds, 2½ ounces. Weight loss: 32 per cent. Normal tongue should lose 20 per cent.



PM reporters bought watered tongues in city markets.



Meat samples were taken to laboratories in paraffin-lined pails.



Samples were taken to a laboratory. PM will report.

Photos by Alan Fisher, PM Staff

ion dealers have for years been injecting as high as 60 per cent brine into briskets, ham and tongue. The cost to the consumer has run into millions.

On the third day, pictures of Sol Pincus, deputy commissioner in charge of the Food and Health bureau, and Dr. Rice were printed with their salary and status. The co-authors of the watered meat stories interviewed both men; their story is lively, energetic, and to the point.[1] It is an example of good reporting.

From this date on, PM prints almost daily bulletins such as "Consumers Decry Watered Meat ... Board of Health Does Nothing,"[2] a listing of congratulatory messages; "Provisioners Demand Action,"[3] in defense of the reputable dealers; "LaGuardia Finds Watered Meat Merely Hits at the Pocketbook,"[4] an interview with the mayor, and many other approaches to the watered meat problem from all conceivable angles.

The interview with the mayor and PM's treatment of it brought on a clash with LaGuardia which led to further antagonism and not until after the turn of the year was the dispute finally settled. The mayor's comment that:[5]

> This is one of the lousiest, most dishonest crusades ever attempted. In the first place, if anyone is entitled to crusade at all, it is the Health department .....

did not make "His Honor" very popular with PM.

As is PM's custom, later reports of progress made in the watered meat crusade invariably carried some repitition of background

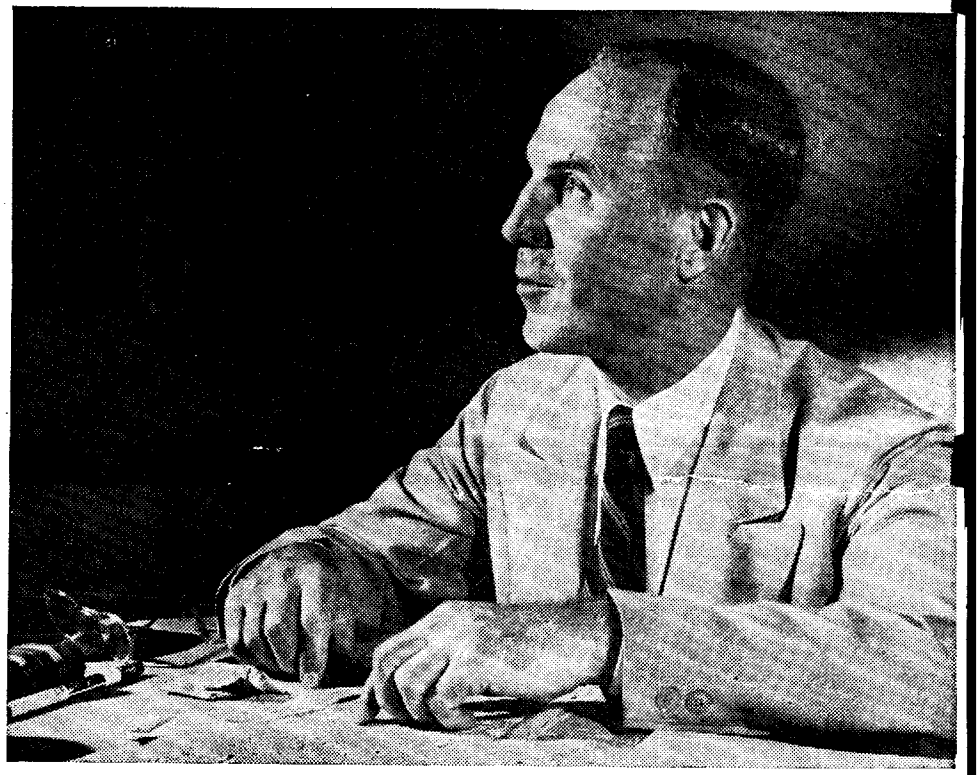
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1 PM, August 9, 1940, p. 27.
2 PM, August 11, 1940, p. 12.
3 PM, August 12, 1940, p. 25.
4 PM, August 13, 1940, p. 27.
5 Ibid.

These Men Could Stop the Sale of Watered Meat in New York



Sol Pincus, Deputy Commissioner in charge of the Foods and Health Bureau. Civil Service status. Salary $9,900 a year.



John L. Rice, M.D., Commissioner of Health. Appointed by and removable at the pleasure of the Mayor. Salary $11,000. *Photos by Alan Fisher, PM Staff*

Health Department Has Power to Act, But Watered Meat Fraud Flourishes

By Ned Armstrong *and* Leo J. Margolin

(Copyright 1940 by the Newspaper PM, Inc.)

The Department of Health can stop the sale of watered meat in New York City.

The law is on its side. The law has teeth. Violators can be fined up to $2000 and can be sent to jail for a year.

The department may suspend or revoke the license of the provisioners who sell watered meat.

"It is a rotten fraud, difficult to control."

"Why haven't you suspended licenses?" he was asked.

"We feel we can't revoke licenses until we're sure," he answered.

Asked whether in his opinion revoking licenses would stop the fraud, he answered:

"I suppose so. But that would stop the industry."

One Suspension

He volunteered the information, however, that one firm's license had been suspended.

This was the Provision Products Co. of 435 E. 5th St. in the spring of 1939. The suspension was ordered by the Health De-

since the law against watering meat was passed.

His opening generality to PM's reporter was that the policy of the Department of Health, under his administration, had been to educate, not to prosecute.

"Moreover," he said, "watered meat is fraud, not health."

Education

Asked why the department recommends fines for frequent violators, he said:

"I shall be glad to look into this. I didn't know it did."

Asked why Deputy Commissioner Pincus had adopted a policy of not prosecuting

These Men Could Stop the Sale of Watered Meat in New York



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But watered meat is not being sold.

"It is a rotten fraud, difficult to control."

"Why haven't you suspended licenses?" he was asked.

"We feel we can't revoke licenses until we're sure," he answered.

Asked whether in his opinion revoking licenses would stop the fraud, he answered:

"I suppose so. But that would stop the industry."

One Suspension

He volunteered the information, however, that one firm's license had been suspended.

This was the Provision Products Co. of 435 E. 5th St. in the spring of 1939. The suspension was ordered by the Health Department after a hearing.

Dr. Rice said that the department had been trying to get a conviction in court since the law against watering meat was passed.

His opening generality to PM's reporter was that the policy of the Department of Health, under his administration, had been to educate, not to prosecute.

"Moreover," he said, "watered meat is fraud, not health."

Education

Asked why the department recommends fines for frequent violators, he said:

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John L. Rice, M.D., Commissioner of Health. Appointed by and removable at the pleasure of the Mayor. Salary $11,000. *Photos by Alan Fisher, PM Staff*

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The Department of Health can stop the sale of watered meat in New York City.

The law is on its side. The law has teeth. Violators can be fined up to $2000 and can be sent to jail for a year.

The department may suspend or revoke the license of the provisioners who sell watered meat.

But watered meat is still being sold.

Why?

Certainly not for lack of funds. The Health Department has an annual budget of $5,000,000. Of this sum, $800,000 is appropriated to the use of the Bureau of Food and Drugs. The Bureau of Food and Drugs is charged with the enforcement of the law against watered meat.

Certainly not for lack of equipment. The Health Department has one of the finest and most complete analytical laboratories in the country. An outstanding chemist, Morris B. Jacobs, is director.

Certainly not for lack of man power. One inspector, working alone, can collect enough samples to end the racket in a month if each case was rigorously prosecuted. That's the opinion of departmental workers who declined to be quoted.

The department has the money, the technical equipment, and the men to stop the sale of watered meat.

But watered meat is still being sold.

Who Is Responsible?

The man chiefly responsible for the enforcement of the law is Sol Pincus, Deputy Health Commissioner in charge of the Bureau of Foods and Drugs.

Sol Pincus was appointed July 17, 1935. His salary is $7000 a year.

He is from Houston, Tex., and is a graduate of the DeWitt Clinton High School, 1909. He received his bachelor's degree from Columbia University in 1913, the degree of Civil Engineer in 1915. From 1916 to 1923 he was a sanitary bacteriologist and sanitary engineer with the U. S. Public Health Service.

Pincus has been in office ever since the law against watering meat was passed.

Yesterday he was asked why the law is not being effectively enforced.

He wanted to skip the subject as not particularly important.

"I don't think there's much pumped meat to be found now," he said. "We've taken a lot of samples but found very few excessively watered. In 1939, out of 200 samples only 10 per cent were illegal."

Just Costs Money

PM's reporters bought 13 samples in three days. The laboratory report showed that seven contained "added water." That's 53 per cent.

Pincus was told about the experience of PM's reporters in buying watered meat.

"But watering meat hasn't made anybody sick," he said at the end of the recital. "It just means you don't get your money's worth."

Reminded of the long string of convictions against provisioners who have watered meat, of the $2,000,000 to $5,000,000 taken from housewives, Pincus then agreed:

"It is a rotten fraud, difficult to control."

"Why haven't you suspended licenses?" he was asked.

"We feel we can't revoke licenses until we're sure," he answered.

Asked whether in his opinion revoking licenses would stop the fraud, he answered:

"I suppose so. But that would stop the industry."

One Suspension

He volunteered the information, however, that one firm's license had been suspended.

This was the Provision Products Co. of 435 E. 5th St. in the spring of 1939. The suspension was ordered by the Health Department's Board of Reviews, with Pincus voting against the suspension, on the company's third conviction.

Pincus was asked why this company's license was suspended. He answered:

"The reason we suspended that one was because they repeatedly violated the law. They didn't seem to want to co-operate."

Other firms, not suspended, have had 15 to 18 convictions against them.

When this was called to his attention, Pincus replied:

"We wanted to give the industry a chance to reform."

See Dr. Rice

He cut short the discussion to recommend that PM reporters ask their questions of his superior, Dr. John Levi Rice, Commissioner of Health.

PM's reporter went to see Dr. Rice.

Dr. Rice was appointed Commissioner by Mayor LaGuardia Jan. 1, 1934. Dr. Rice had been a health officer in New Haven, Conn., for 11 years. Earlier his public health experience included employment in the Syracuse Health Department laboratory, and in the Ottawa Health Department.

Dr. Rice has been Commissioner ever since the law against watering meat was passed.

His opening generality to PM's reporter was that the policy of the Department of Health, under his administration, had been to educate, not to prosecute.

"Moreover," he said, "watered meat is fraud, not health."

Education

Asked why the department recommends fines for frequent violators, he said:

"I shall be glad to look into this. I didn't know it did."

Asked why Deputy Commissioner Pincus had adopted a policy of not prosecuting offenders who watered meat "only a little bit over the limit," he said:

"I can't answer that. We're trying to educate."

Asked why firms with many convictions have not been suspended, he said:

"We may have to have more forceful action. I'll look into that."

Finally Dr. Rice was asked whether he considered the sale of watered meat to the public a matter of vital importance to his department.

"I can't answer that," he replied, "we're trying to educate."

Meanwhile the cost of that education is being carried by the delicatessen owners, the restaurant men and the housewives of New York City. They pay $2,000,000 to $5,000,000 a year.

And the sale of watered meat continues.

material and additional explanation.

Rotten Chicken Crusade

The watered meat crusade and its resulting agitation had scarcely subsided when PM was off on another phase of corruption in the food business, that of marketing rotten poultry. This crusade began with "An Open Letter to Deputy Health Commissioner Sol Pincus"[1] which warns him of the forthcoming expose and ends:[2]

> But this time, Mr. Pincus, please don't say that rotten meat hasn't made anybody sick. We've heard that one before.

Ned Armstrong is responsible for the rotten chicken crusade and he carries it through in an interesting manner, even to his inclusion of a glossary of "Chicken Ghoul Talk."[3]

The problem, succinctly stated by Armstrong in his opening story, is this:[4]

> Poultry unfit for human consumption is a staple item of retail trade in New York City.
>
> At least 4,320,000 pounds of decomposed, diseased chicken go into New York homes every year.
>
> Some dealers handle nothing but rotten, diseased chickens. And there are wholesalers who serve them -- who handle nothing else. In the poultry trade they are called chicken ghouls.

Continuing his attack on the Department of Health, Armstrong indicates that dealers convicted got off with small fines, according to the court records, "with the notation, 'recommended by the Health Department.'"[5] The illustrations to this story bear simple if scientific explanations.

On the following page, 15 samples are analyzed and the laboratory reports printed.[6] The place of purchase and the price paid

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1 PM, September 2, 1940, p. 1.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid. p. 10.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid., p. 11.

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Deputy Health Commissioner Sol Pincus:

(Copy to Mayor LaGuardia)

weren't worth $7000 a year of the taxpayers' money, if you weren't more concerned about their welfare than that.

Now we've gone a bit further, Mr. Pincus, into your own especial field of responsibility for the public health. Tomorrow, we're going to start to print what we have found out about the established trade in rotten poultry in certain food stores of New York. We're going to tell how your department has failed to stop this traffic and has protected the whole rotten business by recommending small fines—which serve as licenses—for the racketeers who have made spoiled and unfit poultry a staple for the poorer trade.

After you've read our stories, we would be pleased to hear your explanation. But this time, Mr. Pincus, please don't say that rotten meat hasn't made anybody sick. We've [illegible] that one before.

ALLIED PRINTING TRADES UNION LABEL COUNCIL NEW YORK

L N O A D V E R T I S I N G

September 2, 1940, p. 1.

...Here Is the Record of What PM Reporters Bought and Had Analyzed

Of 15 Purchases, 12 Were Condemned As Unfit for Human Consumption

Two PM reporters, shopping together, made 15 purchases of meat on Saturday, Aug. 17, in Queens, Brooklyn and Manhattan. No attempt was made to shop the entire city.

The meat purchased was submitted to Food Research Laboratories, Inc., 48-14 33d St., Long Island City, during the afternoon and evening of shopping.

The laboratory report, in full and unedited, is given here exactly as submitted to PM. The italics are inserted by PM to identify the purchase with the place of purchase.

The Report

During the night of Aug. 17-18 there were delivered to these laboratories 11 chickens, one turkey and one sample each of porterhouse steak, hamburger steak and liver. The birds were defeathered, and in some cases the head and legs were removed, but in all cases the abdominal wall and viscera were intact. The samples were immediately labeled, placed individually in closed cans and refrigerated.

On the following day examinations were conducted for external appearance, pathological condition of the internal organs and microscopic appearance of suspected tissues. On the basis of these findings conclusions were reached in each instance as to the edibility of the sample.

The observations and conclusions in each case are submitted in the pages that follow. No general conclusion has been drawn because this should be made in the light of the time, place and conditions of purchase of the samples. When examined, however, practically every sample was either diseased, decomposed or both.

1 Chicken

Weight 996 gm. 2 lb. 3 oz.

External Appearance: Head normal but some putrefaction around throat slit. Skin discolored. Flesh firm but bird is emaciated.

Gross Pathological Findings: Liver shows ternal evidence of diarrhea. Flesh flabby, abdomen sunken. Odor putrefactive.

Gross Pathological Findings: Musculature soft. Intraperitoneal gaseous decomposition and hemorrhage. Lungs congested. Spleen atrophied. Gizzard impacted with pebbles.

Conclusion: This bird is in advanced stage of decomposition and is distinctly unfit to be eaten.

(Bought at Frank Bologna's, 166-35 Jamaica Ave., Queens, at 19 cents a lb. Charged for 8 lbs. 5 oz. Cost, $1.72.)

5 Chicken

Weight 2037 gm. 4 lb. 8 oz.

External Appearance: Head normal, beak somewhat overgrown. Skin normal except for hemorrhagic area left leg (see below). Odor good.

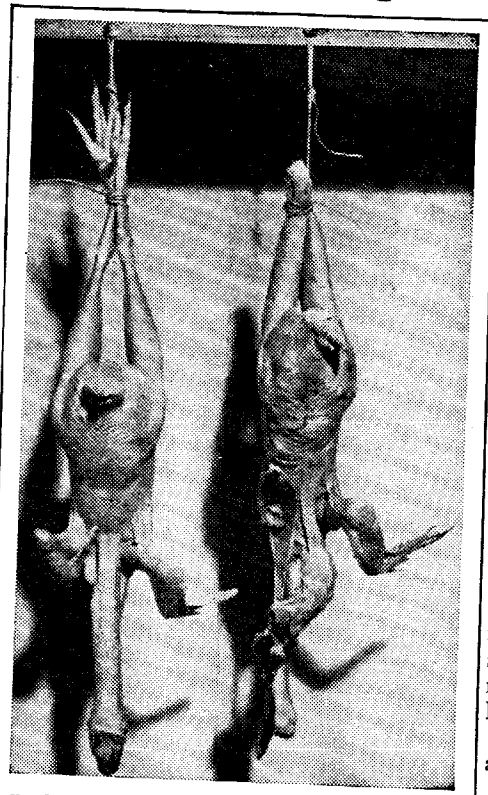
Gross Pathological Findings: Flesh normal, some subcutaneous fat. Left femur broken, intramuscular hemorrhage. Large clot in right abdomen. Viscera appear normal. Gizzard hard, impacted with pebbles.

Conclusion: Trauma may have been a factor in the death of this bird. Otherwise probably edible.

(Bought at Frank Bologna's, 166-35 Jamaica Ave., Queens, at 19 cents a lb. Cost, 86 cents.)

6 Hamburger Steak

Weight 490



Left: No. 15—"Not a healthy bird, but would be regarded as edible." Right: No. 7—"A malnourished, diseased (rachitic) and extremely putrefied bird. Distinctly inedible."

Photo by Leo Lieb, PM Staff

posit abdominal fat. Liver mustard brown and friable (fatty infultration?). Several broken yolks present. Lungs witish and partly congested. Heart fatty, gizzard contains few stones and a small eroded area.

Conclusion: Except for the liver condition, this bird would be regarded as normal and probably edible.

(Bought at Jack's Chicken Market

weight of the bird. Evidence of intraperitoneal hemorrhage. Liver discolored, yellowish brown (biliary obstruction). Numerous hemorrhagic egg yolks present. Kidneys contain areas of congestion. Gizzard slightly eroded, many large pebbles present.

Conclusion: A diseased bird but one which would appear normal after evisceration.

(Bought at Fresh Killed Poultry Store, 282 W. 117th St., Manhattan, at 20 cents a lb. Cost, 90 cents.)

12 Chicken

Weight 2410 gm. 5 lb. 5 oz.

External Appearance: Probably an old bird. Skin thin and somewhat discolored, odor putrefactive.

Gross Pathological Findings: Liver light brown and completely covered with gritty nodules. A few nodules also found on spleen. Heart normal but pale. Kidneys whitish and friable. Lungs congested. Gizzard contains numerous small pebbles, no erosion. Microscopic examination of the liver and spleen nodules confirms the diagnosis of tuberculosis.

Conclusion: This chicken is decomposed and extremely tubercular. Unfit for food.

(Bought at 2282 Eighth Ave., Manhattan, at 20 cents a lb. Cost, $1.10.)

13 Chicken

Weight 1835 gm. 4 lb.

External Appearance: Pale comb and beak. Slight greenish discoloration of abdominal wall. Not a well nourished bird.

Gross Pathological Findings: Musculature soft and hemorrhagic. Subcutaneous fat absent. Liver anemic but firm. Peritoneum hemorrhagic. Lungs pale. Crop empty, gizzard normal.

Conclusion: An anemic, undernourished bird. Edibility doubtful.

(Bought at Fresh Killed Chicken Store, 2171 Eighth Ave., Manhattan, at

PM, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1940 • NEWS FOR LIVING

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Of 15 Purchases, 12 Were Condemned As Unfit for Human Consumption

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The Report

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On the following day examinations were conducted for external appearance, pathological condition of the internal organs and microscopic appearance of suspected tissues. On the basis of these findings conclusions were reached in each instance as to the edibility of the sample.

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1 Chicken

Weight 998 gm. 2 lb. 8 oz.

External Appearance: Head normal but some putrefaction around throat slit. Skin discolored. Flesh firm but bird is emaciated.

Gross Pathological Findings: Musculature soft. Intraperitoneal gaseous decomposition and hemorrhage. Lungs congested. Spleen atrophied. Gizzard impacted with pebbles.

Conclusion: This bird is in advanced stage of decomposition and is distinctly unfit to be eaten.

(Bought at Frank Bologna's, 169-25 Jamaica Ave., Queens, at 19 cents a lb. Charged for 5 lbs. 5 oz. Cost, $1.72.)

5 Chicken

Weight 2037 gm. 4 lb. 8 oz.

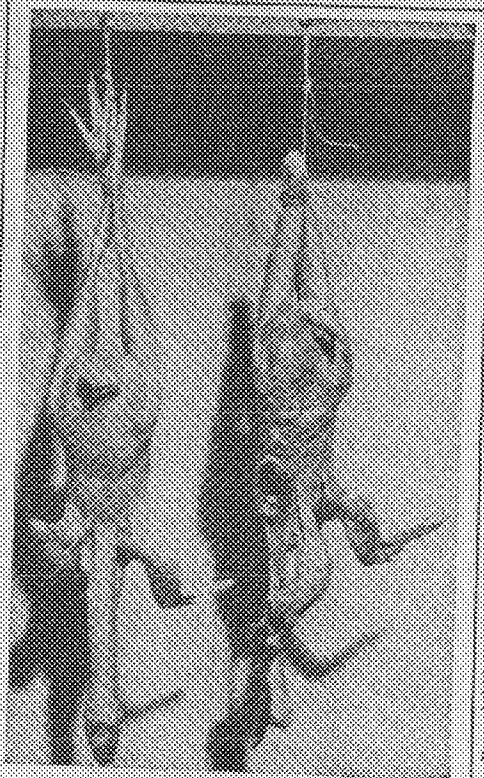
External Appearance: Head normal, beak somewhat overgrown. Skin normal except for hemorrhagic area left leg (see below). Odor good.

Gross Pathological Findings: Flesh normal, some subcutaneous fat. Left femur broken, intramuscular hemorrhage. Large clot in right abdomen. Viscera appear normal. Gizzard hard, impacted with pebbles.

Conclusion: Trauma may have been a factor in the death of this bird. Otherwise probably edible.

(Bought at Frank Bologna's, 166-35 Jamaica Ave., Queens, at 19 cents a lb. Cost, 86 cents.)

6 Hamburger



Left: No. 13—"Not a healthy bird, but would be regarded as edible." Right: No. 7—"A malnourished, diseased (rachitic) and extremely putrefied bird. Distinctly inedible."

Photo by Lee Lieb, PM Staff

post abdominal fat. Liver mustard brown and friable (fatty infiltration?). Several broken yolks present. Lungs wash and partly congested. Heart fatty, gizzard contains few stones and a small eroded area.

Conclusion: Except for the liver condition, this bird would be regarded as normal and probably edible.

(Bought at Jack's Chicken Market, 2282 Eighth Ave., Manhattan, at 29 cents a lb. Cost, 58 cents.)

7 Chicken

Weight 1360 gm. 3 lb.

External Appearance: Head normal, beak overgrown. Skin normal except for hemorrhagic area left leg (see below). Odor good.

Gross Pathological Findings: Flesh normal, some subcutaneous fat. Left femur broken, intramuscular hemorrhage. Large clot in right abdomen. Viscera appear normal. Gizzard hard, impacted with pebbles.

Conclusion: Trauma may have been a factor in the death of this bird. Otherwise probably edible.

(Bought at Frank Bologna's, 166-35 Jamaica Ave., Queens, at 19 cents a lb. Cost, 86 cents.)

8 Chicken

Weight 1360 gm. 3 lb.

External Appearance: Head normal, beak overgrown. Skin normal except for hemorrhagic area left leg (see below). Odor good.

Gross Pathological Findings: Flesh normal, some subcutaneous fat. Left femur broken, intramuscular hemorrhage. Large clot in right abdomen. Viscera appear normal. Gizzard hard, impacted with pebbles.

Conclusion: Trauma may have been a factor in the death of this bird. Otherwise probably edible.

(Bought at Frank Bologna's, 166-35 Jamaica Ave., Queens, at 19 cents a lb. Cost, 86 cents.)

9 Chicken

Weight 1360 gm. 3 lb.

External Appearance: Head normal, beak overgrown. Skin normal except for hemorrhagic area left leg (see below). Odor good.

Gross Pathological Findings: Flesh normal, some subcutaneous fat. Left femur broken, intramuscular hemorrhage. Large clot in right abdomen. Viscera appear normal. Gizzard hard, impacted with pebbles.

Conclusion: Trauma may have been a factor in the death of this bird. Otherwise probably edible.

(Bought at Frank Bologna's, 166-35 Jamaica Ave., Queens, at 19 cents a lb. Cost, 86 cents.)

10 Chicken

Weight 1360 gm. 3 lb.

External Appearance: Head normal, beak overgrown. Skin normal except for hemorrhagic area left leg (see below). Odor good.

Gross Pathological Findings: Flesh normal, some subcutaneous fat. Left femur broken, intramuscular hemorrhage. Large clot in right abdomen. Viscera appear normal. Gizzard hard, impacted with pebbles.

Conclusion: Trauma may have been a factor in the death of this bird. Otherwise probably edible.

(Bought at Frank Bologna's, 166-35 Jamaica Ave., Queens, at 19 cents a lb. Cost, 86 cents.)

11 Chicken

Weight 1360 gm. 3 lb.

External Appearance: Head normal, beak overgrown. Skin normal except for hemorrhagic area left leg (see below). Odor good.

Gross Pathological Findings: Flesh normal, some subcutaneous fat. Left femur broken, intramuscular hemorrhage. Large clot in right abdomen. Viscera appear normal. Gizzard hard, impacted with pebbles.

Conclusion: Trauma may have been a factor in the death of this bird. Otherwise probably edible.

(Bought at Frank Bologna's, 166-35 Jamaica Ave., Queens, at 19 cents a lb. Cost, 86 cents.)

12 Chicken

Weight 2410 gm. 5 lb. 5 oz.

External Appearance: Probably an old bird. Skin thin and somewhat discolored, odor putrefactive.

Gross Pathological Findings: Liver light brown and completely covered with gritty nodules. A few nodules also found on spleen. Heart normal but pale. Kidneys whitish and friable. Lungs congested. Gizzard contains numerous small pebbles, no erosion. Microscopic examination of the liver and spleen nodules confirms the diagnosis of tuberculosis.

Conclusion: This chicken is decomposed and extremely tubercular. Unfit for food.

(Bought at 2282 Eighth Ave., Manhattan, at 20 cents a lb. Cost, $1.10.)

13 Chicken

Weight 1825 gm. 4 lb.

External Appearance: Pale comb and beak. Slight greenish discoloration of abdominal wall. Not a well nourished bird.

Gross Pathological Findings: Musculature soft and hemorrhagic. Subcutaneous fat absent. Liver anemic but firm. Peritoneum hemorrhagic. Lungs pale. Crop empty, gizzard normal.

Conclusion: An anemic, undernourished bird. Edibility doubtful.

(Bought at Fresh Killed Chicken Store, 2171 Eighth Ave., Manhattan, at

(Bought at Fresh Killed Fowling Store, 282 W. 117th St., Manhattan, at 59 cents a lb. Cost, 80 cents.)

14 Chicken

Weight 2410 gm. 5 lb. 5 oz.

External Appearance: Probably an old bird. Skin thin and somewhat discolored, odor putrefactive.

Gross Pathological Findings: Liver light brown and completely covered with gritty nodules. A few nodules also found on spleen. Heart normal but pale. Kidneys whitish and friable. Lungs congested. Gizzard contains numerous small pebbles, no erosion. Microscopic examination of the liver and spleen nodules confirms the diagnosis of tuberculosis.

Conclusion: This chicken is decomposed and extremely tubercular. Unfit for food.

(Bought at 2282 Eighth Ave., Manhattan, at 20 cents a lb. Cost, $1.10.)

15 Chicken

Weight 1825 gm. 4 lb.

External Appearance: Pale comb and beak. Slight greenish discoloration of abdominal wall. Not a well nourished bird.

Gross Pathological Findings: Musculature soft and hemorrhagic. Subcutaneous fat absent. Liver anemic but firm. Peritoneum hemorrhagic. Lungs pale. Crop empty, gizzard normal.

Conclusion: An anemic, undernourished bird. Edibility doubtful.

(Bought at Fresh Killed Chicken Store, 2171 Eighth Ave., Manhattan, at

logical condition of the internal organs and microscopic appearance of suspected tissues. On the basis of these findings conclusions were reached in each instance as to the edibility of the sample.

The observations and conclusions in each case are submitted in the pages that follow. No general conclusion has been drawn because this should be made in the light of the time, place and conditions of purchase of the samples. When examined, however, practically every sample was either diseased, decomposed or both.

1 Chicken

Weight 996 gm. 2 lb. 3 oz.

External Appearance: Head normal but some putrefaction around throat slit. Skin discolored. Flesh firm but bird is emaciated.

Gross Pathological Findings: Liver shows evidence of biliary obstruction. Gall bladder enlarged. Spleen somewhat congested. Kidneys spongy. Gizzard contains some feathers and slate-like pebbles. No erosion.

Conclusion: An undernourished bird in which putrefaction has commenced.

(Bought at Guss's Fish Market, 1195 Fulton St., Brooklyn, at 22 cents a lb. Cost, 50 cents.)

2 Beef Liver

Weight 416 gm. 14¾ oz.

External Appearance: Slices of various hues, several showing marked green discoloration and one piece showing marked hemorrhagic congestion. Odor extremely putrid.

Conclusion: Stale decomposed meat, unfit for human consumption.

(Bought at Frank Bologna's, 166-35 Jamaica Ave., Queens, at 12½ cents a lb. Charged for one lb., 13 cents.)

3 Porterhouse Steak

Weight 438 gm. 15½ oz.

External Appearance: One slice, dehydrated and discolored on surface. Tissue soft and flabby (partial autolysis). Odor extremely putrid. Fat rancid.

Chemical Preservatives: (Nitrates, sulfites) Not found.

Conclusion: Stale, decomposed meat unfit for human consumption.

(Bought at Frank Bologna's, 166-35 Jamaica Ave., Queens, at 12½ cents a lb. Charged for one lb., 13 cents.)

4 Turkey

Weight 3675 gm. 8 lb. 1 oz.

External Appearance: Head and several areas of skin show marked discoloration. External Appearance: Head normal, beak somewhat overgrown. Skin normal except for hemorrhagic area left leg (see below). Odor good.

Gross Pathological Findings: Flesh normal, some subcutaneous fat. Left femur broken, intramuscular hemorrhage. Large clot in right abdomen. Viscera appear normal. Gizzard hard, impacted with pebbles.

Conclusion: Trauma may have been a factor in the death of this bird. Otherwise probably edible.

(Bought at Frank Bologna's, 166-35 Jamaica Ave., Queens, at 19 cents a lb. Cost, 86 cents.)

6 Hamburger Steak

Weight 490 gm. 1 lb. 1 oz.

External Appearance: Excessive proportion of fat and cartilaginous tissue present. Odor putrefactive.

Chemical Preservatives: (Nitrates, sulfites) Not found.

Conclusion: Inferior quality hamburger steak, partially decomposed and unfit for human consumption.

(Bought at Quality Meat Market,.... 1185 Fulton St., Brooklyn, at 10 cents a lb. Cost, 10 cents.)

7 Chicken

Weght 1012 gm. 2 lb. 4 oz.

External Appearance: Head and legs removed. Generalized blue discoloration and emaciation. Deformed breast bone. Flesh flabby. Odor putrid.

Gross Pathological Findings: Hemorrhagic areas in musculature surround humuri. Gaseous distention of abdomen. Liver enlarged, flabby, discolored and partly hemorrhagic. Kidneys edematous, lungs green and gaseous. Crop contains grass fibers and some grain. Gizzard enlarged and impacted with grass, grains and few stones but no erosion.

Conclusion: A malnourished, diseased (rachtic) and extremely putrefied bird. Distinctly inedible.

(Bought at Jack's Chicken Market, 1164 Fulton St., Brooklyn, at 20 cents a lbs. Cost, charged for 2 lbs. 8 oz., 50 cents.)

8 Chicken

Weight 2647 gm. 5 lb. 13 oz.

External Appearance: Head and legs removed. Skin clean, normal yellowish color indicating subcutaneous fat. Flesh firm, odor good.

Gross Pathological Findings: Heavy deposit abdominal fat. Liver mustard brown and friable (fatty infultration?). Several broken yolks present. Lungs witish and partly congested. Heart fatty, gizzard contains few stones and a small eroded area.

Conclusion: Except for the liver condition, this bird would be regarded as normal and probably edible.

(Bought at Jack's Chicken Market, 1164 Fulton St., Brooklyn, at 20 cents a lb. Cost, charged for 6 lbs. 3 ozs., $1.25.)



Left: No. 15—"Not a healthy bird, but would be regarded as edible." Right: No. 7—"A malnourished, diseased (rachitic) and extremely putrefied bird. Distinctly inedible."

Photo by Leo Lieb, PM Staff

9 Broiler

Weight 670 gm. 1 lb. 7½ oz.

External Appearance: Thin, undernourished, odor putrid. Head and skin purple and green discoloration. Mouth contains nest of insect eggs.*

Gross Pathological Findings: Liver pale, flabby, few atrophied areas. Kidneys spongy, lungs anemic. Gizzard contains many feathers and pebbles, no erosion.

Conclusion: A malnourished and extremely decomposed bird.

*Live maggots developing after incubation.

(Bought at Roxy Food Market, 2114 Eighth Ave., Manhattan, at 15 cents a lb. Cost, charged for 2½ lbs., 38 cents.)

10 Chicken

Weight 1100 gm. 2 lb. 7 oz.

External Appearance: Normal except for putrefactive odor.

Gross Pathological Findings: None except for congested appearance of spleen. Gizzard contains gravel.

Conclusion: No evidence of disease but decomposition has set in.

(Bought at Chicken Market, 2216 Eighth Ave., Manhattan, at 18 cents a lb. Cost, charged for 3½ lbs., 62 cents.)

11 Chicken

Weight 2164 gm. 4 lb. 12½ oz.

External Appearance: Head and legs absent, skin normal color and appearance good except for lower abdomen, where it is blotchy and pink over a distended area.

Gross Pathological Findings: Abdominal enlargement due to ovarian tumor (weight 1030 gm., 2¼ lb., or 47.5 per cent of the and extremely tubercular. Unfit for food.

(Bought at 2282 Eighth Ave., Manhattan, at 20 cents a lb. Cost, $1.10.)

13 Chicken

Weight 1835 gm. 4 lb.

External Appearance: Pale comb and beak. Slight greenish discoloration of abdominal wall. Not a well nourished bird.

Gross Pathological Findings: Musculatore soft and hemorrhagic. Subcutaneous fat absent. Liver anemic but firm. Peritoneum hemorrhagic. Lungs pale. Crop empty, gizzard normal.

Conclusion: An anemic, undernourished bird. Edibility doubtful.

(Bought at Fresh Killed Chicken Store, 2171 Eighth Ave., Manhattan, at flat price of 50 cents for chicken.)

14 Chicken

Weight 2823 gm. 6 lb. 3½ oz.

External Appearance: Head and legs removed, skin normal color and texture, but abdomen very enlarged and shows evidence of trauma (puncture?).

Gross Pathological Findings: Liver yellow, biliary discoloration. Gall bladder empty but enlarged. Peripheral vessels of heart dilated. Spleen and kidneys pale and somewhat congested. Abdominal fat intensely yellow. Large ovarium tumor (weight 1040 gm., 2 lbs. 4 ozs., or 37 per cent of weight of bird) cause of abdominal distention.

Conclusion: A diseased bird not only because of tumor but because of (obstructive?) jaundice. Would appear normal, however, after evisceration.

(Bought at Perksy Market, 2290 Eighth Ave., Manhattan, 15 cents a lb. Cost, $1.00.)

15 Chicken

Weight 1312 gm. 2 lb. 14 oz.

External Appearance: Comb congested. Somewhat decomposed where throat was slit. Skin normal, flesh firm.

Gross Pathological Findings: Some abdominal fat present. liver very pale ("cafe au lait") and friable. Possible fatty infiltration. Spleen very soft texture. Well developed yolks present. Hemorrhagic sacs leading from oviduct. Multiple small ovarian tumors. Gizzard contains few stones and several non-hemorrhagic eroded areas.

Conclusion: Not a healthy bird but would be regarded as edible when eviscerated and cleaned.

(Bought at Blue Valley Meat Market, 2284 Eighth Ave., Manhattan, at 23 cents a lb. Cost, 65 cents.)

Diseased and Decomposed Poultry Is Sold to New Yorkers . . .

Chicken Ghouls, Wholesalers and Retailers, Unload More Than 4,000,000 Pounds Annually

By NED ARMSTRONG

PM EXCLUSIVE

Poultry unfit for human consumption is a staple item of retail trade in New York City.

At least 4,320,000 pounds of decomposed, diseased chicken go into New York homes every year.

Some dealers handle nothing but rotten, diseased chickens. And there are wholesalers who serve them—who handle nothing else. In the poultry trade they are called chicken ghouls.

This traffic in bad poultry is complex, widespread and shot through with a score of allied rackets. The Department of Health virtually licenses it to operate under a system of recommended small fines for those convicted.

We have most of the ins and outs of the story. In succeeding articles we will tell you in detail what we know.

But it is hard to believe that the sale of bad poultry is conducted so openly in New York; that the poultry sold is so unspeakably bad.

It is hard to believe how complacent the Health Department has become, with evidence that bad poultry is on sale virtually within every square mile of the city.

Yet the facts are stubborn; here they are.

The sale is open.

In one casual Saturday night's shopping, two PM reporters working together bought 11 chickens, a turkey, a piece of liver, and a porterhouse steak, at 11 stores. Fourteen of these casual purchases were decomposed, diseased, or both; unfit for human consumption.

The meat is extraordinarily bad:

The laboratory report on the next page speaks for itself. Even the officials of the laboratory were shocked.

The Health Department has been complacent:

Time and time again men convicted of

Chicken Ghoul Talk

CHICKEN GHOUL: A man who deals in diseased or dead chickens as a business. Chickens that die of disease or accident are supposed to be destroyed. Their sale is a crime. Chicken ghouls recover the dead chickens from piles and cans around the markets, get them from dishonest wholesalers.

GAPPER: A sick chicken. Such chickens usually gasp for breath, cannot close beaks, have bulging eyes.

GARBAGE: Rotten meat and chicken sold to the public for human consumption.

HEAD CATCHER: A chicken that dies by accident or disease or other than by licensed slaughter. Chickens often break their necks in between coop slates, may be dead for from one to five days before arriving in the city.

PAGGER: A dead chicken.

SCHWOGIES: Market workers, and hangers-on, who collect diseased and dead chickens in exchange for labor performed



Frank Bologna's store at 166-35 Jamaica Ave., Queens. In white coat, Bologna raced to entrance after PM's photographer took picture of reporter buying samples 2, 3, 4 and 5 (*see next page*). Then photographer took this picture.



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Time and time again men convicted of selling rotten meat up to fifteen or more times within the last ten years have come up for trial in Municipal Term Magistrates' Court. Time and time again the records show a small fine, with the notation, "recommended by the Health Department."

It Can Be Stopped

The Health Department may ask for a $2,000 fine, a year in jail or both. It has the power to drive the seller of rotten meat out of business.

But look at the record of Frank Bologna, who operates a store employing more than a dozen butchers at the foot of the main entrance to the Jamaica terminal of the BMT.

He has been prosecuted for violation of the Sanitary Code 15 times. Here is what happened:

Sept. 17, 1931. Guilty, $10 fine.
Feb. 4, 1932. Guilty, $10 fine.
Aug. 2, 1932. Guilty, $25 fine.
Sept. 13, 1935. Guilty, suspended sentence.
Oct. 16, 1935. Guilty, $25 fine.
May 6, 1938. Guilty, suspended sentence.
May 20, 1938. Acquitted.
Dec. 7, 1939. Guilty, $25 fine.
March 21, 1940. Guilty, $25 fine.
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PM's reporters bought a porterhouse steak, a pound of liver, a turkey and a chicken at Bologna's place. The report on them—Samples 2, 3, 4 and 5—is on the next page. When the chicken was bought, Bologna's clerk told our reporter:

"You'd better cut the green part away, Lady. You know, it tastes bitter."

An Enormous Business

Bologna does not cater to the best trade. That is one of the tragedies in the sale of rotten meat; most of it is bought in poorer markets where the customers can least afford outrages on their pocketbook and their health.

Bologna does an enormous business. He is one of those who made it possible for Walter E. Rice, Special Deputy Attorney General, to tell a Brooklyn jury in 1934 that "approximately 2 per cent of all poultry eaten in New York is unfit for human consumption." That's 2 per cent of 210,000,000 pounds that comes into New York annually.

But Bologna goes on virtually untroubled by the Health Department. PM's reporters, certainly not trained in detecting rotten meat, were able to buy four samples there on the night of Aug. 17. But a Health Department inspector could find nothing wrong on Aug. 3.

At least he could not find rotten poultry. The inspector did give Bologna a summons. It seems Bologna violated the Sanitary Code on that day after all. He didn't have the right kind of window screens.

PM will continue the story of rotten poultry tomorrow, with the additional names, addresses and court records.

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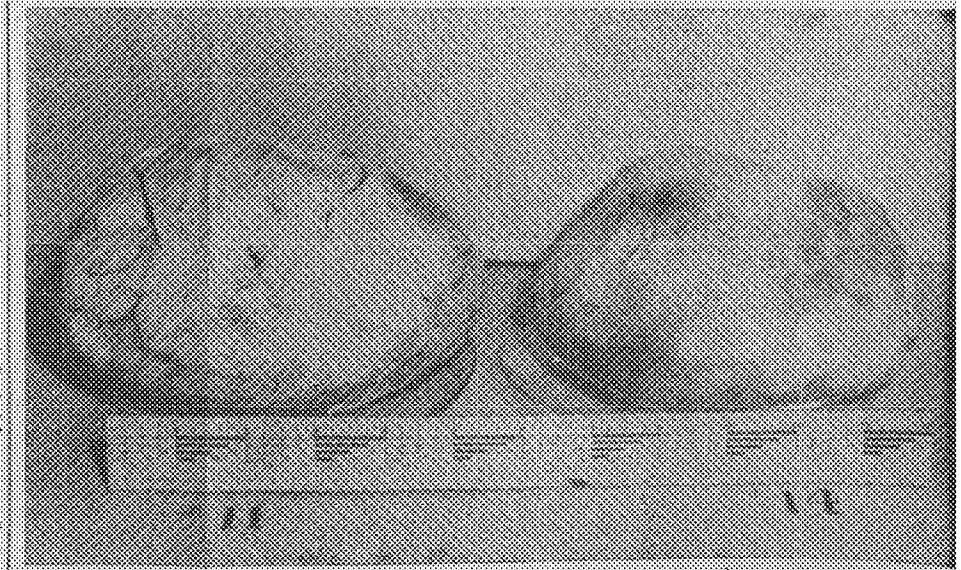
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STIFF: A chicken dead at time of arrival at railroad terminal or commission market.

Frank Bologna's store at 168-35 Jamaica Ave., Queens. In white coat, Bologna raced to entrance after PM's photographer took picture of reporter buying samples 2, 3, 4 and 5 (*see next page*). Then photographer took this picture.



After making other purchases, PM's reporters took samples to the Food Research Laboratories Inc., 43-14 33d St., Long Island City, they are shown checking in the samples, with the help of a laboratory attendant.



Checking Sample No. 11 the Laboratory found the tumor shown on the right, weight 2½ pounds, or 47.5 per cent of the total weight of the chicken. Tumor on left, weight 2 pounds, 4 ounces, came from Sample No. 14.

Photo by Lee Lieb, PM Staff

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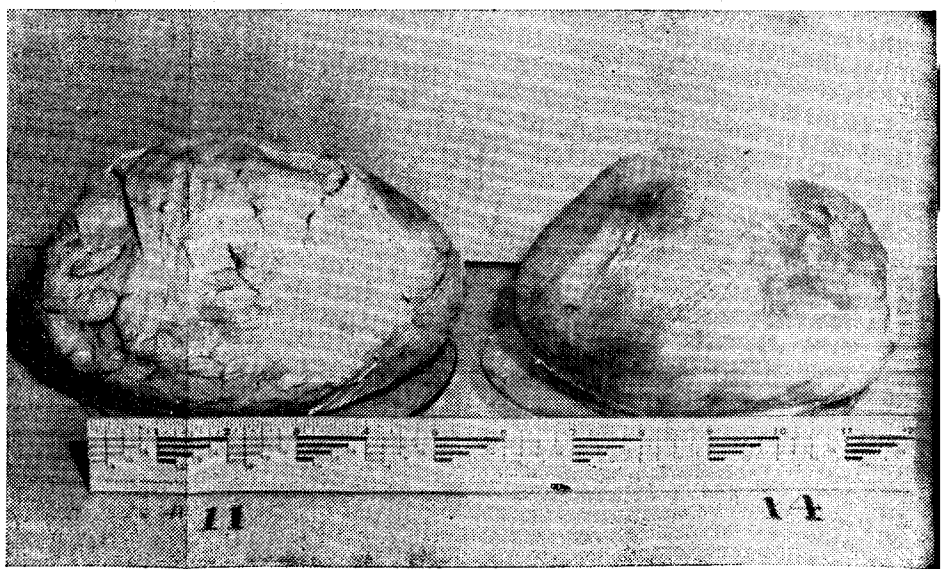
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for the poultry are also given. The whole is interesting reading.

When Rice entered the ring with a radio speech in his defense, PM printed excerpts from this talk.[1] On the same day, PM printed the Health Commissioner's released comment side by side with PM's answer. In Ned Armstrong's clever rebuttal, the PM reporter quotes Rice to incriminate him even more. The lay-out is appropriately labelled "Dr. Rice States His Case on Chicken Ghouls ... PM Disagrees."[2]

By this time, New York's consumers were thoroughly aroused over the exposes and their meaning. In its "Youth" department, PM printed pictures of the city's school children pleading for cooperation on the meat and poultry crusades.[3]

A subsequent story reveals the lack of chicken inspection, except in name; tells something of the chicken markets, and gives the political background which led to the existing status of corruption.[4] This is followed by additional laboratory reports and the note that Pincus is suing PM for libel.[5]

Roger Dakin continues the prosecution with an editorial on "Mayor LaGuardia, PM, and the Chicken Ghouls"[6] on September 19, 1940. This is followed by 13 more laboratory reports.

Between mid-September and the end of the year, little else appeared on rotten chicken. On January 8, 1941, however, Armstrong reports that "Court Gets Tough in Bad Chicken Cases"[7] and gives the record of greatly increased fines.

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1 PM, September 5, 1940, p. 9.
2 Ibid., p. 11.
3 Ibid., p. 15.
4 PM, September 8, 1940, p. 10.
5 PM, September 12, 1940, p. 12.
6 PM, September 19, 1940, p. 11.
7 PM, January 8, 1941, p. 12.

Dr. Rice States His Case on Chicken Ghouls . . . PM Disagrees

Health Commissioner Denies Department Is Complacent

This is the Health Commissioner's comment (released to all newspapers) on PM's revelations that poultry unfit for human consumption is a staple item of retail trade in New York City. The paragraphs of Dr. Rice's statement have been numbered by us to make his points and our answers easier to follow.

By Dr. John L. Rice

1. Despite the fact that some reports of unwholesome meat and poultry have been published by the newspaper PM on Sept. 3, 1940, there is no question in my mind that the meat and poultry supply of New York City is generally a very good one and equal or superior to that of any other city in the country.

2. Where the sale of meat amounts to billions of pounds and the sale of poultry to 200,000,000 pounds or more annually, through thousands of meat dealers, in spite of the best efforts of this or any other department, a bad chicken or a bad steak may be foisted on some one of the 7,500,000 consumers of the city. Proof of the wholesomeness of our food supply is the record low death rates and declining sickness rates for many diseases.

Guarantee Impossible

3. The control of meat and poultry, particularly poultry, are difficult problems and require the co-operation of the large Western packer, the local merchant and consumer and the never-ending vigilance on the part of this Department and the Food and Drug Administration of the Federal Security Agency. To guarantee absolute freedom from having any bit of spoiled meat reach the consumer in the city would be an impossibility even with



Dr. John L. Rice

. . . Speaks for the Health Department

instituted in the Supreme Courts of Brooklyn and Queens. These facts were made known to PM's representative and their failure to disclose this to the public is certainly an indication of a lack of good faith on their part.

7. The newspaper account states "but Bologna goes on, virtually untroubled by the Health Department." This statement is a deliberate falsehood. Our record shows that our inspectors have visited this dealer daily, and sometimes twice daily. PM knows that we have not been complacent or allowed Bologna to go on "virtually untroubled." His market has been under close investigation by our inspectors for more than a year. The only permit issued to Bologna by this Department was one for manufacturing and preserving meat. As a result of findings by our inspectors, this permit was revoked by the Board of Health on Dec. 12, 1939. These facts were known to PM's reporters but no mention is made of them in this story.

Good Results

8. No permit is required for the sale of meat or poultry in New York City. When had

PM Gives the Facts That Answer Dr. Rice's Statement

This is Ned Armstrong's answer to the points raised by Dr. Rice. The paragraphs are numbered to correspond with the numbered paragraphs of the Health Commissioner's statement. The subject introduced by Dr. Rice in his Paragraph 3—how diseased poultry gets into the city—is an interesting one that PM hopes to take up in full later on. Meanwhile the point at issue remains how bad meat can be sold in New York City once it gets here.

By Ned Armstrong

1. In 1934 at the famous Schecter "sick chicken" trial, Walter E. Rice, special deputy attorney general, told the federal court: "New York City has become known to chicken growers throughout the country as the dumping ground for diseased poultry."

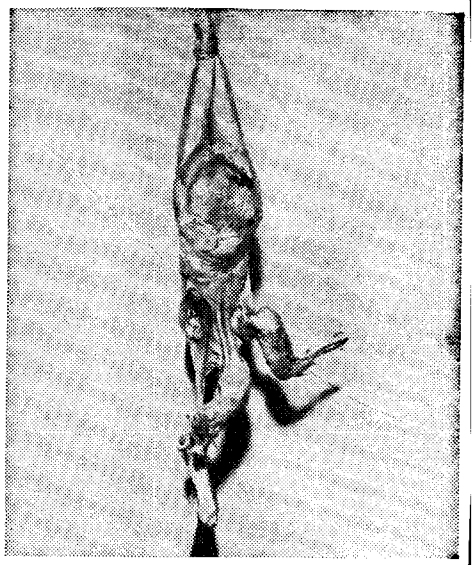
In one night's shopping two weeks ago PM reporters saw thousands of diseased, decomposed chickens on sale; bought 15 pieces of meat at random, found 12 were unfit for human consumption by laboratory test.

The records of the Municipal Term Magistrates' Courts teem with prosecutions of dealers selling diseased, decomposed poultry.

A Sorry Picture

That's the picture in New York. PM has made no survey of other cities to dispute Dr. Rice's statement that "the poultry supply of New York City is . . . equal or superior to that of any other city in the country."

2. Quoting Special Deputy Attorney Gen-



A Diseased Chicken

. . . Speaks for Itself

decomposed poultry in New York City is open and shameless.

5. What has the revocation of Frank Bologna's smokehouse permit got to do with his continued handling of rotten poultry?

6. But all credit to Dr. Rice and his department for putting through the revocation.

Checks Screens

7. A Health Department inspector gave Bologna a summons for having improper screens Aug. 9; we ask why, with 14 convictions for handling bad meat, his total fines amount to only $370. We ask why sentence was suspended seven times.

8. PM does not state that the Health Department representatives "always recommend low fines"; but it is true they have recommended small fines and suspended sentences on a number of occasions. We believe that a Health Department that is

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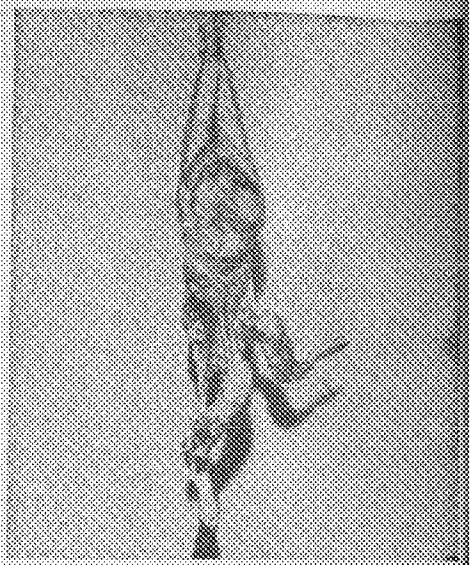
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through thousands of meat dealers, in spite of the best efforts of this or any other department, a bad chicken or a bad steak may be foisted on some one of the 7,500,000 consumers of the city. Proof of the wholesomeness of our food supply is the record low death rates and declining sickness rates for many diseases.

Guarantee Impossible

3. The control of meat and poultry, particularly poultry, are difficult problems and require the co-operation of the large Western packer, the local merchant and consumer and the never-ending vigilance on the part of this Department and the Food and Drug Administration of the Federal Security Agency. To guarantee absolute freedom from having any bit of spoiled meat reach the consumer in the city would be an impossibility even with a force of inspectors larger in number than the New York City police force.

4. The statement in this article [in PM] that the Health Department is "complacent" is a deliberate falsehood. The attitude of this department is to do everything possible to control the situation. If any dealer wilfully or carelessly sells or attempts to sell bad meat, I would like to see him severely punished and anything that the newspaper PM can do to assist in bringing such violators to justice will be a step in the right direction. To me the finding of only nine chickens and one turkey and three portions of meat which were unsound and two chickens which were questionable in the millions of pounds of poultry and meats that are sold by the thousands of butchers in New York City each day is a credit to the good work of the Health Department and the conscientiousness of the great majority of dealers in the meat industry.

PM Misleads

5. Again the newspaper PM is not giving the facts and is misleading the consuming public. For example, mention is made of the number of prosecutions against Frank Bologna for violations of the Sanitary Code but no mention is made of the fact that on Dec. 12, 1939, the permit to prepare and preserve meat held by this operator was revoked by the Board of Health for violations of the Sanitary Code.

6. This permit to date has not yet been re-issued. This action was taken in spite of protests of persecution because of almost constant inspections at all hours of the day and night that were given this butcher by the Health Department. Bologna's permit still stands suspended, despite several actions to invalidate the Department's action then Bologna goes on, virtually untroubled by the Health Department." This statement is a deliberate falsehood. Our record shows that our inspectors have visited this dealer daily, and sometimes twice daily. PM knows that we have not been complacent or allowed Bologna to go on "virtually untroubled." His market has been under close investigation by our inspectors for more than a year. The only permit issued to Bologna by this Department was one for manufacturing and preserving meat. As a result of findings by our inspectors, this permit was revoked by the Board of Health on Dec. 12, 1939. These facts were known to PM's reporters but no mention is made of them in this story.

Good Results

8. No permit is required for the sale of meat or poultry in New York City. When bad or questionable meat is found it is destroyed or embargoed. If the facts warrant, court action is instituted. These methods have been employed for many years and produce good results. After our inspectors and experts present their evidence and the courts convict, the question of sentence becomes one for the judges. The statement that our representatives always recommend low fines is false. The example cited in the article refers to Bologna. I am informed that no recommendation was made by our Department in any case against this concern. The practise has been to furnish the court with the court record of each defendant at the time of sentence.

9. As a further indication of the Health Department's concern with this problem, inspectors have been detailed at night and on Saturday and even Sunday to control meats. With the co-operation of the Federal Food and Drug Administration, drives have been and are continuing against the shipment of diseased poultry into New York City from other states.

10. The PM newspaper has already been asked to provide us with all the information they have.

11. An examination of the purported findings set forth in the newspaper story leads me to the conclusion that the shopper lacked the discernment of the average housewife.

12. However, from my personal observations as well as Departmental reports, I am convinced that the picture attempted to be portrayed by this article is not accurate nor does it anywhere approach the actual conditions prevailing in the meat and poultry industry of this city.

13. As was already mentioned, this Department is investigating all of the facts in the case.

In one night's shopping two weeks ago PM reporters saw thousands of diseased, decomposed chickens on sale; bought 15 pieces of meat at random, found 12 were unfit for human consumption by laboratory test.

The records of the Municipal Term Magistrates' Courts teem with prosecutions of dealers selling diseased, decomposed poultry.

A Sorry Picture

That's the picture in New York. PM has made no survey of other cities to dispute Dr. Rice's statement that "the poultry supply of New York City is . . . equal or superior to that of any other city in the country."

2. Quoting Special Deputy Attorney General Rice again: "Approximately two per cent of all poultry eaten in New York City is unfit for human consumption."

3. The question is not one of "any bit of spoiled meat" but of more than 4,000,000 pounds sold here every year. PM suggests that if violators of the laws against rotten meat were punished to the full extent of the law—a $2000 fine, a year in jail or both—the racket would end in short order.

4. Over a period of 10 years the Perskys had been convicted 17 times of handling diseased or decomposed poultry. Then came the 18th conviction last November—for possession of 1807 pounds of turkeys "emaciated, decomposed, moldy, extensively bruised, improperly bled and green struck." The Perskys were fined $150. The Health Department, so far as the record shows, made no effort to have a stiffer fine imposed; certainly did not invoke its power to put the Perskys out of business. PM calls that complacent.

Nothing to Be Proud Of

Far from taking credit because PM found only nine chickens, one turkey and three portions of meat which were unsound on its one-night shopping tour, Commissioner Rice might hang his head in shame.

PM's reporters are not veterinarians; every purchase of meat they made was a gamble. Yet 12 out of 15 pieces selected at random were found unfit for human consumption.

PM could have bought thousands of unsound, putrescent birds. At a cost of $15 a bird for laboratory examination and test, this would have been an expensive and unnecessary job. The 12 rotten meat samples proved PM's point; the sale of diseased and

Bologna's smokehouse permit got to do with his continued handling of rotten poultry?

6. But all credit to Dr. Rice and his department for putting through the revocation.

Checks Screens

7. A Health Department inspector gave Bologna a summons for having improper screens Aug. 9; we ask why, with 14 convictions for handling bad meat, his total fines amount to only $370. We ask why sentence was suspended seven times.

8. PM does not state that the Health Department representatives "always recommend low fines"; but it is true they have recommended small fines and suspended sentences on a number of occasions. We believe that a Health Department that is not complacent, that is capable of honest indignation on behalf of the public, would see to it that a magistrate invoked the limits of the law's penalty—or know the reason why.

9. PM's information is that until last week, when PM's interest in rotten poultry became known to the Health Department, there has been no inspection of city markets from 5 p.m. Friday to 9 a.m. Monday. We will be glad to be corrected with dates and names.

10. PM will be glad to give the Health Department all the information it has.

11. What chance has the average shopper to pick a sound bird when a laboratory, reporting on badly diseased bird that contained a two-pound four-ounce tumor, concludes: "Would appear normal, however, after evisceration"? Most birds are eviscerated when the housewife gets them.

12. PM agrees with Dr. Rice that its articles do not "anywhere approach the actual conditions prevailing in the meat and poultry industry of this city." But so far as we have gone, we are appalled.

13. We look forward with interest to the Department's investigation. We will continue to publish the results of our own investigation tomorrow.

Under the title, "Rotten Chicken: U.S. Cracks Down,"[1] later in January, PM prints the report of a Federal prosecution in Delaware aimed at stopping rotten chicken at its source.

In March another half-page story appears -- "Rice Suspends Man ... Says He Helped PM Expose Chicken Racket."[2] The suspension is for three reports the worker gave PM, the story explains, although these were not legally confidential. In connection with this story, John P. Lewis writes "An Open Letter to Commissioner Rice."[3]

Allen Rose, in a letter to the writer of this study, says:[4]

> PM hits harder on these things (abuses) than any other paper and a number of reforms have been made in fields in which we have investigated abuses: namely; rotten poultry racket in New York City ..... etc.

Milk Crusade

The fight to stave off an increase in milk costs began on September 24, 1940, with the story of attempts to raise the price of milk one cent a quart. The human angle is emphasized in the headline, "Relief Mother Unwittingly Aids Suit to Increase Price of Milk."[5] This technique of building up a case through the use of an intensely human and appealing story is used frequently and to good advantage in subsequent crusades such as the ones on installment buying and used-car gyps.

In October, Richard G. Hubler and Roger Dakin collaborated on a story concerning a dairy products mixture, really a milk sub-

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1 PM, January 17, 1941, p. 7.
2 PM, March 10, 1941, p. 14.
3 Ibid.
4 Correspondence with Allen Rose, July 8, 1941.
5 PM, September 24, 1940, p. 11.

PM, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1940

Relief Mother Unwittingly Aids Suit to Increase Price of Milk

'I Didn't Know the Meaning of the Papers' She Says After Court Hears Her Affidavit

A family on home relief—a husband out of work six months, his wife, and their two children—are being used as an instrument to raise the price of approved milk from 10 cents to 11 cents a quart in the populous East Side of the Bronx.

This came to light in an action before Supreme Court Justice Edward R. Koch yesterday, based on an affidavit signed by Mrs. Dorothy Godowitz, 885 Beck St., whose family is on home relief. It was one of several similar actions.

The suit is for an injunction to restrain Max Schoenbach, grocer, 871 Intervale Ave., from selling Manchester Milk for less than 11 cents a quart. The proceedings have been brought in the name of Murray Goldman, Schoenbach's competitor down the block at 896 Intervale Ave.

Mrs. Godowitz, in her affidavit, said that on Sept. 11, 1940, she bought a bottle of Manchester Milk for 10 cents at Schoenbach's store.

'I Didn't Know'

At her home yesterday, Mrs. Godowitz was alarmed over being brought into the Supreme Court test case.

"I didn't know the meaning of the papers I signed," Mrs. Godowitz told a reporter. "They didn't tell me. I was in Goldman's store and then I went to Schoenbach's store and bought milk for 10 cents. Later, I signed the papers."

When it was explained that the injunction proceeding was an attempt to raise the prevailing price of milk in her neighborhood a penny she became excited.

"I didn't understand it that way. If I'd known the truth I would never have signed those papers. My husband is sick and out of work six months. I have two children. Usually we buy three quarts of milk a day. Why should I, a housewife, want to pay more for my milk."

Why should Bronx housewives have to pay another cent for milk was the question in the entire neighborhood.

Schoenbach feels that 10 cents a quart is a fair price for milk.

Pays 8½ Cents

"I only pay 8½ cents a quart," he told PM. "In milk, you don't have to be a salesman. People with large families have to have milk. If I'm happy to make only a 10 per cent profit on every bottle, that's my business. Anyway, this whole action is being started by the big milk companies."

Harry Cohen, attorney, representing Schoenbach, in an affidavit filed before Justice Koch, asserted.

"This suit, as well as companion suits which have been instituted, represents an attempt by wholesale distributors of milk to rig prices of this essential commodity which is one of the necessities of life, in clear and unmistakable violation of law."

Cohen contended that the Feld-Crawford act was not applicable to milk, "a necessity of life."

He asserted that 44 wholesale milk distributors had banded together to fix the price at 11 cents. If the injunction were granted, he told Justice Koch, his client would be unable to buy milk anywhere in the city unless he agreed to sell it at the fixed price.

"The fact is," the affidavit stated, "that milk is being sold at 10 cents per quart at practically all the stores in the neighborhood, except a few stores which make delivery of milk to the home."

Other Actions

This action is only one of half a dozen similar ones currently before the Bronx Supreme Court. All actions are based on the principle that various retail stores have entered into written agreements with wholesalers to fix the price of approved milk at 11 cents a quart. The argument is that if whiskey can be price-fixed under the Feld-Crawford Act, so can milk.

Active in organizing the legal actions has been the United Independent Retail Grocers and Food Dealers Association, Inc., 524 Southern Blvd., Charles Ackerman, secretary. This is an association charging members $2 a month dues. Goldman, member of the association, and plaintiff in the action to restrain Schoenbach, didn't know the name of his own attorney.

"The association takes care of all that," he said.

Justice Koch reserved decision on the injunction until Wednesday.

stitute, promoted by one of the large milk corporations and approved by the New York City Health Department. In fact, so highly approved was it that:[1]

> .... the Department amended the Sanitary Code specifically to permit the mixture's sale.

In this story PM is supporting the Consumers' Union demand that previous investigation of the dairy products mixture's content be re-opened.

Hubler continues his expose of New York's milk problem with an explanation of the Agriculture Adjustment Act, the farmers' problems and the organizations to combat the milk situation. His story is written from the consumers' angle.[2]

Again, little appeared for several months, but the battle had only subsided; it was not called off. In February, Ned Armstrong and James T. Howard report "Health Board on Side of Borden-Sheffield vs. Little Milkmen,"[3] and imply that the board regulations force the independent dealers out of business, leaving the territory to the big corporations. The detailed story of the Whitestone Farms, a test case, is given, revealing nasty attempts at profiteering.

The following day, PM prints a story declaring that the "Mayor's Committee Upheld Little Milkmen"[4] and graces the page with two pictures of Commissioner Rice, each one showing a different side of his face, one captioned "For Independents" and the

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1 PM, October 7, 1940, p. 11.
2 PM, October 9, 1940, p. 11.
3 PM, February 16, 1941, p. 13.
4 PM, February 17, 1941, p. 13.

This Has Been Secret Since '39 : Mayor's Committee Upheld Little Milkmen

Dr. Rice Signed a Favorable Report, Never Published

This is the second of two articles on the Health Department's drive to force the independents out of the home-delivered milk business, leaving the field to Borden's, Sheffield Farms and other big corporations.

By NED ARMSTRONG *and* JAMES T. HOWARD

PM Exclusive

Health Commissioner John L. Rice is on two sides of a fence. As chairman of the Board of Health he helped draft the Sanitary Code rule which would bar licenses to independent milk route men who were not in business on June 1, 1939. In the Court of Appeals his argument is that these independents are theoretically undesirable and that no more should be admitted to the trade.

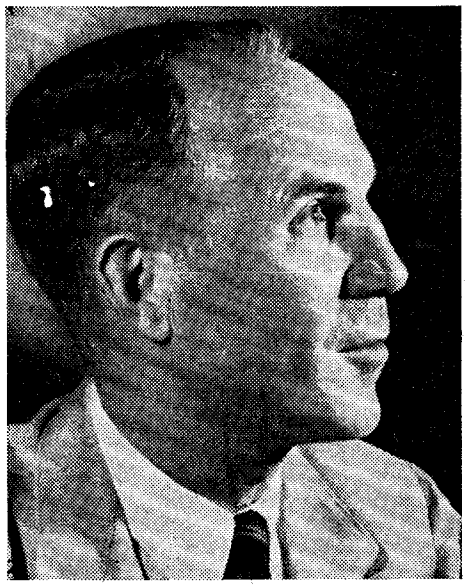
As a member of the Mayor's Milk Committee he helped draft a report which said the independents were "performing a useful service," that they should be encouraged in their practice of delivering unadvertised milk at 13 and 14 cents a quart, underselling Borden's and Sheffield, who get 15¼ cents.

The Mayor's Milk Committee studied the city's milk situation for two years with a skimpy budget of $5000. Its report, which approved of independent milk route men, was submitted to the Mayor on Nov. 10, 1939. This report was never published. Until today there was never a line in a newspaper about it.

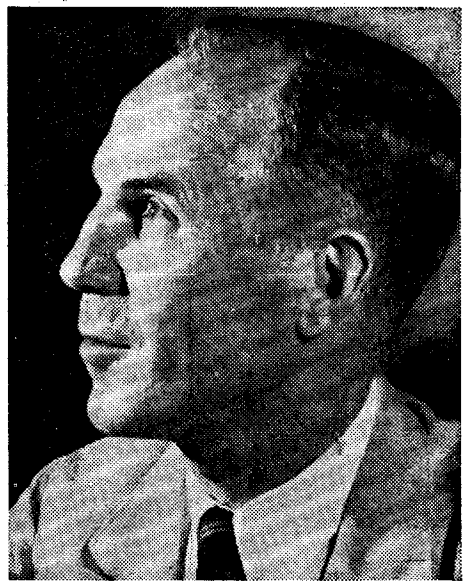
Competition Aids Consumers

"The committee finds that competition of independent dealers is of value to the consumers," this report said. "While half of the

For Independents *Against Independents*



Milk Committeeman Rice



Health Commissioner Rice

How to Save on Your Milk Bill

Here is a list of independent distributors of home-delivered bottled milk in New York City, together with their telephone numbers and their prices. No independent has a depot in Manhattan, although many deliver there. For information about deliveries in Manhattan or in other sections where there is no nearby distributor, call the N. Y. Retail Milk Distributors Guild, 51 Chambers St., REctor 2-3856.

BROOKLYN	Phone	Prices 1 Quart	2 Quarts
Broadlea Dairy, 1022 E. New York Ave.	SLocum 6-7275	.13	.25
Columbia Farms, 400 Stanley Ave.	SKidmore 4-2611	.13½	.26
Delhi Farms Corp., 31 Conselyea St.	EVergreen 8-7827	.13	.25
Glenridge Farms, Inc., 778 Hart St.	JEfferson 3-2939	.14	.27
Grandview Dairy, 60-71 Metropolitan Ave.	HEgeman 3-3100	.15	.30
Jenrae Farms, 540 Watkins St.	DIckens 2-0077	.14	.28
Kingsboro Farms, 454 Osborne St.	DIckens 6-6910	.13	.26

2-Year Study Found Poor Families Needed This Cheaper Milk

the Court of Appeals, Mr. Schweig argued, the number of independents would decline each year until all were eliminated by business failure, retirement or death. Only ones to benefit by this, he said, would be the big companies, particularly Borden's and Sheffield, who would have even less competition than now.

While the independents look upon the big companies as their principal enemies, they recently have recognized a secondary foe in the Milk Wagon Drivers Union, Local 584, which has some 15,000 members, more than 11,000 of them drivers for Borden's and Sheffield.

And Competition Hurts

"When it comes to the jobs of our members being at stake, our interest lies with the employers," said Thomas O'Leary, president of Local 584. "Anybody can get a truck and go into the milk business. The competition hurts our employers. We're against that because it hurts us."

Mr. O'Leary pointed out that every time an independent milk route man expanded his route, or a new circuit was opened, Borden's and Sheffield must lose some business. As Borden's and Sheffield business in home-delivered milk declines, a certain number of union milk drivers for the two big companies must be laid off.

Leonard Bright, economist for the milk drivers' union, said a study of the entire situation was now being made to see if unions could establish a compromise peace with the independents.

Another report from the Mayor's Milk Committee, dealing with the farm situation

NEW YORK PM, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1941 NEW YORK 13

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As a member of the Mayor's Milk Committee he helped draft a report which said the independents were "performing a useful service," that they should be encouraged in their practice of delivering unadvertised milk at 13 and 14 cents a quart, undercutting Borden's and Sheffield, who get 15¾ cents.

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		Prices	
BROOKLYN	Phone	1 Quart	2 Quarts
Breedlea Dairy, 1022 E. New York Ave.	SLocum 6-7275	13	.25
Columbia Farms, 400 Stanley Ave.	SKidmore 4-2811	13¢	26
Delhi Farms Corp., 31 Conselyea St.	EVergreen 8-7827	13	.25
Glenridge Farms, Inc., 779 Hart St.	JEfferson 3-2959	14	.27
Grandview Dairy, 60-71 Metropolitan Ave.	HEgeman 3-8100	13	.20
Jerzee Farms, 540 Watkins St.	DIckens 2-0877	14	.28
Kingsboro Farms, 454 Osborne St.	DIckens 6-6910	13	.26

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Mr. O'Leary pointed out that every time an independent milk route man expanded his route, or a new circuit was opened, Borden's and Sheffield must lose some business. As Borden's and Sheffield business in home-delivered milk declines, a certain number of union milk drivers for the two big companies must be laid off.

Leonard Bright, economist for the milk drivers' union, said a study of the entire situation was now being made to see if unions could establish a compromise peace with the independents.

Another report from the Mayor's Milk Committee dealing with the farm situation

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Competition Aids Consumers

"The committee finds that competition of independent dealers is of value to the consumers," this report said. "While half of the milk sold in New York City is sold by two large dealers, there are 321 independent dealers who sell milk mostly at wholesale through the stores.

"Before the sale of loose milk was prohibited, many of these dealers supplied the milk p[illegible]s of the masses in the poorer sectio[illegible], pasteurization and bottle milk re[illegible]ents changed the pattern of the flow of milk, these independents successfully coped with the new situation.

"The price competition among them keeps the retail store price of unadvertised milk usually about 2 and sometimes 3 cents below the store price of advertised milk of like quality. They perform an important function in the city distribution."

This report was filed less than six months after the Board of Health adopted its regulation requiring that independent milk route men obtain licenses, a regulation which closed the doors to new independents by banning licenses to those who were not in business on June 1, 1939. The Court of Appeals is now considering the independents' plea that this regulation be thrown out.

Joseph H. Choate, Jr., was chairman of the Mayor's Milk Committee. Besides Dr. Rice, the other members were:

William Fellowes Morgan, Jr., Markets Commissioner.

Robert K. Straus, City Councilman.

Albert D. Schanzer, former Councilman.

Dr. Ruth W. Ayres, economist.

Susan Jenkins, of the Henry Street Settlement.

Some excerpts from this report:

¶ "Since milk is a vitally necessary food item and the future strength of the city population depends upon its adequate use by children . . . it is incumbent upon the city to see that the best possible system of distribution brings milk to the city inhabitants at the lowest fair price consistent with the high cost of production. A 20 per cent increase in milk consumption by undernourished children would have an almost incalculable value in the future well-being of the city . . .

¶ "The committee finds that the present peddlers or subdealers (independent route men) are performing a useful service; that their present wages and hours are not such as to constitute a threat to the standards set by organized labor . . .

¶ "The committee finds that the housewife is in need of education on many phases of the milk problem. She does not understand the forces that raise the price of milk nor the costs that keep the present store prices high, and does not know in what ways her action may contribute to such a price."

¶ "Since price competition has not been engaged in for a long time by the two large

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	Phone	Prices 1 Quart	Prices 2 Quarts
BROOKLYN			
Broadlea Dairy, 1022 E. New York Ave.	SLocum 6-7275	.13	.25
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Delhi Farms Corp., 31 Conselyea St.	EVergreen 8-7827	.13	.25
Glenridge Farms, Inc., 778 Hart St.	JEfferson 3-2939	.14	.27
Grandview Dairy, 60-71 Metropolitan Ave.	HEgeman 3-3100	.15	.30
Jenrae Farms, 540 Watkins St.	DIckens 2-0077	.14	.28
Kingsboro Farms, 454 Osborne St.	DIckens 6-6910	.13	.26
Lakewood Farms, 209 Highland Pl.	APplegate 4-5555	.13	.25
Park Dairy, 1445 60th St.	WIndsor 8-7727	.12½	.25
Parkway Farms Co., Inc., 845 Hegeman Ave.	SKidmore 4-1230	.13	.26
Puritan Farms, 6012 12th Ave.	WIndsor 5-8282	.12½	.25
Sheffrod Farms, 1576 61st St.	[illegible]nsonhurst 6-9200	.13	.26
Sunnybrook Farms, 826 Sackman St.	DIckens 3-5990	.13	.25
York Farms, Inc., 647 Powell St.	DIckens 6-4332	.13	.26
BRONX			
Chesterfield Farms, 324 E. 157th St.	MElrose 5-1696	.14	.27
Imperial Farms, 1230 Oak Point Ave.	DAyton 9-4977	.15	.30
Twilight Farms, Inc., 1835 Boone Ave.	DAyton 9-4488	.14	.27
Vogt Dairies, 223 E. 141st St.	MOtt Haven 5-6100	.14½	.28
Whitestone Farms, 630 Truxton Ave.	DAyton 9-4449	.13½	.26
QUEENS			
Cedar Lane Farms, Cedar Lane, Woodhaven	Michigan [illegible]	.15½	.27½
Prudential Dairy, 24-30 47th St., L. I. City	RAvenswood [illegible]	.15	.29
And here is the all-borough list of the non-independents:			
The Borden Co., 350 Madison Ave.	VAnderbilt 6-4400	.15½	.30½
Sheffield Farms Co., Inc., 524 W. 57th St.	COlumbus 5-3400	.15½	.30½

These two companies also deliver two-quart containers at [illegible] cents.

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Leonard Bright, economist for the milk drivers' union, said a study of the entire situation was now being made to see if unions could establish a compromise peace with the independents.

Another report from the Mayor's Milk Committee, dealing with the farm situation, is now being prepared by Dr. Ayres, the committee economist. No date for release has been announced.

other, "Against Independents."[1] The implication is obvious.

An additional story reveals that city dairies still quote prices on Grade A and B milk, although New York legally ruled out this practice.[2]

Installment Buying

Leane Zugsmith's series of stories on installment buying abuses had as its foundation a survey made by PM which revealed:[3]

> .... exorbitant charges for the privilege of buying on time, housewives and workers paralyzed by one-sided contracts they never had a chance to read before they signed ... merchants tacking dizzy prices on their goods, adding stiff carrying charges and t then taking back the merchandise after all but a few dollars had been paid ... (suing) the buyers for sums far in excess of the small balance still due.

The next day's story included an editorial, "If You Can't Get a Copy of Your Installment Contract, Go Somewhere Else,"[4] a simple explanation of installment practices for the buyers' protection. On the same day, Miss Zugsmith records her personal experiences in going around and shopping "on time,"[5] her inability to get a copy of a contract form.

Along with M iss Zugsmith's story and the editorial was printed a news story on the agitation for a stabe act sponsored by the Russell Sage Foundation.[6]

Miss Zugsmith's stories are interestingly written narratives with the installment practices clearly explained.

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1 PM, February 17, 1941, p. 13.
2 PM, February 19, 1941, p. 15.
3 PM, October 10, 1940, p. 8.
4 PM, October 11, 1940, p. 8.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid.

Installment Houses Hide Contract Terms from Buyers

'We're Suspicious of People Skeptical of Us,' Customer Is Told

By LEANE ZUGSMITH

PM Exclusive

Installment houses promise you the world and a set of dishes thrown in . . . until you've signed on the dotted line at the end of that long, finely printed, abstrusely worded contract that was hastily flashed at you.

The customer doesn't even get a copy of his own contract.

PM, in its survey of installment-selling, found that customers don't know exactly what they're paying for, how much credit is costing them or what can happen to them

PM *Accepts No Advertising and Prints News Other Papers Won't.*

if they don't make each payment exactly on time.

About a month ago, I selected a sofa, priced at $65, at R. W. Chessler, 519 Eighth Ave. The salesman said: "What do you do?"

"I'm a typist."

"That's all right. You pay $5 down and $5 on delivery. After that—could you pay $2 a week?"

"I think I could, but I'd like to know about all the other charges, I'd like to show a copy of your contract to my husband."

"I'll write down the charges and show you the contract after you've made your deposit," he said.

"Well, it's a lot of money. After all, it's my husband who'll have to pay it so I'd like to show him just what the contract will be like."

"The contract's only for honest people." His expression would have shamed an as-

Presently he allowed me to look at one while he stood disdainfully beside me. I couldn't copy anything from it. I could not understand the legal phraseology.

At the Finlay-Straus jewelry stores branch, 25 W. 14th St., where I selected a wristwatch, priced at $16.95, I asked if I might have a copy of the contract form to



EDITORIAL

If You Can't Get a Copy of Your Installment Contract, Go Somewhere Else

If you are buying something on time, don't expect the law to protect you from a plundering installment merchant.

There isn't anything in the law to compel the installment merchant to read his contract out loud or give you a copy.

The salesman says, "Sign here," and the contract, which may contain plundering provisions, is whisked away and locked up in a safe.

PM's current series of articles tells how installment houses prey on low-income New Yorkers, gouge millions a year under archaic laws.

Today's article tells how buyers are cajoled, insulted, pushed around, when they ask for a copy of the paper they are required to sign.

PM accepts no advertising so it doesn't care whose commercial toes it steps on in the course of printing real news. PM believes that installment buying is a good thing for people who want to use their purchases while they are saving the money from income to pay for them.

There are reputable installment houses in New York that don't plunder, that serve the installment buying public honestly and well, giving value for value. Here's one way to tell the difference:

When you buy something—a car, a radio, a suit of clothes, a kitchen stove or whatever—examine the contract you are asked to sign as carefully as you examine the article you are buying.

Ask for a copy of the contract and, if it is refused, go somewhere else. Shop around in other installment houses until you find what you want.

You will get better quality, better price, better terms from a reputable installment house that isn't ashamed of its contract or afraid to let you read it.

Remember, they don't have to give you the copy but, if they refuse, you have a right to suspect there's a plundering clause in it somewhere.

In the last Legislature there was a bill to compel installment houses to give copies of contracts to customers. It died of neglect because nobody cared enough to push it to passage.

There will be an installment-buying law next year if the citizens of New York State feel strongly enough to demand it.

Urges State Act On Installments

Russell Sage Aid Demands Legislation to Protect Duped Purchasers

Legal protection for the installment plan customers was demanded today by Dr. Rolf Nugent, director of the Russell Sage Foundation's Department of Consumer Credit Studies. Dr. Nugent spoke before the New York State Conference on Social Work at the Hotel Pennsylvania.

He told the conference:

"Abuses are prevalent in this field. The small borrower in New York is now protected by legislation which subjects money lenders to stringent regulation and public supervision. Similar protection should be given the installment purchaser.

Dr. Nugent, who is author of *Consumer Credit and Economic Stability* and co-author with Miriam Holthausen of *The Volume of Consumer Installment Credit,* added:

High-Pressured

"Installment purchasers are frequently high-pressured into signing contracts which give unconscionable rights to the seller in case of default," he said. "Often instruments are signed in blank and additional charges are added to the agreed purchase price. Friends and relatives are frequently induced to guarantee payment in the belief that they are merely recommending the purchaser. In many instances, the installment purchasers,

if they don't make each payment exactly on time.

About a month ago, I selected a sofa, priced at $65, at R. W. Chessler, 519 Eighth Ave. The salesman said: "What do you do?"

"I'm a typist."

"That's all right. You pay $5 down and $5 on delivery. After that—could you pay $2 a week?"

"I think I could, but I'd like to know about all the other charges, I'd like to show a copy of your contract to my husband."

"I'll write down the charges and show you the contract after you've made your deposit," he said.

"Well, it's a lot of money. After all, it's my husband who'll have to pay it so I'd like to show him just what the contract will be like."

"The contract's only for honest people." His expression would have shamed an assistant D.A., as he added: "Get me?"

"Then could *I* see the contract? Maybe I can remember what's in it to tell my husband."

Suspicious of Skeptics

He shook his head sidewise. "You want a nice home, don't you? Bring your husband in here, if you want." Before he walked away, he added: "We're suspicious of people who are skeptical about us."

This technique of shrinking the customer, of making you feel so guilty that you beg for the fountain pen seems to be popular. At the 124 W. 42nd St. branch of the Vim Radio and Sporting Goods stores; I asked the salesman if I would get a copy of the contract once I'd signed for the $99.95 refrigerator I was considering.

"No," he said. "There's a law among installment dealers against giving customers copies."

"Is there really a law?" I asked.

He stared at me. "Have you been in New York long?"

"Well, for a while but I just never happened to buy on time. I don't think my husband would like me to sign for anything that costs this much without his knowing just what he was in for. Could you let me see one; maybe I can remember what's in it?"

"What for?" he said icily. "I've never been asked to show a contract blank before."

"Well, won't you want to know something about me?"

"Naturally, we want to know a little about you, references and so forth."

"That sounds reasonable. But why should it be so odd for me to want to see a contract so I know what my husband and I are entering into."

Presently he allowed me to look at one while he stood disdainfully beside me. I couldn't copy anything from it. I could not understand the legal phraseology.

At the Finlay-Straus jewelry stores branch, 25 W. 14th St., where I selected a wristwatch, priced at $16.95, I asked if I might have a copy of the contract form to show my husband.

"We couldn't give a copy to anybody, the salesman said earnestly.

"Well, maybe I could look at it myself."

"We couldn't do that, either." He paused "You mean to pay for it, don't you?"

"Oh, yes—but it just seemed to me—"

He interrupted, very bland. "There's noth ing to see. It's a simple bill of conditional sale."

I said: "It isn't a chattel mortgage, then?"

"Well, in a way it is," he said. "Finlay-Straus has been in this business for many years. You should have confidence in a house with so many branches."

I said I did but I thought maybe my husband should come in if there was any signing to be done.

'We Trust You'

"That isn't necessary," he said. "We trust you." He smiled. "We'll draw it to his attention, if it's necessary. Why, I just signed one in blank for an auto. I know I'm going to pay." He nodded significantly.

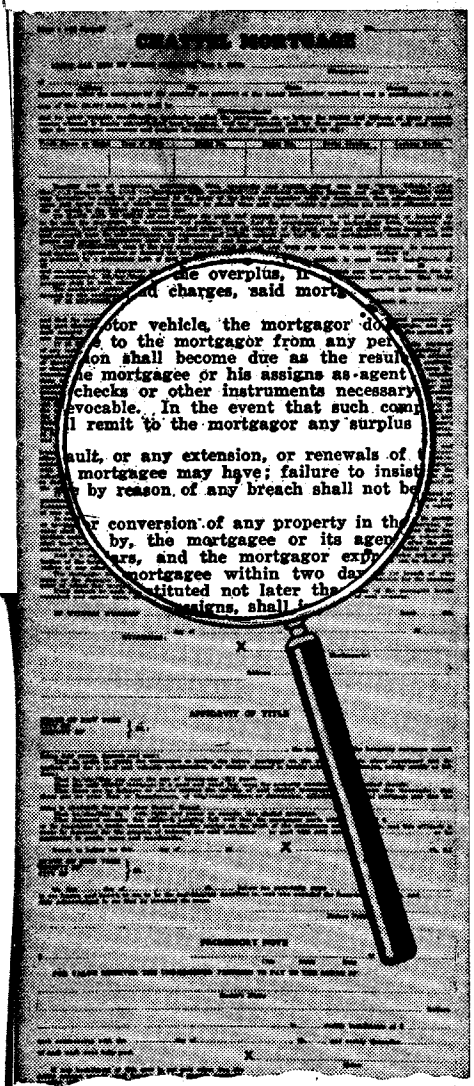
Busch's branch, 254 W. 34th St. was the only store other than Vim where I was permitted to look at a contract form. I was told I wouldn't get a copy of it, after I'd signed, if I did, for a clock. A man sat beside me while I tried to unravel the legal phrases. He said I couldn't copy any of them.

The blanks were on a pad, they were printed, they didn't look especially valuable. "Couldn't I just tear one off and take it home to show my husband?" I asked.

"Sorry," he said. "It's company property."

It stays company property after you've put your valuable signature on it, too.

Sunday, PM will disclose the story of a woman who didn't get a copy of her contract.


CHATTEL MORTGAGE

...e overplus, ...d charges, said mort...

...otor vehicle, the mortgagor do... ...g to the mortgagor from any pe... ...on shall become due as the result ...e mortgagee or his assigns as agent ...checks or other instruments necessary ...evocable. In the event that such comp... ...l remit to the mortgagor any surplus

...ault, or any extension, or renewals of ... mortgagee may have; failure to insist ... by reason of any breach shall not be...

...r conversion of any property in th... ...by, the mortgagee or its agent... ...ars, and the mortgagor expr... ...mortgagee within two da... ...stituted not later th... ...signs, shall ...

Here is a typical installment contract —enough legal words to baffle a Liebowitz. Enlarged portion shows exact size of type.

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High-Pressured

"Installment purchasers are frequently high-pressured into signing contracts which give unconscionable rights to the seller in case of default," he said. "Often instruments are signed in blank and additional charges are added to the agreed purchase price. Friends and relatives are frequently induced to guarantee payment in the belief that they are merely recommending the purchaser. In many instances, the installment purchasers, believing their accounts to have been paid in full, have had their goods repossessed while attempting to obtain an accounting.

"These instances of fraud and others that could be mentioned are confined largely to a disreputable fringe of the installment selling and financing business. But many questionable practices have become widespread as the result of competitive practices.

Misleading Statements

"Misleading statements of credit charges, recently condemned by the Federal Trade Commission and the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals, continue to prevail. Dealers' packs, generally acknowledged to be objectionable, are in common use. Failure to give adequate refunds in case of prepayment is general, and fees, fines and other penalties of doubtful legal value are collected on a large scale.

"Our investigation of the problem of protecting installment buyers, like that of Attorney General Bennett and many others who have studied the question, indicates the need for a comprehensive scheme of regulation rather than piecemeal correction of specific abuses.

Limited Results

"The latter method has been tried in the past, notably with respect to wage assignments and conditional sales contracts, but has produced only limited results. Left to his own devices, the consumer debtor is usually either unaware of his legal rights or unable to exercise them.

"What is needed is administrative enforcement of a general regulatory statute which compels full disclosure of credit costs and terms of contracts, which eliminate objectionable sales and collection practices, and which clearly defines buyers' and sellers' rights.

PM, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 17,

Ring Costs $295 in 1929 But... Laborer to Pay $791 on Time

City Employe Has Paid $528; Still Owes $263.53 in Installments . . . and the Ring's Lost

PM Exclusive

This is the story of the city employe and the diamond ring.

The selling price of the ring, back in 1929, was $295. Since then, the city employe has paid $528.35 for the ring and attendant costs. And he still owes $263.53!

That's right. This is the story of a $295 ring that is costing $791.88. It's also the story of Bernard Thinnes.

He's a laborer for the Borough of Manhattan, a short man with a seamed, gleeful face and gnarled hands. Everybody calls him Barney. Everybody likes him and he likes people—except that man who sold him the ring. He hasn't the ring any more, he lost it, but he has a powerful reminder of it every pay day.

Other times he feels fine. He lives at 1668 York Ave., with his second wife and daughter, who's a waitress at the World's Fair.

Injured in Fall

"I'm 58, but I feel like a 2-year-old," he told PM. "You know, around '28, I fell, taking down an electric sign, fell 24 feet. I was laid up in the hospital a long time, all right. Except when they wanted to put a thick sole on my shoe, on account of my leg, I wouldn't have it. I told them I wanted to dance. And I do; not the new ones, the waltz. I used to be able to walk all the way upstairs on my hands. I still can halfway. Then I begin to blow."

He's short of breath and he's robbed of pleasure in anything every two weeks when he collects pay: $46.82 minus $5.20 that goes to the Mutual Diamond & Watch Co., 116 Nassau St.

In 1929, the Mutual Credit Co. dealt in cloaks, suits, dresses, [illegible]

He doesn't know how Mutual figured out the judgment for $495 (without the pluses). He doesn't know how his original $25 payment was applied. A clerk, Mr. Ballotta, in the office of City Marshal J. C. Hemmerich, 320 Broadway, doesn't know either. All that's on the marshal's record is that Bernard Thinnes was sued for a balance due of $495 —plus.

Mr. Ballotta pointed to a thick ledger. "I entered 78 city garnishees so far today," he said. That was a little past noon.

Outside on Broadway, Mr. Thinnes said that when he went back to Mutual to try to find out why he owed so much, they told him he could buy something else if he wanted.

"'Do you want some more?' they said. He thinks I'm a sucker."

Mr. Thinnes' voice rang out.

"Not any more I'm not."

Injured in Fall

"I'm 53, but I feel like a 2-year-old," he told PM. "You know, around '28, I fell, taking down an electric sign, fell 24 feet. I was laid up in the hospital a long time, all right. Except when they wanted to put a thick sole on my shoe, on account of my leg, I wouldn't have it. I told them I wanted to dance. And I do; not the new ones, the waltz. I used to be able to walk all the way upstairs on my hands. I still can halfway. Then I begin to blow."

He's short of breath and he's robbed of pleasure in anything every two weeks when he collects pay: $46.82 minus $5.20 that goes to the Mutual Diamond & Watch Co., 116 Nassau St.

In 1929, the Mutual Credit Co. dealt in cloaks, suits, dry goods, clothing and jewelry at 116 Nassau St. According to David Weinstein of that company, Mutual Credit and Mutual Diamond & Watch are the same companies. Mr. Thinnes says that Mutual representatives used to oblige city employes by cashing checks for them, sometimes charging 10 cents, sometimes 25 for the favor.

Once Bought a Watch

"Weinstein was the fellow, I don't remember his first name," he said. "I once bought a watch from them on time and paid it up—I don't remember when, oh, my God, it was a long while back."

Later, in the midsummer of 1929, he bought a diamond ring from them. It was priced at $295. He says he was told he could always pawn it for $150.

He didn't read the contract.

"I just signed my name," he says. "It was *some* document to read and I didn't have my glasses with me, anyway."

Between Aug. 1 and Nov. 27, he paid $25 in two installments of $10 and one of $5. Then he couldn't keep up his payments.

In June, 1931, Samuel Weinstein of Mutual garnisheed Mr. Thinnes' wages. Because of previous attachments on his wages, Mutual wasn't able to collect until July 14, 1937. The judgment entered against Bernard Thinnes was for $495 plus $2.50 for costs. The attachment is for that $497.50 plus interest (from June 27, 1931) for $271.11, plus $23.27 in fees.

The total for the diamond ring that originally was $295 became $791.88. So far, Mutual has received $528.35 out of Mr. Thinnes' wages. The balance due is: $263.53. It will be paid. It comes out of Mr. Thinnes' wages every two weeks.

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Mr. Thinnes' voice rang out.

"Not any more I'm not."

10 PM, SUNDAY, OCTOBER 20,

'The Schnook and the Homewrecker' ... Guide to Installment House Jargon

By LEANE ZUGSMITH

PM Exclusive

When you walk into a gyp instalment house the salesman softly calls you Mrs. So-and-So, treats you like a mental equal. Behind your back you're a schnook, at best a clutch.

From employes of "borax houses"—from men who said they hated their work but kept at it because they had to live—PM obtained the gyp salesman's side of the racket.

The terms they use among themselves:

Schnook: A customer; a sucker.

Clutch: A schnook who shows sales-resistance, who wants to read the contract, who balks at wage assignment, chattel mortgage, or an add-on contract.

T. O. Man: The turn-over man. Another salesman who poses as a high executive. His job is to step in and offer the clutch a 10 per cent discount "just for you."

The Mister Billy: The signal which brings on the T. O. man.

Mr. Otis: He is even "higher" than the T. O. man and can take off another 10 per cent. The name Otis was inspired by the elevator label.

Home-wrecker: The credit manager or his assistant.

Borax House: Any installment house that cleans (its customers) like borax.

Schlacht house or *slaughter house*: The borax house where no holds are barred.

Here's the story of one installment-house employe:

"The business is divided clearly into two spheres: the schlacht houses and the refined borax houses. The refined houses are sometimes humane. If the customer is in hard luck, they'll extend his credit.

"I never heard of any house that gave customers copies of their contracts. But the refined ones don't need to. They don't fill in the blanks in contracts after the customer leaves.

"But it's the lower-class houses that sell a lot of people who don't know what's up.

How It Goes

"The people who don't know what's up are called schnooks. If the customer hesitates in signing up for some merchandise because the price seems too high or it's more than he can afford, he is a clutch. The salesman with a clutch give the Mister Billy to the T. O. man."

Salesmen who make their sales through T. O. men sometimes suffer for it.

"In our place, they put a ring around each T. O. sale," said another. "Too many rings and you're bounced."

When a sale is assured, the schnook is handed to the home-wrecker. What the schnook signs, he seldom really knows.

Another article on the inside of installment practice will appear tomorrow.

Here's One Installment House Where The Mark-up's 100 P. C.

By Leane Zugsmith

Back in September, I thought I had learned a lot about installment selling. By October, I thought I knew enough to write a series of articles for PM. It's now January and—thanks to the unbroken stream of communications—I'm still finding out about this misty mercantile area.

Only this week I found out about a furniture house whose mark-up is sometimes as high as 100 per cent. I got the information sitting for a few morning hours in Part 29 of Manhattan's Municipal Court at 8 Reade St., while Justice Benjamin Shalleck heard a suit against Solesto, Inc., 227 Canal St. In the telephone directory, Solesto adds "who furn" to its name.

The action was instituted by a former Solesto employe, Samuel Mattoway, who was trying to recover money he considered due him in commissions. Solesto's counterclaim wasn't concerned about the consumer; it attempted to show that Mr. Mattoway wasn't entitled to the commissions.

The Issue

I listened to Emmanuel Luria, counsel for Mr. Mattoway, and to Michael Schneiderman, counsel for Solesto's. What I got out of the trial was not the issue to be decided in that courtroom. It was this :

Solesto's hired Mr. Mattoway to solicit customers to go down to their store to buy, say, a sofa whose list price was $100. If Mr. Mattoway couldn't persuade the individual to pay that much, he consulted with Jacob Finkelson, credit manager, who would cut the price.

Solesto's always got 50 per cent of the original list price. The commission salesman got the other 50 per cent or whatever was left if the list price was adjusted. If he could arrange a cash or a ten or 30-day sale, instead of a long-term sale, he got an additional 10 per cent.

I tried to find out what was left of the customer after this split—and what Solesto's profits were on its 50 per cent. J. Rabinovich, head of Solesto's, had been sitting one seat removed from me throughout the trial. A heavy, aging, grim-mouthed man, he was on his feet a greater part of the time, leaning over the fence to talk to his credit manager. He cracked his knuckles, he snapped his fingers to draw his lawyer's attention to him and occasionally he whispered:

"That's right. That's right."

'Not Interested'

But outside the courtroom when I asked him about his profits in that 50 per cent, Mr. Rabinovich was less vivacious. He stood still and mute while his attorney said:

"Now, if you're writing an article, we're not interested."

I said I was and I smiled because earlier in the courtroom, Attorney Schneiderman had excitedly said to the Judge, pointing to Mr. Luria:

"He planted two representatives of the press here—a young lady from PM and someone else. They're planted."

(*Miss Zugsmith was in court because she was assigned by her city editor.*—Ed.)

When Judge Shalleck said he saw no objection to the press, in fact, thought newspapers performed services to the public, Mr. Schneiderman added bitterly:

"He took the liberty of inviting newspapers to come."

I was just as unwelcome to Solesto's and its representatives outside as inside the courtroom, although at Judge Shalleck's suggestion, Solesto's had withdrawn its counterclaim. And the Judge had dismissed Mr. Mattoway's suit without prejudice because he felt the action was premature. (*All thhe accounts signed by Mr. Mattoway were not yet fully paid into the furniture house.*)

After the ruling, I talked to the Judge a little while. He spoke off the record so I am not free to print his words. But I listened to him and then I listened to Mr. Rabinovich and Mr. Schneiderman and Mr. Finkelson—talking to the Judge, not to me, the "planted press." I listened to Mr. Mattoway and to Mr. Luria. I listened to everyone but the customer.

He wasn't in that courtroom. The person most concerned wasn't there.

January 13, 1941, p. 10.

Her leads are brief, even factual, as in "'Free Trial' Is Barb-hooked Bait on Installment Gyps."[1] In story after story from October 14 through October 20, she reveals the use of installment devices such as the "add-on"[2] and the "discount Company,"[3] and gives a "Guide to Installment House Jargon."[4] On October 27, a brief statistical summary appears.[5]

In December, a news story informs PM's readers that "Merchants Seek Selling Reforms."[6] From this point on, the stories on installment buying are less frequent, although they appear with regularity.

In January, Miss Zugsmith develops the story of an installment house where the mark-up is 100 per cent.[7] The efforts of Pliny Williamson, New York legislator, on installment contracts are noted in February,[8] and in March, PM proudly announces that the New York legislature has passed 13 bills to regulate installment buying.[9]

Ghost Car Racket

John Kobler's series of exposes on the ghost car racket ran from November 20 through November 29, 1940, in PM.. The term "ghost car" refers to assembling parts of wrecked cars with stolen car engines and wheel bases in order to disguise the stolen cars and thus evade prosecution.

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1 PM, October 13, 1940, p. 10.
2 PM, October 14, 1940, p. 9.
3 PM, October 15, 1940, p. 8.
4 PM, October 20, 1940, p. 10.
5 PM, October 27, 1940, p. 10.
6 PM, December 8, 1940, p. 10.
7 PM, January 15, 1941, p. 10.
8 PM, February 10, 1941, p. 14.
9 PM, March 18, 1941, p. 13.

Kobler's stories were written with a humorous touch that enlivened the material. Beginning with an explanation of the tricks of "discount brokers"[1] -- thep pseudo-dealers who accept deposits and never deliver the cars, the stories proceeded to an explanation of the safety hazards of ghost cars,[2] Kobler's experience with certain dealers,[3] the technique of switching engines and thus disguising stolen cars,[4] the tricks in stealing through the use of duplicate keys and unscrupulous parking lot employees,[5] intricacies of financing[6] and exhorbitant loan rates.[7]

This crusade was one of the mildest and more of an expose than an "all out" attempt to squelch the ghost car racket. It had value, however, in informing the public of unscrupled practices.

Loan Companies

Leane Zugsmith's crusade against dishonest practices by loan companies was printed between December 9 and 22, 1940. Throughout her stories, she quotes frequently from books and articles and traces the legislation enacted to control loan companies.

Miss Zugsmith employs the case history technique here, as in other of her stories. Through the medium of the human interest story she conveys her message to prospective loan company clients.

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1 PM, November 20, 1940, p. 7.
2 PM, November 21, 1941, p. 7.
3 PM, November 25, 1940, p. 7.
4 PM, November 26, 1940, pp. 7,22-23.
5 PM, November 27, 1940, p. 7.
6 PM, November 28, 1940, p. 7.
7 PM, November 29, 1940, p. 7.

Even Leibowitz Got Caught in the Ghost Car Racket

What Discount Brokers Promise and What They Actually Do to Victims

By JOHN KOBLER

Discount brokers—privileged step-brothers of the used car dealer—advertise brand new cars at less than list price. Sometimes they deliver them. Sometimes they deliver demonstrators' or other slightly used cars. Sometimes they deliver nothing, not even the customer's deposit. About 20 discount brokers are operating in New York today, and most used car dealers have a discount sideline.

If pressed, they will explain that their cars come direct from the manufacturer. Actually manufacturers sell only to their franchised agents and with a tacit understanding that their cars will not be sold at less than a fixed minimum. Agents caught underselling usually have their franchises canceled.

But sometimes a dealer accepts too large a quota and can't unload. That's where the discount broker steps in with an offer to take cars at a lower price. Under such secret arrangements it is obvious that the broker cannot always make good a delivery within a specified period nor stand behind every verbal promise of service.

This is how a discount broker took shrewd Samuel Leibowitz, Kings County judge-elect, for a plucking.

One brave spring day, some six years ago, Mr. Leibowitz read an advertisement of an outfit known as Keystone Organization. Keystone, it announced, could furnish new models of any make at 15 per cent to 20 per cent less than list price.

Car-needy and quick to bargain, Mr. Leibowitz hurried to Keystone's salesrooms at 1792 Broadway.

There he met a mild-eyed, folksy oldster named John B. Kepner, who, as president of Keystone, assured him that his dream car was his for the asking—and a modest deposit, say $100. No cars were on display, of course, but unless delivered as represented the deposit would be refunded.

Mr. Leibowitz fancied a Buick sedan, forked over the deposit and signed a contract whereby it would be delivered to him

way's Automobile Row, folksy as ever and still underselling authorized new car dealers.

I visited Keystone's new salesrooms at 1841 Broadway. It consists of one long, high room and a cubicle, both plastered with exhortations to be thrifty. A dark, blue-jawed man languidly munched a salmon sandwich. I learned he was one Gerald Griffin, Keystone's sales manager.

Was it true that Keystone furnished new cars at whopping discounts I asked, and he handed me a brochure crammed with testimonials.

"But how can other dealers compete with you?" I asked, naively.

His cryptic reply still fascinates me:

"They sell more cars than we do."

Contract in Advance

I told him I had decided to shoot the works on a six-cylinder Chrysler convertible coupe. How much? He called across the room to a leggy secretary, who dialed a phone number and presently came up with the figure $1323. At 15 per cent off, Mr. Griffin explained, shoving aside his salmon sandwich, it would stand me only $1124.55.

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Mr. Leibowitz fancied a Buick sedan, forked over the deposit and signed a contract, whereby it would be delivered to him "as soon as possible."

Weeks passed. Keystone maintained a god-like silence.

Mr. Leibowitz wrote to Keystone. This was the opening maneuver in a furious epistolary campaign. Kepner moved next with the explanation that a factory shutdown was causing the delay. The Buick ought to be along any time now. It wasn't. Well, would Mr. Leibowitz try another make? He would not, and shoot back those hundred potatoes.

This was easier said than done. Tearfully, the 60-year-old auto broker pleaded sudden business reverses. The deposit had been used up in meeting overhead expenses.

Flood of Complaints

It presently dawned upon the great lawyer that he had been gulled like the veriest greenhorn.

He never did get the Buick and to recover the deposit he had to haul the folksy Kepner into Municipal Court.

Mr. Leibowitz still broods about it, nor does he derive much comfort from the knowledge that 100 other customers lost $17,000.

In 1938 complaints against Keystone began pouring into District Attorney Dewey's office so fast that his young assistant, Harris Steinberg, was assigned to investigate. An indictment charging Kepner with grand larceny followed.

A jury voted guilty and Judge Charles C. Knott, in General Sessions, handed him a one- to two-year jolt. Kepner paid back some of his victims 10 cents on the dollar and the court suspended sentence. Kepner appealed. The Court of Appeals refused to review the case.

Today John B. Kepner is back on Broadcars at whopping discounts I asked, and he handed me a brochure crammed with testimonials.

"But how can other dealers compete with you?" I asked, naively.

His cryptic reply still fascinates me:

"They sell more cars than we do."

Contract in Advance

I told him I had decided to shoot the works on a six-cylinder Chrysler convertible coupe. How much? He called across the room to a leggy secretary, who dialed a phone number and presently came up with the figure $1323. At 15 per cent off, Mr. Griffin explained, shoving aside his salmon sandwich, it would stand me only $1124.55. I would have to pay a $25 deposit, which would be refunded if the car didn't suit me.

Could I have just a receipt for the deposit and pay for the car when delivered? No, the contract must be signed in advance. Well, could I show it to my lawyer? No.

"If we let our contracts go out of here," Mr. Griffin pointed out, "our competitors might get the hang of our methods."

Here Kepner bustled in, nodded absently and ducked into the cubicle.

"I would like to look at the car," I ventured.

"What for? One new car is like another. Anyway, it has to come from the Chrysler place."

"And where is that? Maybe I could go up there."

"Oh, it's up on West End and 65th."

(I checked later with Mr. Frank Weitoff, vice-president of New York Chrysler, who said the company never had, did not and never would deliver a car to anybody except its own authorized dealers. The Chevrolet people made the same report.)

"One thing more. I've never dealt here before. Can you give me a reference or two?"

He fidgeted a moment in glum silence. When I pressed the point, he said:

"You know how it is. No matter how big they are they all like a bargain. Yes, sir, we've done business with the Roosevelt family."

"How about somebody here in New York?"

He faltered a moment, then, looking me straight in the eye, said:

"We once got a car for Samuel Leibowitz, the lawyer."

Tomorrow: Zombies on Wheels.

Joe DeCombo Had a System . . . It Made Hot Cars Big Business

But He Went to Sing Sing in the End . . . Out in Two Weeks

By JOHN KOBLER

PIM Exclusive

Crooked New York dealers are selling late used car models with clear titles right back to the manufacturer, complete sets of certification papers and genuine identifying numbers – *cars which have nevertheless been stolen 24 hours before!*

The cunning brain that perfected this system belongs to Joseph DeCombo, a fast-talking, 55-year-old master crook, who carries a gangster's bullet at the base of his brain and meets all accusations with the stock phrase:

"Everything legit."

For more than ten years DeCombo operated a chain of used car salesrooms, chief among them the Astoria Boulevard Auto Exchange at 114-56 Roosevelt Ave., Corona, L. I. From these salesrooms he unloaded thousands of hot cars, some on individual customers; some, by strong-arm methods, on legitimate dealers along Broadway's Automobile Row. Any one of his cars would have passed inspection by the keenest-eyed member of the Auto Squad.

In that decade DeCombo, paying counsel a retainer of $25,000 a year, beat 13 larceny and stolen goods raps. Everything was legit. He became a legend in the underworld and grossed better than $1,000,000.

This is how he did it:

Working for DeCombo throughout the Midwest and South were crews of shoppers, their eyes peeled for news of bad auto accidents. They then bought the wrecks from junkies or directly from the insurance companies at $25 to $50 the wreck. With the wreck went all identifying papers. Next step was wiring a description of the car to

largely on a hunch, it had persuaded insurance companies to report all salvage sales. Presently it appeared that hundreds of wrecks from all over the country were being consigned to DeCombo in Queens. The bureau so notified District Attorney Charles Sullivan.

Mr. Sullivan called his smart 32-year-old assistant, Edmund C. Rowan.

"Spare no expense," he told him. "Either we nail DeCombo this time or we give up forever."

To help Mr. Rowan Capt. Eddie Dillon of the Auto Squad assigned two ace detectives, Charles Goubeaud and John Roker, and the underwriters bureau sent Joseph Cunningham.

The detectives looked at DeCombo's sales records.

"Everything," protested the master-mind, "is legit."

Checking the sales records against police reports, they concentrated on customers who had bought cars within a few days after a car of the same model had been stolen.

Boners

Borrowing these suspect cars, the detectives learned that DeCombo and Madia had pulled ludicrous boners. In one car they had overlooked the victim's registration paper rolled up in a window-shade. In another they missed the owner's initialed pencil in the trunk rack. In still another they had left a bit of green wool. Laboratory technicians later matched this with a sweater knitted by the owner's wife.

After painstakingly tracing some 30 cars from DeCombo's salesrooms to the customer and thence to the original owner, Mr. Rowan was ready to ask for an indictment.

In June of 1933, DeCombo left for Sing Sing, swearing to get Mr. Rowan. He would be out in two weeks.

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Stole on Order

DeCombo then sent for Frank Madia, boss of New York's most accomplished car thieves, who stole on order. DeCombo's order would be a car of the same description as the wreck.

Madia's boys always delivered. The source of supply for 90 per cent of all their thefts was a six-block area on Ocean Avenue, Brooklyn, within the shadow of the 71st police precinct.

This area is chockablock with apartment buildings, but barren of parking space so that residents keep their cars in delivery garages and telephone for them when wanted. Several times the Madia gang coolly telephoned a delivery garage themselves and simply waited at the given address.

The hot cars were then rushed to one of DeCombo's many Long Island "drops" or hideaway workshops, where his field crew had delivered the engine and identification papers from the wrecked car. An hour's work sufficed to switch engines.

At one point the Madia gang stole an average of one car a night from the same area. Yet police failed to trap the thieves—possibly because Madia employed demon drivers who would stall accidentally on purpose in the path of pursuers.

The combination was finally licked. The original stimulus came from the Automobile Underwriters Detective Bureau. Acting

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Meantime Madia, himself the survivor 12 arrests and one conviction, had tied u with one Joe (the Plumber) Calandra, wh tried to step into DeCombo's shoes. Bu Madia stole so many cars that Calandr could no longer obtain enough wrecks t match them. So he took to cutting them u and wholesaling spare parts. His bigge customer, according to trial testimony, wa Academy Auto Wreckers at Ninth Ave. an 208th St.

Madia wound up doing ten to 20 year Calandra the same.

The hot car industry, however, still flourishing. Hundreds of buyers burn the fingers on them every year.

"It's a type of crime," Mr. Rowan tol PM, "tough to control. The hardest-hit vi tims are the buyers. Not only are their ca seized and returned to the original owner some insurance company, but they have t go right on paying finance charges. Fu thermore, they are often in a position whe they must prove they had no guilty know edge. Nor is there any infallible way a buy can protect himself against accepting a c with switched identifying numbers. His be bet is to deal only with well-established ne car dealers who handle used cars on th side." (*See pictures pages* 22-23.)

Tomorrow: More about hot cars.

How Many Loan Companies Violate the Law?

Customer Pays Interest on Interest When He Renews His Loan

The first New York daily newspaper to discuss the excessively high rates and heavy-handed practices of state-licensed lenders, PM has been conducting a campaign in the interests of small, hard-pressed borrowers. PM showed how 36 per cent a year interest affected the lives of several borrowers. It told why loan-company employes, as well as borrowers, are aroused at company practices.

Today, PM discloses the way many loan companies violate the law.

By Leane Zugsmith

Even 36 per cent interest a year isn't enough for some loan companies. To get a few more dollars out of a borrower—which means many dollars out of many borrowers—they violate the Banking Law.

Of course, they risk losing their licenses to do business. But they trust their customers won't notice this trick.

I talked to borrowers. I talked to lawyers familiar with loan company practices. I talked to employes who took these tricks for granted.

The most common trick is charging interest on interest. This is called compounding interest.

They do not compound interest on original loans. They wait for renewals. They wait until borrowers come in, pleading for more time.

How they operate then was best described to me by Archibald Bromsen, a lawyer of 261 Broadway, who has become an expert on loan matters, largely to protect the members of 10 unions he represents.

"A teamster," Mr. Bromsen said, "may owe a balance of $200, principal and interest, on a $300 loan. When he explains he cannot make his payments on time, the loan company manager sympathizes with him. The manager tells him he cannot grant an extension, but he can arrange a new loan.

New Note

"The company cancels the original loan and the teamster makes out a new promissory note for $250. When the driver signs the new note, the company gives him $50. That's the difference between the $200 he owes on the old note—for principal and interest—and the $250 amount of the new note.

"The driver feels that everything is square. He feels that he owed $200 on the old loan and he's getting another $50 in cash. He can see no objection to paying interest on the new loan for $250.

"The driver forgot that the $200 balance owed on the old loan included principal and interest and that under the law the lender is permitted to charge interest only on the unpaid principal. By renewing his note for $250, the loan company tricked him into paying interest not only on the unpaid principal but also on the unpaid interest!

"Regardless of what the driver thinks, the loan company knows that this practice is unfair and illegal. This is nothing other than the compounding of interest that the law specifically prohibits and which makes a loan null and void."

I talked with another man who was so sure his loan was made void by this practice that he stopped paying. He is Henry Feinstein, supervisor of motorized equipment in the Borough of Manhattan's Construction Department.

Renewed Loan

Originally, Mr. Feinstein borrowed $300 from a personal finance company. By the time he had reduced his debt to $240, he found himself temporarily unable to meet payments, so he renewed his loan. Dated Aug. 12, 1940, the new note was for $250.

"The person in charge at the company's office issued a new book to me, after he had deducted money from my new loan to pay the interest on my old loan," said Mr. Feinstein. "The balance he turned over to me. I discovered that such action by the company was a violation of the Banking Law and I refused to make further payments."

Mr. Feinstein is president of the Federation of Municipal Employes, numbering 10,000 city employes.

"We think that about 3000 members are in the same boat, with renewal loans," he says, "on which the loan companies have practiced in exactly the same manner as in my case."

The outcome of his test may mean everything to heavily indebted city employes. It may spell bad news to companies guilty of compounding interest.

Such companies do not visibly sanction illegal practices. They condemn them, in writing, but employes tell PM it's just for the record.

"Shady instructions are given over the telephone," said a loan manager. "After a manager compounds four or five times, he gets a letter from his boss saying it's wrong. At the same time, the boss is always after him to rewrite accounts. That's when he compounds.

Loan Companies Avoid Court On Questionable Transactions

In the past four years, Noah Rotwein, a lawyer at 270 Broadway, has had referred to him more than 300 loans containing violations of the Banking Law.

In none of the 300 cases did the loan companies go to court. "They couldn't collect—because the loans were invalid," he said.

Some were invalid because they compounded interest, he said. The others were loans which Mr. Rotwein believed made illegal charges.

"My estimate is that there isn't an auto loan that's executed legally—not one," he says. "After providing for this high rate of interest, the law goes on to say there shall be no other charges except a filing fee for a chattel mortgage. Here's what happens. A man goes to a loan company, borrows $200 on a car and gives a chattel mortgage to secure the loan. Perfectly legal.

"Now the loan company, instead of giving him the full $200, gives him $185. They take out $15 for insurance. He pays interest on $200, although he only receives $185.

"The companies claim that the insurance money doesn't go into their pockets, it goes to the insurance company. Well, the statute specifically exempts only a filing fee—which doesn't go into their pockets, either. So that's no argument.

"Now, the only reason, the main reason given for such high rates was the great element of risk in small loans. But when the borrower insures his car the company is the beneficiary. The company charges the high rates, but does not take the higher risk."

(The courts have never finally passed on this issue. They may soon. Several cases are pending in which Mr. Rotwein's claim will be tested.)

Transaction Becomes Invalid When Lender Compounds Interest

How to Stop the Loan Evil: Lower the High Rate by Law And Check the Loan Sharks

By Leane Zugsmith

PM Exclusive

I have written five articles, telling what I have learned about banks, personal finance companies and loan sharks. I have talked with a lot of borrowers but I have never found one who did not hate the licensed lenders and the loan sharks.

I think interest rates are too high. I think the 30 and 36-per cent rates allowed under the law bear too heavily upon small borrowers.

I know that when I say legal rates are too high I am going to be called a dupe for the outlawed loan sharks. Honest legislators who have fought against the high rates have been called dupes.

Nevertheless, I do not believe a man with a sick family or a working girl harassed by debt should be forced to pay oppressive rates on the flimsy theory that they must subsidize the license loan companies to compete with loan sharks.

I think the interest rates should be lowered by law AND that the activities of loan sharks should be COMPLETELY checked by law.

Public officials, I showed Friday, have been active against organized loan sharks. They could be more effective if usury was made a felony instead of a misdemeanor.

But only one section of the population is plundered by loan sharks. Another, far greater portion turns to commercial and industrial banks, and to personal finance companies for loans of $300 or under.

Varying Rates

PM compared costs of $100 loans at three legalized agencies, found interest rates varying from 6.87 per cent a year at commercial banks to 36 per cent a year at small-loan companies.

committee decides if you want a loan for provident and productive purposes. If you get it, you may have as long as two years in which to repay. There are modest fines—varying with each credit union—for late payments.

I repeat: this kind of savings-and-loan cooperative is really run in the interests of the small borrower. And if you want to find out how to join or form a Credit Union, you can get fuller information at the N. Y. State Credit Union's office, 254 W. 31st St.

You may learn that you aren't eligible to any existing credit union. You may learn that you can't quickly form one on your shop or union or your neighborhood. And you still need that $100.

Your next best buy is at the personal loan department of a bank; after that, at an industrial bank; and, last, at a personal finance company.

Write Legislators

I suggest you write your state senators and assemblymen, urging them to support the Gutman-Cariello rate reduction bill. As PM told you in an early installment of this series, last session, State Senator Daniel Gutman (D.) introduced a bill calling for interest rate reductions to 2½ per cent a month on sums up to $100 and 2 per cent a month on the remaining $200. Assemblyman Mario J. Cariello (D.) introduced a similar bill in the Assembly.

These rate reductions were recommended by Governor Lehman and by the Superintendent of Banks, William R. White.

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In this concluding article of the series, I want to give advice, not make comparisons. I believe the cheapest and best source for small loans are credit unions.

There are nearly 9000 chartered credit unions in the country, set up in trade unions, parishes, large corporations. In greater New York, there are 400 such co-operatives. And 40 of them are open membership credit unions to which you may belong if you are recommended by existing members.

Governed by federal and state laws, credit unions may not charge more than 1 per cent a month or 12 per cent interest a year. Some charge less.

Usually, they work this way:

After you have paid your 25 cents entrance fee, you must buy a share amounting to, at least, $5. You may buy this at the rate of 25 cents a week, perhaps every two weeks. And unless you have borrowed from your credit union, you may withdraw this sum just as you would in a savings bank. If your money stays in, you will receive dividends ranging from 4 to 6 per cent a year.

Thrift Agency

That presents the Credit Union's function as a thrift agency. But you want also to borrow from it. Your credit union is authorized to lend sums of $300 or less. It is, unlike most banks and personal finance companies, glad to lend small sums: $25, $10, $5.

There is no investigation fee. Credit Union members know one another. Its credit

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1940, p. 12.

Jerry Franken joins Miss Zugsmith in her prosecution of unscrupulous loan companies with stories like "Loan Companies Use Radio to Lure Trade."[1]

Miss Zugsmith continues her exposes until December 15 when she writes on "How to Stop the Loan Evil: Lower the High Rate by Law and Check the Loan Sharks."[2] She writes in the first person and makes definite suggestions:[3]

> I think interest rates are too high. I think the 30 and 36 per cent rates allowed under the law bear too heavily upon small borrowers.....
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> I think the interest rates should be lowered by law AND that the activities of loan sharks should be COMPLETELY checked by law.

Miss Zugsmith's solution for the small borrower is the Credit Union, which she explains in detail.[4]

Crusade on Worn-Out School Houses

The campaign against New York's worn-out school houses was one of the most spectacular in PM because of the extensive use of pictures and art work and the fact that it aroused the interest of parents of all classes. Raymond Abrashkin wrote the stories which appeared on 13 days between January 6 and 26, 1941.

On the first day of its appearance, the following editorial note clearly defined the purpose of the crusade and solicited the public's help in supplying additional information.

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1 PM, December 12, 1940, p. 14.
2 PM, December 15, 1940, p. 12.
3 Ibid.
4 PM, December 22, 1940, p. 11.

The editorial note stated:[1]

> On this and the next three pages are pictures taken in New York public schools. (New York is the best city in the world.) They aren't pretty pictures, but we think they should be looked at. If enough people look at them -- and give some thought to whether or not they want New York youngsters to go to school in places like these -- we believe something will be done to change the situation.
>
> The problem of doing something gets down to the problem of getting money for new buildings and repairs. And that is tied up with the complications of city and state finances. We don't know the answer to the money question. We are looking into it and will tell what we find out in later stories.
>
> In the meantime, we invite the public, teachers and parents, and officials of the Board of Education and city to supply more facts on existing conditions.

Abrashkin's stories are in personal narrative form, written in the first person. He describes the conditions he found and PM's photographers set them forth more vividly in large-sized pictures. There is much to-do about unsanitary conditions, including yard toilets, and at times both stories and photographs become a trifle disgusting. One feels that it is unnecessary to pursue the detail to the degree that PM carries it.

On January 8, 1941,[2] Abrashkin describes his difficulties in getting into the schools, his experiences in being ejected, and his conversations with pupils.

The following day the first of the reports submitted by parents appeared in PM. More unbelievable conditions are described in Abrashkin's running commentary, along with a boxed

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1 PM, January 6, 1941, p. 16.
2 PM, January 8, 1941, p. 14.

New York's Worn-Out School Houses

One-Third Of Buildings Are Unfit

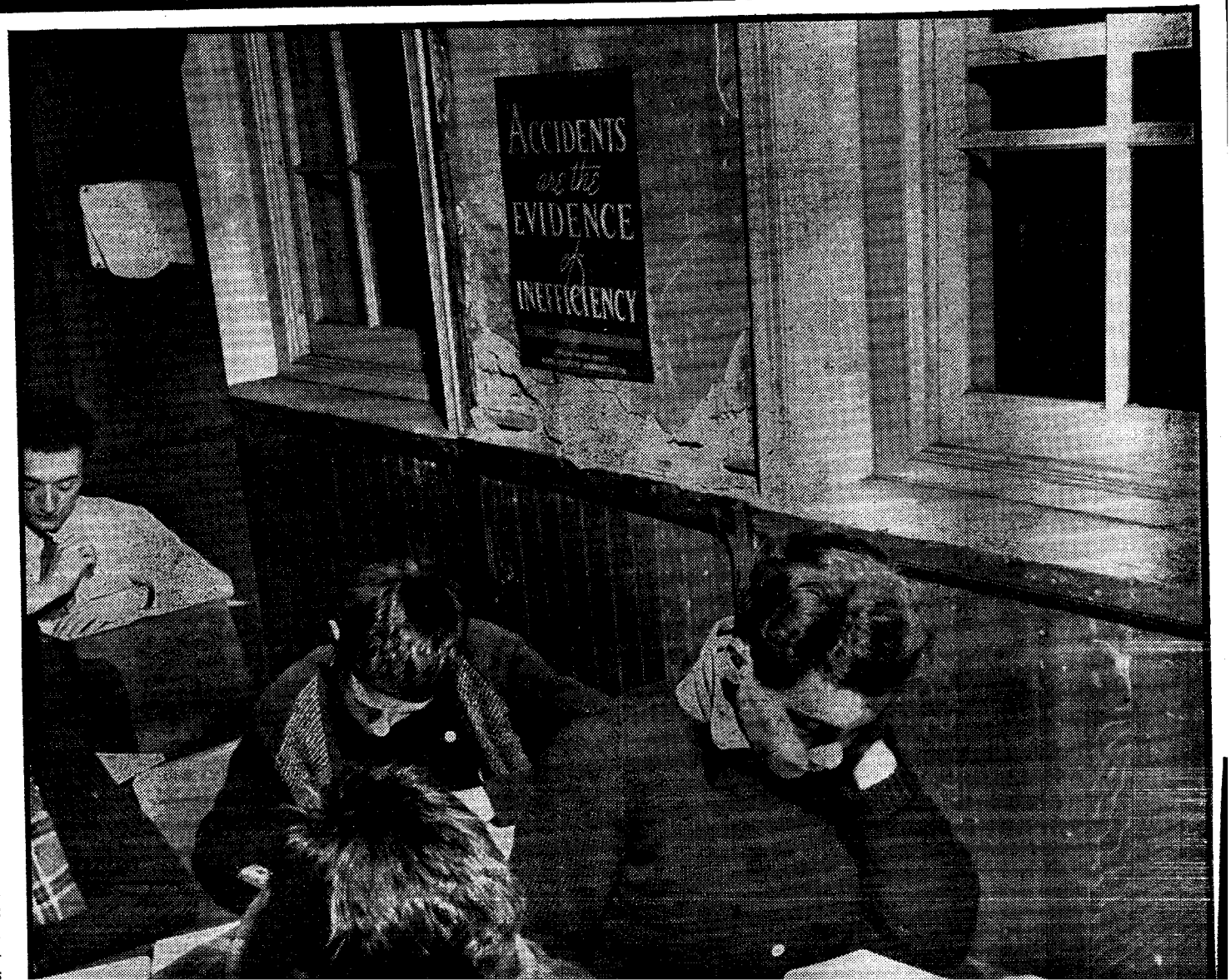
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By Raymond Abrashkin

On Nov. 19, 1940, James Marshall, President of the Board of Education of New York City, said 130 non-fireproof school buildings in New York City should be replaced. Mr. Marshall—he's a slightly bald, pipe-smok-



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By Leonard Engel

On Nov. 10, 1940, James Marshall, President of the Board of Education of New York City, said 150 non-fireproof school buildings in New York City should be replaced. Mr. Marshall—not a slightly build, paper-smoke

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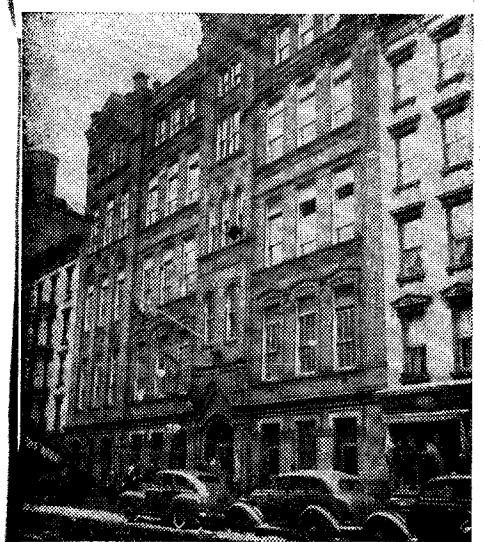
By RAYMOND ABRASHKIN

On Nov. 19, 1940, James Marshall, President of the Board of Education of New York City, said 130 non-fireproof school buildings in New York City should be replaced. Mr. Marshall—he's a slightly bald, pipe-smoking attorney in his forties who speaks quickly and incisively—said his figure did not include buildings that will eventually be abandoned because the school population in the districts they serve is diminishing.

I went to Mr. Marshall and told him PM wanted to show pictures of the conditions in the older buildings to our readers. And I asked him for all the available facts on school buildings so that I might present a fair and accurate story.

He gave me—through Howard A. Shiebler, smooth-talking ex-newspaperman who is secretary to the Superintendent of Schools and acts as the board's publicity agent—two reports on school buildings.

Mr. Shiebler sent me to the Murray Hill Vocational High School of Building and Metal Trades, 237 E. 37th St. When I arrived at the school with a photographer we discovered that the building was being renovated by the Board with the help of WPA funds.



The school is the building with the flag. It's the Annex of Murray Hill Vocational High School.

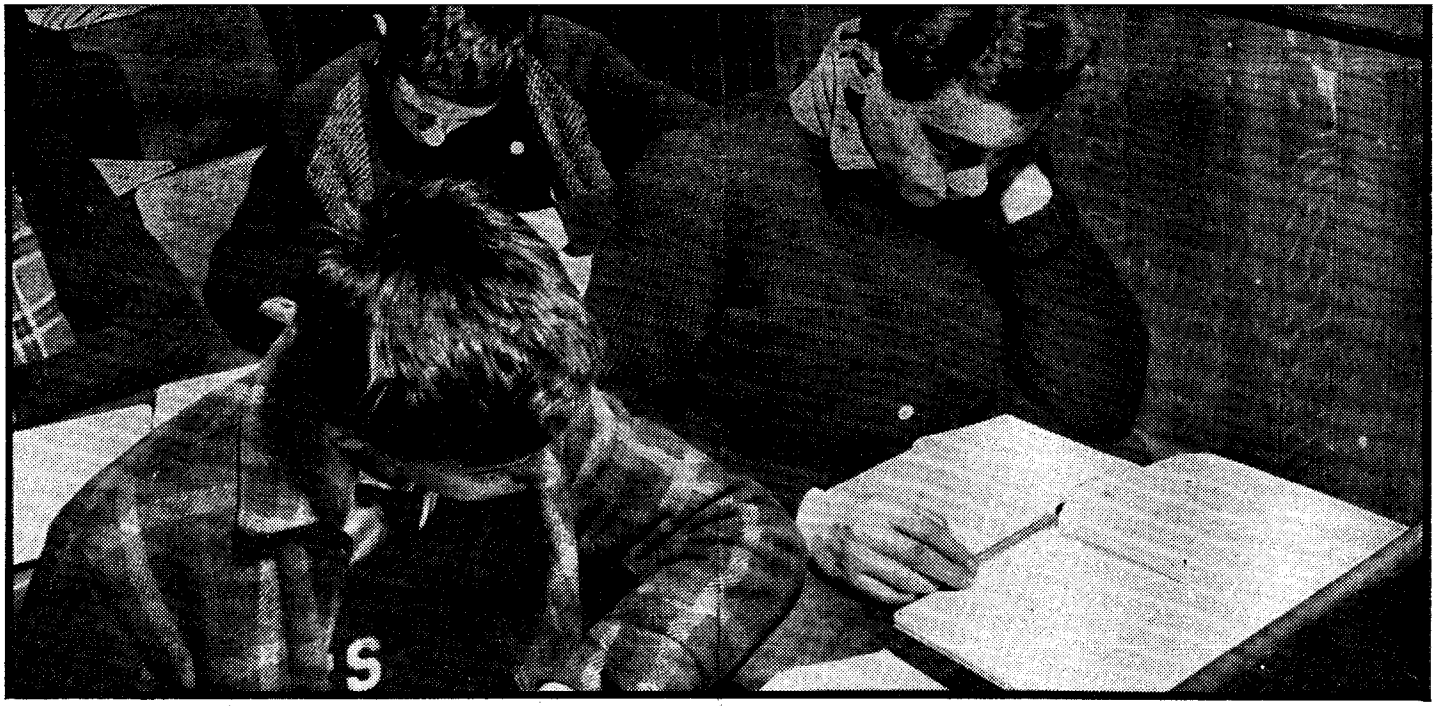
So we went to one of the two annexes now being used by Murray Hill. We picked the annex at First St. and First Ave.

A few days later we entered Annex 2 of Newtown High School, 42d Ave. and 72d St., Winfield, Queens. I called Mr. Shiebler for an OK on picture taking in the building.

"Sorry," said Mr. Shiebler, "but the chief (Mr. Marshall) decided against any more pictures." There were no reasons given by Mr. Shiebler. I did not press the point with Mr. Marshall then, but I have since tried to reach him several times.

Last Friday and Saturday one of my editors tried to reach Mr. Marshall again, and I talked to Mr. Shiebler and to Mr. Marshall's secretary. The editor told them that PM took the position that, as citizens, we had a right to go into the schools and find out the physical condition of the school buildings and we had a right to make public these conditions, in words and pictures.

My editor told these officials that we would stand on this position and would go into schools (outside of school hours) with or without Mr. Marshall's permission, to show whatever conditions we might find. (*PM photographers, of course, will follow through and go into the schools for more pictures.*)



This picture was taken in Room 311 of Murray Hill Annex. There are 16 other classrooms in the building. The teacher was unintentionally ironical in his choice of a poster. Some of the boys wear heavy street clothes all day because of inadequate wardrobe facilities. The atmosphere is decidedly unpleasant.

In looking into this situation, I had gone into a number of schools. What I saw, convinced me that the First Street Annex of Murray Hill Vocational High School is certainly not representative of New York's schools. I want to make that clear. But I believe, from what I saw during several days of traveling from school to school in Manhattan, Brooklyn and Queens, that it is representative of the lower third of the school buildings in New York City.

The annex is housed in old P. S. 79. It was built in 1875, and an addition was built on in 1885. The total cost of the site, buildings, mechanical equipment and furniture, as of Dec. 31, 1938, (the last available figure) was $167,810.02. More than 500 students attend the annex.

And, according to information obtained at the Board of Education, the building was supposed to have been abandoned in 1939. But these pictures were taken at the close of 1940. No one I questioned knew exactly when the building would be abandoned—certainly not this school year, unless present plans are changed. In the meantime, hundreds of children go to school there under unsafe and unsanitary conditions.

The building is listed in Board of Education reports as a class "C" building. That means, according to New York City Building Code classification, "Buildings of brick construction with wooden floor beams. Erected prior to 1892." These buildings are not fireproof.

As of June 30, 1940, 131 class "C" buildings were in use for instructional purposes in New York City, 135 others were partly class "C," and 45 more were class "D" buildings (of wooden or frame construction). This means that one out of every three New York City school buildings is completely or partly non-fireproof. In them, 150,000 New York children go to school.

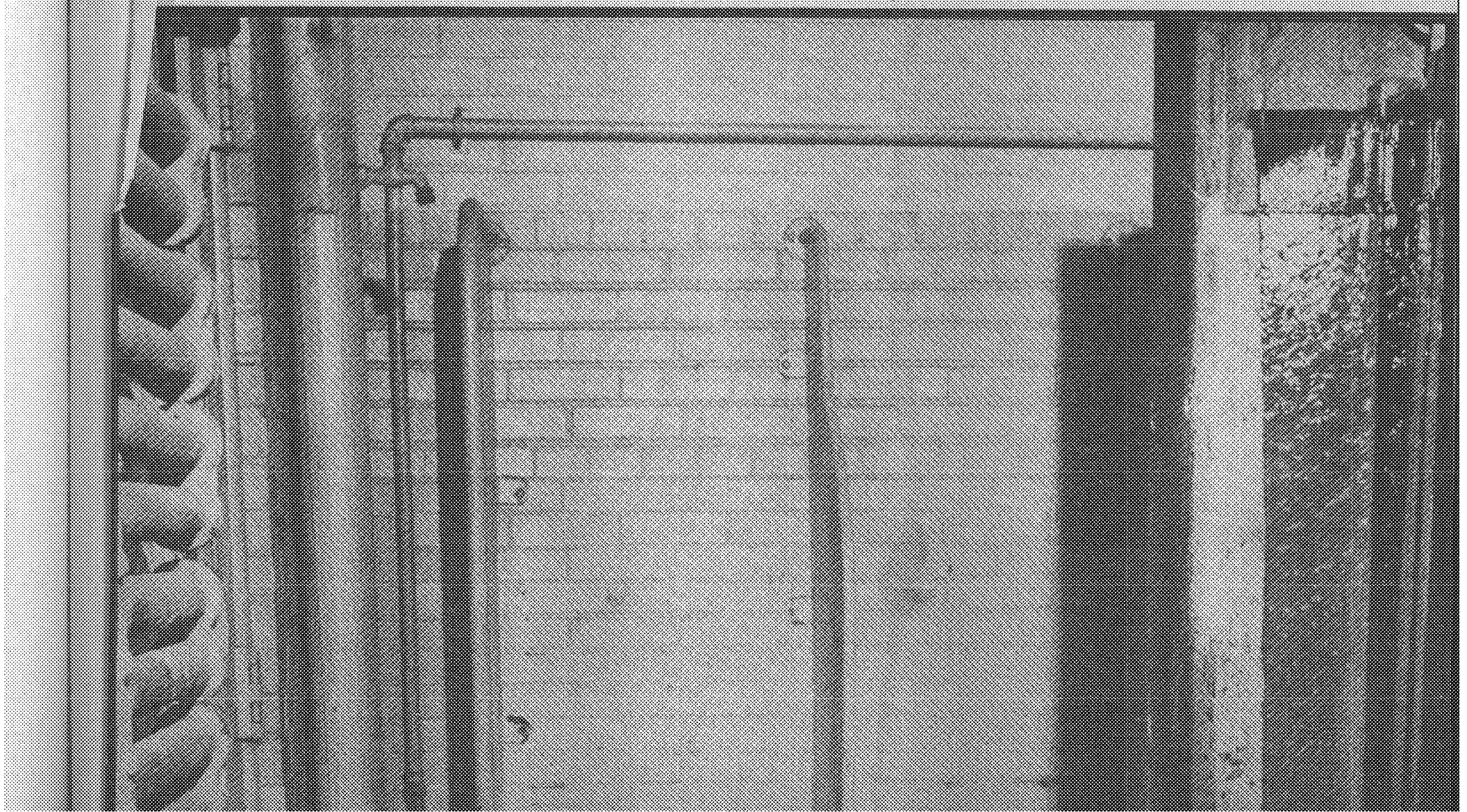
The fact that there are 526 class "A" (fireproof) buildings in the school system doesn't help the pupils in the 311 non-fireproof structures.

Tomorrow I will tell you about some of the things I saw in my visits to New York's older school buildings. I will also summarize the Board of Education's report on yard toilets.

. . . And This, Too, Exists in 1941 in Manhattan



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This is the boys' toilet at Public School 86, Lexington Ave. and 96th St., Manhattan. We are printing it because we think that people will be exposed when they find out that conditions like this exist in some New York schools. The school is a 6B school, which means that children from 5 to 12 years old attend. The building was erected in 1889 and is rated as class 'C.' Its five stories hold 44 classrooms with a pupil seating capacity of 2058. This is the only toilet for the boys of the school and they must go through an unheated passageway to get to it.



This is the boys' toilet at Public School 86, Lexington Ave. and 96th St., Manhattan. We are printing it because we think that people will be aroused when they find out that conditions like this exist in some New York schools. The school is a 6B school, which means that children from 5 to 12 years old attend. The building was erected in 1889 and is rated as class "C." Its five stories hold 44 classrooms with a pupil seating capacity of 2059. This is the only toilet for the boys of the school and they must go through an unheated passageway to get to it.

report on "PM's Fight to Inspect City's Schools."[1]

Story after story tells of deplorable conditions in the public schools, each with accompanying pictures. On January 14, a diagram shows in pictorial fashion the history of a new school building that took five years to obtain. The lay-out is appropriately titled "New York School Building Is Tied Up in Red Tape."[2]

"Superintendent Reports on School Program,"[3] is PM's analysis and debunking of the superintendent's long-awaited report. This is followed by a full page analysis of "Why the School Building Program Is Inadequate."[4] Abrashkin's editorial, "PM's Position on School Building,"[5] serves as a summary. It reports 158 letters received from readers, every one expressing support and approval.[5] A later article prints additional letters.

The final story reports progress, for "A Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations Suggest a Plan for Schools."[7]

The foregoing analysis of the major crusades in PM indicates that PM considers itself a crusading newspaper and set about early in its publishing history to fulfill this destiny. In many of its crusades for civil reform, it has been successful to some degree. PM's representatives are, however, modest on this point, stating that:[8]

> It is ... difficult to point to any particular point made by any one newspaper alone because so many other factors enter into the final result.

Allen Rose, in naming the most successful crusades, includes

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1 PM, January 9, 1941, p. 16.
2 PM, January 14, 1941, p. 11.
3 PM, January 15, 1941, p. 12.
4 PM, January 16, 1941, p. 18.
5 Ibid.
6 PM, January 20, 1941, p. 15.
7 PM, January 26, 1941, p. 13.
8 Rose, op. cit., (Correspondence).

New York's Worn-Out School Houses

Parents' Letters to PM Describe Bad Conditions

One Mother Calls P. S. 16, Brooklyn, a "Hell-Hole"

By Raymond Abrashkin

Since PM started out last Monday to tell in words and pictures the story of the bad conditions that prevail in the oldest third of New York City's public schools, we have received many letters from readers asking us to tell about particular schools. Many of these letters tell better than I can of the conditions under which some children are being educated.

Among the first of these letters was one from Mrs. Louis W. Barsky, 99 Taylor St., Brooklyn. The letter said:

"I have a child in the kindergarten of the old, well known hell-hole, P. S. 16, Brooklyn, that was erected in 1858, before the Civil War. The toilets are in the yard and children of tender years are forced to leave warm classrooms in rain, snow and sleet to use these unheated and ill-ventilated toilets."

Three Buildings

The *Financial and Statistical Report* of the Board of Education for 1938 lists P. S. 16, Wilson St. near Bedford Ave., Brooklyn, (a slum neighborhood) as having three buildings. It is an "AC" type school which means that at least one of the buildings is

Superintendent of Schools, why this outside toilet had not been included in the list of yard toilets issued by the Board on Dec. 31, 1940, in response to a request by PM for a complete list of all such toilets in the city. (*PM summarized this report on Tuesday.*)

Explanations

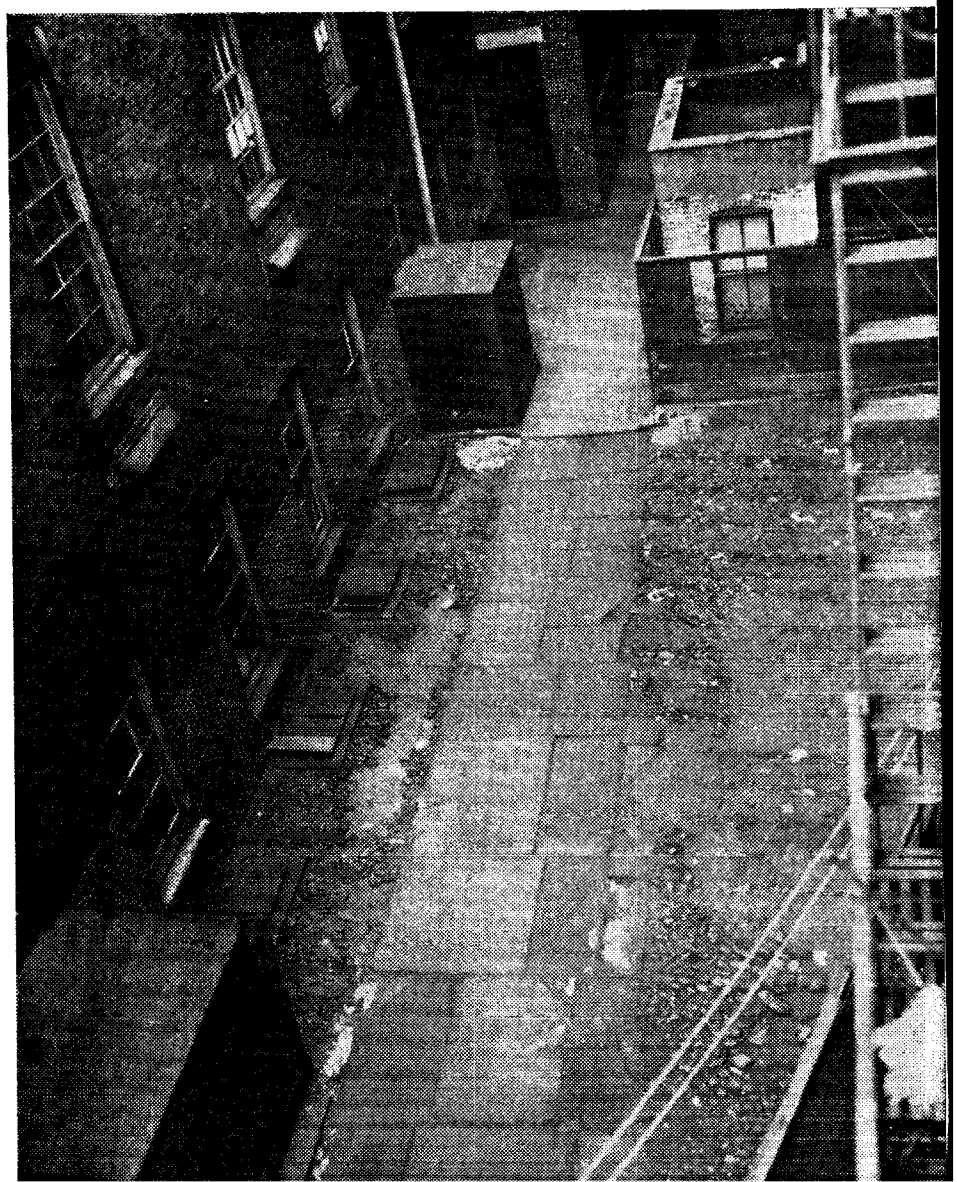
Mr. Shiebler told me that the toilet had not been included because the building is to be replaced this year. He said the girls' toilet had been moved inside in 1936 at a cost of $8648, and plans were being drawn that year to move the boys' toilet. But the Board decided to replace the whole building and so dropped the toilet-moving project.

It is the policy of the Board of Education not to make needed repairs of school buildings that the Board plans to abandon or replace. The policy is defended on the grounds that there is not enough money for repairs to go around, so the logical thing to do is concentrate on those buildings that will continue to be used for many years.

This policy has forced hundreds of boys attending the school to use an old-fashioned yard toilet for at least five years. Less than $10,000 would have corrected this condition.

Complicated Process

I called Phillip B. Thurston, secretary to the City Planning Commission to find out why, if plans for a new building for P. S. 16 had been made in 1936, ground had not yet



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Among the first of these letters was one from Mrs. Lena W. Barsky, 99 Taylor St., Brooklyn. The letter said:

"I have a child in the kindergarten of the old, well known hell-hole, P. S. 16, Brooklyn, that was erected in 1858, before the Civil War. The toilets are in the yard and children of tender years are forced to leave warm classrooms in rain, snow and sleet to use these infected and ill-ventilated toilets."

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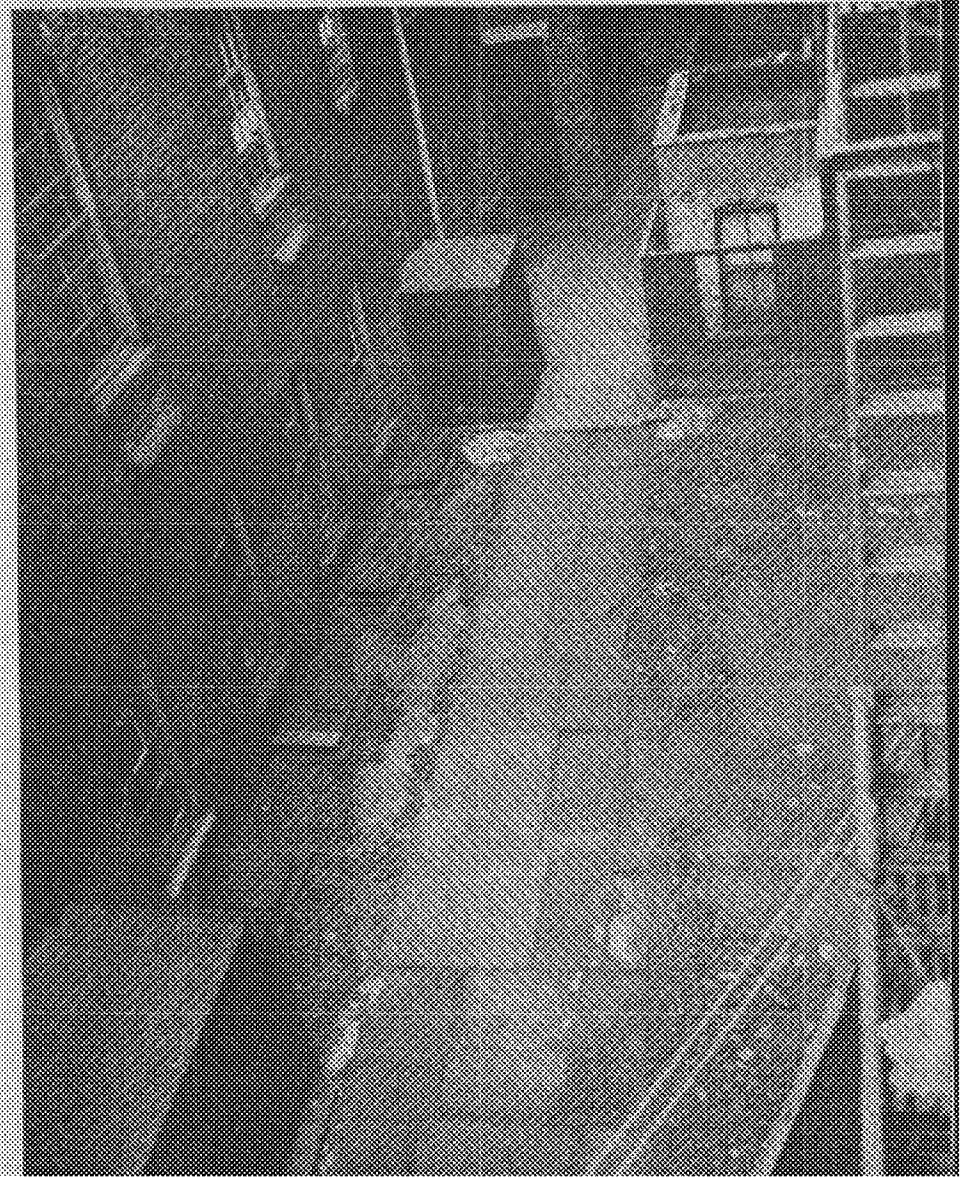
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Among the best of these letters was one from Mrs. Louis W. Barsky, 50 Taylor St., Brooklyn. The letter said:

"I have a child in the kindergarten of the old, well known hell-hole, P. S. 10, Brooklyn, that was erected in 1858, before the Civil War. The toilets are in the yard and children of tender years are forced to leave warm classrooms in rain, snow and sleet to use these unheated and ill-ventilated toilets."

Three Buildings

The *Financial and Statistical Report* of the Board of Education for 1938 lists P. S. 10, Wilson St. near Bedford Ave., Brooklyn, (a slum neighborhood) as having three buildings. It is an "AC" type school which means that at least one of the buildings is not fireproof. The original building was built in 1858—the year Lincoln defeated Douglas and the first overland mail stages reached San Francisco. There were additions or new buildings in 1885, 1918 and 1924. All of these buildings are now in use. The three buildings combined have 21 classrooms with a total seating capacity of 2812.

I sent a photographer to P. S. 10. He brought back the two pictures at the right. He said he walked into the school yard at 8 a.m. yesterday and took the pictures. Nobody stopped him.

I called the Board of Education and asked Howard Shiebler, secretary to the

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I called Phillip B. Thurston, secretary to the City Planning Commission to find out why, if plans for a new building for P. S. 10 had been made in 1930, ground had not yet been broken for this building. I learned from him that it's a long complicated process for New York City to get a new school built. I know the process is complicated because I have been studying it for the last week and I still am tangled in a web of figures.

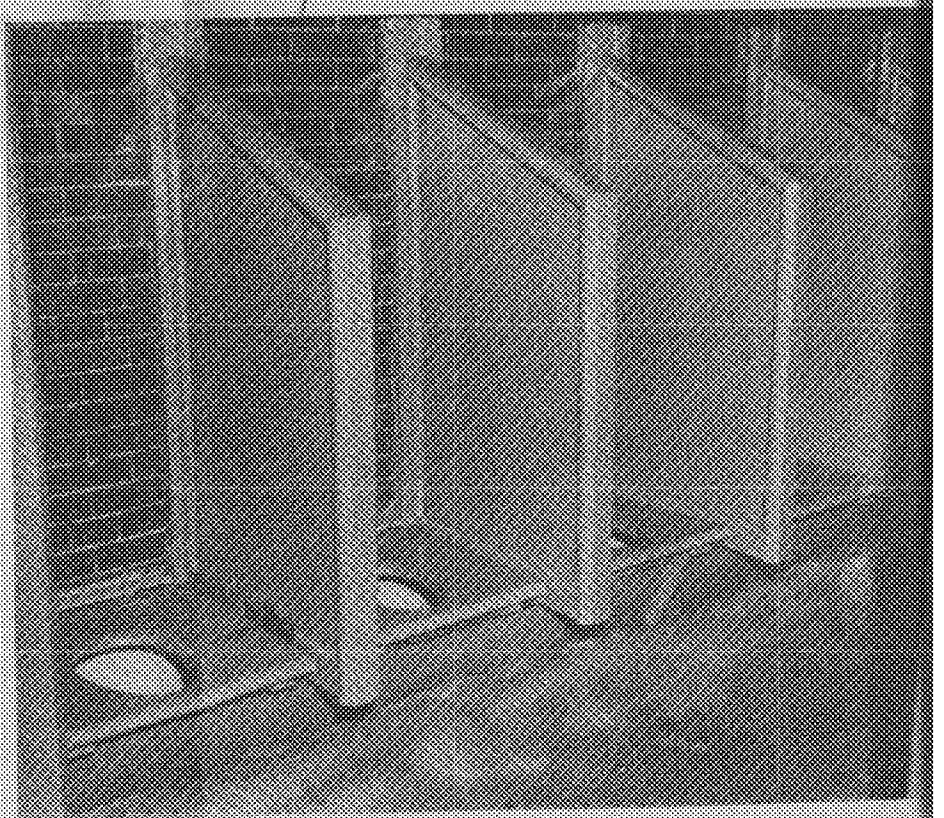
If I can untangle myself I hope to explain the financial aspects of the school problem in a later article.

If I can't explain them, at least I will tell those facts that I have been able to discover.

Tomorrow PM will tell more of the story of the substandard one third of New York's schools.



This is a small section of a yard at P. S. 10. The school has a labyrinth of yards of various shapes and sizes. This picture was taken from the third story of a tenement next to the school. Most of the yards look more than this one.



PM doesn't like to print pictures like this one of a boys' toilet at P. S. 10, but we feel the public should know the exact conditions that prevail in the schools, unpleasant as otherwise.

PM Photo by Irving Haberman

Developments in PM's Fight To Inspect City's Schools

Since Monday, when this series of articles began, PM has exposed to recognize the refusal of the Board of Education officials to permit PM's reporters and photographers to go into the public schools of New York outside of school hours, and report the conditions under which the children of the city are being educated.

PM's position is that it has both the right and the duty to do this because the schools are public buildings paid for by the taxpayers (and we are all taxpayers of the city, and because the 130,000 children who are the victims of bad school conditions cannot articulate their own protests. We set out to show the conditions that exist in the schools in the belief that full publicity will bring action to correct the situation.

Yesterday, Howard Shiebler, secretary to the Superintendent of Schools told Raymond Arnoldus, the reporter writing this series, there had been a misunderstanding on the part of the Board. Mr. Shiebler said he understood from John P. Lewis, assistant managing editor of PM, that we wanted to take pictures during school hours, but if we were willing to take the pictures outside of school hours that was another matter and he would check with his superiors. Mr. Lewis reports that in his telephone conversation with Mr. Shiebler he emphasized the point that PM wanted permission to take pictures after school hours because we did not want to disrupt the work of the school system. As soon as we hear from Mr. Shiebler we shall report further developments. In the meantime, PM will continue to send its photographers and reporters into the schools without permission of the board.

We repeat our invitation to the public and city officials to supply us with more facts about conditions in the schools.

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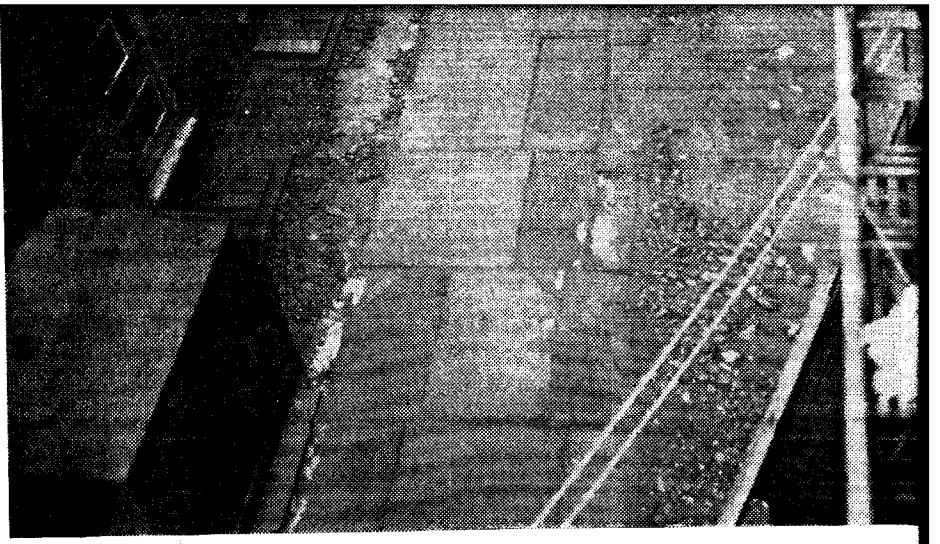
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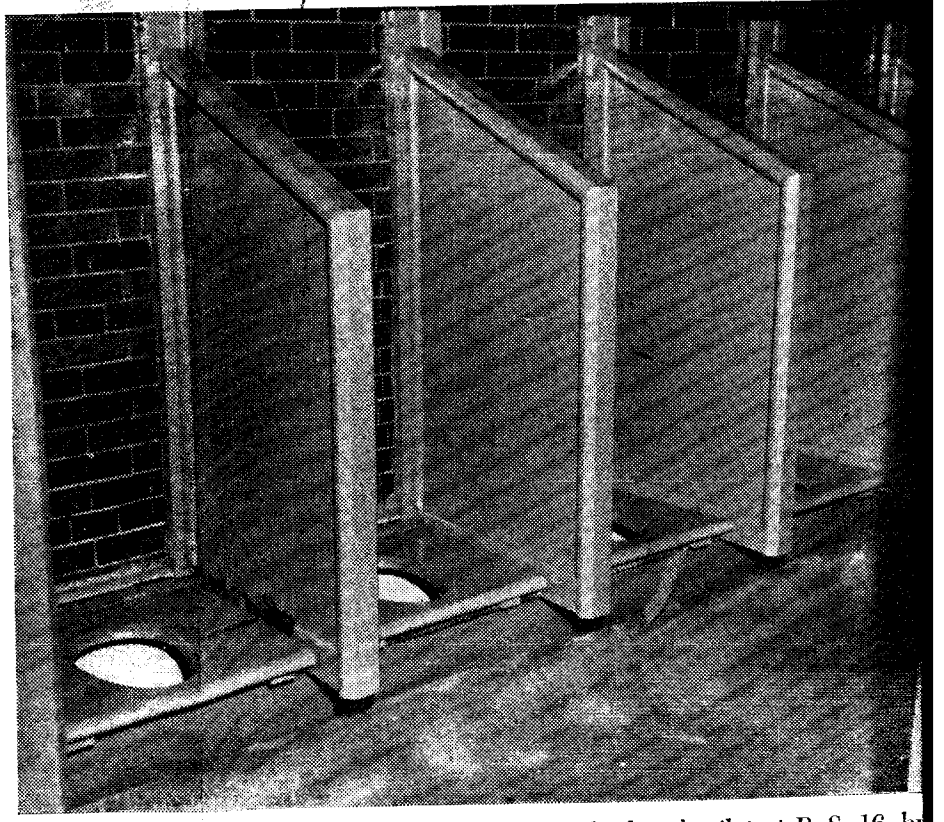
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This is a small section of a yard at P. S. 16. The school has a labyrinth of yards of various shapes and sizes. This picture was taken from the third story of a tenement next to the school. Most of the yards look nicer than this one.



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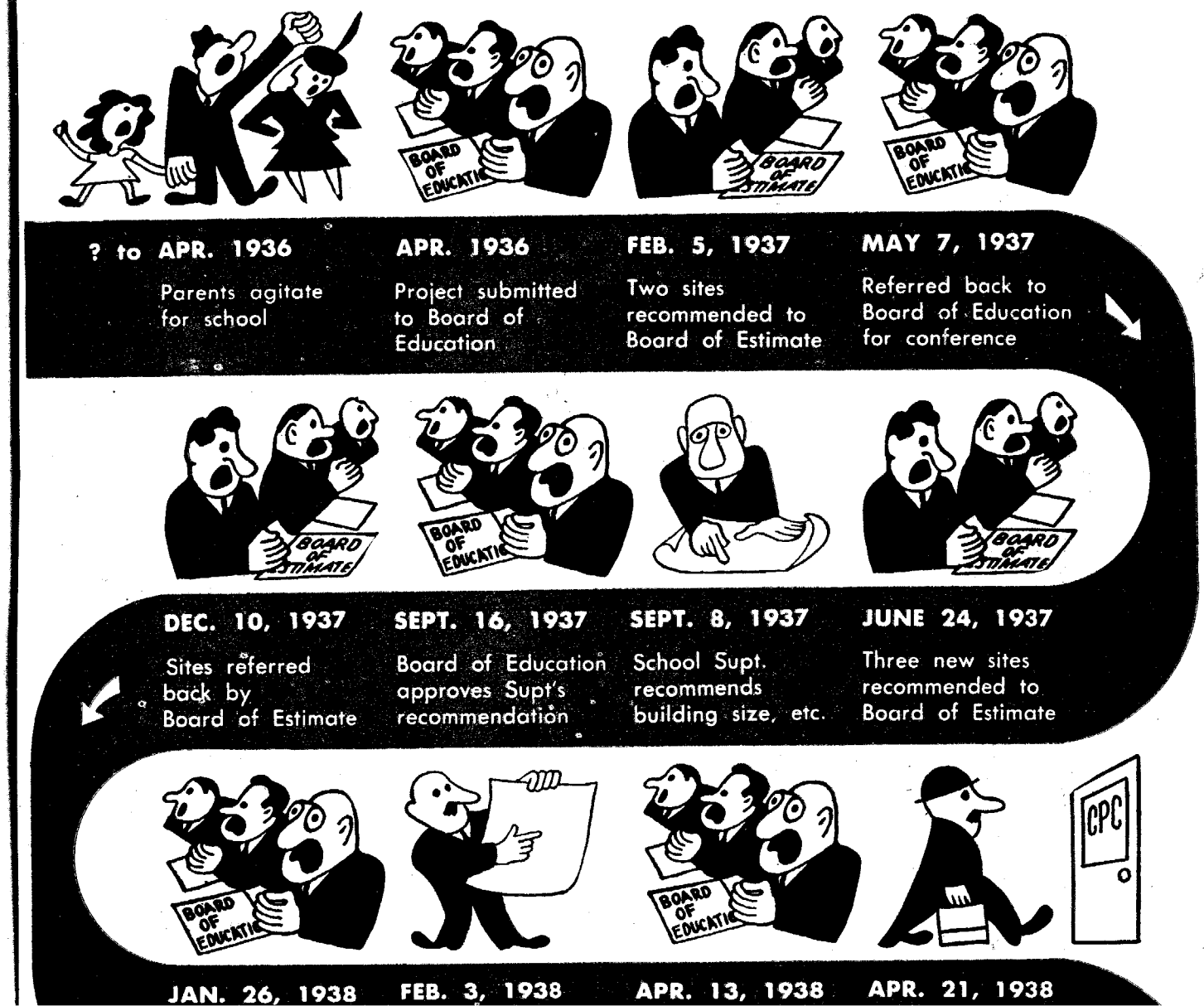
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PM's position is that it has both the right and the duty to do this because the schools are public buildings paid for by the taxpayers (and we are all taxpayers) of the city, and because the 150,000 children who are the victims of bad school conditions cannot articulate their own protests. We set out to show the conditions that exist in the schools in the belief that full publicity will bring action to correct the situation.

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We repeat our invitation to the public and city officials to supply us with more facts about conditions in the schools.

New York School Building Is Tied Up in Red Tape



Last week PM started to tell in words and pictures the story of the worn-out one-third of New York City's public school buildings. We are telling this story because we believe if enough people know the truth about the bad conditions to be found in these buildings, something will be done to correct the situation.

Board of Education officials first granted, then rescinded permission for PM to take pictures in these schools outside of school hours. They are now reconsidering our request for permission. PM will report developments as they occur.

By RAYMOND ABRASHKIN
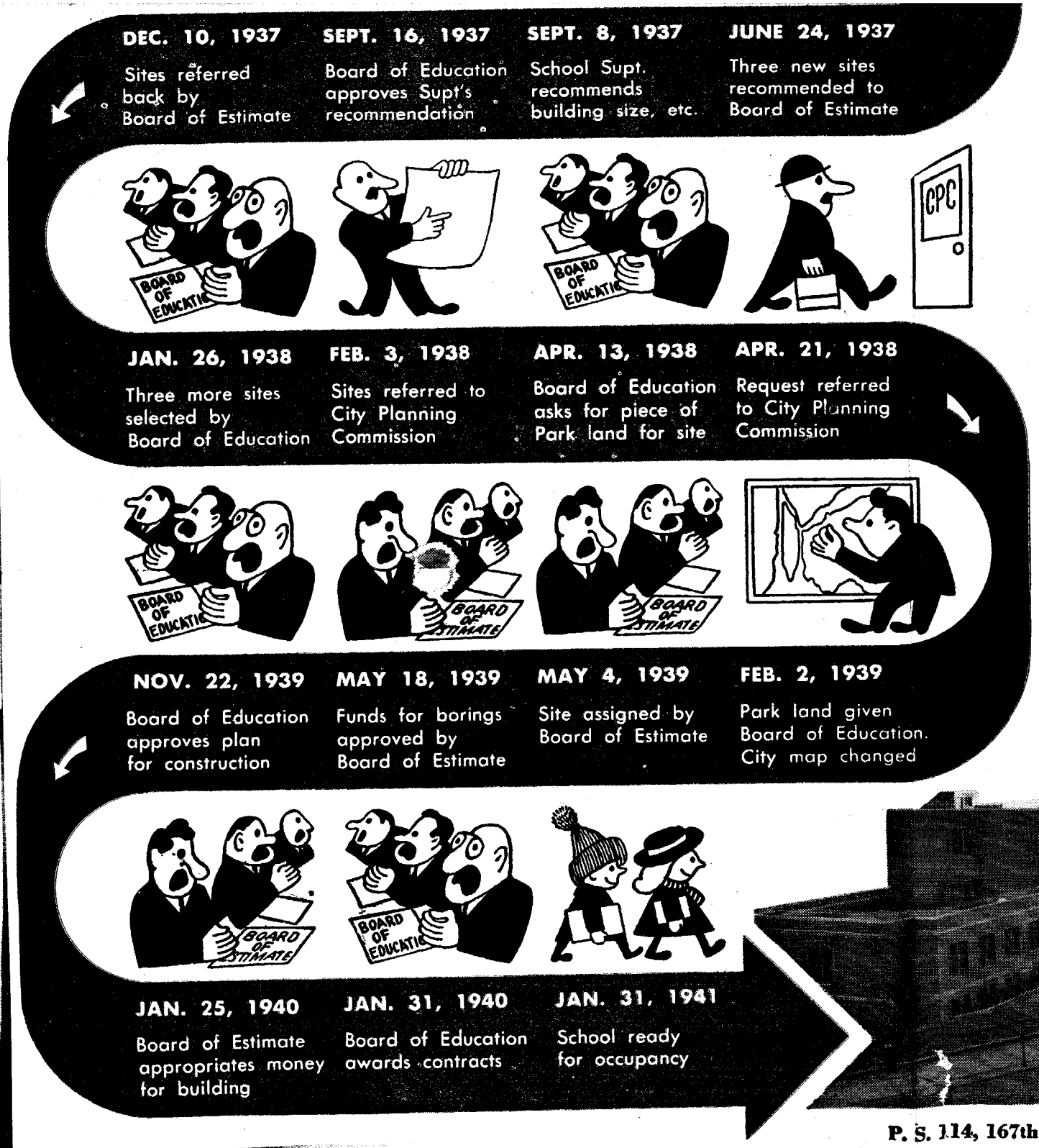
In the first article in this series, PM said the solution to the problem of worn-out school buildings was a financial one. In studying this financial problem I discovered that even if all the money necessary to give New York enough new schools were provided this year, it would be many years before the schools were actually built. So before tackling the financial question directly, I felt it would be logical to show how a new school gets built.

I selected P. S. 114, Bronx, and traced in the Board of Education records the steps involved in building this school, which will be opened for the February term. I asked Charles Tudor of PM's art department to present these steps graphically. The result is printed at the left.

The method of selecting a site for a new school building has been changed since P. S. 114 was started, but substantially the steps shown in the diagram must be followed for all new school buildings today. I have two reasons for telling the story of P. S. 114.

First, I believe an understanding of these steps is necessary in order to follow the financial facts I shall present in later articles.

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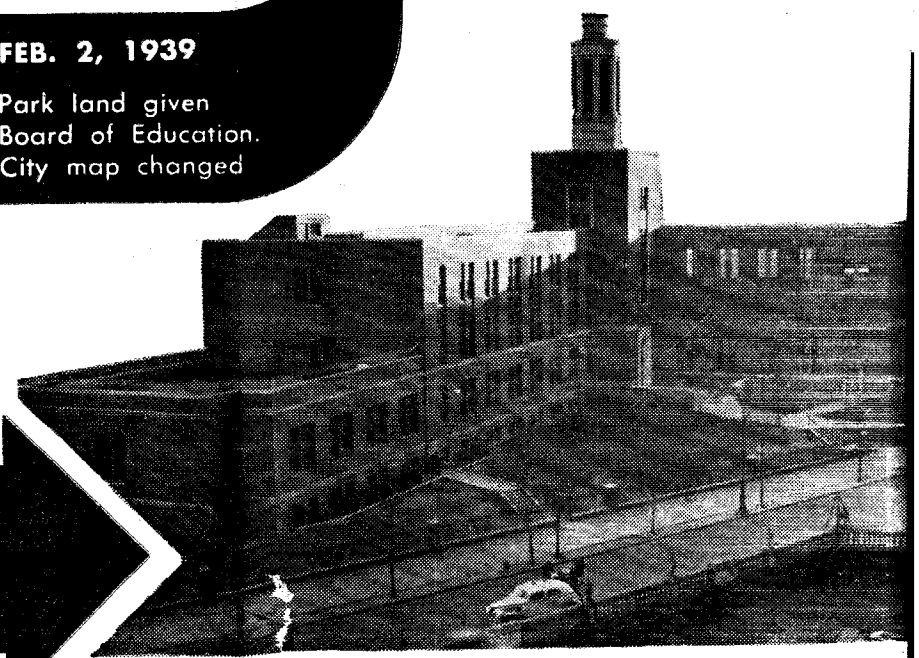
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First, I believe an understanding of these steps is necessary in order to follow the financial facts I shall present in later articles.

Second, it emphasizes the point that if New York City wants to solve the problem of adequate school buildings in this generation a substantial start must be made at once. I do not know if all the steps presented on the left are necessary steps. I do know that school planning is a difficult, time-consuming job.

I should like to repeat the important point made by the diagram—**for adequate school buildings for this generation the time to start is now.**

(The next article in this series, which will deal with school finances, will appear soon.)



P. S. 114, 167th St. and Cromwell Ave., Bronx

that the rotten poultry racket, as mentioned earlier in this section. Tom O'Connor's spectacular series designed to speed up the mine safety reforms;[1] the crusade against the loan sharks, also discussed in this section, and the subway strike, "Which was finally settled without a walkout along lines suggested many months ago in our paper."[2]

From this expression on the part of a PM spokesman it is obvious that PM considers itself a crusading newspaper in several fields -- in behalf of labor, in behalf of New York's residents, in behalf of Americans at large, no matter where or who they are. Tom O'Connor's "Domestic Tragedy"[3] series constitute a crusade, designed to assure justice for someone of another race, as was the Strubing-Spell rape case coverage.

These last two crusades, although not openly declared as such,[5] were fulfilling another of PM's prospectus promises:

> That this paper will be against racial intolerance goes without saying -- and for once, in this paper, the cause of racial tolerance will be championed without fear of accusation that it is influenced by the race or nationality or creeds of owners, advertisers or political factions.

It is interesting to note that Ingersoll ranked PM's crusades in third place in answer to Editor and Publishers'[6] query on improvements made during PM's first publishing year. He also listed the crusades among the "most successful" features of the paper.[7]

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1 See "Labor" section, Chapter V.
2 Rose, op. cit.
3 See "Labor" section, Chapter V.
4 Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 11.
5 Schneider, Walter E., "Ingersoll Sees PM's First Year As Start in Fulfilling Pledges," Editor and Publisher, Vol. 74, No. 24, June 14, 1941, p. 9.
6 Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

Editorial Policy and Its Effect On News

> PM is in business to tell as much of the truth as it can find out -- because it believes journalism's function in a democracy is to seek truth in contemporary life and print it without fear or favor.
>
> But what kind of truth? No one can inventory all the kinds of truth which the people of a great industrial democracy like ours should know in order to govern themselves better and get more out of the lives they lead. It is only possible to talk in terms of direction. And the direction in which this paper is going is that which used to be called liberal.
>
> The qualification "used to be called" is added because of the last ten years of growing confusion over what the word liberal means. It certainly includes a philosophy of optimism -- that we who live in it can make the world a better place than it is today; that we should not resign ourselves to injustice and inequality of opportunity, to fraud and corruption, to the cruelty of man to man -- any more than the scientist of yesterday should have resigned himself to the fact that yellow fever was thought to be incurable. But PM's course will not be charted too narrowly for fear of marking out a path which in the end might lead us away from the truth instead of toward it.[1]

Here, in its somewhat verbose essence, is the editorial policy of PM as written by Ingersoll for prospective subscribers in May, 1940. But in June, 1941, after a year's experience in editing and publishing his experiment in journalism, Mr. Ingersoll answers the query as to the present objectives of PM as follows:[2]

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1 Ingersoll, Ralph, "Confidential Memorandum," Publications Reaearch, Inc., May 1940, p. 11.

2 Schneider, Walter E., "Ingersoll Sees PM's First Year as Start in Fulfilling Pledges," Editor and Publisher, Vol. 74, No. 24, June 14, 1941, p. 38.

> The present objectives of PM are precisely what they were in the beginning: editorial policy is mainly fighting fascism at home and abroad, as exemplified in the past year.

It is interesting to note that a year's experience with PM has reduced Mr. Ingersoll's flowery phrases to a condensed but much more direct and meaningful statement of editorial purpose. A study of his editorials reveals that he has answered truthfully.

Although the editorial policy permeates into every column and news page of the newspaper and makes of it a veritable journal of opinion, the focus of editorial expression is on the "Opinion" page. Of this, the early prospectus had little to say; the last two sentences in a paragraph of polyglot attractions calls attention to the fact that:[1]

> Instead of editorials, a page of letters from the readers is planned. But a single editorial a day may be added.

No mention is made of the daily cartoon, nor the numerous incidental features such as "What's on Their Minds," a weekly summary of letters received; "No Bones Broken," a column of choice epithets hurled by one nationally-known figure at another; "Backnumbers," a summary of news items of one hundred, fifty, twenty and ten years ago; "American Watchwords," famous quotations of a patriotic nature; "Speaking of PM," a box appearing whenever a competitor comments on New York's youngest tabloid; "Ideas," a summary of suggestions found in letters to

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1 Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 5.

PM; "Family Album," a chummy little column giving a pungent biography of PM employes from switchboard operators to foreign editors, and many other less frequent bits of commentary.

The "single editorials" more often than not grace the entire "Opinion" page, or a large part of it, to the exclusion of "Letters To and From the Editor". In at least 82 issues, however, the letters dominated the page and no editorial appeared.

Letters to the Editor

Of the 849 "Letters to the Editor" analyzed for this study, 185 were in praise of PM, of a particular story, editorial, or series, or of its editor, Ralph Ingersoll. In this figure is included a number of catchy slogans submitted by enthusiastic readers.

Altogether, there were 49 letters of condemnation and 55 taking exception to something stated by PM or else correcting a statement. These quite naturally included a number whose tone was anything but complimentary to PM.

Two hundred and fifty-two letters were comments and suggestions on public affairs and policies, many of them very well written and developed. Not infrequently, these letters are contributed by famous persons -- Thomas Mann on the refugee problem;[1] Norman Thomas, taking issue with Ingersoll;[2] Vincent Sheean, voicing a complaint;[3] Quentin Reynolds, justifying his position on a defense story;[4] Lee H. Bristol, complaining about

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1 PM, August 19, 1940, p. 2.
2 PM, January 26, 1941, p. 2.
3 PM, March 5, 1941, p. 2.
4 PM, January 23, 1941, p. 2.

Letters to and From the Editor

Capital Punishment

Dear Editor:

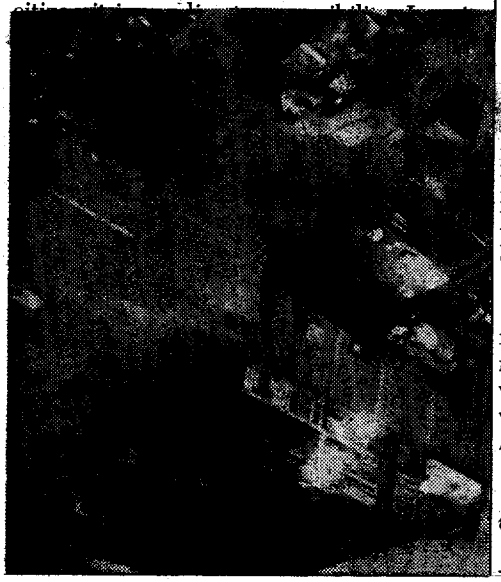
In last Sunday's PM an invitation was extended its readers to voice opinions as to whether or not actual photographs of executions should appear in press mediums immediately preceding such executions. I believe in front-page descriptions of such happenings with pictures. Because if such a barbaric practice, a practice which extends back through eons of time to the dawn of creation—but which has never served the purpose it was intended to serve—is to be continued all the sordid details of every execution should be brought so vividly before the public that it will at last realize the utter futility of such a damnable law to serve any rational purpose.

Practically every capital crime committed harks right back to improper parental supervision or insanity, or both. The public, after viewing such spectacles in the newspapers will finally become conscious that capital punishment is not a deterrent of murder and will seek the abolishment of such a useless inhuman law.

New York LEO A. STOCKIN

* * *

I think these pictures should be shown. Many horror pictuures just depress me because I cannot do anything about the situation. But the death chair is different. As a



How can you dare, after stating "PM does not believe in horror for horror's sake" to print those pictures? By law the general public is denied witnessing such tragic horrors. Why must we be compelled to see pictures of them?

Great Neck BERTHA FISCHKIN

* * *

I think all papers should stress the horrible punishment one should expect for committing a crime. Those pictures would be wonderful for many youngsters on the wrong road of life.

Brooklyn ANITA DACUS

* * *

Only one reader (Bertha Fischkin, above) was against publication of the sketches.
—ED.

February 23, 1941, p. 2.

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* * *

I think these pictures should be shown. Many horror pictures just depress me because I cannot do anything about the situation. But the death chair is different. As a



How can you dare, after stating "PM does not believe in horror for horror's sake" to print those pictures? By law the general public is denied witnessing such tragic horrors. Why must we be compelled to see pictures of them?

Great Neck BERTHA FISCHER

* * *

I think all papers should stress the horrible punishment one should expect for committing a crime. These pictures would be wonderful for many youngsters on the wrong road of life.

Brooklyn ALICE DAVIS

* * *

Only one reader (Bertha Fischer, above) was against publication of the sketches.

—ED.

the stand taken on drug store products;[1] and Philip La Follette, Drew Pearson, Jay Franklin, Charles Poletti, New York's lieutenant-governor, and I. A. Hirshmann, vice-president of Bloomingdale's Department Store, showering congratulations and well-wishes.

Included in these letters of praise were some indicating approval of the work of certain featured writers -- notably Ingersoll, Kenneth Crawford, and Leo Huberman.

Whenever there is a marked display of interest over an issue treated in the "Letters to the Editor," the whole page may be devoted to expressions of opinion, pro and con, on that particular issue. For instance, there is the debate on "Capital Punishment"[2] and also on "The Bus Strike."[3] In controversial issues of this sort, the number of pros and cons are often tallied and the reader is able to gauge opinion by this tally. A cross-section of the letters, or of excerpts from them, is published.

The editorial note following the letters on the bus strike states that:[4]

> To date PM has received 74 letters for the strike and an equal number against it. Two year subscriptions came in because of our stand on the strike, one cancellation.

PM published nine letters indicating full support of the strike, seven that were opposed to it or questioned whether it

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1 PM, August 30, 1940, p. 2.
2 PM, February 23, 1941, p. 2.
3 PM, March 19, 1941, p. 2.
4 Ibid.

The Bus Strike

Dear Editor:

PM is giving us a great break. Good luck.

New York

CHARLES BOYLE
79th St. Crosstown Driver

* * *

Quill and his cutthroats will break your outfit when you have served their purpose. If you want real labor conditions interview subway and el men; their conditions are 10 times worse than the bus charioteers.

Long Island City. T. W. V.

* * *

I do not know whether the strike is justified or not. I do hope that much good will result and that everyone will be happy when it is all over. For one thing, I hope that the bus drivers as a result of their idleness have learned to be courteous. I have watched any number of people run to catch [illegible] to arrive just as the door would

[illegible] the other publications which have prostituted themselves in discussing the issues.

New York. GRETTA FENERSTEIN.

* * *

Going on strike at the very same moment when the lend-lease bill went through means bad taste and poor judgment.

Patchogue. F. F. LYON.

* * *

Jitters! I wonder the drivers haven't all got nervous breakdowns. The strikers ought to demand two-man service on all buses.

New York. CROSS TOWNER.

* * *

Anybody can acquire a spastic colon, quite irrespective of his occupation. The bus driver is no more susceptible than is the editor of PM. . . . The drivers should be grateful for what they are getting, that they live in the land of freedom, probably too much freedom.

New York. ADELE M. KATZ.

* * *

We have discontinued purchasing the newspapers which printed the anti-labor advertisements and hope to see you continue your friendly policy.

Brooklyn. MR. AND MRS. S. GOLDSTEIN.

* * *

If you call those bus strike stories unbiased then you're whacky! Apparently when you want to print a misstatement you simply get some unsuspecting union official submit the differences to arbitration. The union in its answer does not deny this.

New York. NAT GROPPER.

* * *

To drive a bus is a highly responsible job. A bus operator has the responsibility for thousands of human beings at every single trip. To do his job with the greatest carefulness he has to have nerves. He has to have decent vacations and security for his health. On the condition of his health depends the safety of the passengers. When the bus companies are cutting the wages they are cutting the safety of the public likewise. This is a strike in which the interests of the public are involved as well.

New York. JOHN ROPER.

* * *

The PM editorials definitely show how the rest of the press is using the "Red Smear" when the majority of these workers are honest-to-goodness Americans. I have been smeared also because I believe in an American standard of living for American workers.

New York. ANNE DACKS.

* * *

tends to show the laboring class that you are always ready, willing and able to champion their cause.

Bronx. JERRY SELTERMAN.

* * *

I do not believe anyone will contest the workers' right to strike. However, I do believe that the public feels that the workers should make an honest effort to adjust their differences with their employers before striking.

New York. HENRY GOODMAN.

* * *

As much as it required courage for the 3500 victims of the bus strike to risk their future to stand up for what they believe in, it must have required an equal amount of courage for one New York newspaper to deliberately stand up for what they believe to be just cause despite the unanimous opposition of the rest of the New York newspapers. . . . If what you say is true and I greatly fear it is, then there is a greater issue at stake here than the strike itself, with which I am entirely sympathetic. The issue —freedom of the press. Strangely enough this freedom is being threatened not by gov-

strike and an equal number against it. Two year subscriptions came in because of our stand on the strike, one cancellation.—ED.)

Shabby Fashion

Dear Editor:

Congratulations to you and your staff for the sound treatment of air transportation in your issue of Feb. 28.

It is particularly gratifying to us since PM carries no advertising. Some of the periodicals with whom the airlines of the Association do advertise treated us in a very shabby fashion as a result of our recent misfortune.

I want you to know how much we appreciate the fine manner in which PM treated our misfortune. It is this sort of thing that makes us strive to the utmost of our ability to become safer.

Chicago FOWLER W. BARKER
Sec'y Air Transport Association of America

By "mistfortune" we take it that Mr. Barker means the crack-up near Atlanta on Feb. 27.—ED

was a wise step to take, and two which expressed a neutral attitude. All of the letters were from New York except two, a "pro" from Washington and a "con" from Maine.

A breezy, informal style is maintained on the "Opinion" page through the use of comments in lieu of answers. The editor's notes are brief, witty, pungent. He is always willing to admit an error, to welcome suggestion, to answer fun with fun and sarcasm with a well-thrust retort.

Some of the suggestions which have come in from readers have been followed through by PM and have resulted in important expose stories. The series on insurance practices and also the one on installment buying were first suggested in Letters to the Editor.

If one were to form a composite picture of the "Typical PM Reader"[1] as seen in the Letters of the Editor," he would appear to be a resident of New York, Brooklyn, or New Jersey, acutely aware of world problems and interested in expressing his opinions, often with marked erudition or an elaborate attempt to appear clever, and probably Semitic. Discussions of anti-Semiticism and the plight of the Jew appear frequently in the editor's mail.

In answer to a letter from R. L. Hall of Atlanta, who contended that "99 per cent of the letters you print from your readers bear New York and Brooklyn addresses."[2] Ingersoll kept

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1 Perhaps one might better say the "Typical PM Letter-Writer" since the person who writes letters to the editor is likely to be more articulate and convinced of his opinions that the less expressive but often more questioning person.

2 PM, December 18, 1940, p. 2.

track of every letter received during a single week in December and published the following tabulation as a commentary to Hall's letter:[1]

> Of the total 546 received, 260 were from New York city and Brooklyn (slightly less than 50 per cent); 30 came from upper New York state; 49 from New Jersey, 36 from Pennsylvania; 25 from Massachusetts; 25 from Washington, D.C.; 23 from Connecticut; 20 from Illinois; 20 from Canada; 19 from Ohio; 12 from Michigan; 5 from New Hampshire; 5 from Virginia; 5 from Vermont; 4 each from California, North Carolina, Maine, Maryland and Montana; 2 each from Indiana, Nebraska, Kentucky, Rhode Island and England.

Frequently direct questions are asked through PM's letters from readers -- where can I send money for relief of refugees?, how can I go about becoming an Army hostess?, etc. It is evident that an effort is made to answer them, even when the question is directly concerned with PM's private life, as Charles Wolfe's query, printed under the caption, "Not True":[2]

> Ever since Marshall Field purchased the controlling stock of PM, I have been watching for changes in policy direction. Is it not true that many writers of the original staff have been fired? Hoping that you will have the courage to print and clarify this question.

The answer was direct and clear:

> It is not true that since Marshall Field's acquisition of the controlling stock of PM there have been any changes in policy, nor is it true that many writers of the original staff have been fired. Except in one case, the few dismissals of writers we have had have been based on the circumstance that we had a staff too large for our needs. Mr. Field had nothing to do with the dismissal of the one exception.

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1 PM, December 18, 1940, p. 2.
2 PM, March 26, 1941, p. 2.

CHART II

Tabulation of Letters to the Editor

Letters in Praise of PM, of a particular story, editorial or series, or of Ingersoll's stand (includes slogans).		185
Letters in Condemnation		49
Comments and Suggestions on Public Affairs, domestic and International		252
Comments and Suggestions on Affairs in New York City		34
Facetious comment		52
Letters of Political comment -		
	Pro-Willkie 9	
	Anti-Willkie 25	
	Pro-Roosevelt 18	
	Anti-Roosevelt 1	
		53
Suggestions for PM (mostly during August and September)		72
Corrections or Exceptions to Statements - Rebuttal		55
In support of stand on Lindbergh 10 Objecting to stand on Lindbergh 2		12
In praise of campaigns		32
Suggesting uses for old PM's		14
Condemnation of campaigns		2
Controversy over Ben Hecht and Racial Prejudice		7
Comments on the "Domestic Tragedy"		15
Appeals		6
Miscellaneous		9
		849

On the whole, the "Letters to the Editor" comprise an interesting assortment of sincere and earnest commentary, sound suggestion and criticism, and wholesome fun. There is the usual assortment of impractical theories and a healthy number of condemnations -- enough to keep PM above reproach on its claim to freedom and honesty. The letters may appear biased and opinionated but they are seldom dull, a tribute to their editor's skill.

Addenda

In its recent questionnaire, Editor and Publisher asked Editor Ingersoll whether his mail reflected the value of the personal touch, that quality which "makes readers feel they are acquainted with you."[1]

"Do you believe," the magazine asked, "the majority of editors who remain impersonal and anonymous are missing one of their best bets?"[2]

Ingersoll's answer was unqualified. He wrote:[3]

> Definitely my own mail reflects the value of the type of personal journalism which is characteristic of PM, not only of my own writing but of all of PM's fine writers. Yes, it does bring them closer to us, but it also makes them suspect right and wrong, rather than being tiring automatons.
>
> I do think that many editors miss a good bet, for PM's readers are as militant in their causes (sometimes contra PM) and as emotionally loyal to PM as PM wants to be about its readers.)

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1 Schneider, op. cit. p. 9.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.

Inside Editorials

Another innovation not mentioned in the preliminary prospectus for PM is the custom of inserting editorials on the news pages, sometimes in conjunction with a particular story. At least sixteen editorials appeared on the "Labor" pages during the period studied, most of them concerned with the progress of a strike. These were in addition to the labor editorials which appeared either on the front page or on the "Opinion" page.

Other "inside" editorials included "Mr. Hull Means It," Edward Brause's bit in praise of the Secretary of State;[1] "Race Prejudice at New York University," written by Charles A. Michie;[2] "Give Thurman Arnold Enough Money to Make the Anti-Trust Laws Work,"[3] Nathan Robertson's editorial written upon the completion of his survey of the drive conducted by the Department of Justice; Tabitha Petran's "The Case of PM and Pierre Massin",[4] a condemnation of an alleged French Fascist; and Ralph Ingersoll's "How We Will Lick Hitler," which introduced "A New Last Chapter for Mein Kampf."[5]

Editorials on the "Opinion" page are for the most part written by Ralph Ingersoll. In the early days of PM, Louis Kronenberger, who was listed as editor in the page's masthead, wrote almost daily editorials. One gains the impression that he was pinch-hitting for Ingersoll, who took over after PM was

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1 PM, October 28, 1940, p. 8.
2 PM, March 26, 1941, p. 12.
3 PM, January 8, 1941, p. 10.
4 PM, December 19, 1940, p. 7.
5 PM, October 13, 1940, p. 33. (second section)

well launched and he could devote more time to being editor and less to publishing duties. Kronenberger's editorials, from that point on, are frothy bits such as "A Midsummer Night's Insomnia,"[1] a humorous essay on baseball, and "Gloria Monday,"[2] a similar treatment on the Hall of Fame balloting.

Occasionally editorials by Ernest Jerome Hopkins, George H. Lyon, B. R. Crisler, Weldon James, Jeremiah Strap and others appear. Not infrequently a worthy letter to the editor is given the place of honor at the head of the page and printed in editorial form. Nor is it unusual to find a reprint in the place of the daily editorial. At least four editorials are reprinted from the Louisville Courier-Journal, two of them by Herbert Agar.

In addition, the information commonly found in a masthead has been printed in double column at the foot of the "Opinion" page ever since August 19, when the section was moved from the center of the paper to a place of honor on page two.

This change has improved the attention-arresting quality of the "Opinion" page.[3]

Between mid-August, 1940, and late March, 1941, more than 100 editorials appeared on PM's "Opinion" page and on the front cover. All but about ten of these were from the pen of the prolific Mr. Ingersoll, and a good number of them were in his

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1 PM, August 8, 1940, p. 13.
2 PM, November 29, 1940, p. 2.
3 Although this study ends in late March, it should be noted that in July, 1941, the "Opinion" page was once more moved to the center of the paper and the second page devoted to the printing of war maps from time to time.

own unique installment form. Between March 6 and 15, eight installments of a continued editorial on "War and Peace Aims" appeared.

Ingersoll's Editorials

No matter what one may think of his reasoning, bias, or general philosophy, it must be admitted that Ralph McAllister Ingersoll is a demon editorial writer, particularly in the personal approach method which he employs so successfully. One is conscious of the close resemblance between the editorial techniques of Ingersoll and the writing and speech-making techniques of his hero, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Their psychological approach to a group is much the same.

Ingersoll thinks with his reading public. He has no reticence about laying open his mind and thoughts and inviting his readers to think through an issue with him. Then he proceeds to his conclusions with infinite skill and cleverness. He is a master at the adroitly-turned phrase and in the use of color words which appeal to the emotions of the people. There is a drive and force to his skillful editorial construction which cannot be denied; it is very easy to be caught up in the power of his words and swept along on a wave of empirical emotion.

In his front page editorial, "Good News,"[1] Ingersoll is exhilerated and over-joyed by news of Yugoslavian resistance. He develops his editorial along lines such as these: Adolph Hitler

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1 PM, March 28, 1941, p. 1.

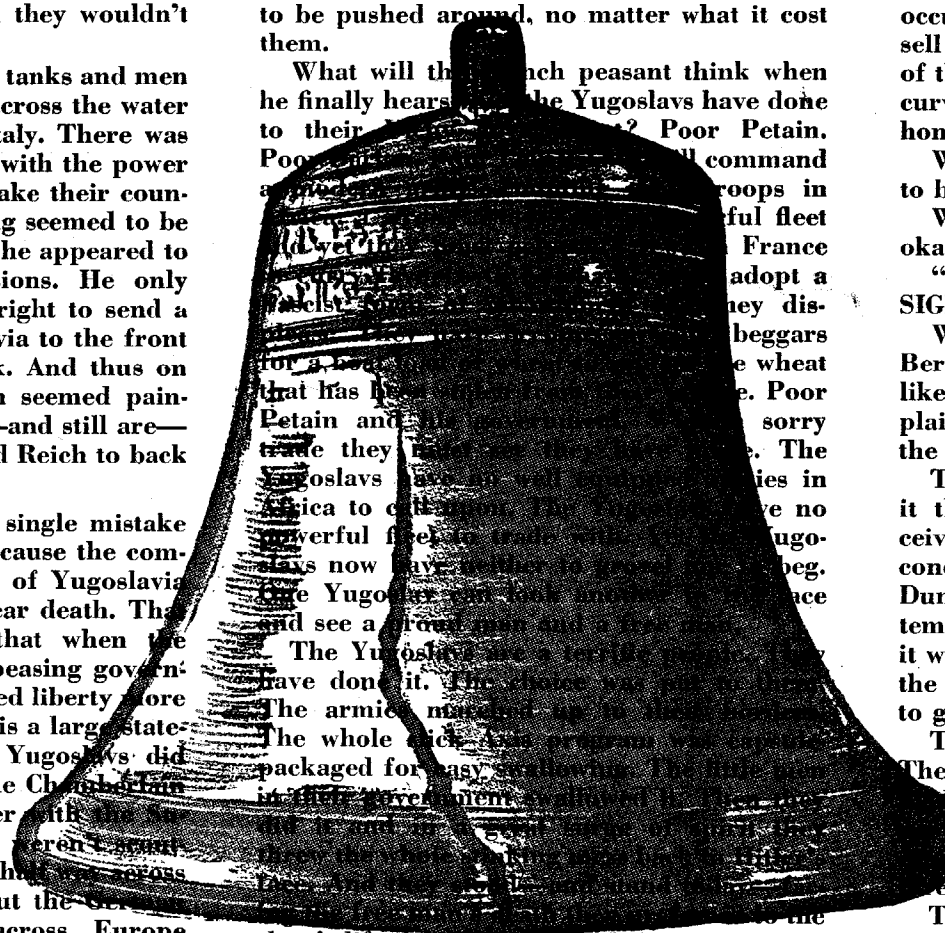
GOOD NEWS — AN EDITORIAL

There is a great happiness in the world today—and the Yugoslavs have made it. A two-by-four professional government sold them out to Adolf Hitler and they wouldn't have it.

There are German guns and tanks and men on three sides of them—and across the water there are more Germans in Italy. There was absolutely nothing the matter with the power politics that Hitler played to take their country away from them. His timing seemed to be perfect. As in Czechoslovakia, he appeared to be playing only for concessions. He only asked to be appeased by the right to send a few supplies through Yugoslavia to the front and take a few wounded back. And thus on the one hand the capitulation seemed painless. On the other there were—and still are—the mighty legions of the Third Reich to back up the "or else . . .".

Adolf Hitler didn't make a single mistake and yet he has lost. He lost because the common people, the plain people of Yugoslavia love liberty more than they fear death. That is a very large statement—that when the Yugoslavs overthrew their appeasing government they proved that they loved liberty more than they feared death. But it is a large statement only because what the Yugoslavs did was a large thing. When Neville Chamberlain and Runciman appeased Hitler with the Sudetenland the German legions weren't pounding British beaches. They were hundreds of miles across Europe from Birmingham. But the German legions weren't half way across Europe from the Yugoslavs. They were right up on the border. It is not just a big phrase but an accurate one to say that the Yugoslavs are risking not only their possessions but their lives and the lives of their children in standing up to Adolf Hitler.

Theirs wasn't the decision of a clique, or a group, or a class. It was the clique and the group who signed the treaty with Hitler. They were thrown out for it. It was the action of the people of Yugoslavia and the men in their armies—the action of men who considered themselves free and did not propose to be pushed around, no matter what it cost them.



What will the [illegible]nch peasant think when he finally hears [illegible] the Yugoslavs have done to their [illegible]? Poor Petain. Poo[illegible] command a[illegible]roops in [illegible]ful fleet [illegible] France [illegible] adopt a fascist [illegible]hey dis- [illegible] beggars for a [illegible]e wheat that has [illegible]e. Poor Petain and [illegible] sorry trade they [illegible]e. The Yugoslavs [illegible]ies in Africa to [illegible]ve no powerful [illegible]ugo- slavs now [illegible]beg. One Yugoslav [illegible]ace and see a [illegible] and a free [illegible].

The Yugoslavs [illegible] have done it. The choice was [illegible] The armies [illegible] The whole [illegible] packaged for [illegible] in their government, swallowed it. [illegible] and in a [illegible] threw the whole [illegible] face. And they [illegible] slave's life [illegible] offered them—for such a little conce[illegible].

Think of M[illegible]ka coming all the way around the wor[illegible] see Herr Hitler in Berlin. And Herr Hitle[illegible]ing up the little Yugoslav show for him. It was all so easy. And yet it would impress a Japanese diplomat—as a slick goose-stepping parade down Unter Den Linden might impress a Latin American dictator.

And then—the craziest moving picture producer couldn't put it on the screen—how would it be written in the script?

"And right at this moment a revolution occurs and the villains who were about to sell their people into slavery were thrown out of the palace and the people armed with little curved knives took over to defend their homes."

Who would believe it? It is much too good to be true. But it *is true.*

What kind of a cable do you think Matsuoka decoded a few hours after it happened?

"HAVE JUST HEARD THE NEWS. DON'T SIGN ANYTHING. HIROHITO".

Would you have liked to have been in Berlin and seen Hitler's face? Would you like to have heard Herr Goebbels explaining it away to the visiting firemen from the oriental department of Fascism?

The mind runs in happiness exhilarated, it thinks of all kinds of things. One perceives the power of good in the world. Good conquering evil. It began at Dunkirk. After Dunkirk came the Battle over London in September. Then it was Greece. And after that it was Gen. Wavell in Libya. After that it was the lease-lend bill. After that Ethiopia began to go. And now it's Yugoslavia.

The mind runs and the voice should speak. The voice of every man who is made happy [illegible]he courage of the Yugoslavs. Every free [illegible]e should call to them. Every free gov[illegible]ent should send them help. It is by ges[illegible]es like theirs that the world is set free.

There is a great happiness in the world today. Let it move all free men to action. Let it turn every lathe faster. Let it put new courage in the hearts of the men on the corvettes—the men who seine the sea for the submarines of starvation. Let it make us one, we American people—one against untruth and evil, one against the men who would make other men slaves. One with the men who would rather die than be slaves. Let us go forward against Fascism.

—RALPH INGERSOLL.

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Theirs wasn't the decision of a clique, or a group, or a class. It was the clique and the group who signed the treaty with Hitler. They were thrown out for it. It was the action of the people of Yugoslavia and the men in their armies—the action of men who considered themselves free and did not propose to be pushed around, no matter what it cost them.

What will the French peasant think when he finally hears what the Yugoslavs have done to their [illegible]. Poor Petain. Poor [illegible] command [illegible] troops in [illegible] powerful fleet [illegible] France [illegible] adopt a [illegible] they die- [illegible] beggars [illegible] wheat [illegible]. Poor Petain and [illegible] sorry [illegible]. The Yugoslavs [illegible] ies in Africa to [illegible] no powerful [illegible] Yugo- slavs now [illegible] beg. The Yugo[illegible] slave's life [illegible] tered them—for such a little cost.

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wanted to impress Matsuoka, one of "the visiting firemen from the Oriental department of Fascism,"[1] with a neatly-turned invasion; the Yugoslavs chose to repel the attack rather than to appease Herr Hitler. This, Ingersoll contends, is reason for great joy:[2]

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In sharp contrast to the liquid fire of his pen in these more eloquent moments is the easy-going, conversational style in which Mr. Ingersoll garbs his less important daily editorials. Sometimes they appear to have little definite plan or purpose; they ramble along, touching upon whatever the editor happens to be thinking about. One might almost condemn him for choosing the lazy-man's way in editorial construction.

The following paragraphs, for instance, introduce a simple "Editorial":[3]

> I was going to write about the collapse of

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1 PM, op. cit., p. 1.
2 Ibid.
3 PM, September 24, 1940, p. 2.

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2 Ibid.
3 PM, September 24, 1940, p. 2.

> the Willkie boom today, but I am still too disturbed by the news of the Nazis torpedoing the little English children. What terrible things have to happen before we, the free people of the world, rise in our anger?
>
> As confirming reports come in, it really looks as if England had won a military victory last week.....

And again, the lead paragraph of "Conversation at Lunch":[1]

> Everything that I think will interest PM's readers I try to pass on to you.
>
> I had lunch with two men by whose opinions I set great store. They are high on my list of candidates, Mr. A. for No. 1 columnist writing on national affairs and Mr. B. for No. 1 radio commentator on foreign news. I am not naming them, because each speaks for himself daily and neither may agree with my interpretation of our conversation.
>
> We had no purpose but to discuss the state of the nation, nor were we in a hurry. And this is the picture that emerged.

Sometimes the informality and rambling approach of Mr. Ingersoll's editorials becomes confusing to the point of being senseless. In "Coca-Cola News,"[2] a brief, four paragraph editorial on foreign affairs, fully half of the space is devoted to a circuitious introduction, and the whole is more of a description of Ingersoll's pin-moving activities on the map of the world than an analysis of the war's progress. His introduction proceeds like this:[3]

> In the end it's small things that make life worth living. Small things, like whether you have a comfortable chair at dinner -- providing

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1 PM, February 3, 1941, p. 2.
2 PM, March 24, 1941, p. 2.
3 Ibid.

> you have had a dinner that doesn't leave you hungry.
>
> To an editor following the cables day by day news of British victories in Africa is a soothing armchair into which to relax after a day of Yugoslavian crises, blitz bombings, sinkings in the North Atlantic -- and worries about what bases Japan is building in Indo-China. No matter how bad world news is, there are always British victories in Africa to read about. Personally, I put such news aside -- as a child puts his favorite food aside to be taken after the spinach is mastered -- with satisfaction and a giggle or two of delight.

It is the almost impudent lack of dignity and the subjective air in editorials of this sort which leads to criticisms such as that made by "Editor A." in Editor and Publisher. It was this Eastern editor's comment that PM "possesses, without the quaint English, the characteristics of a Pepys diary."[1]

This style of personal reminiscience is found in Ingersoll's series, "The Truth About England," as well as in his editorials, and was the inspiration for the clever take-off published by the World-Telegram and reprinted in PM -- "I Walked Up 52nd Street."[2]

Since he is recognized as "one of the outstanding exponents of personal journalism,"[3] one is not surprised to find criticisms of Ingersoll's intensely subjective style. Certainly there is no sign of institutional opinion in his editorials; Ralph McAllister Ingersoll's ideas and prejudices are written into every line. Nor does he hesitate to admit it. When PM was accused by a

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1 "PM Is Many Things to Editors Appraising It from Sidelines," Editor and Publisher, Vol. 74, No. 24, June 14, 1941, p. 8.
2 PM, February 5, 1941, p. 12. (see clipping, p.
3 Schneider, op. cit., p. 9.

[illegible] Up 52nd Stree[illegible]
[illegible]ing the New Journa[illegible]sm

By H. ALLEN SMITH.

A new technique in journalism has been brought to New York. It appears to have its origin somewhere in Brooklyn. Up to now we have tried to fight shy of this disturbing trend. But today, just for once, we are going to have a whirl at it.

PS Exclusive

I started out today to find out something I thought might be of interest to people, especially to people who have a particular interest in this particular thing. Wait a while and you'll find out what it is, I assure you.

I got on a subway—I did. It was the Independent Subway at or below the corner of Park Pl. and Church St. As I walked down the steps, taking them one at a time, I remembered the glowing articles by PS's Ralph Dollarwatch, who must have walked the same way down the steps to get into the shelters when he was in London. A great man. A very great man. I think so.

I noticed that the train was not particularly crowded, so I sat down and I looked at people and I thought about them. I thought they looked strange. I thought some of them looked happy. I thought some of them looked unhappy. I thought some of them looked in-between. I thought about all this for a while (I am very young but have good teeth), and PS Photographer Merryweather Stubb took pictures of me while I was doing it. (Stubb is originally from Altoona, Pa.)

On a Local.

I got off the subway train at 42nd St., but I did not go upstairs. I crossed over the platform and waited a while and got on a local, the other train having been an express. I saw the local come charging into the station, and I got on it. Then I got out of it real quick because I had forgotten about PS Photographer Merryweather Stubb. I had walked off from him. I found him on the platform, leaning against a pillar. He was running his fingers over his lips and going "glubbel-glubbel-glubbel."

We waited for the next local train and got on it and rode one station and got off. As we came up the steps we found to our surprise that we were on Eighth Ave. This was such a surprise that I ordered Merryweather Stubb to take a picture of it, which he did. Just then I saw a [illegible] pushing a little baby in a baby carri[illegible] over to her and stopped her. I as[illegible]. She said it was Camille Birdb[illegible]. Found out she is 42 years old, unmarr[illegible]. Reads detective stories and lives on sick chickens. I asked the little baby his name. I found he could not talk. Miss Birdbath told me his name was Alice Pudney, daughter of a juggler. I took all the information I could about these two and put it down in my notebook. The reason I did this is that PS is against letting anyone push anyone else around and this Miss Birdbath was pushing that baby around if ever I saw a pushing around. As I left them I noticed that she viewed me with suspicion and that her right shoulder was lower than her left. (Personally, my feet often hurt me.)

Straight Across Manhattan.

I found myself at last on 52nd St. This is a street which runs straight across Manhattan. I tell you this in case you should ever find yourself on it. Also I refer you to Ralph Dollarwatch, who wrote so compellingly about a street he was on in London—a street which ran across from one point to another, although not named 52nd St.

I walked along the 52nd St. to which I have reference until I stood in front of the Alvin Theater. The Alvin Theater, I might say, is a theater in which theatrical shows are staged, with live people performing in front of an audience. The theater has a lobby, and into this stepped I. I was followed by Merryweather Stubb, camera ready for any emergency.

I stepped quickly up to a grilled window. A man was back of the grill. I looked at him. He looked at me. His eyebrows twitched. I did not say anything for a moment. He did not say anything. I did not say anything some more. But he did. He said, "What can I do for you?" I turned to see that the PS photographer was ready. He was ready, I perceived. Then I looked at the man back of the grill and I said:

And Back Again.

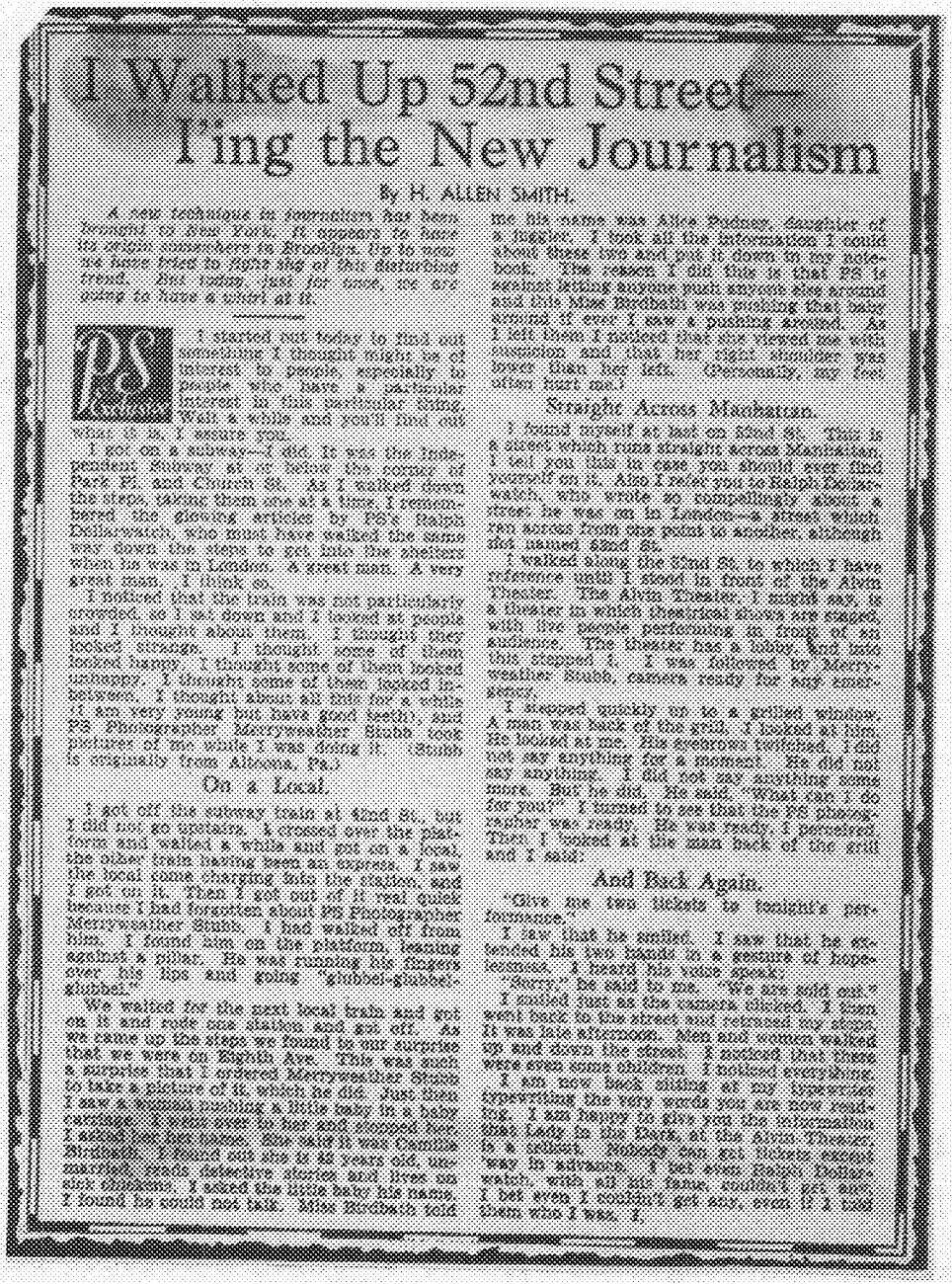
"Give me two tickets to tonight's performance."

I saw that he smiled. I saw that he extended his two hands in a gesture of hopelessness. I heard his voice speak:

"Sorry," he said to me. "We are sold out."

I smiled just as the camera clicked. I then went back to the street and retraced my steps. It was late afternoon. Men and women walked up and down the street. I noticed that there were even some children. I noticed everything.

I am now back sitting at my typewriter typewriting the very words you are now reading. I am happy to give you the information that Lady in the Dark, at the Alvin Theater, is a sellout. Nobody can get tickets except way in advance. I bet even Ralph Dollarwatch, with all his fame, couldn't get any. I bet even I couldn't get any, even if I told them who I was. I.



I Walked Up 52nd Street—
ling the New Journalism

By H. ALLEN SMITH.

A new technique in journalism has been invented in New York. It appears to have its origin somewhere in Brooklyn. Up to now we have tried to ignore this disturbing trend. But today, just for once, we are going to have a shot at it.

PS to Editor

I started out today to find out something I thought might be of interest to people especially to people who have a particular interest in this particular thing. Wait a while and you'll find out what it is, I assure you.

I got on a subway—I did. It was the independent Subway at or below the corner of Park Pl. and Church St. As I walked along the steps, taking them one at a time, I remembered the glowing article by H. G. Wells Bellamyesch, who must have walked the same way down the steps to get into the shelters when he was in London. A great man. A very great man. I think so.

I noticed that the train was not particularly crowded, so I sat down and I looked at people and I thought about them. I thought they looked strange. I thought some of them looked funny. I thought some of them looked unhappy. I thought some of them looked interesting. I thought about all this for a while (I am very young but have good teeth), and PS Photographer Merryweather Smith took pictures of me while I was doing it. (Smith is originally from Altoona, Pa.)

On a Local.

I got off the subway train at 42nd St., but I did not go upstairs. A crowd over the platform and waited a while and got on a local, the other train having been an express. I saw the local coming into the station, and I got on it. Then I got out of it real quick because I had forgotten about PS Photographer Merryweather Smith. I had walked off from him. I found him on the platform, leaning against a pillar. He was running his fingers over his lips and going "glubbel-glubbel-glubbel."

We waited for the next local train and got on it and rode one station and an elf. As we came up the steps we found to our surprise that we were on Eighth Ave. This was such a surprise that I ordered Merryweather Smith to take a picture of it, which he did. Just then I saw a woman rocking a little baby in a baby carriage. I went over to her and shouted hoarsely at her. She said it was Caroline Strudwick. I found out she is 42 years old, unemployed, reads detective stories and lives on Bank Street. I asked the little baby his name. I found he could not talk. Miss Strudwick told me his name was Alice Faulkner, daughter of a burglar. I took all the information I could about these two and put it down in my notebook. The reason I did this is that PS is against letting anyone push anyone else around and this Miss Strudwick was pushing that baby around if ever I saw a pushing around. As I left them I noticed that she viewed me with contempt and that her right shoulder was lower than her left. Personally, my feet ached, my feet ached.

Straight Across Manhattan.

I found myself at last on 42nd St. This is a street which runs straight across Manhattan. I tell you this in case you should ever find yourself on it. Also I refer you to Ralph Waldo Emerson, who wrote so compellingly about a street he was on in London—a street which ran across from one point to another, although did indeed 42nd St.

I walked along the 42nd St. to which I have reference until I came to front of the Alvin Theater. The Alvin Theater, I might say, is a theater in which theatrical shows are staged, with live people performing on stage or an audience. The theater has a lobby and into this stepped I. I was followed by Merryweather Smith, camera ready for any emergency.

I stepped quickly up to a grilled window. A man was back of the grill. I looked at him. He looked at me. His eyebrows twitched. I did not say anything for a moment. He did not say anything. I did not say anything some more. But he did. He said: "What can I do for you?" I guessed to see that the PS photographer was ready. He was ready. I persevered. Then I looked at the man back of the grill and I said:

And Back Again.

"Give me two tickets to tonight's performance."

I saw that he smiled. I saw that he extended his two hands in a gesture of hopelessness. I heard his voice speak.

"Sorry," he said to me. "We are sold out."

I choked just as the curtain divided. I went back to the street and removed my shoes. It was late afternoon. Men and women walked up and down the street. I noticed that there were even some children. I noticed everything.

I am now back sitting at my typewriter typewriting the very words you are now reading. I am happy to give you the information that Lady in the Dark at the Alvin Theater is a protest. Nobody can get tickets except way in advance. I bet even Ralph Bellamyesch, with all his fame, couldn't get any. I bet even I couldn't get any, even if I took them with me. I

February 5, 1941, p. 12

reader of being "bought and paid for by British bankers and American war makers,"[1] Ingersoll's answer was brief but to the point:[2]

> PM by definition is a daily paper whose policies are controlled by its working editors. When it ceases to be exactly that it will cease to be PM.

In his editorial, "From Brauchitsch to Halifax," Ingersoll takes the public into his confidence on this matter of editorial writing.[3] He says:

> PM is six months old and I still am trying to find out what kind of editorials it should print. When I am clear in my mind about an issue, when I feel sure of my interpretation of important news, it's easy. Except for writing more personally than most editorial writers, I simply follow the accepted form. But there are many things that come up in the course of a week on which I would like to comment which are neither too insignificant or too fragmentary, each to make an editorial in itself. Editorial writing is on the formal side and I am thinking about things which seem best written about with less pretension.

This, then, is Ingersoll's excuse for his own helter-skelter style in may of the less important editorials.

Editor Ingersoll does not quibble nor equivocate; he is not cowardly. When he adopts a stand he sticks to it until he is ready to concede a point -- or else he argues himself out of whatever hole he has been driven into. Nor does he shun controversy; the battle of wits never ceases to stimulate his rapid-flowing pen. It is his willingness to enter into a good scrap

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1 PM, September 25, 1940, p. 2.
2 Ibid.
3 PM, December 31, 1940, p. 2.

that occasioned another of the direct questions asked by Editor and Publisher:[1]

> What place does out-and-out controversy have in your own ideas of editorial treatment? Do you think extremely controversial subjects are soft-pedalled too much by newspapers as a whole?

In his answer, Ingersoll could not resist a comparison between the unflinching stand taken by PM on controversial issues and the attitude of indifference to his mind on the part of his competitors:[2]

> I do not believe in creating controversy out of thin air as a circulation football; but I do believe that too much is soft-pedalled, such as the shortcomings of the U.S. fighter planes, which I felt obliged to expose, even at the risk of bringing the Army's fury about my head; such as the aura about Henry Ford; such as the lethargy of the American public in the face of Fascism's threat; such as the unpreparedness of the United States, socialized medicine, the tax situation, the insurance set-up, all of which PM had felt are of vital concern to its readers. These controversies, into which PM has jumped, other papers perhaps have been pressured into side-stepping.

Editorial Opinions

In spite of Ingersoll's editorial claim that PM's staff collectively "tries as hard as any in the land to sift fact from fiction and to print only what it has reasonable grounds for believing,"[3] it is common knowledge that PM is more a journal of opinion than a daily newspaper in the strict sense.

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1 Schneider, op. cit., p. 9.
2 Ibid.
3 "Did You Say Truth?", PM, January 15, 1941, p. 2.

Certainly the editorials written by Ralph McAllister Ingersoll would bear out this contention. They contain superstructure of ideas built upon an existent but not necessarily popular theory. As editorials, they are good. Some of them are excellent, and among the finest being written anywhere in the country. But they do not always rest upon a sound basis, and it is in this light that they will be analyzed, topically, in the following pages.

1. Conscription

Editorials on conscription appeared in the earliest issues of PM. B. R. Crisler's[1] editorial on PM's third day of existence was mildly critical of plans for conscription. By July 28, Ingersoll was writing to urge that "The Kids"[2] be informed as to what they are fighting for, since "the side that knows what it's fighting for is the side that's going to win."[3] On August 3, Editor Ingersoll is still opposing conscription on the theory that the time is not ripe.[4] He writes:

> .....my strong feeling is that if this country swallowed a million or more men into its army before it's ready, before its appetite for war is keen, it might get a terrible case of indigestion.

It is interesting to note that so early in its publishing history, PM was referring to the European combat as "our war." This association psychology is used consistently by Ingersoll; in fact, it is not too broad a statement to claim that the appe-

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1 "Backward, Turn Backward," PM, June 20, 1940, p. 18.
2 PM, July 28, 1940, p. 13.
3 Ibid.
4 "The Right Time," PM, August 5, 1940, p. 2.

tite for war which he mentions above has been quickened and made more urgent by his continual pounding away on war issues and his increasingly emotional tempo. It is writing of the calibre which is set forth in the following few pages that leads to a war appetite, or hysteria, as it is commonly called.

2. Defense, War Aims, Aid to Britain

These three somewhat loosely related topics are being considered together because it is necessary to treat an editorial policy chronologically within categories in order to understand the evolution of the final and more definite anti-Fascist policy.

Back in July, 1940, with scarcely a month of publication behind it, PM began criticizing the lack of action in the defense program. In "What's New?" sensationalism appeared in the prophesy that an "ugly story" would soon break concerning defense projects.[1] This might be interpreted as a circulation-building device. On July 30, a similar editorial entitled "What Kind of Guns to Buy,"[2] set about to convince the public of the nature of U. S. Army equipment. Ingersoll develops his theme at length, basing some of the judgments upon his experiences in the first World War, and ends with a classic paragraph stating simply:[3]

Nuts.

In August, Ingersoll began pounding away at American industrialists for their lack of cooperation, beginning with "Profits,"[4]

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1 PM, July 16, 1940, p. 18.
2 PM, July 30, 1940, p. 18.
3 Ibid.
4 PM, August 12, 1940, p. 11.

an editorial in which he ostensibly presented the case for industrialists. To prove his point, he chose to draw a parallel between the risk encountered by industrialists in dealing with the government and that of PM's investors with him.

It does not take a very penetrating mind to see that there is no real basis for this comparison and that it cannot stand analysis. The whole thesis is built upon Ingersoll's use of his own personal experience to bring light on a much more complex problem. There is also the necessity for him to make it perfectly clear that he believes in the profit motive, for at the time this editorial was published, PM and its editor were undergoing all kinds of criticism on the score of Communism.

Says Ingersoll:[1]

> As for me, I would be the last one to begrudge profits. It would hardly become me, even if I did, since I, too, have the problem of making profits for the stockholders of this paper, including myself. I believe in the profit motive. But for it, I could never have persuaded the people who put up the money to back PM. And the profit motive makes me tick too -- without it I would probably be working for the security of a salary or the fun of writing, not every day, but whenever I felt like it -- instead of shooting the works and getting out a paper.
>
> Since I wanted to get out this kind of a paper very much indeed, I am deeply respectful of, and grateful for, the fact that this is the only country in the world in which I had the opportunity to do what I wanted -- in which the profit motive could be and was harnessed -- and harness me -- into my conception of a service to the public.

By now, Ingersoll has made it perfectly clear, by a some-

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1 PM, August 12, 1940, p. 11.

what juvenile means of reasoning, that he has nothing against the profit motive.[1] He then proceeds to draw his faulty analogy:

> But -- to come back from around the mulberry bush -- the profit-minded stockholders of this paper and their profit-minded editor bet on PM in the good old capitalistic tradition of nothing ventured, nothing gained. Prospective investors in this drive to expand the plant capacity of the United States press never sat across the table from me saying, "Hmm...well... if you will put up a bond to see that we can't lose our money we will advance the capital with which you can make profits for us -- provided you will also guarantee that the profits will be very large." We would have hardly have gotten PM started that way.

The fallacious thinking involved here is so obvious that it does not warrant spending time in explanation.

"Not So Special Sacrifice,"[2] continues the theme of unfair profits to defense industrialists. Nor is the continuation any more fair than the original argument, for Mr. Ingersoll completely ignores such important aspects as priority rights, expansion, and the possibility of commandeering. Again, he has no real thesis. One might label such arguments as "card-stacking," to borrow a term from the propagandists.

In this editorial, Ingersoll uses mining terminology, a colorful technique of his.

The general theme of profits is continued in the next day's editorial, "Rich Man, Poor Man."[3] In the midst of a discussion of the poor man's sacrifice as compared with the rich man's, Ingersoll inserts, with any transitory device whatsoever, this

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1 PM, op, cit., p. 11.
2 PM, August 13, 1940, p. 13.
3 PM, August 14, 1940, p. 11.

statement:[1]

> Oh, but this is boloney, and I only write about it because they brought it up and will bring it up again.

The "they" remains undefined.

"Attention Mr. Knudsen,"[2] addresses some direct and definite suggestions to the defense leader; "We Want News"[3] is a call to the press to cooperate in discovering the true state of affairs in the arms program and determine how the stupendous defense appropriation is being spent.

In this last editorial, Ingersoll does not mince words. He is zestfully impatient:[4]

> Unless somebody else has been brash enough to start another newspaper since June 18, PM is the youngest member of the press. PM asks its elders: Why are we letting the people in Washington get away with this? Why aren't we forcing them to give us news to tell the American people? ..... For heaven's sake, let's go after them. Let's demand to know what's going on!

In "Timing,"[5] Ingersoll presumes to set forth four points expressing the government's stand on United States policy. The editorial is designed to encourage speed of production and preparedness for any eventuality.

"Controversy over Airplanes"[6] and "It Happened Here Before"[7] are both concerned with the technical development of the airplane and the ineffectiveness of United States planes for combat. "Did You Say Truth?"[8] returns once more to the difficulty of getting

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1 PM, op. cit., p. 11.
2 PM, August 23, 1941, p. 2.
3 PM, August 25, 1940, p. 2.
4 Ibid.
5 PM, August 6, 1940, p. 2.
6 PM, December 13, 1940, p. 2.
7 PM, January 30, 1941, p. 2.
8 PM, January 15, 1941, p. 2.

absolutely true news of the conflict.

During the month of August, 1940, Ingersoll wrote and published the first of his installment editorials, a pair of brief tirades "Against Euphemisms."[1] In them, he did not hesitate to call a spade a spade. In referring to the defense plans, the editor wrote:[2]

> I would like them called what they are: plans to kill our enemies or be killed or enslaved by them. I think that's what all of us believe.

The second portion is devoted to broad statements of how the United States is going to lick Hitler. His concluding sentence is exciting war talk:[3]

> Let's face the fact that when and as he comes -- we know he's coming -- we want to kill him. Let's be proud of it!

The next series, a group of five expressions on "Our Immediate Issues," followed in the latter part of August. The first of these concerned "The Sale of Destroyers"[4] and its opening sentence was "I vote yes."[5] There is a somewhat dictatorial tone about this editorial; Ingersoll is becoming more and more confident of his ability to indicate the right path for America to take.

Employing his technique for effective exaggeration, Ingersoll has this to say in "Starving the Continent of Europe":[6]

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1 PM, August 8 and 9, 1940, p. 13.
2 PM, August 8, 1940, p. 13.
3 PM, August 9, 1940, p. 13.
4 PM, August 19, 1940, p. 2.
5 Ibid.
6 PM, August 20, 1940, p. 2.

[illegible] Euphemisms

[illegible] spending fourteen billion dollars to buy things with which to kill people. We are all hot and bothered about a bill to conscript between one and four million Americans so that they may have the benefit of some knowledge of the art of killing people.

I am against pussyfooting around these colossal facts by labeling them with evasive words like "Defense Program" and "Rearmament." I would like them called what they are: plans to kill our enemies.

And more power to them!

I believe the time very close when we will have to either kill our enemies or be killed or enslaved by them. I think that's what all of us believe.

When we say we don't want war, what we mean is we wish we didn't have any enemies. But we know very well that we have, and we are simply hiding the fact under words that serve no purpose but to confuse ourselves. We certainly do not confuse our enemies, who are more impressed by the length of our guns than by what we call them.

The Fascists have moved in on Manchuria, Ethiopia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, taken the mighty country of France and threaten the greatest empire of all time, Britain—to offer an incomplete list of their conquests. We don't want them to move in on us.

We know, from the example of these moves, that it is not simply the weak that they pick on, but the strong—like France, England and ourselves—that they envy and aspire to make subservient.

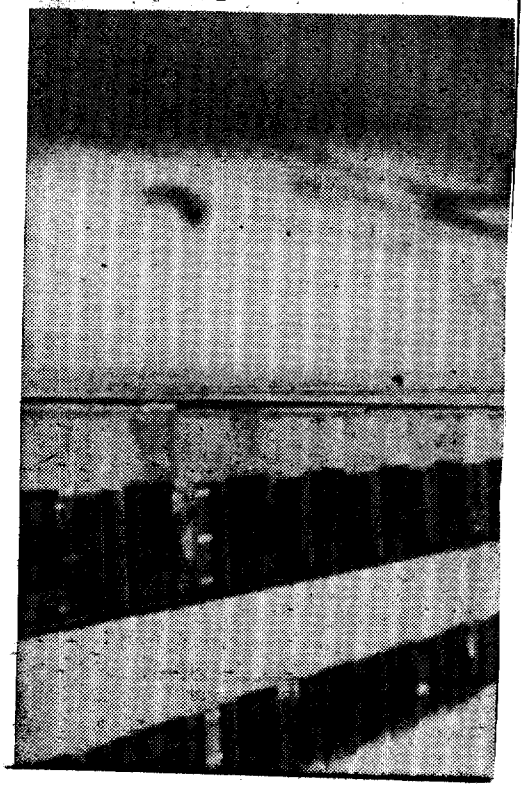
We know that in the end there is no way to stop this expansive force of Fascism except to fight it physically—which means killing the Fascists. In the end. And we know that the end, historically speaking, is near. Only one to half a dozen years away. Too near and too real to be talking about it in euphemisms.

When it comes, we are going to have to kill or be killed—and everything we are talking and doing now under the names "Rearmament" and "National Defense" are steps taken for the unequivocal purpose of killing our enemies. RALPH INGERSOLL

(This is an Editorial in two parts. Part II will be published tomorrow.)

August 8, 1940, p. 13

Against Euphemisms—II



August 9, 1940
p. 13.

Against Euphemisms

We are spending fourteen billion dollars to buy things with which to kill people. We are all hot and bothered about a bill to conscript between one and four million Americans so that they may have the benefit of some knowledge of the art of killing people.

I am against pussyfooting around these colossal facts by labeling them with evasive words like "Defense Program" and "Rearmament." I would like them called what they are, plans to kill our enemies.

And more power to them!

I believe the time very close when we will have to either kill our enemies or be killed or enslaved by them. I think that's what all of us believe.

When we say we don't want war, what we mean is we wish we didn't have any enemies. But we know very well that we have, and we are simply hiding the fact under words that serve no purpose but to confuse ourselves. We certainly do not confuse our enemies, who are more impressed by the length of our guns than by what we call them.

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We know, from the example of these moves, that it is not simply the weak that they pick on, but the strong—like France, England and ourselves—that they envy and aspire to make subservient.

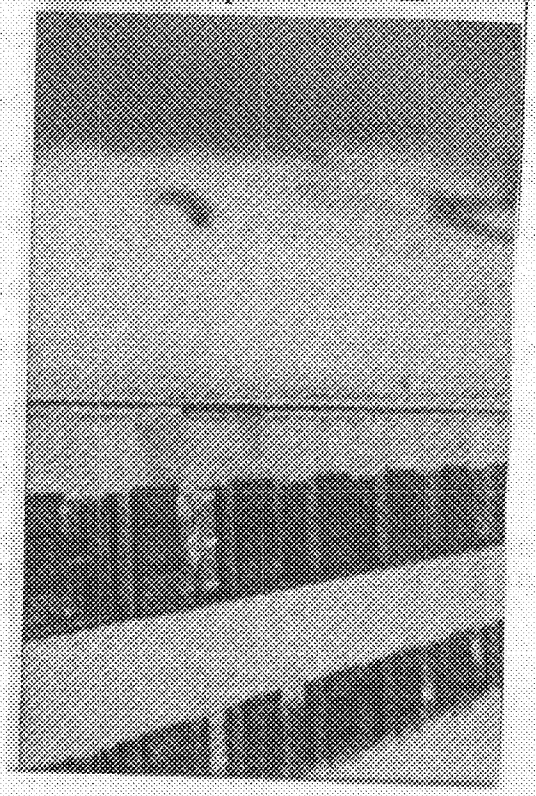
We know that in the end there is no way to stop this expansive force of Fascism except to fight it physically—which means killing the Fascists. In the end. And we know that the end, historically speaking, is near. Only one to half a dozen years away. Too near and too real to be talking about it in euphemisms.

When it comes, we are going to have to kill or be killed—and everything we are talking and doing now under the names "Rearmament" and "National Defense" are steps taken for the unequivocal purpose of killing our enemies. SATURDAY MORNING POST

(This is an Editorial in two parts. Part II will be published tomorrow.)

August 8, 1940, p. 13

Against Euphemisms—II



August 9, 1940
p. 13.

> For the people of the U.S. to send food to Europe now would be for the American "relief" administrator to put on a German Army uniform, cooperate with the German High Command in the most vital of all army functions: service of supplies.
>
> In this country the leading advocate of feeding German-Europe seems to be ex-President Herbert Hoover. He has a world-wide reputation for being a humane man. It is based on his having fed the Belgians when the Belgians were our allies. It is curious how reputations stick to people. In 1920 Herbert Hoover fed the Belgians. In 1931 the American Veterans marched to Washington asking food and he met them with American bayonets at Anacostia and he burned their miserable shacks over their heads. Now his heart bleeds again for the hungry. Not the American hungry. Dear me, no. He is the bitter enemy of the one man who has fed more hungry Americans than any other man in the country: Franklin D. Roosevelt.

It is not a rare occasion when Ingersoll moves from an issue of policy to one of politics but here he has done so with a definite association of thought. For the administrator in a German Army uniform mentioned in the first paragraph immediately becomes Herbert Hoover and, by implication, his interests in feeding "German-Europe" are not sound or practical.[1] There is a very definite transfer of thought from each sentence to the next throughout the passage.

The third, fourth and fifth editorials of the series concern the details of conscription. In the first, the editor tries to draw a very straight issue:[2]

> You either believe that the existence of this democracy is threatened by the expansive forces of Fascism or you don't. I do.

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1 PM, August 20, 1940, p. 2.
2 PM, August 21, 1940, p. 2.

After outlining the issues involved in the first part, Ingersoll devotes the next on the conscription discussions to the timing and techniques of the draft and sets forth his ideas on how it should be done -- by limiting age to the late 'teens and early twenties and guaranteeing for "the kids" civil liberties and a fair start after their time is up.

The third part is addressed directly to "the kids" and reminds them that "there will be damn little employment of anyone's choosing"[1] under Fascism in this country. Again, his whole argument is predicated upon the inevitability of fighting.

It has been said that the mark of a demagogue is that he observes which way a people is going and then gets there before them. Ingersoll has borrowed this technique from the demagogue; he frequently blasts forth with an editorial advocating a certain administrative step which was to be expected under prevailing circumstances. In "As Soon as Possible"[2] he speaks directly to President Roosevelt and in direct and simple style pleads for a fireside chat. In "Throw Them Out or Else,"[3] he advocates expulsion of spies, a step which was subsequently taken by the government. Here he is at his best--sparing no invective, writing in a forthright, definite and earnest tone, and employing his fertile imagination for alternate suggestions. His thesis is this: spies should be thrown

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1 PM, August 23, 1940, p. 2.
2 PM, December 22, 1940, p. 2.
3 PM, December 8, 1940, p. 2.

Throw Them Out, Or Else

[redacted] may or may not be at war with Germany and Italy already. American [redacted] are fighting their ships of war, even though under another flag. American planes—not as many nor as good as we'd like, but some—fly over German and Italian territory and drop bombs. The bomb casings, for all I know, may have been made in one of these 48 states. Both candidates for President of the U. S. A. ran for election this year on the platform of aiding the enemies of Germany and Italy.

The U. S. A. may or may not be at war with the Axis already. Let's leave it for historians to decide.

But one thing is quite certain.

The U. S. A. is not at peace with them. We cannot buy their merchandise and they cannot buy ours. Our nationals are not welcome in their countries and their nationals have no business to transact here. If there are technical respects in which these statements are not accurate they are nevertheless for all practical purposes more than true.

Why then are there many hundreds of diplomatic and commercial employes of the German Reich and many hundreds of diplomatic and commercial employes of Premier Mussolini's Fascist State now in this country "on business" when there is no business to do? It's no longer news what they are really doing. No newspaper in America but what has long since patiently explained to its readers what they are up to—and diagrammed the explanation with facts, figures, names, dates and places. Government agencies have bickered and vied with each other for the privilege of aiding in their exposure.

They are what everyone knows—spies.

They are commercial, diplomatic and military spies.

The diplomatic and commercial ones are here to conduct and supervise business which does not exist. And yet they could not be busier. Conducting and supervising nefarious business which should not, but does, exist. And moreover, we went through all this once before in the years that preceded 1917.

Why do we let them stay here? Why do we let the German railways maintain a staff of 400 ticket sellers here when you can't buy a ticket on a German railway? Why did we do nothing when we read about that Italian diplomat, searched on the Mexican border, who had $2,000,000 in U. S. currency in his diplomatic pouch? Why do we go on just shrugging our shoulders? Why do we fingerprint friendly aliens and fuss about whether Harry Bridges is or isn't a member of the Communist Party, and talk and talk and talk about the plotting, the bribing and the conniving and the sabotaging that real professional, paid, foreign spies work openly in this country—and still do nothing about it?

Why don't we say simply:

"Get out! Get out—by sundown tomorrow."

These spies do not have to run any blockade either to receive their orders or to get their information back to their headquarters in Rome or Berlin. They get their orders and they send back their information every day by a device known as wireless telegraph.

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The German government does not permit the U. S. Government to maintain hundreds of spies in Germany. It does not give them the right to ride on all railways, to wander wherever they please and to wireless what they see and hear back to Washington. If we are not prepared to say to Messrs. Hitler and Mussolini, "Take your damn spies out of here," then why don't we say to them, "All right, for every man on an Axis payroll in this country, we want the right to maintain a man on our payroll in your country," at the same time insisting that our men have in Germany and in Italy precisely the same freedom of action that they have in this country—the right to fly over it, to ride around it, to talk freely with its citizens, to bribe them with money for conditional information, to conspire with their venal officials, to work at altering their foreign policy from within

Well, why not?

If in a democracy, it takes what's called a movement to answer that question affirmatively, let's start a movement. Who wants these spies amongst us? I can't imagine that there are very many of us who do. All right then, let's gang up on them. Let's move on the people in Washington who have the power to act on these things—tell them to find out how to do it, and then do it: make the German and Italian Governments withdraw all diplomatic, commercial and military representatives—now no longer commercial, diplomatic, and military attaches, but common, garden spies. Or let us maintain similar operations in Germany and Italy.

And let's be in a hurry about doing it. This nonsense has gone on long enough.

RALPH INGERSOLL.

out or else the United States should insist that the German Government allow us to maintain a like number of paid men in Germany. His conclusion is that "This nonsense has gone on long enough."[1]

Neither of these outbursts advocates a new or completely original course of action, but they exude an air of action, strength virility. They sound a call; they fulfill the duty that PM bears to its readers; they are crying out as the voice of the people.

Ingersoll's stand on aid to Britain has been steadfast and convincing through the duration of the newspaper's history. His "all out" cry has been loud and consistent; he has championed every step in the direction of greater supplies and financial support of the English.

The reasons for Ingersoll's Anglophile tendencies are many; his background, family connections, education and serice in the first World War all contribute to his close feelings for the English. Marshall Field's English schooling has undoubtedly brought him closer to the combat and more aware of its implications.

The background of these two leaders of PM is being cited here not to incriminate them for their beliefs, but rather to indicate the many influences in their lives which bring them into closer contact with the British than the ordinary American citizen ever reaches. It is this sense of intimacy with the

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1 PM, op. cit., p. 2.

situation and of ever-present urgency which gives rise to PM's insistance that this is our fight and its constant, unflagging attempts to stir up a war enthusiasm among American readers.

"The British Can Win"[1] puts forth Ingersoll's convictions after his trip to England and the subsequent report. In this editorial Ingersoll describes in detail the steps he followed in arriving at the conclusion that the British can win. This is another of the extremely personalized editorials -- the type which gave birth to the Pepys association. He reiterates his confidence in the British time and again:[2]

> Emphatically, I think Britain can pull through to win. Emphatically.

The plight of labor in a country at war is not overlooked in Ingersoll's intensely pro-British writings. "Noise"[3] is a very careful analysis in simple terms of what the crisis means to the ordinary working man. "Mark Mr. Sullivan"[4] emphasizes that the aid-to-Britain policy, as least inasmuch as Ingersoll and his newspaper staff are concerned, is based upon Britain's rapid social changes toward a better country. Sullivan's idea of aid, according to Ingersoll, is aid to the Tory classes in the preservation of the old aristocracy.

The class consciousness implied here is a common note in PM and one that is exploited rather than avoided. Perhaps the

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1 PM, December 5, 1940, p. 2.
2 Ibid.
3 PM, December 17, 1940, p. 2.
4 PM, January 31, 1941, p. 2.

Total War, Total Defense, Total Crisis

THE strangest sensation I had on getting back from England came from looking casually through the pages of *Vogue* magazine. Here in its smooth white coated pages was the written and pictured record of hundreds and hundreds of thousands of lives obviously enormously concerned with matters so trivial as to seem to me utterly and literally fantastic. It was as if I had arrived on Mars to find a nation of grown up men and women whose lives were wholly dedicated to the cultivation and worship of the petunia.

Ernest Hemingway has written a very great book called *For Whom the Bell Tolls* and not the least of its morals is that a whole lifetime can be lived in three days. I did not live a lifetime in two weeks in London. But I think I spent a good many years in those 14 days. Somehow it isn't only London that you feel when you're there but the whole continent of Europe, blacked out and grim. You feel not just the few million people immediately around you but also the scores and hundreds of millions of people that stretch from where you stand in the dark all the way round the world to the east until in your imagination you come again upon the green of the Hawaiian Islands and know that beyond there is the Golden Gate and America again.

For to the east there are the Germans who are starving for the privilege of killing you and beyond them the Poles and the Czechs whose was than when I had left New York City a month before.

* * *

VOGUE magazine is made by cutting down trees in the forests of Canada and floating them to a paper mill. *Vogue* magazine is made by mining the coal to stoke the boilers of the locomotives that pull the cars whose wheels are made of iron from the Messabi Range—and all to bring the paper from the paper mill to Greenwich, Conn. *Vogue* magazine is made of 260,000 members of Sidney Hillman's garment union—and of their fighting for two generations for the right to bargain collectively with their employers. And all this effort to reproduce halftone cuts of costume jewelry.

Vogue magazine is the photo-electric engraving process and a system of public education, which includes courses in fashion designing and photography. *Vogue* magazine is the advertising agency structure, which has made so many millionaires and used to lay the keels for so many yachts. *Vogue* magazine is a cable under the Atlantic to carry the news that men will be allowed to look at women's knees on the street next year. *Vogue* magazine is an avenue of shops down which an industry parades.

Vogue magazine is peace and the right to live in childish fantasies and play house and dress up—all your life.

* * *

THE reason that *Vogue* magazine made such Japan—more power to her. She was a lot more satisfying to look at than a bombed building. But the minks came from Russia, the silk from Japan, and the man who grew the orchids was too old to fight and would soon be too old to grow orchids.

* * *

THE sense that I brought back with me from England was the understanding, which my heart had long felt and which I had known with my head but never really understood: that the world in which I had grown up was really over. Over, here as well as there. For the world I had grown up in was and is one with the rest of the world, however deceiving is the illusion of distance that the oceans give us. And the world, from England east through Germany and Russia and China and Japan all the way around back to our own coast, is no longer the world I had grown up in.

It is unrecognizably changed and irretrievably lost. And what we the American people have to realize is that *Vogue* magazine, which only a few years ago was very real, is now only a temporary illusion. A year, two years, five years, ten. Absolutely, certainly, no more. What lost France and almost lost England was that the Frenchmen and the Englishmen did not realize when they flew in the bomber without bombs to Munich, that the world they'd grown up in was already no more than a passing temporary illusion.

Europe, blacked out and grim. You feel not just the few million people immediately around you but also the scores and hundreds of millions of people that stretch from where you stand in the dark all the way round the world to the east until in your imagination you come again upon the green of the Hawaiian Islands and know that beyond there is the Golden Gate and America again.

For to the east there are the Germans who are starving for the privilege of killing you and beyond them the Poles and the Czechs whose days and nights must never seem to end and then the land where 20 years ago there was a people's revolution and where now six million men may not plow their fields or build their houses or sew together their clothes but must drill and drill and practice the art of killing with no profit to theirs or anyone else's society because like the rest of the world they are frightened. And beyond the Russians there are the bravest and most determined people in all the world—the Chinese, whose courage and determination and success make all the other anti-Fascists in the world look like sissies in comparison—not even the combat pilots of the RAF excepted. And then you come to the coast that the Japanese hold, where they install their puppet governments and have the trains blown up.

And all the way around in this great arc there are first millions, and then tens of millions and then scores of millions and then hundreds of millions of people. Who in all those tens and scores and hundreds of millions could sit and look at *Vogue* magazine with me and understand it, no matter how well I translated? Some would have a *Vogue* magazine in their memories but the memories would be too unreal to interest them. It would be as boring for them to talk for more than a few minutes about their memories of a world that included *Vogue* as it would be for you to reminisce with a childhood friend about what kind of ice ream was served at the party you went to when you were 10.

It wasn't until I sat and looked through the pages of *Vogue* that I knew how much older I

vertising agency structure, which has made so many millionaires and used to lay the keels for so many yachts. *Vogue* magazine is a cable under the Atlantic to carry the news that men will be allowed to look at women's knees on the street next year. *Vogue* magazine is an avenue of shops down which an industry parades.

Vogue magazine is peace and the right to live in childish fantasies and play house and dress up—all your life.

* * *

THE reason that *Vogue* magazine made such an impression on me I think is that I saw it in London, too—in a girl in a mink coat with orchids on it and her painted toe nails showing through the silk stockings that can't be sold since Dec. 1, and the cleft in the toe of her shoe, which was so obviously inconvenient when she stepped over the rubble at the edge of the bomb crater. She was *Vogue* magazine in capsule form—distilled and concentrated like vitamins in a cod liver oil pill. And as you saw her there stepping daintily through the rubble you knew that *Vogue* magazine was through. She was its last outpost—Eastbound between New York and all around the world to Hawaii where she would be lying on the beach in swimming pants and a brassiere, a few miles from where they were building the Pearl Harbor naval base.

When she stepped down the muddy streets in Paris in 1789 the industrial revolution had begun and the political revolutions were right around the corner. And wise men knew that she was through then. But they could have told the end was a long way off because the people resented her, so they first whispered and then shouted at her and finally they cut off her head in the guillotine. She must have been very powerful to be so resented. In London when I saw her stepping through the rubble there were neither whispers nor catcalls and nobody proposed to guillotine her. Because she was so really through. No one was interested. As long as she could get someone to trap her minks, cultivate her orchids and bring her silk from

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No important leader but Roosevelt has really seen that in this country—clearly and for a decade. But thank God he has. Thank God that with all its mistakes the New Deal has done as much as it has to face the reality of a changed world and to try to find for ourselves a way in which we can live in it and still keep the right to wrestle with our own social problems and not have solutions imposed upon us by self-appointed "saviors."

The Russians had a leader who saw it and his solution has been to sacrifice this generation's freedom for a promise to the next, not knowing whether he can ever fulfill that promise. The Germans had a leader who understood it better than the Russians. He understood it with the cunning of a rat. He has grown so fat in his understanding, and his teeth are so long and hard and sharp, that unless our understanding matches his—our understanding of the totality of the crisis of civilization—he will keep on growing fatter until it will take a generation of rat killers to de-Hitlerize the world, until we can get back to the peaceful process of learning how to live with the machines we have created to make life livable.

More power to *Vogue* magazine and long may it publish. But don't let it fool you. The world which created it is no more. The world in which your children will grow up, you must make for them now, with your own blood and sweat and tears and—Churchill should have added—with your laughter.

—RALPH INGERSOLL

most obvious and unflinching exhibition of inciting class consciousness is in the full-page editorial "Total War, Total Defense, Total Crisis,"[1] a tirade against evidences of softness and trivialities in our American life. In this heavily emotional and bitterly critical tirade, Ingersoll makes Vogue magazine the symbol for "feminine softness of the type that caused France's demise."[2]

With Vogue receiving the brunt of it, Ingersoll proceeds to call down a curse on all luxury-loving persons it represents. Written from the standpoint of one whose mind is filled with the horrors of bomb-wracked London, it is easy to understand Ingersoll's reaction to the frivolities set forth in Vogue, but it is not justifiable to condemn Vogue as the last outpost of a dying civilization. This was the stand taken by Vogue's editor, Edna Woolman Chase, in her rebuttal in a letter to PM's Editor Ingersoll, and it is a fair defense.[3]

In this piece, Ingersoll writes like a whirling dervish--vividly, excitingly, emotionally. He is carried away by his rushing thoughts, and succeeds in carrying the casual reader along with him. The day of trivialities is passing, he claims, and President Roosevelt is the only one who realizes that it is done, and a new day must come. There is a viciousness about Ingersoll's force in this editorial.[4]

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1 PM, December 4, 1940, p. 2.
2 Ibid.
3 PM, December 12, 1940, p. 2.
4 See page 160.

LETTERS TO AND FROM THE EDITOR

[redacted] Life

Dear [redacted]:

In your editorial of Dec. 4, *War, Total Defense, Total Crisis,* I s[redacted] you have, with one stroke of your pen, condemned *Vogue* to death along with the whole fashion industry which, in our country, ranks third in the billion dollar classifications.

Along with them, you have also, apparently, cast into oblivion that large group of people who build beautiful houses, buy fine art, patronize the opera, theaters and concerts, contribute their time and money to numerous charities, and add greatly to the amenities and the preservation of the art of civilized living. May I, as the Editor of *Vogue,* say this word in their, and our, behalf.

You think that *Vogue* is enormously concerned with matters which, to you, seem utterly fantastic. We believe, dear Mr. Ingersoll, that though, to you, these things seem trivial, they have, if taken in their sum total, large importance in developing the outward and visible graces of a civilized way of life. We believe it so strongly that, for nearly 50 years, we have mirrored that way of life in our pages. We dare hope that we have so successfully presented the arts of painting, writing, dressing, and gracious living, which are among the causes for which this war is waged, that *Vogue* has become, not only to you (as your article indicates), but to the world at large, the leader of the great fashion industries, as well as the symbol of the fashionable woman herself.

There are, today, thousands of manufacturers, designers, and merchants who depend upon the knowledge, the taste, and the integrity of *Vogue* for correct information and guidance in businesses that are dependent upon the element of fashion. This is so true that millions of dollars may be made or lost, and thousands of jobs created or not created, according to the rightness or wrongness of *Vogue's* [redacted] such [redacted] a neat foot, trim hair, [redacted], a well planned meal. [redacted] that we are living in a world en[redacted]d and bleeding. But it believes that it can play a helpful part in this scene of high drama and grim tragedy.

Our role now is essentially the same as it has always been; even as it was through the years 1914-18, and through the present dark war months. It is to report and reflect the peaceful, pleasant, decent arts of life; art itself; music; the theater; dressing attractively; living cheerfully; and the pursuit of happiness. Whether these things can endure, before the onslaught of an ideology that only glorifies the arts of war, is now the issue at stake.

We believe that they can. In England, today, *Vogue* still lives and flourishes. Advertisers use its pages regularly, and more copies of it have been sold in the war months of 1940 (notwithstanding an increase in its price) than were sold in the peaceful months of 1939.

We see that we annoy you. We are sorry. But, somehow, we have a feeling that we shall survive despite the awful sentence you have passed upon us. However, we shall not be unmindful of the changing times.

We hope that, since *Vogue* is a faithful mirror of the mode, we may be able to reflect any coming order as accurately as we have, for 50 years, reported the eras gone by. If the new order is to be one of sackcloth and ashes, we still think some women will wear theirs with a difference! Perhaps *Vogue* will cut the pattern for them.

Viewing this sorry new order, which you describe, I still find myself able to hope that *Vogue,* and our readers, may escape the execution which you have predicted for us. *Vogue's* platform, after all, is built on something enduringly strong—on something eternal—the eternal feminine. I hope that, even in the new order, you will have patience to bear with us, dear Mr. Ingersoll.

Very faithfully yours,

EDNA WOOLMAN CHASE,

to numerous charities, and add greatly to the amenities and the preservation of the art of civilized living. May I, as the Editor of *Vogue*, say this word in their, and our, behalf.

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[illegible] yourself, have, in one telling sentence, revealed how important a role we play. "*Vogue* magazine is an avenue of shops down which an industry parades." How true that is! And behind those shop windows are not only a vast army of garment workers, but millions of other people who design, manufacture, distribute, advertise, sell, alter, repair, clean and deliver fashion merchandise. Fashion, to them, is more than, as you have said, "the reproduction of half-tone cuts of costume jewelery." It is bread and meat and coal and comfort and security. Again, dear Mr. Ingersoll, in front of those shop windows, and through those shop doors, there pass the women of fashion, the buyers and wearers of all that merchandise. Those, to you, apparently worthless people seem only to devote their lives to seemingly idle causes. But, truly, they also have other and worthier pursuits. Perhaps they even believe that a grave situation isn't helped by glum faces or the gospel of defeatism. Perhaps they know that morale can show gallantly in is now the issue at stake.

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Very faithfully yours,

EDNA WOOLMAN CHASE,
Editor-in-Chief.

Madam, I would be the last to condemn Vogue *to death. I love* Vogue *and it has never annoyed me. I would rather read it than a report of the National Industrial Conference Board, any day. I would even rather read it than war news—even news of Greek victories (which is saying a lot, because I am very fond of news of Greek victories). Perhaps it's only because I'm so fond of your excellent magazine that I chose it to make my point: that the world in which you and I have grown up is no more.*

Lavish and graceful, your magazine was to me a symbol of the contrast between the world I saw abroad and the world you and I know here. Nor was I thinking of bombs versus *bonnets. I was thinking about what was, and what will be, important in the lives of grown men and women.*

RALPH INGERSOLL.

Miss Chase's answer is smoothly satirical and excellently stated, as well as being far more objectively written. It elicited a brief but subdued comment from Editor Ingersoll, who answered:[1]

> Madam, I would be the last to condemn Vogue to death. I love Vogue and it has never annoyed me. I would rather read it than a report of the National Industrial Conference Board any day....

Seven different editorials appearing between September, 1940, and April, 1941, may be classified as foreign news commentary.

These are "Editorial,"[2] "From Brauchitsch to Halifax,"[3] Conversation at Lunch,"[4] War Within a Week,"[5] "Notes on Last Week's Foreign News,"[6] "More Notes on News from Abroad,"[7] and "Coca-Cola News."[8] Their style is much the same -- praise of General Wavell's African stand, news of British victories, and other scattered comments, written in a chatty, discussion-like manner. In "War Within a Week"[9] Ingersoll goes out on a limb in his prognostications of coming events in the Japanese situation.

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In defining America's place in the conflict, Ingersoll emphasizes the Nazi threat to the Western hemisphere and to

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1 PM, op. cit., p. 2.
2 PM, September 24, 1940, p. 2.
3 PM, December 31, 1940, p. 2.
4 PM, February 3, 1941, p. 2.
5 PM, February 14, 1941, p. 2.
6 PM, February 25, 1941, p. 2.
7 PM, February 26, 1941, p. 2.
8 PM, March 24, 1941, p. 2.
9 PM, February 14, 1941, p. 2.

War Within a Week

There are so many patterns in the news this winter that it's hard to keep your eye on any one. They are constantly changing, taking new shapes—and they obscure each other.

Most of the comment on this week's news has attempted to analyze what the Axis will do in the Mediterranean. I play along with The General: Too much of the news about invasion of Bulgaria and siege of Gibraltar is marked: "Made in Germany."

I don't trust it.

And there is another shadow forming that seems to me more ominous. Take three bulletins in yesterday's news—from three different countries, all on our side of the fence:

1. Dutch consular authorities ordered two Dutch steamers to put into Manila—and there were reports from the Dutch East Indies that scheduled sailings of merchantmen had been canceled.

2. The Australian War Cabinet held an emergency meeting, announcing a situation of "the utmost gravity."

3. Our own Consulate General in Shanghai began circularizing all Americans in that part of the world, advising them to leave for home.

It could be that all the motions the spokesmen for the Axis have been making in Spain and Rumania and Bulgaria are for the purpose of distracting world attention from the Far East—and that our Government and the British Government know this.

The question, of course, is: What are we going to do about it if the Japanese do bolt for the Dutch East Indies? My guess—and it's strictly only a guess because I have no inside information—is that American-made ammunition would meet the Japanese fleet—and that it would be fired not out of British cannon by British seamen, but out of our own guns, sighted and fired by American seamen.

My only hedge to this guess is this: That this being the attitude of the U. S. Navy, IF the *Japanese* know it, there will be no bolt. For I do not believe the Japanese want to take us on until the issue is settled in Europe and I believe a Japanese bolt into the East Indies could happen only if the Japanese think they can get away with it without a naval engagement with the U. S. fleet. In which case—that is, if the Japs thought they could get away with it—there are the strongest reasons to believe they would try. A Japanese conquest of the Far East is precisely the news that Hitler and Mussolini would like to give to their now slightly confused people. They would hope that it would offset the lengthening

—defeats which began with Goering losing the battle over London in September and which have continued without interruption with the failure of the invasion of Greece, the successive defeats in Libya and the cracking up of Italian Eritrea and Ethiopia. Not to mention the collapse of Japan's own drive on land against the Chinese.

It would also be in character for the Japanese Navy, an almost autonomous military body, to set out on a conquest of its own, thus serving the dual purpose of glorifying the fatherland and humiliating the Japanese Army command.

I do not hedge my opinion that if the Japanese fleet makes a pass at the Dutch East Indies, the American Navy will go into action against it. Which you can call war if you like. Or a "border skirmish." It's hard to predict what it would be called.

If these things are about to happen, they may be very close. Perhaps within a week.—RALPH INGERSOLL.

1941, p. 2.

our own shores. In "Not War But Revolution,"[1] he goes as far as to trace the probable steps by which an American revolution would follow a German victory. Whether or not one agrees with his logic, the strength of words cannot be denied. His statements are bold ones:[2]

> It is no secret that men of both the extreme Right and the extreme Left desire a revolution. And both concede that the Revolution would be won by the Right. The sole difference in their points of view is this: that the Right believes it will be able to hang onto the spoils of its victory, whereas the Left is willing to take its chances on being able to overthrow them.

Early in February, Ingersoll began to exhibit an interest in America's war aims, beginning with an editorial in which he flays Wheeler and Nye for demanding that the British state their aims.[3] Instead, the fiery editor writes, the United States should state <u>its</u> war aims. Again, he is going on the assumption that this is "our" war.

"Interim Thoughts About War and Peace,"[4] announces that Ingersoll is now thinking through a series of eight editorials on this subject. It is a discussion of Ingersoll's interpretation of the philosophical meaning of war and peace aims and concludes:[5]

> And all the while down in Washington there was that strange breed of featherless ostrich, the American isolationist, talking

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1 PM, February 4, 1941, p. 2.
2 <u>Ibid</u>.
3 PM, February 5, 1941, p. 2.
4 PM, February 24, 1941, p. 2.
5 <u>Ibid</u>.

> away for all the world as if those things the cables told us about were happening on Mars.

The series of eight began with a bang in "War and Peace Aims,"[1] a front page editorial which continued in double-column on page 2. The editor promises that the series shall deal with the all-important answers to the question, "What's all the Shooting About?"

The first editorial is an exaggerated exposition of the Nazi concept of race superiority. He refers to the "boss race" as a racial-superiority dream which has "oomph" or sex appeal. The most valuable part of the whole tirade is the italicized note at the foot of the second page in which the two premises for the series of editorials on war aims are set forth:[2]

> Premise No. 1: War aims are only parts of a violent equation that must be seen whole to be understood. To talk about the war aims of one nation without recognizing that there are other nations in the world with opposed objectives is to talk nonsense. The truth is whole or not at all.
>
> Premise No. 2: There is no hard and fast division between war aims and peace aims. What kind of world each nation seeks to conquer, defend, or create is itself both a motive for national action and a source of conflict between nations.

The second installment, entitled "The Poles, for Instance,"[3] is concerned with fighting exiles. In part III,[4] he sums up British war aims, continuing with a summary of the whole war

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1 PM, March 6, 1941, p. 1 - 2.
2 Ibid, p. 2.
3 PM, March 7, 1941, p. 2.
4 PM, March 9, 1941, p. 2.

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VOL. I No. 187

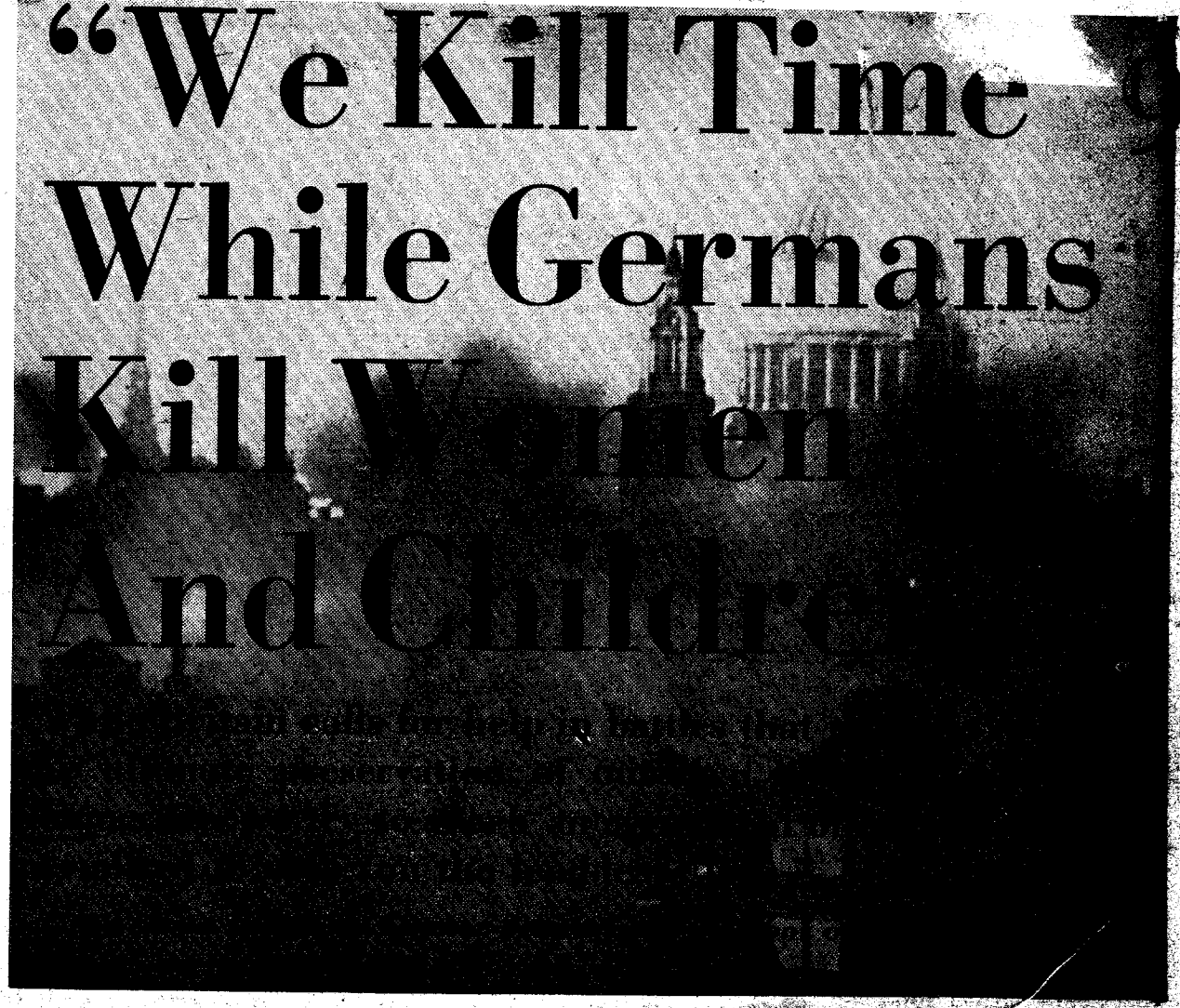
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"We Kill Time While Germans Kill W[illegible] And Cold"



War and Peace Aims

First of Eight Editorials By Ralph Ingersoll

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Vol. I No. 137

Thursday, March 6, 1941

Weather Report on Page 3.

COMPLETE EDITION

Jack Benny To Quit Jello ... He's Tired Page 21

"We Kill Time While Germans Kill Women And Children..."



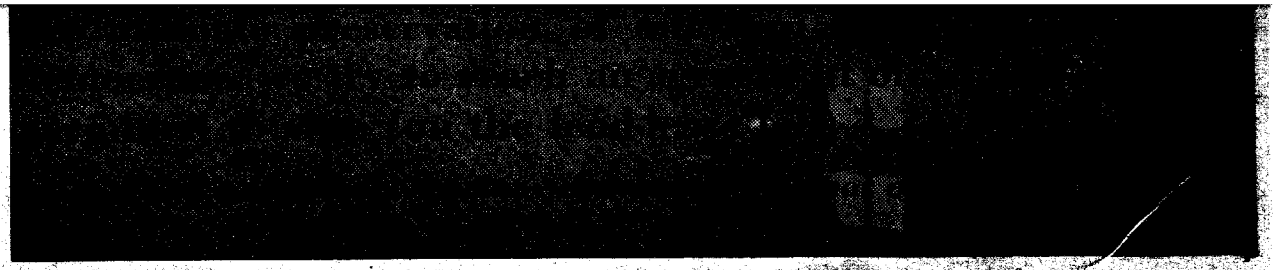
War and Peace Aims

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Page 21



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War and Peace Aims

First of Eight Editorials By Ralph Ingersoll

Axis War Aims Have Sex Appeal

Some people say they are confused about why England is fighting Germany. They want Mr. Churchill to state Britain's war aims. At least the Axis powers have stated *their* war aims—and, making due allowance for Germanic and Japanese mysticism, they have been very clear about them.

The Japanese war aim is to "fulfill the destiny" of the Japanese warrior race through the conquest of Asia. Similarly, the Germans are bent on "fulfilling the destiny" of the blue-eyed, blond Nordic warrior race through the conquest of Europe and the imposition of its ideas and its culture on Europe.

Both of these objectives seem to me to require that the buffer continents of North and South America serve these two self-appointed superior races by supplying them with raw materials—and that the polyglot peoples of North and South America, as the inferior servants of this world, know their place and stay in it. And no back talk.

Whether the continents of North and South America are to be divided into Asiatic and Nordic empires for the younger sons of the slant-eyed and blue-irised to exploit is a question of tactics rather than policy and it doesn't matter much. Neither does the question whether the "master race concept" was born of a persecution complex or grew out of sheer orneriness. Long before its past will have been scientifically analyzed, the outlines of the world we have grown up in may have disappeared. As to our future if the Axis has its way, our conquerors in their own good time will decide what the American way of the future will be.

Now the war aims of the Axis, based on the assumed right of certain races to rule, are at once clear, simple and effective. This is the thing to remember. German and Japanese school boys find them not only easy to understand but exhilarating and full of promise. They are much more exciting than the slogans either of capitalistic democracy, "Every boy is born a potential president"—or of any of the various Marxist sects, "Workers of the world, unite—you have nothing to lose but your chains." In the capitalist democracy the slogan has reality only to a few million out of a hundred and fifty million. "Workers of the world, unite" is all right, but what then? After the bosses have been butchered, what next? There are no dreams to dream. There is nothing but a sappy happy ending that can't quite be believed.

The racial-superiority dream, on the other hand, has everything you could ask of a dream. If you are a member of a boss race, no matter how humble your function in society, you are still a boss. You have inferior people to look down on and to serve you. You have adventure. You have fellowship. You have real security, political and emotional. And what's more important, you know your children will be secure. For all your sons and daughters will be members of the boss race, specially privileged.

It's something for which a woman can make sacrifices and for which a man can fight. As a war aim it has oomph. It has sex appeal. It has so much sex appeal that it can be sold not only to potential winners but even to runners-up.

Hundreds—or is it thousands?—of years ago the peoples of India worked out such

TURN THE PAGE

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situation, including America's indifference to the Spanish conflict, in "The Spring of 1940."[1]

The final three installments are concerned with "The American Program"[2] and comprise a plea for democracy. Two "blue-prints" are offered, according to Ingersoll -- Communism and Fascism. "Many people think, to hell with our principles, it's more important to eat,"[3] writes the editor, pleading for the sacrifices which give meaning to American freedom.

Hymns in praise of the New Deal ideology are scattered liberally throughout the series. In the last installment, the editor petitions the President for a restatement of democratic principles.[4] In the final paragraph he says:

> It will be the fate of our generation that we fulfill this destiny -- or perish. And if, with a country as rich as our own and with a future as great as ours, we as a people have neither the brains nor the character nor the courage to become the masters of our destiny -- and to follow a leader who has so clearly shown us the way -- then history is well rid of us.

What more could any administration ask in press support? But Ingersoll does not let the case rest with idle words. He was so earnest in his attempts to put an end to "isolationist confusion"[5] on the lend-lease bill that he addressed a message

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1 PM, March 16, 1941, p. 2.
2 PM, March 12, 13, and 14, 1941, p. 2.
3 PM, March 13, 1941, p. 2.
4 PM, March 14, 1941, p. 2.
5 PM, March 7, 1941, p. 1.

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Friday, March 7, 1941

Weather Report on Page 3.

COMPLETE EDITION

I have written this letter to the President of the United States — in the midst of a series of editorials on War and Peace Aims — *because I feel so deeply against the way in which the lend-lease bill is being debated on the floor of the Senate. I believe in public debate. I do not believe in malicious distortion of the truth — and recent isolationist arguing has, in my opinion, been both malicious and untruthful. Furthermore, I believe that much of the current attack on this bill is neither innocent nor sincere but is part of a carefully studied attempt to confuse the American people and to confound their democracy, these United States of America. It was precisely thus that Adolf Hitler confused and confounded the innocent people of Germany; thus his sympathizers in this country are working against us — here in our midst, now.*—RALPH INGERSOLL.

PLEASE RETURN TO RACK

An Open Letter To The President

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT
WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

We live in a time of total crisis, when days and minutes count.

The forces of Fascism have overrun Europe, have spread out over Asia, are filtering through the Balkans — are knocking at the gates of England. Distorting the truth, lying, raising the horrid issue of anti-Semitism, they fight us.

lem that, with faith in themselves, they could not solve.

And now the very men who fought you hardest ask to be heard because they "believe in America!"

"Save America first," they say. "Build democracy here." And they say, "Think of your sons. Think of your children. Think of their future. Think of America first." These are all corruptions of your own ideas.

But they are effective with such people of good will as are confused or do not

them, to bring order and sanity back to the land.

Talk to us about ourselves. Talk to us about our future. Talk to us about the four freedoms of democracy that we are defending against Fascism — freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want and freedom from fear. Give us our next goal and the American people will shake the little Fascist lice from their great back, go forward to fulfill an American destiny of peace and democracy, armed to defend it-

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT
WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

We live in a time of total crisis, when days and minutes count.

Hordes of Fascism have overrun Europe, have spread out over Asia, are filtering through the Balkans – are knocking at the gates of England. Distorting the truth, lying, raising the horrid issue of anti-Semitism, they fight us.

The forces of Fascism are now fighting you from the floor of the United States Senate.

As Adolf Hitler used the democratic freedom he enjoyed in Germany to destroy the state that gave him the liberty to fight at all, so do your enemies use the democratic process with intent to destroy it.

What is happening, Mr. President, is that your enemies have taken advantage of the good nature of the American people – to use against you, and against them, the very weapons which you yourself forged to defend this democracy.

The weapon they are using against you is your own belief in the future of a democratic America.

It was you who knew that the economic problems of this country could be solved within the framework of democratic principles. In the early thirties, it was you who gave the people faith in democracy when everything seemed blackest. You gave them confidence in the future of America, confidence that America belonged to them and to their children and that there was no problem that, with faith in themselves, they could not solve.

And now the very men who fought you hardest ask to be heard because they "believe in America!"

"Save America first," they say. "Build democracy here." And they say, "Think of your sons. Think of your children. Think of their future. Think of America first." These are all corruptions of your own ideas.

But they are effective with such people of good will as are confused or do not understand.

Thus did Adolf Hitler use their own slogans against them, to betray the people of Germany.

The people of America love you. So your enemies have to say of you, "He did not mean what he said when he told you he had faith in you. Now he wants to go off and fight in somebody else's war – with your sons. *We* are the ones who really have your interests at heart." They lie and they know they lie. But they have created the poisonous confusion of issues that they seek. And the debate on the lend-lease bill to defend American democracy drones on.

These people have no right to do these things to you or to the American people. Every decent American resents it.

Now is the time, Mr. President, for you to take back your own weapon of faith to destroy your enemies' power to confuse. Only you can demonstrate to all of us that the cause of democracy is one cause at home and abroad, and thus release the mighty energy of this country.

The American people need you to talk to them, to bring order and sanity back to the land.

Talk to us about ourselves. Talk to us about our future. Talk to us about the four freedoms of democracy that we are defending against Fascism – freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want and freedom from fear. Give us our next goal and the American people will shake the little Fascist lice from their great back, go forward to fulfill an American destiny of peace and democracy, armed to defend itself, able and willing to help its friends, knowing the issues that confront it and prepared to meet them, positive as you are positive that there is no problem that the American people cannot solve democratically, no crisis that they will not rise united to meet, no sacrifice they will not make for the land they love. My trust in you is their trust.

Against such a declaration by you, a thousand Wheelers cannot gain an inch.

Respectfully,

RALPH INGERSOLL

If this open letter to the President moves you to write, do not write PM. Write as a citizen to your President in the White House. Tell him you are with him. Let him know your faith in him. Tell him that if others are confused, you are not. Tell him what you think of the attack that is now being made against him – and against you.

Write your name across the bottom of this letter, tear it off and mail it to Washington, D. C.

The Editors of PM.

to President Roosevelt, heading it "An Open Letter to the President,"[1] and printed it on the front page during the period in which the eight editorials were appearing.

Mr. Ingersoll's letter bears a remarkable resemblance to an old-fashioned preacher's Sunday morning prayer, for like the good clergyman, Ingersoll informs the omnipotent of the state of affairs existing in these parts. It is written in stirring, patriotic prose, and rings with faith and confidence in America's destiny. It is worthy of careful perusal.[2]

3. Labor

The labor editorials dealt with in this section are those printed on the "Opinion" page or the front page of PM, and largely written by Ralph Ingersoll. Labor page editorials, commonly written by one of the department's editors, will be studied in the section devoted to labor coverage.

PM has consistently championed the rights of labor in a national emergency as one of the civil liberties not to be overlooked. This attitude is developed in "Total Crisis,"[3] a plea not only to preserve labor's rights but to expand them.

As the result of a conversation with an executive of Macy's, Ingersoll wrote an editorial in support of organized labor, "Is the Trade Union Part of the Penal System?"[4] In it, Ingersoll develops his philosophical conception of the trade

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1 PM, op. cit., p. 1.
2 See page 169.
3 PM, December 9, 1940, p. 2.
4 PM, January 8, 1941, p. 2.

[illegible] Union Part[illegible] Penal System

It is PM's policy in discussing the problems of the trade unions [illegible] to inquire into the employer's point of view. In a recent talk with a vice-president of Macy's Department Store the discussion touched on the fundamental purposes of collective bargaining. The issue raised is commented on below. The vice-president's name is omitted because he was not talking for publication. But PM's columns are open to him if he cares to restate or correct his position.

The vice-president of Macy's put a very old and, I think typically American anti-trade union argument into words, when he was arguing with me about PM having misquoted Macy's wage scales—in a minor detail. He said in effect: I think trade unions are all right. I think there have got to be trade unions. But I think of them as a penalty imposed on bad employers for bad management. In industrial relations, the trade union is the sentence society imposes on the employer for abusing his privileges as such.

He said he was particularly sensitive to the inaccuracies in PM because he felt that Macy's had "earned its freedom" from collective bargaining. He said Macy's had earned its freedom by treating its people decently and paying them well.

By presumption, because Macy's has "earned its freedom," the present drive to unionize Macy's is unfair and unjust—an attempt to deprive an honest man both of his reputation and of a relationship to which he is entitled through good behavior.

I do not know the executive of Macy's personally. He may have meant what he said and he may have simply been advancing the argument as a front. But in

managers of industry were forced, with the NLRB for a policeman, whenever they failed to keep the people who worked for them happy. Why go to all this fuss when we already have policemen, prisons and courts for a penal system?

But the argument misses the whole point.

This nation began with the statement, "All men are created free and equal." That statement did not mean that all men were equally strong, wise or well fixed. It did obviously mean that we aspired to be a nation in which the equality and freedom of men was ever more nearly homogeneous. The trade union is a democratic institution and a vital part of our state because, as we passed from an agricultural to an industrial society, large groups of men lost the equality of

the trade union fitted itself into society and was recognized as good. Its purpose is neither to censure nor to punish the employer but to give to his employes, joined together in a trade union, a measure of the freedom of action and the equality of power that the owner of the corporation has.

The translation of that freedom and equality into higher wages and better working conditions is the fruit of the tree. The tree is the dignity of the individual as the free and equal citizen of a democracy whose very life is the freedom and equality of its citizens.

—RALPH INGERSOLL

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By presumption, because Macy's has "earned its freedom," the present drive to unionize Macy's is unfair and unjust—an attempt to deprive an honest man both of his reputation and of a relationship to which he is entitled through good behavior.

I do not know the executive of Macy's personally. He may have meant what he said and he may have simply been advancing the argument as a front. But in the course of editing *Fortune* for five years and talking to and dealing with many hundreds of the owners and managers of U. S. industry—the majority of them eminently decent people—I met many who I am sure were sincere in expressing exactly this sentiment. In fact, in arguing for trade unionism I have often found myself using the sentence, "The way many American employers treated the people who worked for them, any trouble the employers get from the trade unions is coming to them." Which is exactly the man in Macy's conception—of the trade union as a punishment inflicted on the bad employer. I did not catch the fallacy in my own thinking until he pointed it out to me.

Now I would certainly be against trade unions if their function were to be a kind of jail into which the owners and managers of industry were forced, with the NLRB for a policeman, whenever they failed to keep the people who worked for them happy. Why go to all this fuss when we already have policemen, prisons and courts for a penal system?

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By the device of the corporation, men of property were made freer, men without property less free. By the device of the corporation, for instance, men of property could avoid personal responsibility for acts, which had social consequences.

And on the other side of the fence, the corporation took from larger and larger groups of men, parts of the freedom they had had by limiting their opportunities for employment and their welfare—not only their wages but also their working conditions and their opportunity to improve themselves—became more and more dependent upon the will, good or evil, of the responsibility-free men, who ran the corporations that employed them.

It was to equalize this disparity that the trade union fitted itself into society and was recognized as good. Its purpose is neither to censure nor to punish the employer but to give to his employes, joined together in a trade union, a measure of the freedom of action and the equality of power that the owner of the corporation has.

The translation of that freedom and equality into higher wages and better working conditions is the fruit of the tree. The tree is the dignity of the individual as the free and equal citizen of a democracy whose very life is the freedom and equality of its citizens.

—RALPH INGERSOLL

Arnold Versus Labor

Yesterday PM printed an editorial by Nathan Robertson, of our Washington bureau, on Thurman Arnold's trust-busting activities. We explained that Mr. Robertson's piece did not express the editorial views of PM, but was printed as the opinion of a responsible reporter who had studied the subject. Today PM's editor takes up the same question to present PM's opinion.

Thurman Arnold is an Assistant Attorney General in Robert Jackson's office. He is intelligent, ingenious, vigorous and aggressive. He is a man who takes the initiative and the initiative he has chosen to take in the New Deal has been against monopolistic practices. Since no man denies that there are monopolistic practices on both sides of the fence that divides capital and labor, he has thereby dedicated himself to stepping on everybody's toes. So doing, he raises interesting issues.

Most of the talk pro and con Thurman Arnold seems to revolve around his sincerity as a champion of the people's rights. Which seems to me beside the point and specious. It's possible that even Mr. Arnold, who is a very violent man, could not give himself a convincing answer. He is that kind of fellow. But of his present single-mindedness there is no doubt whatever. Nor of his effectiveness, as proved by the articles Nate Robertson wrote in PM last week which enumerated the savings to the consumer already achieved by his good old fashioned trust-busting tactics. (His technique is new, but his approach is the approach of Roosevelt the First.)

The most interesting issue he raises is, of course, the issue of whether monopolies in labor are fair game. Adjoining this editorial I reprint the AFL objections to Arnold's position. They constitute a fair challenge. Against them methods against entrenched trade unionism?

I can give you my own answer. The AFL objections are too often evasive. But they hold water.

Working people, as the Supreme Court has said a dozen different ways, sit down at a table to bargain with their employers at a disadvantage. The scales of justice are already weighed against them. Allowing trade unions certain immunities denied to corporations tends to equalize these scales. This has been gone over many, many times and found to be true.

But what I feel is that neither the AFL nor any other nationally important trade union body should be left off the list of objections to the application of the Sherman Anti-Trust Laws to trade unions. The national welfare as without endangering the health of the nation.

If I were Thurman Arnold I would say this to the AFL: "All right, you have convinced me that these things are not my business. But at the same time you have made it clear that they're yours. And I would be a sorry public servant if I let you off there. I will never prosecute you. But I am going right on yelling about the crime and corruption I have uncovered in certain trade unions until you do something about it. And I'm going to do this, thank you kindly, not in the name of reaction, but in the name of fair collective bargaining and decent trade unionism which I believe in just as much as you."—RALPH INGERSOLL

AFL vs. Arnold

2. Unreasonable restraints to compel the hiring of useless and unnecessary labor. Example—A requirement that on each truck entering a city there be a member of the local teamsters' union in addition to the driver. **AFL—Such determination can properly be made only in the process of collective bargaining itself.**

3. Unreasonable restraints designed to enforce systems of graft and extortion. Example—Officials of a New York local of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters were charged with collecting private graft as a condition of settlement of a strike. **AFL—The need for remedy is adequately met by the criminal statutes dealing with extortion and criminal conspiracy.**

4. Unreasonable restraints designed to enforce illegally fixed prices. Example—A Chicago labor union was charged with combining with distributors and producers to prevent milk on which the price was not fixed

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The most interesting issue he raises is, of course, the issue of whether monopolies in labor are fair game. Adjoining this editorial I reprint the AFL objections to Arnold's position. They constiture a fair challenge. Against them there is the obvious fact that certain of labor's gains are taken not out of the hide of the capital that finances production but out of the hides of other working men; the consumers who would like to buy factory-built houses they could afford instead of looking wistfully at handcraft-built dwellings they can't. And decent men of one generation after another have been shocked by the bloodshed and corruption that have too often accompanied the trade union monopolies. The very definition of monopoly includes the conception of exploitation of the many by the few—and is both anti-progressive and anti-democratic.

What, then, is the answer? It doesn't matter whether Thurman Arnold is sincerely unselfish or sincerely self-seeking or both. Is it in the interest of the State that he continues to use his strong-arm methods against entrenched trade unionism?

I can give you my own answer. The AFL objections are too often evasive. But they hold water.

Working people, as the Supreme Court has said a dozen different ways, sit down at a table to bargain with their employers at a disadvantage. The scales of justice are already weighed against them. Allowing trade unions certain immunities denied to corporations tends to equalize these scales. This has been gone over many, many times and found to be true.

But what I feel is that neither the AFL nor any other nationally important trade union body should be left off the list of objections to the application of the Sherman Anti-Trust Laws to trade unions. The national welfare as well as the health of trade unionism requires that the problems developed and articulated by Arnold be met. The price of immunity must be responsibility. The AFL has a positive obligation not to stop with the denunciation of Arnold. Otherwise, it indicts itself as anti-social more severely than it can ever indict Thurman Arnold. Because Thurman Arnold is simply an Assistant Attorney General engaged in interpreting the law as he sees it, whereas the AFL is charged with a much greater responsibility. It speaks in the name of 4,000,000 individuals.

If Thurman Arnold fails as a prosecuting Attorney General, another man will get his job. But the AFL is a permanent institution, permanently representing the interests of its members in this complicated industrial democracy. It cannot fail in meeting its responsibilities without endangering the health of the nation.

If I were Thurman Arnold I would say this to the AFL: "All right, you have convinced me that these things are not my business. But at the same time you have made it clear that they're yours. And I would be a sorry public servant if I let you off there. I will never prosecute you. But I am going right on yelling about the crime and corruption I have uncovered in certain trade unions until you do something about it. And I'm going to do this, thank you kindly, not in the name of reaction, but in the name of fair collective bargaining and decent trade unionism which I believe in just as much as you."—RALPH INGERSOLL

AFL vs. Arnold

The AFL's objection to Thurman Arnold's position on labor restraints, referred to in the foregoing editorial, are contained in the following excerpt from Nathan Robertson's article of Jan. 1:

Mr. Arnold has outlined five types of restraint which he regards as illegitimate activity of labor unions in violation of the Sherman Act. Here are the five types, as he outlined them, together with the AFL's comment on them:

1. Unreasonable restraints to prevent the use of cheaper material, improved equipment, or more efficient methods. Example—An effort to prevent the installation of factory-glazed windows or factory painted kitchen cabinets. **AFL—These are problems of industrial evolution.** They are properly the subject for negotiation and collective bargaining where both sides have the opportunity to present the facts and work out policies to mitigate whatever harm may result in industrial change.

2. Unreasonable restraints to compel the hiring of useless and unnecessary labor. Example—A requirement that on each truck entering a city there be a member of the local teamsters' union in addition to the driver. **AFL—Such determination can properly be made only in the process of collective bargaining itself.**

3. Unreasonable restraints designed to enforce systems of graft and extortion. Example—Officials of a New York local of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters were charged with collecting private graft as a condition of settlement of a strike. **AFL—The need for remedy is adequately met by the criminal statutes dealing with extortion and criminal conspiracy.**

4. Unreasonable restraints designed to enforce illegally fixed prices. Example—A Chicago labor union was charged with combining with distributors and producers to prevent milk on which the price was not fixed from coming into the city. **AFL—The evil can be reached and full remedy found without applying the Sherman Act.**

5. Unreasonable restraints to destroy an established and legitimate system of collective bargaining. Example—Jurisdictional strikes. **AFL—The anti-trust laws should not be used as an instrument to police strikes or adjudicate labor controversies.**

union, delving into economics and related fields. The editorial appears to be sound and well-developed.

Perhaps the most admirable of the labor editorials is "Arnold vs. the AFL,"[1] a follow-up on staff member Nathan Robertson's report on Thurman Arnold's trust-breaking activities. The editorial is a challenge to the AFL and to organized labor in general to make labor practices beyond reproach, to follow Arnold's probings with internal reform. It is objective, well-developed, and accompanied by an exposition of the AFL's objections to Arnold's position on labor restraints, as discovered in Robertson's article of January 1.

Although Henry Ford's labor practices were condemned in a number of editorials, at least two full page tirades were printed concerning him. "Henry Ford and the Little Man,"[2] an excellently developed evolution of the Ford economic and labor philosophy, laments the passing of Ford's interest in the "little man." According to Ingersoll, who spares no love for the motor magnate, Ford now "speaks from a pulpit he has left, clad in vestments tailored by an advertising agency."[3]

The second of the anti-Ford editorials dominated the front page and was entitled, "Send Ford to Prison Unless...".[4] This was written by PM's youthful James A. Wechsler of the Labor department and asks for the invoking of criminal pro-

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1 PM, January 9, 1941, p. 2.
2 PM, January 15, 1941, p. 2.
3 Ibid.
4 PM, March 9, 1941, p. 1.

Henry Ford and the Little Man

I feel very strongly about Henry Ford's militant attacks on the conception of collective bargaining in labor relations.

For the little upholsterer around the corner with three employes to argue that if his men don't like the wages he pays they can quit and get a job elsewhere is one thing. But Henry Ford is so large a segment of so important an industry that his disdain for the will of the majority of the people of America and his contempt for the laws they have enacted amount to an armed rebellion. It is a very serious thing, however slick the arguments of his propagandists, however effective the tricks his lawyers play to disguise the issue and to delay the final judgment.

The only piece I have been disappointed in in Jimmy Wechsler's series of articles on Ford in PM was his answer to the advertisement the Ford people printed to prove that the old man paid high wages. He proved that it was misleading to the point of positive factual inaccuracy, but that's not enough. The effect of the Ford advertisement cannot be destroyed unless you first recognize the fact that Henry Ford claims immunity from the labor laws of the land because he is so good an employer that he does not need them.

In the first place, this is a vicious doctrine—akin to the conception that it's all right to murder as long as you only murder the right people. But what his own advertisement shows is that Mr. Ford hasn't even that defense. When Mr. Ford introduced a $5 a day wage for an eight hour day in 1914, he had the start of an argument that he was so good a friend of labor that the working man could afford to wink at his breaking a law or two. And just as people are slow to absorb new conceptions, they are slow to relinquish old; it is obviously difficult for millions of people to accommodate themselves to the reality: that the Henry Ford of the 1930s is not the Ford of the nineteens. I would like to make it easier for them, because, as I have said before, I regard Mr. Ford's armed resistance to the laws of this country as a very serious thing indeed.

Perhaps how much Mr. Ford has changed will be clearer when you think not of the man but of the car that made him famous. Mr. Ford's philosophy was taken seriously in every country interested in solving the new problems of industrial democracy, by virtue of the following facts:

1) He produced a uniquely useful machine, 2) by virtue of extraordinarily ingenious manufacturing methods which 3) enabled him to sell it at an extraordinarily low price. 4) The success of this operation required that he sell enormous numbers of his machines, and yet 5) cheap as they were, they still were too expensive to make it possible for enough people to buy them, so 6) he conceived, as a solution of this impasse, the idea of raising the income of enough people to create the market he needed. 7) So—into a world grown accustomed to paying $3 for ten hours of a man's work he introduced a $5 wage for only eight hours of a man's work, and 8) so clear were his interests that he fought the whole banking and industrial set-up in defense of what he had created, and won not only comparable wage and hour conditions in other industries—so that the whole level of living began to rise—but also the conversion of scores of other industrialists to his philosophy of mass production and up. Perhaps never in industrial history has the price of a vital commodity been so violently and uncompromisingly cut as by Henry Ford with his tin lizzy.

The next thing that happened to Mr. Ford was that he lost his position as even "one of the men who could perform this miracle." His tin lizzy failed to compete with products built by other people. The real crisis and turning point in Mr. Ford's career was the year that Chevrolet first outsold him.

Up till that day he had stuck to his guns—in fact, he stuck to them for several years afterward, gradually losing his position even as a leading automobile manufacturer, let alone as the great prophet of a new industrial era.

This was in the early 30s and there were articles written then—I edited one

flected in his advertisements was no longer the sturdy homespun world of the Model T that a farm hand could take apart and put together. It became the world of sleek lines and soft upholstery. He was no longer a workman himself and no longer interested in working men. He was rich and comfortable and he sold his cars to people who were rich and comfortable, and the humble people for whom he dreamed the great dream could not buy them when the springs were coming through their upholstery and the connecting rods were ruined. They could not buy them to trek from Oklahoma to California.

There is nothing surprising about the fact that Henry Ford, who once fought the whole world to give the people something useful at a price they could afford,

printed to prove that the old man paid high wages. He proved that it was misleading to the point of positive factual inaccuracy, but that's not enough. The effect of the Ford advertisement cannot be destroyed unless you first recognize the fact that Henry Ford claims immunity from the labor laws of the land because he is so good an employer that he does not need them.

In the first place, this is a vicious doctrine—akin to the conception that it's all right to murder as long as you only murder the right people. But what his own advertisement shows is that Mr. Ford hasn't even that defense. When Mr. Ford introduced a $5 a day wage for an eight hour day in 1914, he had the start of an argument that he was so good a friend of labor that the working man could afford to wink at his breaking a law or two. For him to give that argument today he would have to be paying his men $12 a day instead of $7 for a six-hour day instead of an eight. Yet the best fact his advertising agency copy writers could find to justify him in his one-man rebellion was that he pays *almost* as much as his competitors. For him to compare the wages of a skilled mechanic in the automobile trade with the average wage received by persons gainfully employed in the U. S. A. is, of course, for him to suggest that society owes the skilled workman no more compensation than it owes the village idiot in Speedunk who takes around special delivery letters for the village post master—which is so Communistic a conception that it wouldn't even go in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Add up all his arguments and all Mr. Ford has said is that skilled workmen get higher wages than most people in this country and he hires a lot of skilled workmen. As an effective argument this would be pathetic if it were not for the fact—revealed by many a poll of public opinion—that a generation ago Henry Ford sold the American people on the idea that he was not the opponent but the aggressive crusading champion of higher standards of living for working people. 2) He did this by ingenious manufacturing methods which 3) enabled him to sell it at an extraordinarily low price. 4) The success of this operation required that he sell enormous numbers of his machines, and yet 5) cheap as they were, they still were too expensive to make it possible for enough people to buy them, so 6) he conceived, as a solution of this impasse, the idea of raising the income of enough people to create the market he needed. 7) So—into a world grown accustomed to paying $3 for ten hours of a man's work he introduced a $5 wage for only eight hours of a man's work, and 8) so clear were his interests that he fought the whole banking and industrial set-up in defense of what he had created, and won not only comparable wage and hour conditions in other industries—so that the whole level of living began to rise—but also the conversion of scores of other industrialists to his philosophy of perpetual prosperity.

It was Ford thinking that dominated an important part of the 20s; if the industrialists kept raising wages, the market for what their workers made would continue to expand, because the workers themselves would be able to buy more, and the more the market expanded, the more manufacturing savings could be achieved, fractions of which can be continuously passed on to create larger markets — *ad infinitum* to two chickens in every pot.

All this is, of course, vastly oversimplified and many other elements enter into it, but the main line of thought is sound and many intelligent books have been written about it.

Now leave the 20s to one side and stick to Henry Ford and see what happened to him. The first thing that happened to him was that his machine stopped being unique. Other people learned all his tricks, so that instead of being the man who could make an automobile that runs and sell it at a profit for $400, he became simply one of the men who could perform this miracle. I should emphasize the fact that it had been a miracle, because before Mr. Ford, cars that ran cost not $400 but $4000 and up. Perhaps never in industrial history has the price of a vital commodity been so violently and uncompromisingly cut as by Henry Ford with his tin lizzy.

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This was in the early 30s and there were articles written then—I edited one of them myself—which developed all these facts and prepared to lay a sincere wreath on the old man's grave. What happened next is industrial history, but very few people have commented on the last phase. Mr. Ford faced the facts of his failure, abandoned the concept of a cheap car that every working man could afford, wrote off his dream of paying continually higher wages to create a broader and broader market for it, shut up shop for a year and re-emerged in business and industrial life in this country as the manufacturer of a car to be sold at a price that not even by the widest stretch of the imagination could the majority of people buy first-hand.

He abandoned the working people of the country to the second-hand car market and produced his $800 for a middle class enlarged, but very, very definitely in the minority in this country. And with that change he changed his industrial politics. He no longer sought either to pay higher wages than the competition, nor to cut the hours of work required of any one man. He no longer dreamed of rising standards of living that would create ever larger markets for useful goods that he produced at ever lower costs. He lost all but a sentimental interest in working people. The world that was reflected in his advertisements was no longer the sturdy homespun world of the Model T that a farm hand could take apart and put together. It became the world of sleek lines and soft upholstery. He was no longer a workman himself and no longer interested in working men. He was rich and comfortable and he sold his cars to people who were rich and comfortable, and the humble people for whom he dreamed the great dream could not buy them when the springs were coming through their upholstery and the connecting rods were ruined. They could not buy them to trek from Oklahoma to California.

There is nothing surprising about the fact that Henry Ford, who once fought the whole world to give the people something useful at a price they could afford, is now buying paid advertising space in which to defend himself against his old friends, the majority of the people of America, or that now he has only foolish things to say to them in fancy words. The only thing that's surprising is how generous the people of America have been in still thinking of him as the man he used to be, still giving him the benefit of so many doubts.

There is nothing wrong that Henry Ford should be serving rich folk with an $800 automobile. It's a good automobile and honest value at the price. There would simply be a sadness—if all the people had lost was a champion as able as he, for in his day he seemed a great man.

What is wrong is that he should be allowed to speak from a pulpit he has left, clad in vestments tailored by an advertising agency. For he is no longer the prophet of the little man's stake in this industrial democracy. He won't even make the little man a car he can afford to buy until someone else has had it and taken the life out of it.—RALPH INGERSOLL.

(*A "battle map" describing the scene at Dearborn where the Ford-CIO war is being fought appears on Page* 14.)

Send Ford To Prison Unless..

There may be a strike at any moment in the key plants of the Ford Motor Co. Strike notices have been served at the Rouge, Highland Park and Lincoln plants in Detroit, employing more than 90,000 workers. When Ford officials say that talk of trouble between Ford workers and their employers is the invention of "outside agitators," they are not telling the truth.

The truth is that Henry Ford today faces the consequences of a violent career of law-breaking. The law is the Wagner Act.

The Ford Motor Co. has been convicted by the National Labor Relations Board of breaking this law seven times.

In the most important case—River Rouge—the Supreme Court has upheld the NLRB by refusing to review the Board's verdict as asked by Ford attorneys.

Now the air is full of proposals for anti-strike legislation to prevent interruptions in the defense program. The futility of these proposals is proved in the Ford case. You can't win respect for the law by punishing the victims of law-breakers.

In the face of the crisis caused by the labor policies of the Ford Motor Co., PM proposes:

Let the U. S. Government institute criminal proceedings against executives of the Ford Motor Co., under Section 51, Title 18, of the U. S. Code. This section reads:

"If two or more persons conspire to injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or because of his having so exercised the same . . . they shall be fined not more than $5000 and imprisoned not more than 10 years . . ."

This section vividly describes the record of the Ford Motor Co.

Henry Ford, Harry Bennett, chief of the Ford police squad, and other key figures in the Ford empire, are not casual violators of the Wagner Act. The seven National Labor Relations Board decisions convicting the Ford Motor Co., describe law-breaking in plants that extend from coast to coast, from Buffalo, N. Y., to Richmond, Cal.

The Ford plants are widely separated in space; but the technique of terror and espionage and anti-union discrimination varies only in details. In Dallas union organizers were tarred and feathered. In Dearborn, Mich., they were violently beaten. The parallel that runs through all these cases is no accident. It is the product of a conspiracy in which key Ford agents throughout the country participate.

The Department of Justice invoked the statute cited above in its prosecution of the Harlan coal operators, who similarly and violently resisted union organization. Ultimately the case was settled before final judicial decision.

We believe the urgency of the Ford situation demands use of this law again. There is still no real evidence that the Ford Motor Co. is prepared to stop fighting its employes unless they surrender their rights. There is no real evidence that it is seeking a decent solution of the conflict with workers who have dared to join an "outside union".

Maybe the launching of such a prosecution will finally persuade Henry Ford and his associates that they cannot live outside the law, cry "sabotage" when employes exercise their rights, defy the law under which thousands of decent employers —including the Ford competitors—are peacefully operating.

The map published on page 19 shows the scope of the Ford Motor Co.'s law-breaking history. The Ford conspiracy against labor organization is a major threat to the defense program of the U. S. A. It is demoralizing thousands of workers upon whose energies the success of our defense program rests. It is encouraging those voices which say that workers cannot get full protection of the law in the defense emergency.

We urge that the U. S. Government act at once to punish the men who are responsible for this conspiracy.

—An Editorial by JAMES A. WECHSLER

ceedings as specified in the Wagner Act, broken, Wechsler said, seven times by the Ford Company. Wechsler urges the Federal Government to "act at once to punish the men who are responsible for this conspiracy,"[1] (referring to the Ford conspiracy against labor organization.)

Another front page labor editorial appeared in connection with the bus strike in March and claimed to be a statement as to "Where PM Stands on the Bus Strike."[2] This editorial does not hesitate to flay the New York press for taking transit company advertising and for challenging the right of the workers to strike. Ingersoll composed this rather important editorial in his usual easy style, relying upon the use of virtue devices for emphasis.[3] He concludes in true form:

> And to its readers and the public -- in the name of these men, women and children-- PM asks patience, tolerance, sympathy.

In a later editorial, "You Can Fool Some of the People ...."[4] Ingersoll commends the people of New York for their good-natured attitude during the bus strike. Again, he finds space to deride the metropolitan press.

A letter from James Warburg which questions the advisability of the bus strike is given a full page lay-out, accompanied by Ingersoll's answer.[5] The whole is done in the best spirit.

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1 PM, March 9, 1941, p. 1.
2 PM, March 12, 1941, p. 1
3 Ibid.
4 PM, March 21, 1941, p. 2.
5 PM, March 17, 1941, p. 2.

4. Lindbergh and Other Appeasers

The treatment given conscientious appeasers, Charles Lindbergh in particular, extended beyond editorializing on the "Opinion" page to such a degree that it is debatable whether the anti-Lindbergh campaign should be studied here or under a special section devoted to "smear campaigns." Certainly if such a section were to become a part of this study, the Lindbergh purge would rank as the supreme example of the power of the press to crucify a man by persistent and undiminishing assaults.

Perhaps no other editorial of the past year aroused as much interest and controversy as did Ralph Ingersoll's front page double-column work "Denouncing Lindbergh."[1] In seven strong paragraphs, Editor Ingersoll made flat and forthright statements concerning Colonel Lindbergh's activities, calling him "Spokesman No. 1 for The Fifth Column" and "a political novice."[2] But more important are the things Ingersoll did not call Lindbergh, the appellations which are the natural outgrowth of the association of terms so skillfully maneuvered by PM's editor. The following passage illustrates the skill with which Ingersoll dodges libel in his denouncing of Lindbergh:[3]

> Not all the slick Goebbels-like reasonableness of Lindbergh's wind-up will wipe these things out -- neither his argument

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1 PM, August 6, 1940, p. 1.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.

PM
5 cents
NEW YORK DAILY

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VOL. 1 No. 36

Tuesday, August 6, 1940

Special Mail Edition with August 7 Radio Schedules

LATE NEWS EDITION



An Editorial

Denouncing Lindbergh

I say very simply that Col. Lindbergh in his speech in Chicago Sunday identified himself as Spokesman No. 1 for The Fifth Column. The Fifth Column, in America as in Madrid, is a group who love their country's enemies and who first argue and then fight for them. The Fascist states, as Gen. Pershing said, have "sworn to destroy the American idea." Germany under Hitler is thoroughly identified as the arch enemy of democracy, and as such is the arch enemy of the arch democracy, the U. S. A. On Sunday Col. Lindbergh first tried to frighten the people of the U. S. by saying "A war between us (the U. S. and Germany) could easily last for generations

Not all the slick Goebbels-like reasonableness of Lindbergh's wind-up will wipe these things out—neither his argument that European affairs are too messy anyway, nor his sly appeal to social consciousness with his Chinese proverbs about the rich being too rich and the poor being too poor. Goebbels' genius has always been that he wrapped his poison in sweet reasonableness—the same sweet reasonableness that took Chamberlain in and led to Munich.

Lindbergh is a political novice. His speech was post-graduate work. Obviously, he was helped in writing it. Who are the people who did his thinking and

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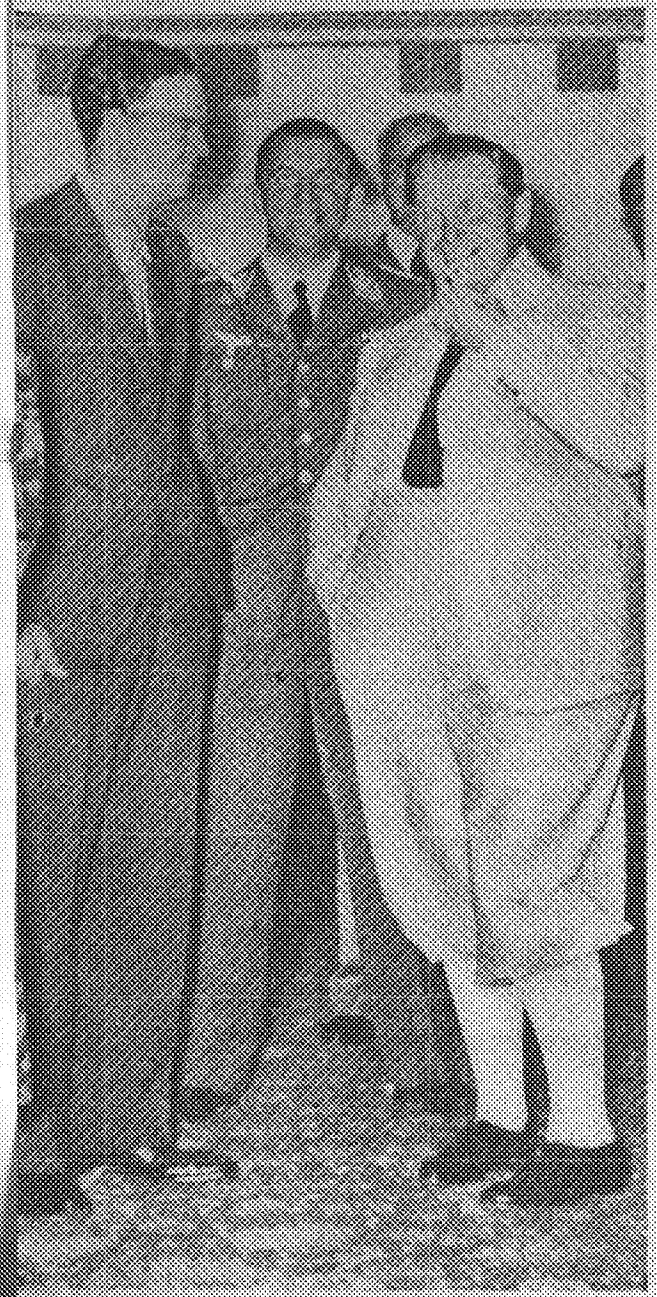
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Col. Charles A. Lindbergh greeted by Gen. Goering on Lindbergh's visit to Berlin in 1938. *Photo from Wide World*

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These are Fifth Column statements, naked and unashamed. They are preachment of the inevitability of German conquest, defeatism—followed by the suggestion that if we deal reasonably with the conqueror, he will deal reasonably with us. These are the things Fifth Columnists—friends of their country's enemies—have been saying for years now—in Austria, in Czechoslovakia, in Norway, in France.

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Lindbergh is a political novice. His speech was post-graduate work. Obviously, he was helped in writing it. Who are the people who did his thinking and helped in his writing? Who are his gang?

Some weeks ago I wrote in this newspaper that the reasoning of the appeaser argues that the mayor of a city should "co-operate" with the gangster if the latter gets big enough and tough enough and seems "here to stay."

This is the reasoning in Col. Lindbergh's speech, whatever group prepared it for him. This is the way Fascist Fifth Columnists work.

I denounce Col. Charles A. Lindbergh as the spokesman of the Fascist Fifth Column in America.

RALPH INGERSOLL

THIS PAPER IS HONESTLY DATED

We do not follow the usual practice of predating today's paper to make you think it's tomorrow's.

We put this paper to press with our regular city edition, covering all last minute news, with the latest pictures available.

Radio programs are listed 24 hours in advance for your convenience.

This is a full New York paper, containing the complete United Press Report and our own Exclusive Features.



Col. Charles A. Lindbergh greeted by Gen. Goering on Lindbergh's visit to Berlin in 1938. *Photo from Wide World*

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WE SELL NO ADVERTISING

Benedict Arnold

It's a rare pleasure in life to argue a case—as I argued in this column how Fascism would appear in this country—and then have a man like Col. Lindbergh step up to bat and prove my point so perfectly.

I had said that the Fascist forces here would be revealed by prominent men arguing for appeasement—after first trying to scare the daylights out of us by preaching the inevitability of Hitler's success. Then up pops the high-flying, blind-flying Colonel to show all of us the way—not to go.

The only thing that spoiled my fun is having to call him a Fifth Columnist. It spoiled my fun because it's a foreign term, imported from somebody else's war, and has been kicked around a lot until the edges of its meaning have been knocked off. I did my best to define it precisely—taking the original Madrid meaning: a friend of his country's enemies. But then the same day there was Congressman Marcantonio at Randalls Island saying that everyone who did not oppose war tooth and nail was a Fifth Columnist. And every day somebody kicks the phrase in another direction, until it has almost taken the place of Communist as a generic term meaning someone you don't like.

So I propose a substitute, American in origin. I look back in history. We have not had many Quislings in America, not many traitors. The best one I could find was old Benedict Arnold, back in the Revolutionary times. He was a gentleman and patriot and an officer in George Washington's Army, but he got it into his head that he'd serve his country best by selling it back to the Redcoats.

His name will do well enough for present purposes, but it's a little long, so I propose as an American name for an American whose heart bleeds for his country's enemies the initials "BA . . . . ."

So that they may recognize one another and we may recognize them, PM will start the ball rolling by offering them an emblem, embossed with Benedict Arnold's profile and the initials BA . . . . . Then all the BA . . . . .s can identify one another without having to sneak a surreptitious Fascist salute. We will get these buttons up as rapidly as possible and they may be had upon application. We will keep a careful record of the people we pass them out to and print it from time to time. In fact, if no one applies, we will feel it part of our service to the public to award them—with membership in good standing in the Benedict Arnold Club.

—RALPH INGERSOLL.

P. S. I think Col. Charles A. Lindbergh should return his German medal.

—R. I.

> that European affairs are too messy anyway, not his sly appeal to the social consciousness with his Chinese proverbs about the rich being too rich and the poor too poor. Goebbel's genius has always been that he wrapped his poison in sweet reasonableness. -- the same sweet reasonableness that took Chamberlain in and led to Munich.

This editorial was accompanied by a picture of Lindbergh chatting with General Goering during the aviator's visit to Berlin in 1938. The editorial itself has been reprinted several times in PM.

The next day's editorial was titled "Benedict Arnold"[1] and was a proposal for a club composed of turncoats like Lindbergh, to be called the BAs. It concluded with a postscript:[2]

> P.S. I think Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh should return his German medal.
>
> R.I.

Two days later,[3] 25 letters and wires to the editor concerning the Lindbergh editorial of August 6 were printed. These 25, of which 17 expressed approval and congratulations and 8 condemned Ingersoll's action, were chosen from among the hundreds which poured into PM's office.

According to the editorial note appended, most of the letters approved. Included among the messages of approval were greetings from Clifford Odets, S. N. Behrman, and Don Wilson.

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1 PM, August 7, 1940, p. 13.
2 Ibid.
3 PM, August 9, 1940, p. 13.

Letters and Wires on the Lindbergh Editorial

Hundreds of letters and telegrams have already poured in, commenting on Ralph Ingersoll's front-page denunciation of Lindbergh in Tuesday's PM. Thus far, a great majority of our correspondents approve.

Cheers

Dear Editor:

Your editorial denouncing Lindbergh was magnificent. It will make enemies for PM—enemies that you can be proud of having.

JOHN TROXELL

* * *

Congratulations on your severe but dignified rebuke to Lindbergh.

FRANCIS HENRY TAYLOR,
PAMELA TAYLOR,
HOWARD MUMFORD JONES

* * *

Congratulations on your front page editorial.

CLIFFORD ODETS

* * *

Congratulations on your Lindbergh editorial. You are the only one who said quite plainly and directly what needed to be said. Thank you.

S. N. BEHRMAN

* * *

May I add my very warm congratulations to the deluge you must be getting on the Lindbergh editorial. It may interest you to know that I saw a news reel today of the Lindbergh speech at the Criterion Theater and that the audience hissed his appearance. Either PM already molds public opinion or is in tune with it. Either is important.

HENRY F. PRINGLE

* * *

Bravo for your editorial on Lindbergh. There is hope for America if papers like PM will keep on.

JOSEPH TAMERIN

* * *

Your editorial on Lindbergh should have been in every newspaper in the country.

I. ROGOFF

* * *

I wholeheartedly approve of your editorial in the August 6 issue *Denouncing Charles A. Lindbergh.* You have put into print thoughts that have been unspoken in tainly deserves a vote of thanks. He is a menace and a very grave one. In view of what has happened to other Army men who have talked out of turn, why is Lindbergh still a colonel in the Reserve? Since he is not a military man the title is misleading. Unwary listeners mistake his opinions for those of an expert rather than of a naive, if not mildly balmy, civilian.

DON WILSON

* * *

Thanks for your front-page editorial on Lindbergh! Your paper really stood out on the newsstand!

R. N. O'C.

* * *

Your straightforward editorial denouncing Charles A. Lindbergh was the finest piece of honest copy I've read in years.

J. J. Foss

* * *

Bravissimo! for your August 6 front page editorial. It's a gem. I'm framing it and hanging it on the wall.

JEFF SPANKS

* * *

Thank God for a paper with enough guts to describe Lindbergh simply and accurately.

FREDERICK ANDERSON

* * *

I want to thank you for your excellent editorial denouncing Col. Lindbergh. I wish that every American might read it.

IRENE W. WEST

Boos

Dear Editor:

I denounce Ralph Ingersoll for writing the most outrageous and un-American editorial ever printed in American newspaper history.

How dare Mr. Ingersoll accuse an American, who has no doubt spoken what he believes in all honesty, of being a Fifth Columnist? *How dare he?*

Mr. Ingersoll puts himself at the head of the hysterical people in the U. S. A. who immediately shout "Nazi" to any one who doesn't violently advocate our mixing ourselves up in this war on the side of the British?

Are you afraid to print this letter giving the opinion of an every-day American? I hope not.

BEATRICE MULFORD

* * *

I am amazed by your front-page "editorial" against Col. Lindbergh.

Any kid engaged in a street argument knows that the simplest way to get at his opponent is by avoiding the issues of the argument and indulging in a "you are a so-and-so" verbal tirade.

You have joined the ranks of the kids on the street.

ARNIM BENDER

* * *

Your editorial on Lindbergh is contemptible. Sure!—a war would be a great thing for the newspaper business.

GEORGE L. HAMILTON

* * *

If Lindbergh is a Fifth Columnist, so am I. Thanks for clearing up my position. I am glad to see the country so simply divided between war-mongers and Fifth Columnists.

M. L. MILLER

* * *

I hold no brief for Col. Lindbergh, but we should remember that he had a father who was villified and attacked because, as member of Congress, he opposed our

torial. You are the only one who said quite plainly and directly what needed to be said. Thank you. S. N. BEHRMAN

* * *

May I add my very warm congratulations to the deluge you must be getting on the Lindbergh editorial. It may interest you to know that I saw a news reel today of the Lindbergh speech at the Criterion Theater and that the audience hissed his appearance. Either PM already molds public opinion or is in tune with it. Either is important. HENRY F. PRINGLE

* * *

Bravo for your editorial on Lindbergh. There is hope for America if papers like PM will keep on. JOSEPH TAMERIN

* * *

Your editorial on Lindbergh should have been in every newspaper in the country. I. ROGOFF

* * *

I wholeheartedly approve of your editorial in the August 6 issue *Denouncing Charles A. Lindbergh.* You have put into print thoughts that have been unspoken in the minds of many Americans ever since Col. Lindbergh's first radio address on our foreign policy.

However, I believe it even more important to expose the apparent "brain trust" which is using Col. Lindbergh as a "front." I look forward to reading your views on this subject. CHARLES H. WEISS

* * *

Congratulations on today's editorial. Lindbergh certainly has all to gain and nothing to lose. If the Nazis are in, so is he. If not, he's just been a bad boy. ROBERT L. BRANDT

* * *

Congratulations on your Lindbergh editorial. Some papers have guts and no intelligence; some have intelligence and no guts but you seem to have both. Keep it up. A. M. ROSENBLOOM

* * *

PM has been criticized for so many reasons that I think in all fairness when you have done a magnificent job that you be commended for it.

Your front page editorial denunciation of Charles A. Lindbergh is one of the most effective ways of nullifying the pernicious influence of Lindbergh and his ilk in this country. HENRY APOTHEKER

* * *

Your editorial today on Lindbergh certainly is a gem. Thanks for your front-page editorial on Lindbergh! Your paper really stood out on the newsstand! R. N. O'C.

* * *

Your straightforward editorial denouncing Charles A. Lindbergh was the finest piece of honest copy I've read in years. J. J. Foss

* * *

Bravissimo! for your August 6 front page editorial. It's a gem. I'm framing it and hanging it on the wall. JEFF SPANKS

* * *

Thank God for a paper with enough guts to describe Lindbergh simply and accurately. FREDERICK ANDERSON

* * *

I want to thank you for your excellent editorial denouncing Col. Lindbergh. I wish that every American might read it. IRENE W. WEST

gust 9, 1940, p. 13

hope not. BEATRICE MULFORD

* * *

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* * *

I hold no brief for Col. Lindbergh, but we should remember that he had a father who was villified and attacked because, as a member of Congress, he opposed our entry into the last World War. Can it not be possible that Col. Lindbergh, being an impressionable young man at that time, may have imbibed this hatred for war, and acts as he does today for this reason, rather than because he is an "agent of Germany?" JULIA CHURCH KOLAR

* * *

Goodbye. I am sorry. I am not arguing the rightness or wrongness of either your ideas or Col. Lindbergh's; but when the honest expression of an opinion about what America's policy should or should not be has become treason to you, then you have yourself gone off the deep end and forgotten a basic aspect of American democracy. J. E. SPROUL

* * *

I deeply regret that this letter will never get beyond the Editor's wastebasket. PM, under the venomous pen of Ralph Ingersoll, has launched a program to crucify one of the most patriotic men in our country today, because he advocates minding our own business—the only way our democracy can possibly be preserved. A. D. HULBERT

* * *

"Who writes Col. Lindbergh's speeches?"

Who writes *your* editorials—duPont?

I am amazed to find that being an isolationist can be twisted into being a Fifth Columnist. ALVIN E. COMMENY

It is in his "Postscript on Lindbergh"[1] that Ingersoll reiterated his suggestion that the American Fascists organize. Although he has been severely criticized for this statement, it is unlikely that Ingersoll was seriously suggesting that such a step be taken. Once more, his imagination was bounding ahead, hitting upon the startling and ludicrious. His words were:[2]

> Two days before Colonel Lindbergh spoke I wrote my opinion that this democracy would be better off if its Fascists were organized into a legitimate political party and encouraged to present their arguments to the American people so that they could, as I was confident they would, be repudiated -- at the polls, not at the bayonet point. I wish more people who feel the way Colonel Lindbergh feels would speak out.

After propounding Lindbergh's right to speak his own opinion, Ingersoll concludes with this challenge:[3]

> I call upon Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh to return the medal he had received from the Fascist Government of Germany. I call upon him now to resign his commission in the Reserve Corps of the U. S. Army.

The next day the unrelenting editor followed up his attack with "The Confident Colonel,"[4] in which the opening paragraph repeats Ingersoll's challenge to Lindbergh concerning the flier's resignation from the Reserve Corps. Once more Ingersoll rehashes the points made in Lindbergh's radio speech from Chicago on August 4, 1940 in which he emphasized that

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1 PM, August 15, 1940, p. 11.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 PM, August 16, 1940, p. 11.

The Confident Colonel

Yesterday I called on Col. Charles A. Lindbergh to resign his commission in the Reserve Corps of the U. S. Army. (He hasn't called on me yet.)

In his speech in Chicago Col. Lindbergh said two things:

First, that if we were ever to cross arms with Germany the war might go on for years and civilization crumble before it was over. Second, that he had implicit confidence in the Army and Navy of this country.

There's one good thing about the mechanically minded colonel. The colonel certainly makes himself plain when he speaks.

He has implicit confidence in the U. S. Army and Navy—implicit—*provided* it's never so rash as to take on Mr. Hitler.

What in heaven's name is he confident of its being able to do? Parade? It's possible he could have had his say without being quite so insulting to the body of which he's a member. An officer in the U. S. Army, preparing his countrymen for war by telling them that if we ever engage with the enemy the war may go on for years and civilization may be destroyed!

Col. Lindbergh is worried about what Marshal Goering's fliers might do to us. Now, that's real gratitude to a man who treated him so well when he was in Berlin, with whom he spent so many pleasant hours and who, if I remember right, decorated him personally!

Marshal Goering would have reason to feel hurt if his friend Lindbergh did not say precisely what pleases Marshal Goering most: that there is no air force as well equipped and competent as Der Fuehrer's and no matter what Der Fuehrer hands out in the way of humiliating treaties, dismemberment of states, persecution and enslavement of minorities, outright robbery and confiscation, that is better—far better—than matching wits and will with Goering's young men. That might mean "many years of war and the collapse of civilization."

Col. Lindbergh has great confidence in the U. S. Army and Navy. Bah!

—RALPH INGERSOLL.

August 16, 1940, p.11

Postscript on Lindbergh

In denouncing Col. Lindbergh as the spokesman of the Fascist Fifth Column in America I weighed my definitions and my evidence, and I stand on them. That an overwhelming majority of the people who read my words agreed with me was witnessed by the letters and telegrams which still are coming in by the score. The people of America do not like native-born spokesmen for Fascism any more than they like the professional spokesmen abroad.

To those good people who wrote me that while they agreed with what I said, they thought I was wrong to hit so hard, because Col. Lindbergh had as much right to his opinion as I, I want to clarify my position.

Col. Lindbergh *has* as much right to his opinion as I. Nor would I silence him if I could. On the contrary. Two days before Col. Lindbergh spoke I wrote my opinion that this democracy would be better off if its Fascists were organized into a legitimate political party and encouraged to present their arguments to the American people so that they could, as I was confident they would, be repudiated—where they should be repudiated—at the polls, not the bayonet point. I wish more people who feel the way Col. Lindbergh feels would speak out.

Col. Lindbergh has every right to his opinion. And so have I to mine. In my opinion he speaks for the enemies of this democracy.

Col. Lindbergh holds a commission in the U. S. Army. He is an officer in the Reserve Corps. As such, he is beyond the censure of his superior officers, no matter how compromising his words are. His speech in Chicago did a grave injustice to the officers and men of this country's military forces.

I called upon Col. Charles A. Lindbergh to return the medal he had received from the Fascist Government of Germany. I call upon him now to resign his commission in the Reserve Corps of the U. S. Army.

RALPH INGERSOLL

(A related editorial will appear tomorrow.)

August 15, 1940, p.11

"he had implicit faith in the Army and Navy of this country."[1]

There is little of dignity or formality in this editorial from the point where Ingersoll blasts forth:[2]

> What in heaven's name is he confident of its (Army) being able to do? Parade?

to his concluding paragraph:[3]

> Colonel Lindbergh has great confidence in the U. S. Army and Navy. Bah!

In the next issue appeared the most spiteful of all the anti-Lindbergh editorials -- "Confession of Failure."[4] The failure, one early discovers, is PM's inability to find a friend of Lindbergh's.[5]

> When a scientist conducts an unsuccessfull experiment he does not throw away his notes, break his test tubes and say "Nuts!" He sits down and writes out a report of his failure which he sends to a scientific journal whose pages are read with interest and enlightenment by other scientists. This technique is as sound for journalism as it is for science. Failures are often as significant as successes, and contribute to the body of knowledge.
>
> In this atmosphere I report a dismal failure by this paper's alert and aggressive reporters.
>
> The failure is to find Mr. Lindbergh's friends.

No names are mentioned, no proof is given that fair attempts were made. The whole editorial is the nastiest sort of thing and completely unworthy of the newspaper which is devoted to keeping people from pushing other people around!

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1 PM, August 16, 1940, p. 11.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 PM, August 18, 1940, p. 13.
5 Ibid.

Confession of Failure

When a scientist conducts an unsuccessful experiment he does not throw away his notes, break his test tubes and say, "Nuts!" He sits down and writes out a report of his failure which he sends to a scientific journal whose pages are read with interest and enlightenment by other scientists. This technique is as sound for journalism as it is for science. Failures are often as significant as successes, and contribute to the body of knowledge.

In this atmosphere, I report a dismal failure by this paper's alert and aggressive reporters.

The failure is to find Mr. Lindbergh's friends. PM's reporters were sure they were there—not over a minute ago. But when they went to look . . .

One of our reporters went to Wall Street, where he has excellent connections. Nothing doing. "I did know him . . ." "I tried to argue with him but he is very stubborn and I gave it up." "He's no friend of mine—don't you put my name in there."

Another man had a list to start with—dug out of newspaper files. He didn't get anywhere. "Yes, I advised him once. Oh, but that was years ago. Haven't seen him since." "I don't know him any more—he wouldn't listen to me."

Our Washington Bureau thought it was warm once. It found an army officer who said that he didn't agree with Lindbergh—emphatically—but that a lot of other army officers were sore at PM for denouncing Lindbergh, that they felt he made a lot of sense. Our bureau head asked who were these officers of the Army of the U. S. A.? "Well, that's the trouble ,now—I can't tell you. Not that I wouldn't like to. It was just gossip I picked up around the club. I've been racking my brains, but I can't for the life of me remember who said what."

Then there was another fellow in Washington—he said he agreed absolutely with our position—who knew a lot of people who knew Lindbergh. But he said although he agreed with our position entirely he was sure we were barking up the wrong tree on this "Who's behind Lindbergh" stuff. He could (and did) assure us that nobody was behind him. He was just a stubborn-minded fellow, out there all by himself, with a sandwich in his pocket, all alone, flying blind, down there behind the gas tank. But that speech was very well written—in fact brilliantly written—and Lindbergh's no writer. Ah, but you've forgotten about his wife. She's very loyal to him, and she can turn a phrase. What about the striking similarity, idea for idea, paragraph for paragraph, almost sentence for sentence, between Lindbergh's speech and Goebbels' short wave propaganda? Coincidence, pure coincidence.

These are notes in a case book of PM's unsuccessful experiment. We have uncovered no spy ring, no new members for the Benedict Arnold Club. All is peace and quiet. Col. Lindbergh himself, as he has so often before, has slipped quietly out of the public print. The experiment in how to find Lindbergh's friends is to date a failure.

We publish our notes for the benefit of our fellow scientists in journalism that we contribute to their body of knowledge.

—RALPH INGERSOLL.

August 8, 1940, p. 14

After August's heated prosecution, and after the tumult over Lindbergh died down in cartoon, comment, and letters to the editor, the Lindbergh purge ceased until late January when Ingersoll reprinted his own editorial of August 6 denouncing Lindbergh.

In "The Prosecution Rests"[1] Ingersoll adds only four brief sentences to the reprint of his earlier editorial. They are:[2]

> So now Mr. Lindbergh has stepped up on the stand and said that the U.S.A. and Great Britain together can't beat Hitler.
>
> Mr. Lindbergh has stood up on the stand and said:
>
> "It would not be best to see Germany defeated."
>
> Well, the prosecution rests.

Having once more taken up the banner, Ingersoll resumes the charge. Two days later the editorial, "Morality,"[3] appeared with its implications that Lindbergh is both bloodthirsty and insane.[4] In the second paragraph the editor states:

> There is nothing shocking about Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh expressing the pious hope that the people of England and Germany may bleed to death. There have always been bloodthirsty people like him and always will be--until medical science knows a lot more about curing the mentally ill.

Not content with crucifying Lindbergh, Ingersoll draws Senator Burton K. Wheeler and Joseph P. Kennedy, ex-ambassador to England, in on the issue and implies that they are Hitler's

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1 PM, January 24, 1941, p. 2.
2 Ibid.
3 PM, January 26, 1941, p. 2.
4 Ibid.

The Prosecution Rests

On Aug. 6, 1940 when Mr. Lindbergh first revealed himself, I wrote the following editorial and put it on the front page of PM.

Denouncing Charles A. Lindbergh

I say very simply that Col. Lindbergh in his speech in Chicago Sunday identified himself as Spokesman No. 1 for the Fifth Column. The Fifth Column, in America as in Madrid, is a group who love their country's enemies and who first argue and then fight for them. The Fascist states, as Gen. Pershing said, have "sworn to destroy the American idea." Germany under Hitler is thoroughly identified as the arch enemy of democracy, and as such is the arch enemy of the arch democracy, the U. S. A. On Sunday, Col. Lindbergh first tried to frighten the people of the U. S. by saying "A war between us (the U. S. A. and Germany) could easily last for generations and bring all civilization tumbling . . ." then counseled "co-operation" . . . "never impossible when there is sufficient gain on both sides."

These are Fifth Column statements, naked and unashamed. They are preachment of the inevitability of German conquest, defeatism — followed by the suggestion that if we deal reasonably with the conqueror, he will deal reasonably with us. These are the things Fifth Columnists — friends of their country's enemies — have been saying for years now — in Austria, in Czechoslovakia, in Norway, in France.

Not all the slick Goebbels-like reasonableness of Lindbergh's wind-up will wipe these things out — neither his argument that European affairs are too messy anyway, nor his sly appeal to social consciousness with his Chinese proverbs about the rich being too rich and the poor being too poor. Goebbels's genius has always been that he wrapped his poison in sweet reasonableness — the same sweet reasonableness that took Chamberlain in and led to Munich.

Lindbergh is a political novice. His speech was post-graduate work. Obviously, he was helped in writing it. Who are the people who did his thinking and helped in his writing? Who are his gang?

Some weeks ago I wrote in this newspaper that the reasoning of the appeaser argues that the mayor of a city should "co-operate" with the gangster if the latter gets big enough and tough enough and seems "here to stay." Lindbergh's speech was the gangster's apologia. He prepared it for himself. He prepared it for him. This is the way Fascist Fifth Columnists work.

I denounce Col. Charles A. Lindbergh as the spokesman of the Fascist Fifth Column in America.

So now Mr. Lindbergh has stepped up on the stand and said that the U. S. A. and Great Britain together can't beat Hitler.

Mr. Lindbergh has stood up on the stand and said:

"It would not be best to see Germany defeated."

Well, the prosecution rests.

—RALPH INGERSOLL.

Morality

What has shocked me most in the debating of the lease-lend bill has been the lack of morality in arguments on my side.

There is nothing shocking about Col. Charles A. Lindbergh expressing the pious hope that the people of England and Germany may bleed to death. There have always been bloodthirsty people like him and always will be—until medical science knows a lot more about curing the mentally ill. But it is profoundly shocking to hear honest and liberal men debating this issue not in terms of good versus evil, but exclusively in terms of self-interest.

I believe in the war that the British are waging against a morally degenerate enemy—and so do they. Yet the issue of aiding Britain is continually being phrased exclusively in terms of saving our own skin.

I have been guilty of it myself and I resent having been tricked into the position. I do believe the skins of Americans will be saved by the defeat of Hitler at British hands. But to argue from that point of view is to admit the Wheeler-Lindbergh-Kennedy thesis: that the prime objective of life on this globe is to save one's skin and fatten one's belly. No people ever achieved happiness with that philosophy and all of us except the shortsighted Kennedys of this world know that very well.

This is the subtlest of all Hitler's tricks: that he has coached his spokesmen so well that, in debate, they lead us into accepting the false premise that life is lived for food alone. They make involuntary cynics out of men of faith.

If we are to help England simply to save our skins we are lost already. After we have saved them, what will they be good for? Will we care to live within them? Are we so mean a people that a desire to be secure and safe is all that moves us?

It's been only a few years since the very concept of bombing innocent people in undefended cities shocked us so deeply that we could talk of nothing else. Now people like you and me are bombed every night in a country whose people speak the same language we do. And the only reason we would ground the bombers that whistle down death is to save our skins—to be sure they won't whistle down death on us. We are moved by the plight of a cat that must be rescued by the fire department from a chimney top, but we have forgotten the millions—not tens or hundreds or thousands, but millions—who are today in prison camps and concentration camps, guarded like animals behind barbed wire. Murder and enslavement, starvation and the driving of people to insanity are no longer among the things that motivate our actions. It's "If we don't help, the Germans may invade us with an army." It's "If the Nazis beat the British they'll take away our South American trade." It's "We must give to Britain because if we don't the Nazis will take away from us."

What kind of a world is this we are living in? What has Hitler done to us that we hear ourselves talking this way?

There's nothing shocking about Col. Lindbergh talking the way he talks. It's what has happened to us—that we find ourselves answering him in his own idiom.—RALPH INGERSOLL.

January 26, 1941, p. 2.

spokesmen.[1] He flays self-interest in the war issue, saying:

> If we are to help England simply to save our skins we are lost already. After we have saved them, what will they be good for? Will we care to live within them? Are we so mean a people that a desire to be secure and safe is all that moves us?

In February, Hendrick Van Loon submitted for publication in PM a cartoon of a stuffed and mounted pisces labelled "Ham Fish" with this comment, signed by Mr. VanLoon:[2]

> ..... and then after we have it stuffed we can present it to Herr Carl Lindbergh, who can put it, together with his Hitler cross, in his safe deposit box, and then we can forget about it and everybody will be happy.

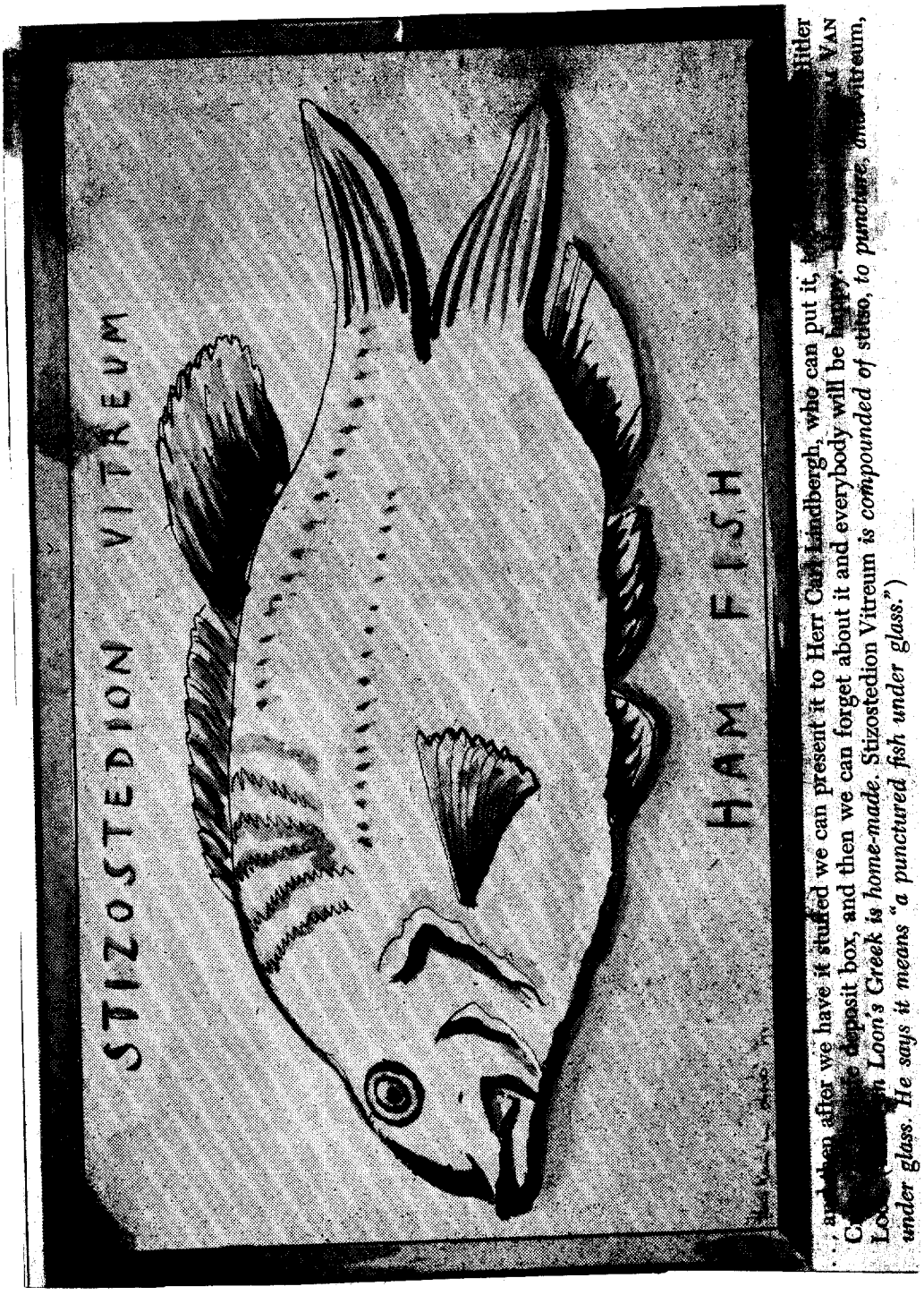
In March, James P. Warburg used PM's "Opinion" columns to address an answer to Colonel Lindbergh's letter to the American people as it appeared in Collier's. In his three-column letter, Warburg denounces all of Lindbergh's points and suggests a "practical plan"[3] to defeat Hitler. Warburg's writing is more logical and objective than Ingersoll's; one feels that the banker is better able to combat the "Lone Eagle" on an issue than is the editor, who finds it impossible to leave personalities out of his arguments.

It is entirely possible that Lindbergh might have had a case for libel in more than one of these attacks.

Although Lindbergh received the brunt of the fight against appeasers, other supporters of non-intervention, single and as a group, did not escape PM's ridicule. Ingersoll's

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1 PM, January 26, 1941, p. 2.
2 PM, February 18, 1941, p. 2.
3 PM, March 25, 1941, p. 2.



. . . and then after we have it stuffed we can present it to Herr Carl Lindbergh, who can put it, [illegible] . . . VAN . . . deposit box, and then we can forget about it and everybody will be happy. . . . Vitreum, Loon's Greek *is home-made.* Stizostedion Vitreum *is compounded of* stizo, *to puncture,* and vitreum, *under glass. He says it means "a punctured fish under glass."*)

February 18, 1941, p. 2.

"Statistical Death"[1] indicates that proportionately as many people died in appeasing Rumania as in Britain at war.

5. Willkie or Roosevelt

As early as July, PM was expressing an editorial approval of the third term, as in Louis Kronenberger's brief "Third Term Virtue,"[2] in which he indicates that Republicans Grant and T. R. Roosevelt were not averse to the third term.

The first definite signs of Roosevelt support appear in an editorial in late August in which Ingersoll criticizes the New Deal blunders but finds the Administration's most sound boast is that "it's been unbelievably honest."[3] He indicates his faith in the President's taking the country "the right way."[4]

Two days later, Ingersoll announced his plan to analyze the political situation and declare himself by October 1. His form here is good, his reasoning sound. The "Obligation to Argue"[5] begins in this manner:

> The most solemn duty of an independent paper is the analysis and argument of political issues. The right of the press to its freedom of speech, which is in effect its right to be free of some of the restraints of the law of libel, is predicated on the desirability -- the necessity --of free argument and criticism of political issues. With many opposed points of view, argued by many men of many creeds and philosophies,

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1 PM, December 6, 1940, p. 2.
2 PM, July 24, 1940, p. 13.
3 PM, August 25, 1940, p. 2.
4 Ibid.
5 PM, August 27, 1940, p. 2.

An Obligation to Argue

The most solemn duty of an independent paper is the analysis and argument of political issues. The right of the press to its freedom of speech, which is in effect its right to be free of some of the restraints of the law of libel, is predicated on the desirability—the necessity—of free argument and criticism of political issues. With many opposed points of view, argued by many men of many creeds and philosophies, the people can then choose the cause they wish to espouse, the leader in whom to place their trust.

With all due respect, this paper has entered the arena. As its editor, I have come out for neither Roosevelt nor Willkie—nor passed them both up for the candidate of a lesser party—because I do not feel, particularly in this crucial time in history, that any man should close his mind before seriously analyzing the claims and criticisms of each candidate. It's too easy to make a mistake and may be too costly. And even a right guess based on instinct is not enough, because it may be even more important than voting for the right man that you understand why you voted for him and what you expect of him, so that you may judge his later accomplishments against these expectations.

So I propose, as I strive to understand platforms, policies and personalities, to reason out loud in PM's columns with PM's readers.

Reasoning out loud is sometimes a lengthy process, not suited for make-up on a page with a cartoon and a column of letters. So, occasionally, those who care to read what I have to write will be referred to another page—and an easy chair in which to read it. Today is one such, and on page 7 you will find my attempt to analyze the real difference between the government we've got and the government Mr. Willkie asks the privilege of setting up for us.

By the first of October I propose to get down off the fence, for better or worse, onto one side or the other—because I am clear enough in my ideas already to believe that this is not an election in which a citizen of the U. S. has a right to remain neutral.

RALPH INGERSOLL

August 27, 1940, p. 2.

An Issue at Last

Misfortune came to Wendell Willkie Sunday, as it does on other days to other men. He lost his voice. This sounds like grief indeed to the Great Ad Libber, but it may have been one of those blessings in disguise, no matter what sour things Ed Flynn may be saying about how much it grieved the Democrats, too.

It forced Mr. Willkie to do his ad libbing in writing, and thus came what the country had been waiting for: The Issue.

Up to now, one issue after another has gone up in the smoke of all-around agreement. The GOP had a fine chance on The Draft, but Mr. Willkie fixed *that*. Same thing went for the destroyer sale.

Toward the New Deal, too, Mr. Willkie has been almost unbelievably partial, making the case at best a question of who's going to run it after January, 1941.

Both parties have struggled on this problem-of-an-issue, of course, and for a time I thought they had it. Did Wendell Willkie live on Fifth Avenue or didn't he? Did Franklin Roosevelt really have a town house just off Park Avenue or didn't he?

But the possibilities here went up in smoke, too. The GOP proved beyond doubt that Wendell was really a Hoosier squire and the house on Fifth Avenue was clearly needed as a vantage point from which to spy on that wretchedly wealthy town house of Franklin's. The Democrats left it at a draw, confident that voters knew a Dutchess County farmer when they saw one.

The real issue came about, like most great issues, unpredictably .They called in a West Coast specialist to fly to the aid of the Willkie throat, and after that, in silence, they let him receive seven inquiring physicians of Kansas City. They wanted to know: What do you think of socialized medicine?

Before we repeat the historic answer, let's reconstruct what must have preceded it. I can't match Mr. Willkie's insight into the innermost heart of Mr. Roosevelt, as demonstrated when his voice worked again at Coffeyville last night, but any reporter could be equal to this:

Doctor: "How's the old throat, Mr. Willkie?"

"Willkie: "Ahhhhh."

Doctor: "Open your mouth and say 'Ahhh.'"

Willkie: "Ahhhh."

Doctor, swabbing: "I hope you realize, Mr. Willkie, that my medical skill comes from the competitive system. None of this socialized stuff, not a bit of it . . . feels better, eh?"

"Willkie: "Ahhhh . . . ."

After that Mr. Willkie received the seven wise men of medicine and wrote:

"There is no one to whom socialized medicine is more repugnant than I. I believe in medical skill as derived from the competitive system."

That's it, fellow voters, there in the making. All we need now is for Franklin D., with equal courage, to come out for the non-competitive salt water gargle.

—WELDON JAMES.

September 17, 1940, p. 2.

> the people can then choose the cause they wish to espouse, the leader in whom they wish to place their trust.

Having declared his intentions, Ingersoll follows this editorial with "An Argument for Mr. Willkie,"[1] in which he relates a conversation with Willkie and inserts discrepancies in parantheses. He debunks Willkie's nostalgia for the '20s with adroit cleverness.

The next day's editorial is "An Argument for Mr. Roosevelt,"[2] and is largely a condemnation of big business. The thesis is that the best argument for keeping Roosevelt in office is to continue social reforms and not slip back.

"Willkie and Roosevelt on the War"[3] was the subject of Ingersoll's critical editorial of the following day. Here both men are ridiculed by the editor for their silence on the war. The lead paragraph follows:[4]

> Mr. Willkie and Mr. Roosevelt have one thing in common. They talk a great deal about a great many things, but they can certainly keep their mouths shut on the subject of how they propose to fight the war -- with what kind of men, armed with what kind of weapons -- on what terrain at what expense. They also keep their mouths well shut on when they think it's going to happen.

Further on in his editorial Ingersoll says:[5]

> The silence -- of both these men -- is reaching scandalous proportions.

On September 17 and 22, Weldon James took over the writing

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1 PM, August 28, 1940, p. 2.
2 PM, August 29, 1940, p. 2.
3 PM, August 30, 1940, p. 2.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.

An Argument for Mr. Willkie

Please forgive me if in talking about Candidate Willkie I am more apt to quote from my own conversation with him than from his public speeches. This is simply because I find he makes himself much clearer in person-to-person conversation than in public address—and this has been the personal experience of a number of other people who have talked with him.

He said something like this to me:

The problem of this country is to produce. The problem of its government, therefore, is to encourage the producers. Never in history has there been so great a reservoir of available capital as in the United States in A.D. 1940. (A curious tribute to his opponent, who is supposed to have bankrupted the country.) The people who control this capital, he went on, have no confidence in the government of the U. S. A. Restore their confidence and they will open the flood gates. Unemployment will disappear. Over night we will be armed and ready to meet our enemies from abroad.

Now, the last time the floodgates of capital were opened was in the middle twenties—a fact which will be used against Mr. Willkie—because all our present ills are often credited to the hangover we woke up with the day after the party was over.

I have seen no evidence that Mr. Willkie is about publicly to defend the twenties, so I'd like to try the role of devil's advocate. Because obviously, if you are going seriously to consider voting for Mr. Willkie, you've got seriously to consider the economic atmosphere he would recreate. This is the atmosphere of balanced budgets and unbalanced installment payments, the atmosphere of a Federal Trade Commission that "understood" the problems of business, spoke softly and carried a little stick, the atmosphere of faith in two chickens in every pot and an industrial production curve projected forever upwards.

I wish Mr. Willkie would come out with it. What he means is, those days were'nt so bad. And they certainly weren't. If you were a kid then, getting a job was an adventure. Who cared whether you lost one? There was always another city or another state or another industry to move on to. I earned $7 a day in a mine in a non-union town and no union organizer wasted my time arguing that the boss was my enemy. Neither was I irritated by bill boards protesting that he was my friend. I never thought of him as either. He was just my boss. I was a free American and could tell him to go to hell any time I wanted, because I was a good miner and down the road was another mine at which I could get work.

When I came back East I found you didn't even have to work to get rich. A postman put me onto the fact that you could put up $100 for margin and buy stock that would soon be worth $1000. Everyone I knew was buying something—radios, ice boxes, automobiles, another quarter section to farm, a vacation in Miami. And it was all great fun and it went on year after year.

We certainly shouldn't be ashamed of those days—when we Americans were a happy and united people and even Scottsboro, the ills of Harlan County and Cicero, Ill., were about to dissolve in our sheer exuberance—and anyone interested in improving conditions of the poor could collect the money to do it simply by passing the hat. We were indeed a people of good will.

Mr. Willkie wants to bring all this back—to recreate it rather—and more power to his ambitions. He'd be a much pleasanter President for the new twenties than Mr. Coolidge, whose smile was anything but ornamental. The trick is, of course, can he do it?

I'm trying not to pose this question disparagingly. Because I mean what I say. From 1923, say, to 1929, Americans led as happy and satisfying a life as any people in recorded history. The whole world grew bad-tempered and spiteful with envy of us. That my dearest wish for Americans is that we get the twenties back to life again is said without apology. But what I want to know is how Mr. Willkie proposes to do it.

Agreed that the reservoirs of capital are great. But what's going to happen when the gates are open—by the repeal and revision of tax laws, by the slashing of red tape, by friendly cooperation in the White House. Again I am trying not to speak disparagingly. I have no idea what the answer is. But it's Mr. Willkie's policy and he must know—or at least he must have done a lot of thinking about it. His able business men advisors must have done a lot of thinking about it. They must at least know what they expect to happen.

Willkie's people propose that we, the American people, buy stock in their enterprise. I want to read their prospectus with all relevant facts revealed. They say we didn't take all the gold out of the mine in the twenties; that there's more still down there than you ever dreamed of. The prospectus should include not only the geologist's report but the detailed plans for working the mine, complete with costs and estimated profits.

There could be mistakes. The gold must be there all right, but Mr. Willkie's might not be the best plan for getting at it. There might be something wrong with his costs. He hasn't talked much about them. The last time we dug in that mine the roof fell in on us. I would like a diagram of the timbering by which Mr. Willkie's going to hold it up this time.

Please, I'm trying not to be disparaging. I know these questions sound as if I were. But I want to know the answers. I've got to know the answers. These are widows' and orphans' savings that Mr. Willkie wants invested in his mining scheme.

—RALPH INGERSOLL.

An Argument for Mr. Roosevelt

The obvious argument for Mr. Roosevelt is that while the country has run up the bill for his mistakes, it has yet to cash in on his more constructive policies, to reap the real benefit from such programs as rural resettlement, the TVA empire, the dams and ditches that the WPA has labored on, the long-term benefits of Social Security, etc. We have sat through a confusion of shorts and newsreels. We might as well stay for the main picture.

That's the obvious argument but not necessarily the best.

The Roosevelt conception of a socially conscious federal government, bargaining as an equal with the practical producers of the country—the manufacturers and the industrialists and the money men—has failed dismally in the encouragement of production and the creation of employment. It has failed because industrialists and manufacturers and money men have not played ball. You can say Mr. Roosevelt made it impossible for them to play or that they just didn't want to. But either way they didn't.

Mr. Willkie testifies to this when he points out the huge reserves of unused capital in this country. You can say the industrialists are logical or illogical, right or wrong, but the fact is the show hasn't come off. Under New Deal rule the capital hasn't been invested, production hasn't expanded and people haven't been employed.

So, the best argument for continuing the New Deal is the hope that when the industrialists lose their third election in twelve years they will finally get it through their heads that times have changed. There will be no talk, as there was in 1936, of leaving the country if "that man" gets elected. Because now, there's no place else to go. The choice will be put up fair and square: learn to live by and with this kind of federal administration, which presumes a public interest not only in how industry's profits are spent, but in the wages and working conditions of its employes—or perish. Perish slowly by having their money taxed away and handed out by politicians, or fight, in a revolution in which they try their strength against the government. But perish either way.

Now, as Mr. Willkie says, industrialists are human and as reasonable as the next man—once they are clear about where their interests lie. Of course they'd rather not advise with any government on how to spend their money. Who can blame them? And of course they'd rather get rid of the New Deal and start over again with a government that promised them their conception of a break. In 1936—for a long time—they thought they could do it with Mr. Landon. Now they are trembling with anxiety to get it done with Mr. Willkie. It seems like the last chance.

The hope, once more, is that if they lose they will at last resign themselves to the facts: that the temper of forty or fifty million people in this country has changed since 1900, that the people not only want but insist on having an equal voice with industry in such matters as their working conditions, the spending of public moneys based on taxes, based on profits, based in part on their labor. And being reasonable men, once the industrialists realize that this change is permanent, they will begin to accommodate themselves to it at long last. They will stop parrying—or hiring lawyers to parry with the lawyers hired by the New Deal—and really sit down to work out a way by which they can invest their money, build their plants and employ the people who will start a constructive cycle in motion.

It's no longer a question of priming the pump but the problem of a pump which takes two people on the handle to make it work. If they leave the government to work the pump handle all by itself it will only be more of the stagnation of industry that's been progressing for years. But they won't do that. They will accept the limitations placed on them by the New Deal government the way they accept the limitations of the law of gravity and the fact that the sun shines only so many hours a day, after which there is night. Because that wil be the way things are.

That, I repeat, is the best argumen for continuing Mr. Roosevelt in the Whit House. Because no one cares to continu him in office for the perpetuation of te million unemployed and interest rate on capital down under 1 per cent. Th New Deal, which is the concept of a imposed partnership between govern ment and industry, will never work unt industrialists bend their intelligence t making it work, instead of either tryin to circumvent it or doggedly sitting out. I have great confidence in th practicality of the American industria ists. Once they get the hang of the ide I bet they could make the New Dea work in six months.

RALPH INGERSOLL

Willkie and Roosevelt On the War

Mr. Willkie and Mr. Roosevelt have one thing in common. They talk a great deal about a great many things, but they can certainly keep their mouths shut on the subject of how they propose to fight the war – with what kind of army, led by what kind of men, armed with what kind of weapons–on what terrain at what expense. They also keep their mouths well shut on when they think it's going to happen.

Since one or the other of them is going to be elected President of the U. S. A. no later than Nov. 8, this is very unsatisfactory. For one thing, $14,000,000,000 are in process of getting spent between now and then. Hundreds of thousands and maybe millions are tomorrow away from being called to arms. One of these two gentlemen is going to be the boss of all these soldiers, the head man in spending all this dough. The soldiers are my neighbor and I; the money is yours and mine. We have but one enemy, even though he call himself by different names.

Neither Mr. Roosevelt nor Mr. Willkie has any right not to tell us what he plans to do with these men and this money against that enemy. Mr. Willkie mutters at Mr. Roosevelt's having had secret doings with the democracies of Europe. He lives in a glass house. The stone that should be thrown back at it is the question of what *his* intentions are.

He is not going to walk into the White House and discover with surprised consternation that he is the Commander in Chief of the biggest army in U. S. history. He knows about the Army being called up and he said in his acceptance speech that he was for it. All right, then, what does he propose to do with it? It will be raw recruits and unfinished machines by the time he gets in–if he gets in. There will be plenty of time for him to mold it into his image of an army. What is his image?

This silence–of both of these men–is reaching scandalous proportions. I say again, the men in that army are our sons and brothers and friends. The money is our money. The future these things are to protect is our future. This is a democracy in which we the people not only have the right to be heard, but the right to hear. We demand to know.

—RALPH INGERSOLL.

August 30, 1940, p. 2.

of political editorials with "An Issue at Last"[1] and "Willkie Way of 'Life'".[2] James' style breathes class consciousness; he is spiteful, vindictive and altogether nasty. The second of these editorials is a sarcastic comment on Life's promotion of Willkie and is an example of satire used to the best advantage.

In "Tough Sledding,"[3] Ingersoll hits Willkie's evasiveness and criticizes him for dove-tailing into Roosevelt's program. Here is found his first mention of Republican "smear campaigns," and in this editorial, Ingersoll makes use of a chance to take a comment on the New York Times.

On September 25, in a one-paragraph editorial called, "Willkie's Virtuosity"[4] Ingersoll hits Willkie's confidence and terms it naivete.

Asked about his stand on the election, since he had promised to make up his mind by October, Ingersoll published his "Declaration of Faith"[5] on October 7. In it, he explains that he has chosen to support Roosevelt, and was under the impression that this was made clear in "Tough Sledding." "Mark PM down as on the Administration Side," he comments.[6]

In the same editorial, Ingersoll wastes no time in declaring:[7]

> PM will continue to expose what it sees

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1 PM, September 17, 1940, p. 2.
2 PM, September 22, 1940, p. 2.
3 PM, September 23, 1940, p. 2.
4 PM, September 25, 1940, p. 2.
5 PM, October 7, 1940, p. 2.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.

Willkie Way of 'Life'

Some of my best friends wear Willkie buttons. This is all right by me, a simple Southerner striving to break the bonds of his born solidity.

But no bright button they wear, no dinner gem of argument they advance, is half so tempting in the search for truth as the things I learn from *Life*.

I met Wendell Willkie through *Life* back in May. *Life* says to me, aside: "I have no opinion at all, of course, but have you heard? —*In the opinion of most of the nation's political pundits, Wendell Lewis Willkie is by far the ablest man the Republicans could nominate for President next month.*"

The GOP listened in on that, too, and Philadelphia fixed it. After that no one could resist stringing along with *Life* to keep up with the score.

Life is a lovely mistress, and constant. Comes out, and around every week. Almost painfully impartial, too; never an ax to grind. Just the real low-down on what's up. I got it, all summer long.

Philadelphia, she showed clearly, was simple: *The people wanted Willkie and they got him. . . . That moment marked the emergence of the first great American leader in eight years. . . . He cried in a fighter's voice: "I stand before you without a single pledge . . . except for . . . the preservation of American democracy." From a presidential nominee, those were rare and thrilling words. . . .*

These stirring passages were matched by *The Case for the GOP*, which, as she pointed out, historically excelled its rival in *realism, common sense, efficient management: The Republican case is simply that a crew of seamen will function better under a master mariner than under a professor of astronomy.*

I could hardly wait for Chicago, because I was worried by the unending polls showing horrible majorities of Democrats in favor of a third term. But *Life* blasted such trivia with the facts: Chicago was *one of the shoddiest and most hypocritical spectacles in history . . . the shabby pretense . . . fooled nobody . . . these were the things that made men fervently thankful that America still has a two-party system. . . .*

I thanked God for the GOP, and for *Life*, and took a new look at James A. Farley. Farleyism had worried me once, but now for the first time I saw Honest Jim Farley, who stood at Chicago *as living proof that democratic politics can be honest, straightforward and sincere.*

After that, when Mr. Willkie seemed to disappoint some of his less thoughtful followers, *Life* kept alertly on the job. When he told them that he would carry every one of the 48 states, she showed, was just a rather pleasing *public* cockiness; *privately, for all his deep-rooted confidence, there was no cockiness in Wendell Willkie. Said an intimate: "There's been a great change . . . he's humbled."*

And that acceptance speech, *Life* showed, was a courageous thing that lined up the real campaign issue: Who could do the job better. *Those who read and pondered it knew that Mr. Willkie had served democracy well.*

As for some of Wendell's recent and more extemporaneous remarks: *Fast-thinking, fluent Wendell Willkie is at his persuasive and vocal best when talking extemporaneously.* That settles it.

And this September pessimism of the GOP? Boloney. Though loud the grousing, *Life* has the answer: It's loud, all right . . . *but astute little Joe Martin . . . remained quietly content with the reports of votes-for-Willkie coming in.*

If Little Joe can be content, so, too, can I. That button is getting nearer and nearer.

But what, I wonder, about *Life's*?

—WELDON JAMES.

September 22, 1940, p. 2.

Tough Sledding

This editorial page dedicated itself some time ago to debating which major presidential candidate to vote for. I admitted my sympathy for President Roosevelt's principles and objectives, but felt that at this time the choice of the right president was so vital that it was only common sense to take the opposition candidate seriously. So I proposed to study his career, to listen to his ideas and to weigh carefully his promises

I make no secret of the fact that after an initial exchange of ideas I have found it very difficult even to keep the conversation alive—much less to get any heat in it. And if I read the thoughts of other editorial writers and columnists aright, they found it no easier than I. Because the truth of the matter is, Mr. Willkie hasn't said anything worth debating in his last few hundred thousand words.

He has told us a hundred times how much he wanted the job of being president. But we knew that. There is a certain stage in most successful men's lives when they want to be president of something or other, preferably the United States of America. And Mr. Willkie himself is too experienced as an employer to advance the argument that desire for the job is synonymous with qualification for it. There must have been a lot of people who worked for him in Commonwealth and Southern who wanted *his* job but who the stockholders didn't feel would serve their interests as well as he.

He has made some statements you might call dangerous, such as that he ought to be elected because "the producers of America" believe in him—his definition of a producer obviously being not the man on the lathe but the fellow behind the push button. But he has said such things so naively—with such wide-eyed school boy frankness—that it's hard to get angry with him about them. And whenever he makes such a statement it coincides with some such calm reminder of the fundamental truths of a democracy as the President gave at Philadelphia—when he pointed out the well understood fallacy of putting the reins of government in the hands of a small group that claimed unique business ability or economic omniscience. Mr. Willkie's speeches [illegible] if he were neither sure of his own [illegible], nor expected others to be enlightened by them. One can't get very angry at *half-hearted* advocacy of something one doesn't believe in.

Mr. Willkie began his campaign by stressing the similarity of his beliefs with Mr. Roosevelt's. That was an intellectual challenge. There was one point where I even seriously considered "WILLKIE OUT FOR ROOSEVELT" as a front-page headline. But the Republican candidate soon let his passion for social reforms subside and has had little to say in favor of collective bargaining, regulation of financial markets, etc., since his initial off-hand indorsement of them.

True, one morning I started to write an editorial beginning, "Now is the time to talk about irresponsible invective. . ." This was the day after that fantastic crack of Mr. Willkie's about Mr. Roosevelt having sold out Czechoslovakia. But the statement was retracted so fast that I never finished the piece.

True, Mr. Willkie's admirers have been cutting up—with stickers like Fuehrer, Duce, Rex, with postcards such as that showing a maniac Roosevelt behind bars, screaming "I'm in for life," with nauseating bad taste in their attempt to revive hostility to Eleanor Roosevelt. But it would hardly be fair to pin their actions on their idol—any more than it would be to saddle Mr. Roosevelt with the sins of the ward politicians in Chicago—even though the activities of ward politicians are slightly less distasteful than the Nazi-type whispering campaigns and the filthy literature some Republicans have been circulating.

But, all in all, there just hasn't been the material for a good old fashioned political debate. And on top of this depressing observation—depressing to an editorial writer—comes the Gallup poll that the poor old *New York Times* had the bad luck to have to print the very day it had chosen to apologize (in four columns) for its indorsement of the Republican candidate. The Gallup poll confirmed the Landon-slide tendency of the Willkie campaign, and has tended to make the whole issue academic.

There really appears to be only one interesting thing left to talk about in the campaign: the collapse itself.

Well, I will have a shot at that tomorrow.

—RALPH INGERSOLL.

September 23, 1940, p. 2.

Declaration of Faith

Some good people have written reminding me of my promise to come out for one of the two presidential candidates by the first of October. Some others thought PM should not print columns such as Paul Revere II's *Willkie Buttons* unless and until the paper had declared itself editorially.

My apologies.

On Sept. 23 I wrote and printed an editorial called *Tough Sledding* in which I thought I made clear my disappointment in candidate Willkie. As far as I was concerned, the debate was over. It began with a statement of my confidence in President Roosevelt and my sympathies with his objectives. I said that I would endeavor to find out whether Mr. Willkie really believed in the same things I did—and generally to study his claims to fitness. I closed my book on Sept. 23 because by then I was convinced that Mr. Willkie had failed to establish himself as a serious contender.

Thereafter I thought no PM reader could be in doubt as to where I stood. Mark PM down as on the Administration side.

Some of my friends regret the evidence that the coming election will be one-sided. I don't. This is no time for family squabble with burglars in both the front and back yards. I believe the election will find the nation united as at few times in its history. And that is the way it should be. PM will continue to expose what it sees as inconsistent and fallacious in the Republican campaign, not for the purpose of generating heat but in an attempt to keep the record straight. I haven't seen the latest score, but the impression seems to be that four out of five American newspapers have declared for candidate Willkie. The Hearst chain, the Scripps-Howard chain, the Gannett chain, the Chicago *Tribune* which calls itself the World's Greatest Newspaper and the "independent" New York *Times*—all are out for Willkie. You Republicans can hardly begrudge the Administration a few columns like my friend Revere's. —RALPH INGERSOLL.

October 7, 1940, p. 2.

Willkie's Virtuosity

Last week end Mr. Willkie made an extraordinary statement for a man as intelligent as he. He said: "I know of nothing President Roosevelt can do that I can't do." This from a man who aspires to be the political head of 130,000,000 people—and yet is without any experience in politics or service to the public—about another man who has spent his life in politics and who has led this country through eight of the worst years of its history! Mr. Willkie solved legal problems—and sold bonds for a great utility system. I doubt if he could conceive of himself making such a naive statement about, say, one of the engineers who built his power plants for him. He would recognize that the engineer had spent his life studying the principles and practice of building power plants—about which, he, Mr. Willkie, knew nothing except how much they cost. Mr. Willkie's remark is in the class of a man who, seeing a violin played for the first time, says: "But what's difficult about that?"—and then proceeds to hire Carnegie Hall for his debut next week.

—RALPH INGERSOLL

September 25, 1940, p. 2.

> as inconsistent and fallacious in the Republican campaign, not for the purpose of generating heat but in an attempt to keep the record square.

This, he adds, will be to counter-balance the over-whelming support which the press is lending Candidate Willkie.

On November 3, George Lyon's editorial "WW or FDR?"[1] is given the full "Opinion" page. Lyon is analytical if biased. He sums up the "phoney" issues and discards them, then digs into the real issues to find out who can do the better job in the next four years. Both issues and men are analyzed in a convincing manner.

The post-election editorials are worthy of note. Late in December, Ingersoll wrote "The Man We Elected,"[2] a highly personalized editorial occasioned by his reactions to the President's speech. This editorial lends an American unity note:[3]

> I am proud of the American people for having elected him President. I am proud that there are other peoples besides the British that will not take it lying down, reading a book on philosophy.
>
> I am proud that the people who elected President Roosevelt are my people and that I am one of them. And that the end of Adolf Hitler is so very near. For if he thinks he has a chance now -- after last night's speech -- he is crazier even than he sounds.

Nor was Willkie forgotten after the election. In February, when Willkie announced his plan to visit England,[4] Ingersoll made

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1 PM, November 3, 1940, p. 2.
2 PM, December 30, 1940, p. 2.
3 Ibid.
4 PM, February 7, 1941, p. 2.

WW or FDR?

Tuesday is Election Day.

Let's have a look and try to find out what we're all the shooting for. First, let's sweep out the phony issues. Items:

¶ Mud thrown at Mr. Willkie.

¶ Onions thrown at the President.

¶ Elliott Roosevelt's captaincy.

¶ The Cicero speech of Mr. Willkie's: "To hell with Chicago."

¶ Steve Early's knee action.

¶ The anti-Negro signs in Willkie's home town.

¶ The GOP smear—Roosevelt buttons.

¶ The patent medicine school personal indorsements of candidates (used by both parties).

We need to know who can do the better job the next four years—and why. Obviously the answer can't be found in onions, buttons, eggs and knees. So let's look at some of the issues.

* * *

We can't find anything but noise in the shouting about the third term tradition—which is anything but a law—or in Mr. Willkie's charges that the President has his heart set on a dictatorship. As a nation the U. S. A. has never been afraid to break with tradition when a crisis demanded it. A crisis would seem to demand it now. You can't parry a bayonet thrust with tradition or use it to build a shelter from bombs. And certainly the Constitution still provides a set of checks and balances calculated to cool the ambitions of any would-be dictator. "Roosevelt the Dictator" is good political hokum and Mr. Willkie shouldn't be blamed for doing all he can with it but he shouldn't feel disgruntled if the American people can't be laughed off. However, we suspect Mr. Willkie at heart is just as strong for defense as the President—as who wouldn't be with a burglar at the door?

So it becomes apparent that real issues in this campaign are hard to find. Both candidates have denounced Hitler, Mr. Roosevelt backing up his words with sufficient action to make them stick. Mr. Willkie apparently will receive the benefit of the Nazi vote and the support of the night shirt lunatic fringe, whether he likes it or not. Both candidates are for aid to Britain short of war. Mr. Willkie has bespoken it and Mr. Roosevelt has provided it. Everybody is for being good to labor and the farmer and for continuing approved methods of soil conservation.

* * *

Therefore it seems to us that the real issue is bound to be Roosevelt the man *versus* Willkie the man. Who can do the job better? Let's look at the two men.

Mr. Willkie appeals to us as an amiable and engaging gentleman. We'd wager that he's great company in any crowd. He has plenty of vigor and vitality and a ton of personal charm. The more you see and hear of him the more he seems to resemble Jimmy Stewart playing the role of the fighting young Senator from the midwest in the picture *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington.*

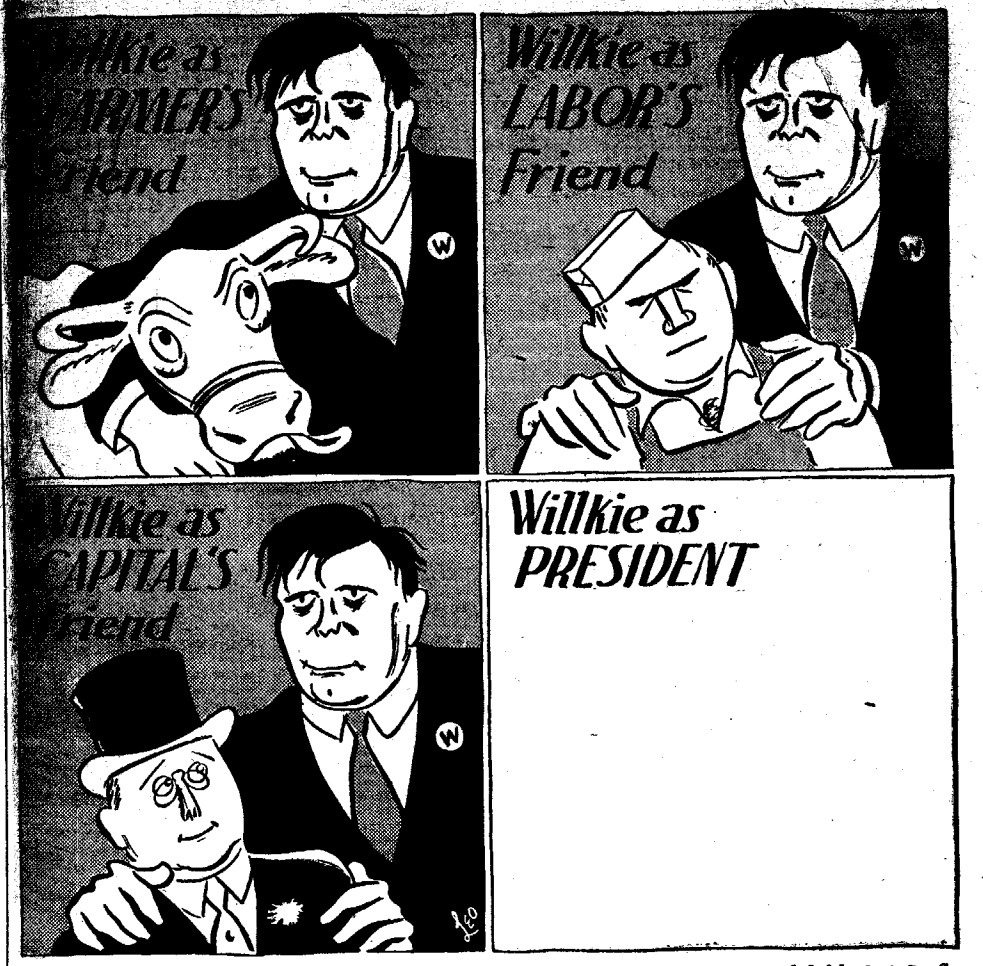
And there, we think, is the payoff.

Surrounding Mr. Willkie since the Philadelphia convention have been some of the most efficient public relations men of the country, even though the Republican nominee himself is no novice in the profession. If ever a candidate had a motion picture buildup, Mr. Willkie has the picture of the new and better Willkie that smart publicity men have conjured up for the purposes of this campaign. But it does highlight the fact that there is little in the Willkie record which particularly qualifies him either by temperament or experience to be President of the U. S. A.

What the next year holds in store for us no man can foretell.

Which gets us down to the final choice. Everything else aside, we know that for the next four years, to serve and preserve this democracy of ours, we need a strong, smart leader who knows all the plays and who can be depended on to

PM's Picture Gallery



By Leo Hershfield, PM Staff

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Now about taxes and the high cost of government. Taxes are likely to go considerably higher no matter who is elected. Mr. Willkie has indorsed virtually all the New Deal's social legislation and pledged himself to carry on. Can Mr. Willkie do it any more cheaply than Mr. Roosevelt? It's doubtful. Likewise doubtful that the Republicans can arm the country against invasion more cheaply than the Democrats. Hitler is going to cost the U. S. A. a lot of money for protection before he's through and Americans might as well make up their minds to pay and like it. We can't see taxes as a real issue in this campaign.

As for national defense the record shows the President moved as rapidly as the temper of the nation would permit. We doubt if the people were sufficiently aroused to permit earlier enactment of a draft law. Certainly the record establishes that the Republicans regularly and systematically attempted to sabotage Mr. Roosevelt's efforts to build up our military and naval establishments—even after the threat to America became apparent. That's in the record and just

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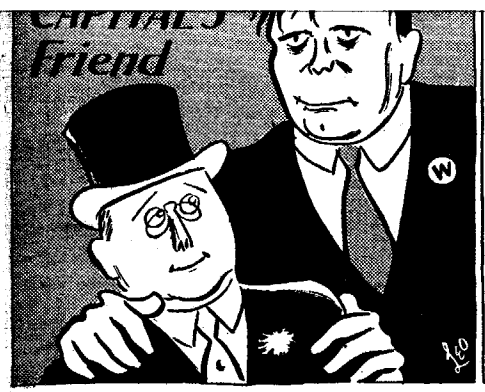
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And there, we think, is the payoff.

Surrounding Mr. Willkie since the Philadelphia convention have been some of the most efficient public relations men of the country, even though the Republican nominee himself is no novice in the profession. If ever a candidate had a motion picture buildup, Mr. Willkie has. No matter if he's off base about the President telephoning Hitler and Mussolini, no matter if he grows confused and says one thing one day and another thing the next. That's not so important to his publicity men. Their job is to give him oomph. They've done it. And he does begin to act and talk like young Lochinvar—or Jimmy Stewart—and people are beginning to like it and sometimes when he leaps to a table top and the cameras catch him tossing back his shaggy locks even we are inclined to think that he's terrific.

But when you start digging into the Willkie record there's a different story. It's the story of a public utility promoter; it's the story of a Wall Street lawyer serving the big corporations; it's the story of an employer whose record for unfair labor practices remains written bold in the record of the LaFollette committee; the story of a man to whom the Girdlers of the nation are its real unsung heroes. Now if Mr. Willkie wanted to work for the utilities and Wall Street and train with the Girdlers and the Joe Pews that's his business and perfectly proper. We're just pointing out that it doesn't fit into



By Leo Hershfield, PM Staff

the picture of the new and better Willkie that smart publicity men have conjured up for the purposes of this campaign. But it does highlight the fact that there is little in the Willkie record which particularly qualifies him either by temperament or experience to be President of the U. S. A.

* * *

One point more and we're done with Mr. Willkie. We don't like his injection of fear into this campaign. It smacks too strongly of defeatism and appeasement. When he said, as he did at Grafton, W. Va., Wednesday, that the re-election of the President would mean that "the United States will go down the road of bankruptcy, chaos and inflation," he's dealing in bunk—and he knows it. We think also that in view of the President's repeated pledge that American troops would not be sent into any foreign wars Mr. Willkie was not justified in predicting in his Baltimore speech that Maryland boys called in the draft might "shortly be loading onto the transports" or in intimating that Mr. Roosevelt would have the nation at war early in the year. Fear still is the most powerful weapon of the dictators. It has no proper place in this campaign.

* * *

Now what about the President?

This nation is facing the most serious crisis in its history. It has few friends left except for the British Empire which itself is having a struggle for existence. What the next year holds in store for us no man can foretell.

Which gets us down to the final choice. Everything else aside, we know that for the next four years, to serve and preserve this democracy of ours, we need a strong, smart leader who knows all the plays and who can be depended on to rise to an emergency. We know from experience that Mr. Roosevelt is the kind of man who can do the job we need to have done. We don't know it about Mr. Willkie, and with hell loose in more than half the world, it's no time to be giving a new man a tryout.

Whatever else may be said about the President—and his enemies have plenty to say—he has proved unmistakably that closest to his heart is the well-being of the great mass of our people.

To them Mr. Roosevelt still is "The Champ." He has their confidence and they will follow his leadership. Under that leadership, we think, lies the greatest hope for a united nation and the preservation of democracy on this continent.

That's why we're for keeping Mr. Roosevelt on the job for four more years.

—GEORGE H. LYON

Our Daily WW Special

Wendell Willkie—That Liberal in Brooks Clothing.

New York EVERETT G. LINSLEY

The Man We Elected

I heard President Roosevelt's speech on a portable radio at home.

Two hours earlier I had heard Ed Murrow from London, broadcasting from the little room in which I had sat with him while the Dorniers flew overhead. It was after midnight in London and there had been a big raid. When Ed Murrow says there has been a big raid there has been a big raid.

After Murrow I heard the Columbia man in Berlin and Winston Burdett from Belgrade. (*See Page* 9.) Then the CBS man in Tokyo. And a little later while I was still waiting for the President to speak I heard Dorothy Thompson (*see Page* 15), who was in Germany when it began. Then Walter Winchell from Miami calling a spy a spade. Then some jazz. And then one of those spot announcements about the story PM's Jimmy Wechsler is writing from Detroit.

All these things came to me from the radio before I heard President Roosevelt. But the realest was Ed Murrow's voice coming from the room where I had been with him in London—the room past which they had carried his two friends from the first aid station, dead as mutton. I knew how black it was in the street outside. I knew the noise the bombers made in the sky overhead. I knew the noise the guns made and the drawn out going-away sound of the shells reaching up to find the Nazi pilots in their warm, fuzzy flying suits. I knew the noise of the bombs they dropped made. I saw the face of the red-headed cop looking up at me from the pavement just after he had been killed.

I wasn't there when it started as Dorothy Thompson was. I don't know as much about spies as Walter and his friend Edgar Hoover. I am not a man trying to get news through the censorships of Tokyo or Belgrade. I know that I didn't like the line about no strikes, and that I wanted much more said about the fight for freedom in this country. I know there is much thinking and acting still to be done. I don't know all the answers. But I know what Franklin D. Roosevelt meant when he said that there is no appeasement with ruthlessness, no reasoning with an incendiary bomb. I know how to hate force applied to free people. I know after last night's speech, if I never knew it before, that President Roosevelt knows how to hate it, too.

I am proud of the American people for having elected him President. I am proud that there are other peoples besides the British that will not take it lying down, reading a book on philosophy.

I am proud that the people who elected President Roosevelt are my people and that I am one of them. And that the end of Adolf Hitler is so very near. For if he thinks he has a chance now—after last night's speech—he is crazier even than he sounds.—RALPH INGERSOLL.

December 30, 1940, p. 2.

some back-handed compliments on Mr. Willkie's "waking up" on aid to Britain and praising him as an American.

In "Who's for England,"[1] Ingersoll discredits the rumor that Willkie went to England to make sure the Conservatives had everything under control.

6. National Unity

The national unity note was struck hard and often directly after the presidential election in November. The "morning-after" issue with its 23 pages devoted to election coverage carried a single half-column editorial on "Unity"[2] by George H. Lyon. These brief paragraphs were very suitable to the occasion and the stress.

Louis Kronenberger took over the following day with "From Now On,"[3] a call for unity and lack of self-interest.

Because of the lack of unity he finds in this country, Ingersoll writes asking "Who Won the Election?"[4] The lead is typically Ingersoll:[5]

> Well, I have been back from England three weeks now .....

Again, he blames the press for much of the existing confusion:[6]

> Appeasement talk there will be in the press of this country as long as there are appeasement-minded publishers whose financial structures are so important to them that they are willing to take their chances publishing in a world at "peace" with Hitler. (I wonder who's publishing the papers in Rumania now?")

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1 PM, February 18, 1941, p. 2.
2 PM. November 6, 1940, p. 2.
3 PM, November 7, 1940. p. 2.
4 PM, December 2, 1940, p. 2.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid.

Who Won the Election?

I have been back from England three weeks now—reading American papers, talking to editors—PM's included—traveling to Washington to find out what has gone on since I left America in October. A friend of mine said it was all very well for me to visit London, to talk with people in the shelters there and watch the fighting in the air, but what he would like me to do would be to take a clipper trip to Washington to interview members of the American government and find the answer to a *really* important question: who won the election?

Because, he said, a lot of people didn't seem to know—what with the Defense Commission awarding contracts to labor-baiting firms like International Shoe and the Ford Motor Co. and playing along with the industrial monopolists and, on the international front, the papers printing more appeasement talk after the voting than before. Did the American people re-elect Roosevelt on a carry-on-with-the-New-Deal and Fight-Fascism-uncompromisingly-by-giving-more-aid-to-Britain platform—or was it Wendell Willkie who won, backed by an unholy political coalition of Communists, Fascists and realistic money men who knew from which end of their bonds their coupons were clipped?

I find a lot of my liberal friends feel that way. Quite seriously, there seems to be some doubt as to who won the election.

I have never heard of such nonsense.

These good and worried people are falling for the oldest trick of the President's political enemies, who, they seem to forget, still include an overwhelming majority of the nation's biggest newspaper owners—through whose prejudiced columns the nation gets its news. The

preached quarantining the aggressor nations. Now the country pays the price—the price of having so many things to do all at once and so little time to [illegible] for what he foresaw so clearly. The miracle is not the mistakes that the Defense Commission has made, but the number of things they have done right, despite the powerful forces that are working on them to circumvent, distort, take unfair advantage of and nullify their stated policies, such as that labor's gains shall be maintained and that aid to Britain shall continue intelligently and without hesitation.

Appeasement talk there will be in the press of this country as long as there are appeasement-minded publishers whose financial structures are so important to them that they are willing to take their chances publishing in a world at "peace" with Hitler. (I wonder who's publishing the papers in Rumania now?)

A few years ago we who believed in the future of America as a democracy had on our side an able group of zealots schooled in effective foreign political techniques. They called themselves Communists and although they had once been against us they now attached themselves to us in a policy they articulated as "The United Front Against Fascism." We in the goodness of our hearts were glad to have them with us because they believed in so many things that we did—a wider distribution of wealth, civil liberties, trade unionism, a state more interested in the housing and education of its citizens, socialized medicine, and in the dignity of man. Moreover, their enemies, the reactionaries, were our enemies—and we turned deaf ears to their detractors quite rightly, because we dis-

with the industrial monopolists and, on the international front, the papers printing more appeasement talk after the voting than before. Did the American people re-elect Roosevelt on a carry-on-with-the-New-Deal and Fight-Fascism-uncompromisingly-by-giving-more-aid-to-Britain platform—or was it Wendell Willkie who won, backed by an unholy political coalition of Communists, Fascists and realistic money men who knew from which end of their bonds their coupons were clipped?

I find a lot of my liberal friends feel that way. Quite seriously, there seems to be some doubt as to who won the election.

I have never heard of such nonsense.

These good and worried people are falling for the oldest trick of the President's political enemies, who, they seem to forget, still include an overwhelming majority of the nation's biggest newspaper owners—through whose prejudiced columns the nation gets its news. The trick is to wait until the President is out of breath and then to say, "See, he is not talking any more now. That means he's switched to our side. He's sold out. He has quit. He is an old man and he is tired." They have run through this maneuver only a dozen times since 1932, and a dozen times the President has made jackasses of them—and left his faint-hearted friends feeling foolish about their doubts.

President Roosevelt knows who won the election and why the people of America gave him more than 26,000,000 votes. *He* won the election. He won it because the people of America approved of his policies and believed in him as the man to execute them. That he has enemies even in his own Administration, men who would defeat his policies by boring from within, is not news. But that he can and will handle these enemies all in good time he has demonstrated as often as they have demonstrated their viciousness.

The country wasn't ready to listen to him four years ago in Chicago when he financial structures are so important to them that they are willing to take their chances publishing in a world at "peace" with Hitler. (I wonder who's publishing the papers in Rumania now?)

A few years ago we who believed in the future of America as a democracy had on our side an able group of zealots schooled in effective foreign political techniques. They called themselves Communists and although they had once been against us they now attached themselves to us in a policy they articulated as "The United Front Against Fascism." We in the goodness of our hearts were glad to have them with us because they believed in so many things that we did—a wider distribution of wealth, civil liberties, trade unionism, a state more interested in the housing and education of its citizens, socialized [illegible] and in the dignity of man. Moreover, their enemies, the reactionaries, were our enemies—and we turned deaf ears to their detractors quite rightly, because we distrusted the sincerity of the criticism.

Now these self-righteous people have made an alliance with their own and our enemies. What always troubled us about them was their lack of scruples and how they fought. They bit people in the clinches and they used their knees when the referee wasn't looking. Justifying themselves the way the torturers of the Spanish Inquisition used to justify themselves—all's fair in love and a religious cause. Now they are kneeing and biting us and, to change the metaphor, if they are short on talent to construct they are long on talent to confuse, deceive, detract and destroy confidence. They have already muddled many an honest labor leader, many a public man of good will. They almost lost the wholly legitimate strike of the workers in the Vultee plant in California by mixing up able Attorney General Jackson. What they have done to John L. Lewis is nobody's business.

Now all these elements—the Red-baiting publishers and the publisher-baiting Reds, the industrialists who are Fascist-minded and the paid foreign agents who fear our industrial power and who must, on pain of death or disgrace or both, prevent our aiding the British killers of Fascists—all these, and many others with their little selfish axes to grind, are against us now. And I personally am against giving them permission to hide themselves and their motives under the cloak of unity. For of unity with them I will have none.

But who are we? "We" are now the 26,000,000 people who elected Franklin D. Roosevelt President of the U. S. A. "We" are now the 20,000,000 or 21,000,000 of the nearly 22,000,000 who voted for Willkie—because he indorsed Roosevelt's platform and only said he could do it better. "We" are now the rest of the people in whose name the 48,000,000 voted. "We" are now all but the very few hundreds of thousands of all the Americans there are. And we know our mind: We are going to carry right on with the principles of the New Deal until, for instance, organized opposition to the principles of collective bargaining will be as socially unacceptable as a bloc in favor of setting aside the month of January for an open season on murder. We are going to make this country a better, fairer country to live in. And we are going to keep right on fighting Mr. Adolf Hitler, Mr. Benito Mussolini and Mr. Me-to, the Fascist in Japan—until we have taken the threat of Fascism out of our lives and given our children a world in which they can work out their problems for themselves, by themselves.

We are going to do this under a great leader whose name is Franklin D. Roosevelt. As to his character and his ability to lead men—and as to the American people's faith in him as the leader of the democratic state—after eight years and three elections the returns are all in.

And we are going to post signs to that effect on our front and back doors for the benefit of any who are stupid enough to think we don't mean what we say. Thirty million Frenchmen have been wrong. One hundred and thirty million Americans aren't going to be.

—RALPH INGERSOLL

The implication is that the more conservative press is against fighting in Europe for purely selfish business reasons. This, in the writer's opinion. is unfair. Thinking on the same level, one might be suspicious enough to wonder what there is in it for Ingersoll and PM should this country fight Hitler. For a newspaper's purpose is to deal with issues, and it in due course of time choose one side or the other to support. Since this is the nature of the press, there is absolutely no ground for condemning the paper which takes the opposite view nor for reading selfish motives into such action. Here again is an instance of accusation far beneath the stature of a newspaper which promises to be as much as does PM.

The technique used here to confuse Ingersoll's rival publishers with our common enemy, the Communists, is a clever one and quite successful:[1]

> ..... all these elements -- the Red-baiting publishers and the publisher-baiting Reds, the industrialists who are Fascist-minded and the paid foreign agents who fear our industrial power and who must, on pain of death or disgrace or both, prevent our aiding the British killers of Fascists -- all these, and many others with their little selfish axes to grind, are against us now. And I personally am against giving them permission to hide themselves and their motives under the cloak of unity. For of unity with them I will have none.

Ingersoll follows this paragraph with a stirring definition of the unity of the American people. One cannot but ad-

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1 PM, November 2, 1940, p. 2.

mire his "bandwagon" art in the following paragraphs:[1]

> But who are we? "We" are now the 26,000,000 people who elected Franklin D. Roosevelt President of the U.S.A. "We" are now the 20,000,000 or 21,000,000 of the nearly 22,000,000 who voted for Willkie -- because he endorsed Roosevelt's platform and only said he could do it better. "We" are now the rest of the people in whose name the 48,000,000 voted. "We" are now all but the very few hundreds of thousands of Americans that there are. And we know our mind: We are going to carry right on with the principles of the New Deal until, for instance, organized opposition to the principles of collective bargaining will be as socially unacceptable as a bloc in favor of setting aside the month of January as an open season on murder. We are going to make this country a better, fairer country to live in. And we are going to keep right on fighting Mr. Adolf Hitler, Mr. Benito Mussolini and Mr. Me-to, the Fascist in Japan -- until we have taken the threat of Fascism out of our lives and given our children a world in which they can work out their problems for themselves, by themselves.
>
> We are going to do this under a great leader whose name is Franklin D. Roosevelt. As to his character and his ability to lead men -- and as the American people's faith in him as the leader of the democratic state -- after eight years and three elections the returns are all in.
>
> And we are going to post signs to that effect on our front and back doors for the benefit of any who are stupid enough to think we don't mean what we say. Thirty million Frenchmen have been wrong. One hundred and thirty million Americans aren't going to be.

Following the President's speech calling for unity, Ingersoll wrote "The President's 'Unity'," [2] in which he waxes patriotic and again sings the praises of the national leader.

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1 PM, November 20, 1940, p. 2.
2 PM, January 7, 1941, p. 2.

7. Communism

Because of the many charges of Communism PM was forced to weather, Ingersoll trod lightly over the issue of Communism during the first months of his paper's publication. His outburst in "Who Won the Election" was his first declaration of an attitude toward communism.[1]

"Communists, Journalists and PM,"[2] published in late January, is an excellent editorial explaining the influences of Communism. It is written with the mind rather than the emotions.

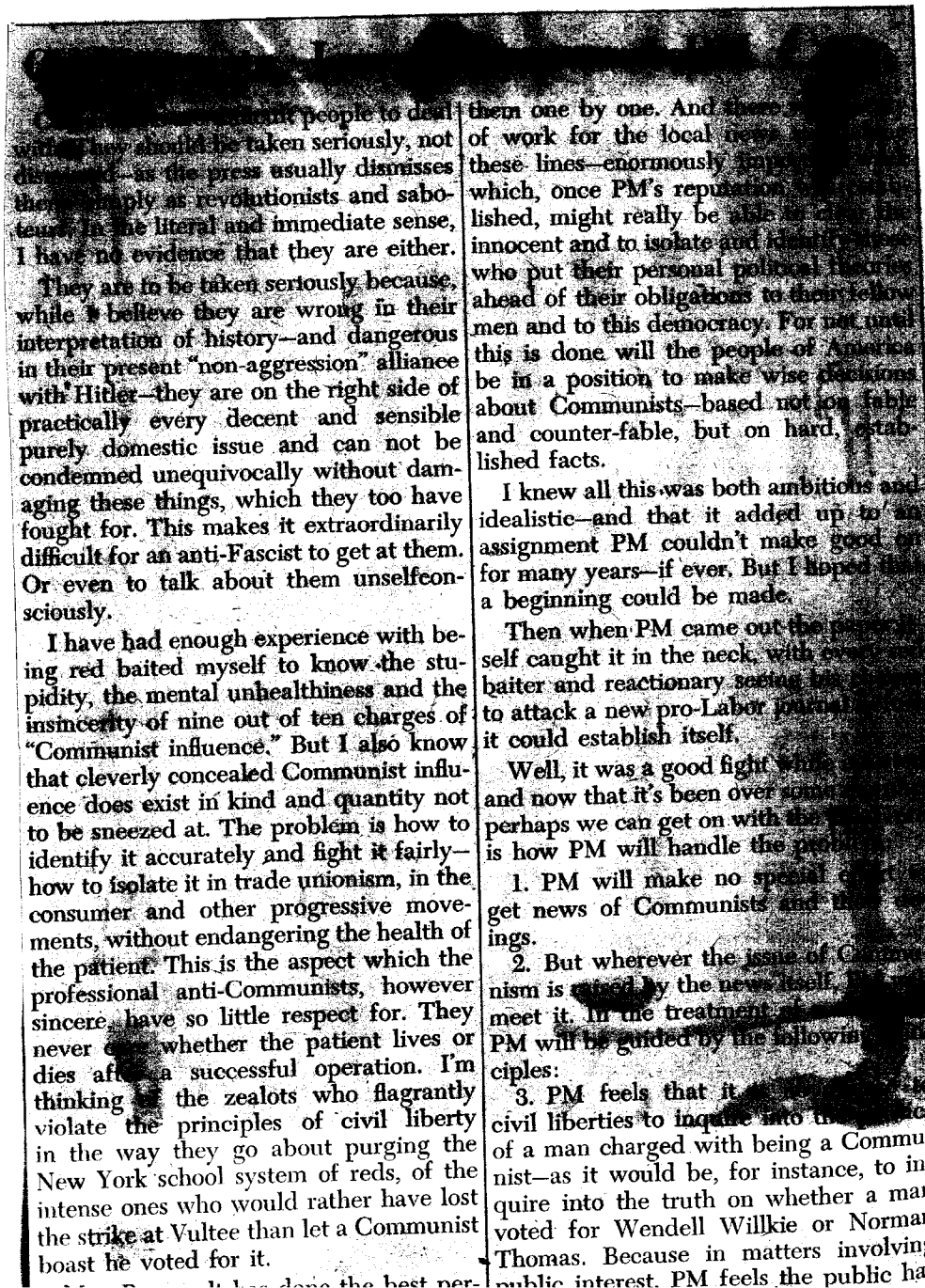
This editorial was occasioned by the investigation into subversive activities in the New York schools. It opens with an indictment of red baiting, a plea for a thorough investigation of all evidence before any judgments be made.

In order to make clear his stand, Ingersoll sets forth the five principles which shall govern PM's editorial policy in regards to Communists.[3] They are:

> 1. PM will make no special effort to get news of Communists and their doings.
> 2. But wherever the issue of Communism is raised by the news itself, PM will meet it. In the treatment of such news, PM will be guided by the following principles:
> 3. PM feels that it is no offense to civil liberties to inquire into the politics of a man charged with being a Communist--as it would be, for instance, to inquire into the truth on whether a man voted for Wendell Willkie or Norman Thomas. Because in matters involving public interest, PM feels the public has a right to know whether an individual is

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1 For Ingersoll's attitude toward the "United Front," as set forth in this editorial, see ChapterII, p.19.
2 PM, December 27, 1940, p. 2.
3 Ibid.



[redacted] people to deal with. They should be taken seriously, not dismissed as the press usually dismisses them simply as revolutionists and saboteurs. In the literal and immediate sense, I have no evidence that they are either.

They are to be taken seriously because, while I believe they are wrong in their interpretation of history—and dangerous in their present "non-aggression" alliance with Hitler—they are on the right side of practically every decent and sensible purely domestic issue and can not be condemned unequivocally without damaging these things, which they too have fought for. This makes it extraordinarily difficult for an anti-Fascist to get at them. Or even to talk about them unselfconsciously.

I have had enough experience with being red baited myself to know the stupidity, the mental unhealthiness and the insincerity of nine out of ten charges of "Communist influence." But I also know that cleverly concealed Communist influence does exist in kind and quantity not to be sneezed at. The problem is how to identify it accurately and fight it fairly—how to isolate it in trade unionism, in the consumer and other progressive movements, without endangering the health of the patient. This is the aspect which the professional anti-Communists, however sincere, have so little respect for. They never care whether the patient lives or dies after a successful operation. I'm thinking of the zealots who flagrantly violate the principles of civil liberty in the way they go about purging the New York school system of reds, of the intense ones who would rather have lost the strike at Vultee than let a Communist boast he voted for it.

them one by one. And there [redacted] of work for the local [redacted] these lines—enormously [redacted] which, once PM's reputation [redacted] lished, might really be able to [redacted] innocent and to isolate and identify [redacted] who put their personal political theories ahead of their obligations to their fellowmen and to this democracy. For not until this is done will the people of America be in a position to make wise decisions about Communists—based not on fable and counter-fable, but on hard, established facts.

I knew all this was both ambitious and idealistic—and that it added up to an assignment PM couldn't make good on for many years—if ever. But I hoped that a beginning could be made.

Then when PM came out the paper itself caught it in the neck, with every red-baiter and reactionary seeing [redacted] to attack a new pro-Labor journal [redacted] it could establish itself.

Well, it was a good fight while [redacted] and now that it's been over some [redacted] perhaps we can get on with the [redacted] is how PM will handle the problem.

1. PM will make no special [redacted] get news of Communists and their [redacted] ings.

2. But wherever the issue of Communism is raised by the news itself, [redacted] meet it. In the treatment [redacted] PM will be guided by the following principles:

3. PM feels that it [redacted] civil liberties to inquire into the politics of a man charged with being a Communist—as it would be, for instance, to inquire into the truth on whether a man voted for Wendell Willkie or Norman Thomas. Because in matters involving public interest, PM feels the public has

[redacted] tutions and causes currently under [redacted] because either red baiters or Communists or some combination of both succeeded in confusing the issue. [redacted] was confused in the Vultee strike

purely domestic issue and can not be condemned unequivocally without damaging these things, which they too have fought for. This makes it extraordinarily difficult for an anti-Fascist to get at them. Or even to talk about them unselfconsciously.

I have had enough experience with being red baited myself to know the stupidity, the mental unhealthiness and the insincerity of nine out of ten charges of "Communist influence." But I also know that cleverly concealed Communist influence does exist in kind and quantity not to be sneezed at. The problem is how to identify it accurately and fight it fairly—how to isolate it in trade unionism, in the consumer and other progressive movements, without endangering the health of the patient. This is the aspect which the professional anti-Communists, however sincere, have so little respect for. They never [illegible] whether the patient lives or dies after a successful operation. I'm thinking of the zealots who flagrantly violate the principles of civil liberty in the way they go about purging the New York school system of reds, of the intense ones who would rather have lost the strike at Vultee than let a Communist boast he voted for it.

Mrs. Roosevelt has done the best personal job to date—of distinguishing between the sheep and the goats—with patience, thoroughness and conscience. She never loses her interest in a cause just because Communists might have attached themselves to it, she never makes a hasty decision on charges irresponsibly made.

I had an early ambition that PM, as an independent liberal anti-Fascist paper might be the first journal with a sane and unhysterical approach to the problem of "the Communist in national affairs." I wanted PM's Labor Page to find out the truth about allegations of Communist influence in trade unionism—for I did not know the truth myself, nor did anyone I know convince me he did. I wanted the editor of PM's National News section to, prove or disprove the reckless and malicious everyday charges of Communism in the Government—prove or disprove and counter-table, but on hard, established facts.

I knew all this was both ambitious and idealistic—and that it added up to an assignment PM couldn't make good on for many years—if ever. But I hoped that a beginning could be made.

Then when PM came out the paper itself caught it in the neck, with every red baiter and reactionary seeing his chance to attack a new pro-Labor journal before it could establish itself.

Well, it was a good fight while it lasted and now that it's been over some months, perhaps we can get on with the job. Here is how PM will handle the problem:

1. PM will make no special effort to get news of Communists and their doings.

2. But wherever the issue of Communism is raised by the news itself, PM will meet it. In the treatment of such issues PM will be guided by the following principles:

3. PM feels that it is [illegible] to civil liberties to inquire into the politics of a man charged with being a Communist—as it would be, for instance, to inquire into the truth on whether a man voted for Wendell Willkie or Norman Thomas. Because in matters involving public interest, PM feels the public has a right to know whether an individual is following a political line currently identified with that of a nation with whom we are virtually at war. And is actively working with a political organization to further its ends. And is concealing that fact.

This is not to be construed as taking an editorial position that members of the Communist Party—which is a registered American political party—should be persecuted as such. But we have a right to know what Communists are up to.

4. While thus depriving the Communist of his self-given immunity from journalistic inquiry, PM remains against "red baiting"—against insincere and irresponsible attacks on individuals and institutions as Communist, red or pink.

5. Following these two principles, PM will hope that its journalism will be of some service in the defense of [illegible] institutions and causes currently under attack because either red baiters or Communists or some combination of both have succeeded in confusing the issue. As it was confused in the Vultee strike in California. As it is currently being confused in the investigation into subversive activities in New York schools.

These are times of great danger, only a part of which is the danger of loss of military action against the Fascists. The other and equally important danger is the danger that comes from our not being clear about the issues in our own country. And any lack of clarity on a subject so close to the heart of civil liberty as the subject of Communists, their doctrines and their influence, does not lessen this danger but increases it.

—RALPH INGERSOLL

following a political line currently identified with that of a nation with whom we are virtually at war. And is actively working with a political organization to further its ends. And is concealing that fact.

This is not to be construed as taking an editorial position that members of the Communist party -- which is a registered American political party -- should be persecuted as such. But we have a right to know what Communists are up to.

4. While thus depriving the Communist of his self-given immunity from journalistic inquiry, PM remains against "red baiting" -- against insincere and irresponsible attacks on individuals and institutions as Communist, red or pink.
5. Following these principles, PM will hope that its journalism will be of some service in the defense of worthy institutions and causes currently under attack because either red baiters or Communists or some combination of both have succeeded in confusing the issue. As it was confused in the Vultee strike in California. As it is currently being confused in the investigation into subversive activities in New York schools.

Further evidence of Ingersoll's stand concerning the Communist party is found in his answer to a "Letter from a Communist,"[1] in which the editor declares that the Communists walked out on the anti-Fascists and so need expect little sympathy.

After the Krivitsky murder or suicide, two major editorials published on the same day were devoted to the details of the case and the search for the murdered. Ben Hecht's cuttingly sarcastic contribution was deemed so worthy that Ingersoll

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1 See Chapter II, pp.18-19.

placed it on the front page, and printed his own on the "Opinion" page. In "A Red Herring Comes to Bat,"[1] Hecht writes in brilliantly turned phrases. All the American invective vernacular of which he is capable is pressed into service. The result is an editorial of little dignity but plenty of punch which whitewashes the USSR by minimizing the whole Krititsky incident and poking fun at the press.

Hecht is so vivid and crammed with sardonic illusions that one cannot resist quoting him:[2]

> And led by those indefatigable champions of human rights -- the Heart newspapers -- the Press is slyly demanding that we stop worrying about such nonsense as helping England and find this horrible villain who bumped off Krivitsky. There's a real occupation for American patriots -- run this dastard down and show the world that nobody can get away with murder in our land of the free -- nobody but the Press.
>
> For it is as obvious as the fright wig on its head that the Hallowe'en antics of the Press panting after the mythical murderer of Krivitsky have nothing to do with who killed our Muscovite cock-robin. The point and purpose of the Rumpelstiltskin man hunt is to blow up the deviltries of Stalinism and allow Moscow, rather than Berlin, to frighten the pants off everybody. Good old Kerensky has been wheeled out, dusted off and handed a megaphone. White and pink Russians have been snatched away from their borscht and propped up on their rostrums. Nazi lovers, trained in the business of terrorizing bank presidents, department store owners and sweepstake-ticket winners by waving Red pickpockets at them, have been pressed into service. And an air generally has been created that every true American who clips stock certificates, hates unions and

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1 PM, February 13, 1941, p. 1.
2 Ibid.

Ben Hecht on the Krivitsky Case

A Red Herring Comes to Bat

A wonderful Wizard of Oz man hunt is on in town.

Swinging Roman candles over its head, blowing smoke out of its ears, complete with electric-lighted nose, fright wig and a fire gong hitched to its fanny, the Press is galumphing up and down the highways looking for the scoundrel who murdered that darling man, Gen. Walter Krivitsky.

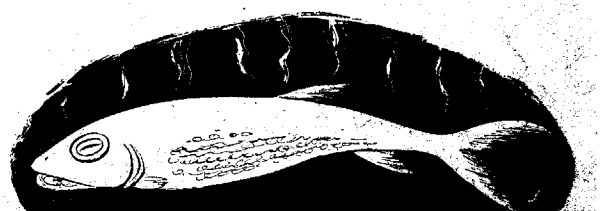
A thousand Washington detectives equipped with badges, microscopes and crystal balls have announced that this gabby Muscovite committed suicide and was never murdered at all. The Press, however, will have none of this official myopia. The Washington detectives (sez it) are all ninnies in the pay of Mrs. Roosevelt and anybody who loves democracy —particularly that part of it that likes to beat up pickets—can see that the dreaded hand of Moscow reached out and smote the general down.

And led by those indefatigable champions of human rights—the Hearst newspapers—the Press slyly is demanding that we stop worrying about such nonsense as helping England and find this horrible villain who bumped off Krivitsky. There's a real occupation for American patriots—run this dastard down and show the world that nobody can get away with murder in our land of the free—nobody but the Press.

For it is as obvious as the fright wig on its head that the Hallowe'en antics of the Press panting after the mythical murderer of Krivitsky have nothing to do with who killed our Muscovite cock-robin. The point and purpose of the Rumpelstiltskin man hunt is to blow up the deviltries of Stalinism and allow Moscow this simple-minded revenge politik. It is a deep and ominous business having nothing at all to do with Krivitsky and who the hell killed him, if anybody. Most importantly, it is a gauge of the cynicism that has gripped the Fascist-minded Press.

This cynicism battens on the notion that newspaper readers are 14-carat zanies, that few of them are capable of distinguishing their elbow from a barrel of flour, and that the public in general is a taffy-headed, blubber-souled monster that can be pulled willy-nilly into any shape for any purpose. And who knows—maybe it is. The Nazis did it and the Communists did it. Given a dozen dead Krivitskys, it's possible that our own cynical rabble-rousers could fill the town with enough Red hate to take its mind off the Nazis, who, whatever their faults, didn't foully murder somebody right under our nose in Washington. (They may have blown up a few munition plants in New Jersey, but good God, you can't stay mad at everything.)

Our town is inclined to titter over the cynical indifference to truth that inspires the out-of-breath Italians to issue daily communiques announcing fresh victories on land, sea and air. It is inclined also to gasp a bit at the cynicism of Nazi propaganda that keeps proclaim-



ing the Germans have liberated the oppressed

up pickets—can see that the dreaded hand of Moscow reached out and smote the general down.

And led by those indefatigable champions of human rights—the Hearst newspapers—the Press slyly is demanding that we stop worrying about such nonsense as helping England and find this horrible villain who bumped off Krivitsky. There's a real occupation for American patriots—run this dastard down and show the world that nobody can get away with murder in our land of the free—nobody but the Press.

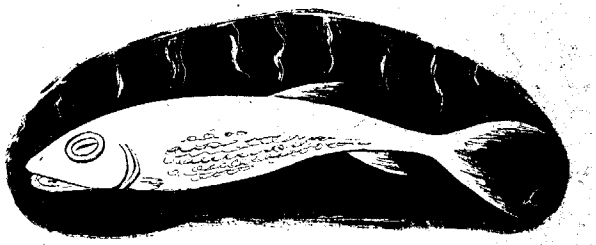
For it is as obvious as the fright wig on its head that the Hallowe'en antics of the Press panting after the mythical murderer of Krivitsky have nothing to do with who killed our Muscovite cock-robin. The point and purpose of the Rumpelstiltskin man hunt is to blow up the deviltries of Stalinism and allow Moscow, rather than Berlin, to frighten the pants off everybody. Good old Kerensky has been wheeled out, dusted off and handed a megaphone. White and Pink Russians have been snatched away from their borscht and propped up on the rostrums. Nazi lovers, trained in the business of terrorizing bank presidents, department store owners and sweepstake-ticket winners by waving Red pickpockets at them, have been pressed into service. And an air generally has been created that every true American who clips stock certificates, hates unions and wears red, white and blue shoes is in danger of being clubbed to death in his feather bed by devilish agents of Moscow.

To a certain extent, this playing beanbag with Krivitsky's corpse and turning in a 4-11 alarm for his boogieman killer are part of the gooney journalism that has blossomed since Mr. Roosevelt frustrated 80 per cent of the gazettes by getting himself elected. A large proportion of these smarting editors regard the salvation of the world as a matter secondary to the business of Roosevelt groin-kicking.

The Krivitsky case, however, goes beyond

body right under our nose in Washington. (They may have blown up a few munition plants in New Jersey, but good God, you can't stay mad at everything.)

Our town is inclined to titter over the cynical indifference to truth that inspires the out-of-breath Italians to issue daily communiques announcing fresh victories on land, sea and air. It is inclined also to gasp a bit at the cynicism of Nazi propaganda that keeps proclaim-



ing the Germans have liberated the oppressed peoples of Europe from the domination of Jews, Free Masons and Fuller Brush salesmen. And it did considerable [illegible] idiotic contention [illegible]

Well, if you [illegible] you don't have to go abroad. [illegible] being pumped up out of the comatose Krivitsky is on your corner newsstand. And the presses printing it are not being supervised by OGPU and Gestapo chieftains, knout in hand. It is, nevertheless, as giddy an example of the cynical contempt for readers' intelligence as ever came over the short waves from Europe.

There are two theories about the Krivitsky mystery itself. One is that he slew himself out of remorse for his sins, as related in his suicide notes. The other is that he was done in by will-o-the-wisps from Moscow. To these I can add a third:

Krivitsky was murdered by Dr. Goebbels as a special favor to the beleaguered opponents of the aid-to-Britain legislation.

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(Ralph Ingersoll on the Krivitsky Case, Page 2)

> wears red, white and blue shoes is in danger of being clubbed to death in his feather bed by devilish agents of Moscow.

Ingersoll is less spectacular in his assault, although he does a competent job of walloping the press for supposedly making an assassination out of a "simple suicide."[1] He gets in a few not too complimentary comments on the Saturday Evening Post for paying Krivitsky $25,000 for "hating the same person we hate,"[2] meaning Stalin. Writes Ingersoll:

> The American people are a wonderful and a generous people. They do not ask what a man believes in so long as he assures them that he hates the same thing they hate. Krivitsky was never asked what he stood for so long as he said often enough what he was against .....
>
> What treacherous OGPU lives in us that we must accept and take into our hearts any dirty rat, provided only he pats us on the back and says: "Love me because I hate the same people you hate."

This editorial might well be termed a masterpiece in irony, particularly the thought added at the very end of the piece, which is a reprint of a story from another New York newspaper. The story concerns an Italian jumping before a subway train and ends with the comment, "Traffic was tied up for six minutes."[3] Blow after blow are dealt to American journalism in this editorial.

Theodore Dreiser's speech in favor of closer Russian-American relations occasioned "About Anti-Fascists and Communists."[4] Commenting on Dreiser's utterances as "a call to bring

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1 PM, February 13, 1941, p. 2.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 PM, March 3, 1941, p. 2.

together the remnants of the late, great United Front against Fascism, Ingersoll flays Russia's indifference to the plight of anti-Fascist refugees.

Dreiser's letter[1] in answer revealed a Communistic leaning.

On March 31, in the last issue included in this study, Ingersoll wrote on "Subversion in the Schools,"[2] and compared the red baiting of teachers in New York's schools and colleges with lynching. He reminds his readers of the American belief that a man is innocent until he has been proved guilty, and says:[3]

> I have been angry enough with Communists myself to feel that way, once or twice -- angry that the Communists, whose fanatic faith it is that the glorious end justified any temporary means, have so confused the issue as to play into the hands of the enemies of progress.

In summary, one might state that although Ingersoll feels a sense of kinship with the Communist in that their goals are like his, although to be gotten at in a different manner, nevertheless he nurses a grudge against any "United Front" or compromise in fighting the common enemy of Fascism because of the Russian betrayal in the non-aggression pact. He is intensely sensitive to red baiting, both for himself and other innocents and for accused Communists who suffer unwarranted persecution.

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1 PM, March 13, 1941, p. 2.
2 PM, March 31, 1941, p. 2.
3 Ibid.

8. Miscellaneous

Among the miscellaneous editorials is a group of five devoted to the feeding of Europeans and written by Ben Robertson, Jr., the English Selwyn James, and Ingersoll. They all express the belief that Hoover's plan is impractical and would benefit only the enemy. The general tone is to encourage full aid to Britain as the solution to starvation in Europe.[1]

Several editorials were addressed to Mayor LaGuardia, one of them[2] appealing to him to aid in the school campaign rather than fighting it and another[3] goading him for being more interested in national defense than in the affairs of the city.

Editorials such as "The Purposeful Lie"[4] and "Psychological Rubble"[5] are distinctly anti-Hitler tirades and only of minor importance.

One of the strongest expressions of opinion to appear during the nine-month period covered by this study was a lengthy free verse poem, "Like Judas, Wasn't It?"[6] Written by John Beecher, a grandson of Harriet Beecher Stowe, it is filled with hate for John Lewis and his support of Willkie. The poem is strong, fiery, and spiteful. PM printed it in place of a cartoon.

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1 PM, November 18, 1940; January 14, 1941; February 17, 1941; March 20, 1941; March 28, 1941.
2 PM, January 29, 1941, p. 2.
3 PM, December 26, 1940, p. 2.
4 PM, December 15, 1940, p. 2.
5 PM, December 16, 1940, p. 2.
6 PM, November 1, 1940, p. 2.



John Beecher, a grandson of Harriet Beecher Stowe, wrote this poem after listening to John L. Lewis's indorsement of Wendell Willkie. Mr. Beecher, a New Yorker, worked in steel mills as a youth, and was graduated from the University of Alabama. He taught for a while and later served the New Deal's Resettlement Administration. In 1932 he led a group of students on a tour of the Illinois mine fields—at the height of the conflict mentioned in the poem.

Like Judas, Wasn't It?

By John Beecher

John Lewis
you don't know who I am
but I've known you
for a long, long time.
I wasn't surprised
John Lewis
when I heard your voice
phony as the herb doctor's in the medicine show
trying to sell the American people
a product
every bit as bogus
as the snake oil
the herb doctor bally-hooed
when I was a kid
on a day in the steel
"Step right up, gents!"
—and the poor working stiffs
Italians from the open hearth pit
Negroes from the slag hole
foundrymen millwrights ingot chasers mixer men and steel pourers
the old stand
bellowing the old ballyhoo
peddling the same old snake oil
in a new bottle
and the label reads
"Wendell L. Willkie, of course!"

In 1932
a guy named Sam Insull
that Willkie thinks a lot of—
what fancy thing did he call him?
"a powerful and appealing figure"—
I think that was it.
Well, this guy Insull
was running Chicago
and also running the State of Illinois
(that was before he skipped off to Greece to keep out of jail)
and he owned just about everything
there was to own
including a great big coal company.
Now this big company

Sam Insull had an "in" to you, John Lewis.
Maybe you were just a sucker for him.
He made plenty people suckers in his time.
"Sign the contract!" you told your boys
and when they wouldn't you signed the contract for them.
"Papa knows best!"

The Illinois miners
pulled out of your union
and struck Insull's mines
and you and Insull
and the Governor of Illinois
played ball together.
Sam Insull
fixed the newspapers and put up the dough.
The Governor of Illinois
declared martial law
and called out the National Guard.
You, John Lewis,
furnished the finks and

that
and I couldn't forget the mass-meetings
and the guys with bloody bandaged heads
and an Italian with an accordion
who sang songs he made up about you, John Lewis,
and they weren't complimentary.
The miners took them up and sang them
on the picket lines they sang them
and they were damn well clubbed for singing them, John Lewis.

Like I say, John Lewis,
I have a long memory
and when guys I believed in
started believing in you
I was sorry for them
because I knew
I just about knew
some day
they were in for
a hell of a big

I was at a union meeting
CIO
and there were whites and Negroes there
guys that worked with their hands
and had worked with their hands
all their lives
not like your pal Wendell
that tried it a little while
just to say he'd done it
and then went to work on the rest of us.

Well
it was just a union meeting
like any other union meeting
old business
new business
how to stop the boss from frisking them on overtime
election of shop stewards
and then came nine o'clock.
They had a radio in the

trying to sell the American people
a product
every bit as bogus
as the snake oil
the herb doctor bally-hooed
when I was a kid
[illegible] in the steel [illegible]

"Step right up, gents!"
—and the poor working stiffs
Italians from the open hearth pit
Negroes from the slag hole
foundrymen millwrights ingot chasers mixer men and steel pourers
guys with double ruptures
from lifting too much
guys with TB's
from working 13 hour night shifts in the heat and cold
stepped right up to the herb doctor
and laid a buck on the line
for a miraculous bottle of snake oil
"Guaranteed to cure everything that ails you."

John Lewis
eight long years ago
I found out
you were a quack
and when you started the CIO
and guys I believed in
said you had changed and got real
I hoped you had
but I didn't believe you could.
Now you are back at
a guy named Sam Insull
that Willkie thinks a lot of—
what fancy thing did he call him?
"a powerful and appealing figure"—
I think that was it.
Well, this guy Insull
was running Chicago
and also running the State of Illinois
(that was before he skipped off to Greece to keep out of jail)
and he owned just about everything
there was to own
including a great big coal company.
Now this big company
like all the other big companies
in Hoover's day
kept cutting wages.
Finally
the Illinois miners decided
to put a stop to it.
They wouldn't sign the contract with Insull's company
cutting wages again.
They said no.
They said they'd starve first.
But you, John Lewis, you told them they had to sign,
they had to take the wage cuts.
I guess you must have agreed with Wendell.
You must have found Sam Insull
"a powerful and appealing figure."
Your miners thought then
and they told me
"Papa knows best!"

The Illinois miners
pulled out of your union
and struck Insull's mines
and you and Insull
and the Governor of Illinois
played ball together.
Sam Insull
fixed the newspapers
and put up the dough.
The Governor of Illinois
declared martial law
and called out the National Guard.
You, John Lewis,
furnished the finks and the strikebreakers
by the trainload.
And still the three of you, big as you were
—Sam Insull, the Governor of Illinois and John Lewis—
never could break that strike.

I was in there
at Christmas time '32
and there weren't any Christmas trees
in the miners' houses
and they were burning wood in their coal stoves
and their windows
stayed shut
night and day
to keep the little heat in
and the little bombs out
the thugs
had the habit
of heaving into any open windows
just for fun.

I never could forget all
John Lewis,
and they weren't complimentary.
The miners took them up and sang them
on the picket lines they sang them
and they were damn well clubbed for singing them, John Lewis.

Like I say, John Lewis,
I have a long memory
and when guys I believed in
started believing in you
I was sorry for them
because I knew
I just about knew
some day
they were in for
a hell of a big disappointment.
And on the 25th day of October, 1940,
they got it.
Boy, they got it!
Like I say, I wasn't surprised.
But they were.
I'd like to know
how many of the guys that believe in you
listened to you that night
and couldn't believe,
John Lewis,
that you were the guy
they had been believing in
and afterwards
went out and got stinking drunk.
I'd like to know
how many guys had to get stinking drunk
to stand what you did.

Let me tell you
about where I heard you.
not like your pal Wendell
that tried it a little while
just to say he'd done it
and then went to work
on the rest of us.

Well
it was just a union meeting
like any other union meeting
old business
new business
how to stop the boss from frisking them on overtime
election of shop stewards
and then came nine o'clock.
They had a radio in the hall
and the organizer got up
and he said
"Now we will listen to our leader, John Lewis"
and, John Lewis, I wish you could have seen those faces, believing in you when you started.
I wish you could have seen
those faces change when you got going.
God, if ever I speak to people
and their faces change like those faces changed
I'll go out and hang myself—like Judas, wasn't it?
John Lewis
if you could have seen those faces
when you got through . . .



Cartoons

Editorial page cartoons appear daily, except when a blow-up reprint or other special feature is substituted. There is a variety of style and subject, since at least ten cartoonists serve PM with some degree of regularity, and an additional six make occasional contributions.[1]

Not infrequently a cartoon will be submitted to PM by an artist who was impressed with a story, editorial, or campaign. Such was the case with Hendrik Van Loon's original contributions.

According to subject matter, the cartoons appearing on the "Opinion" page can be divided into 13 main categories.[2]

As to cartoon technique, there is a wide variation, depending upon individual artists. Matt Greene's cartoons, for instance, are clear line drawings. Fitzpatrick's are soft-pancilled, deep-toned, frequently fudged-in. Hershfield uses black backgrounds and white space for effects; his carcitures have a fantastic touch. John Groth's lines are heavy and sometimes distorted.

Louis Raemaekers' work is distinguished by its war propaganda touch -- the use of skeletons and similar symbols; distorted, emotionally-toned lines, and bold contrasts. Carl Rose draws in a series of comic strip manner, promoting action. His cartoons are usually commentary.

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1 See Chart No. III, p. 221.
2 See Chart No. IV, p. 222.

These Are Cartoons That Made Raemaekers Famous



The Hour's Ending.



An example of German atrocities in Belgium.



Von Hindenberg comes to life.



The cartoons on this page represent a small historical album of the work done by Louis Raemaekers, Dutch artist, of World War fame. He is now living in Manhattan.

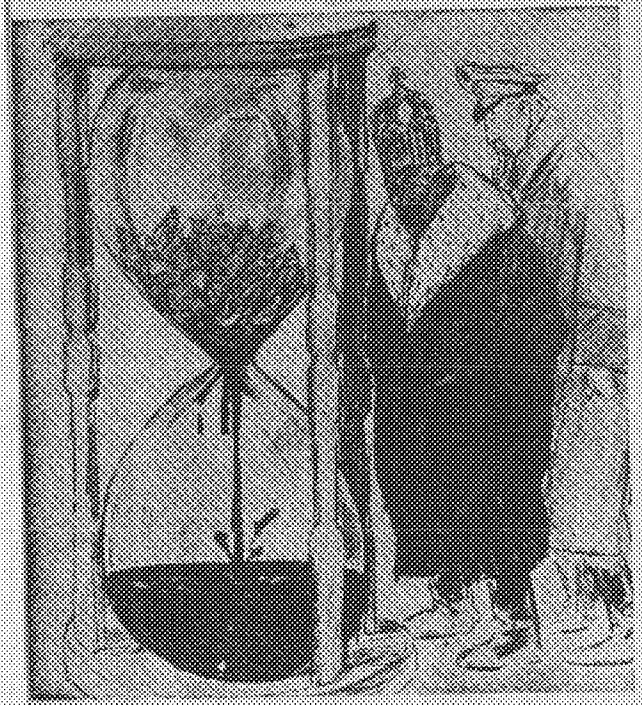
In chronological order, the first five drawings date from 1914 to 1918, when the Raemaekers pen played up German atrocities so vividly the Kaiser put a price on his head.

The last three cartoons belong to no less bloody an era than 1940.

Though the artist is now 71, he has never allowed his pen to rust. With Hitler as his main target, and



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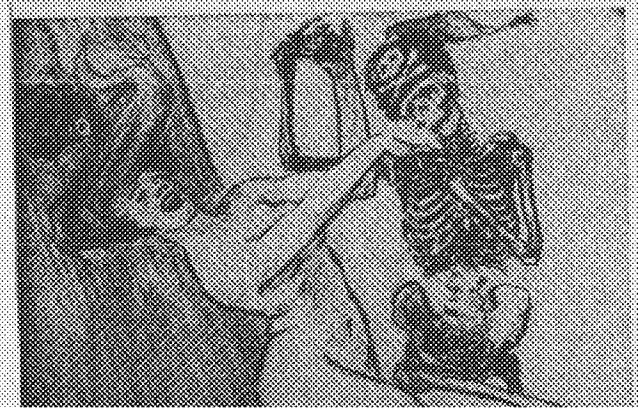
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Though the artist is now 71, he has never allowed his pen to rust. With Hitler as his main target, and Stalin the second as of old, Raemaekers finds that age has failed to mellow him.

Some of these cartoons will be included in an exhibition at the Holland House in Rockefeller Center beginning Sept. 18. Raemaekers will draw two cartoons for PM each week. The first of these appears on the next page.

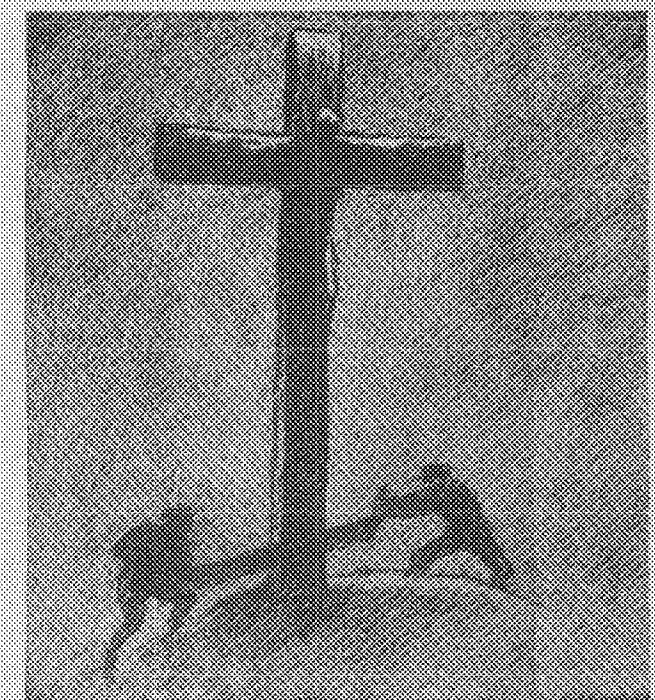
A sketch of the artist's background will be found on page 2



Democracy and Stalin.



The Devil Laughs, Too.



Storm Troopers.



Hitler: How Sweet to Wait . . . Your Turn.



The German Dance of Death with Lady Liberty.

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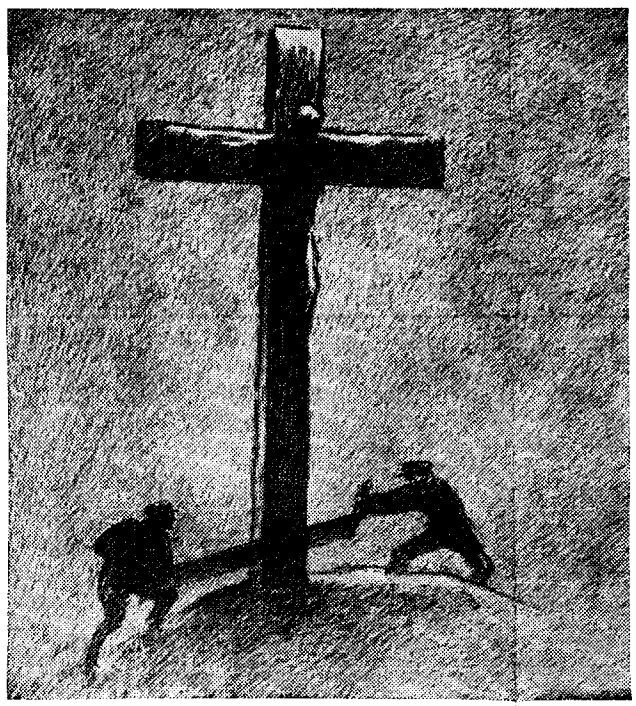
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Democracy and Stalin.



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Hitler: How Sweet to Wait . . . Your Turn.

Mischa Richter's big, bold sketching lacks proportion. Charles Martin is another proponent of the series type. Van Loon's work is marked by a delicate uncertainty of line.

Arthur Szyk achieves an Oriental effect with his intricacy of detail and careful workmanship. His cartoons appear to be photographed.

PM's cartoons are always lively and interesting. Their editorial slant follows closely the general direction of the newspaper's policy. The large number of cartoonists assures a variety of style so that the cartoons are always fresh and attractive.

CHART III

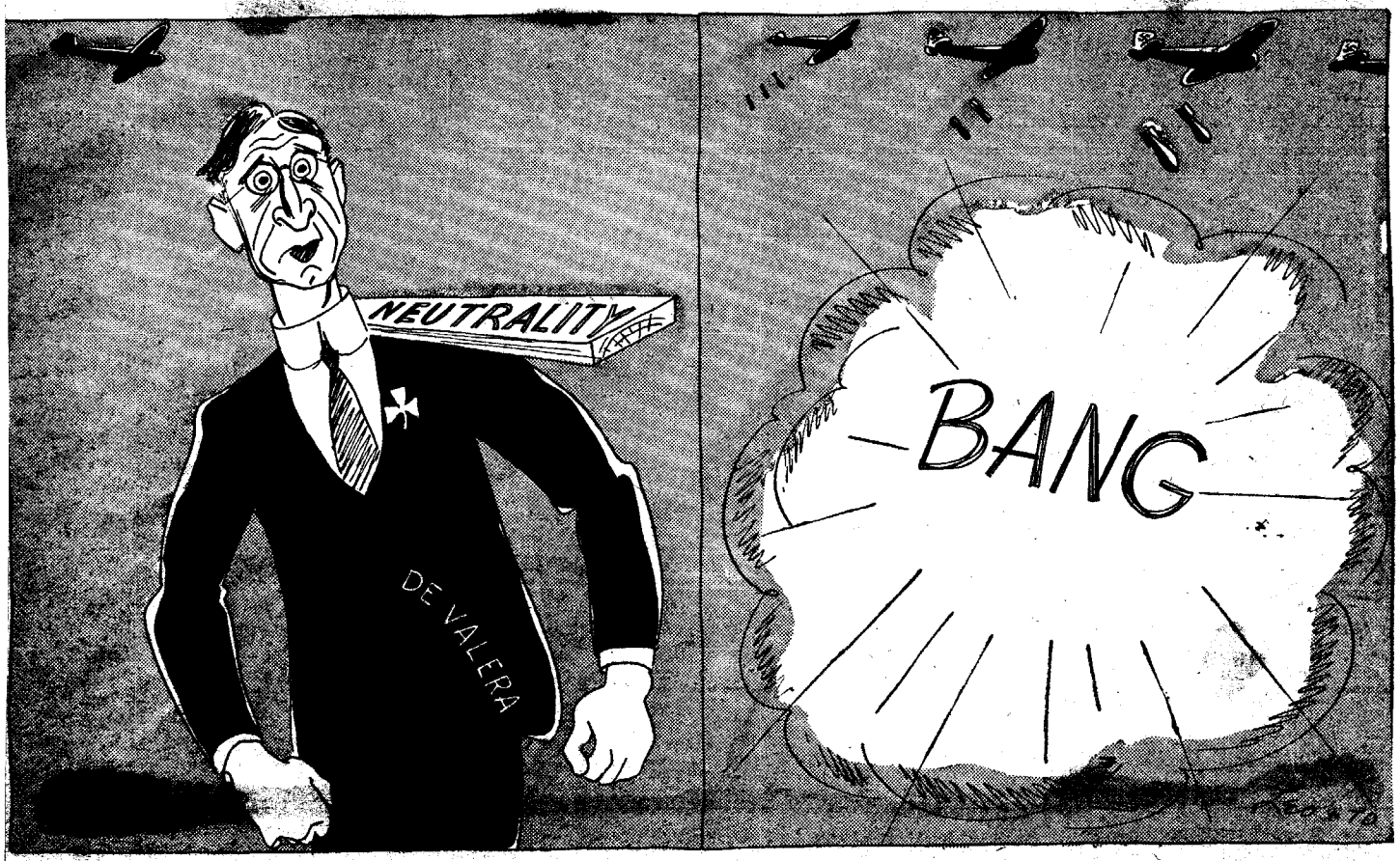
Cartoonists

Cartoonist	Number of Cartoons	Subject Matter
Fitzpatrick	29	Political (6), Defense (4), Hitler and the Axis (5), War (7), Mussolini, etc.
Mischa Richter	24	Hitler and the Axis (13), War, Labor, etc.
Carl Rose	21	Hitler and the Axis (6), Draft, Advertising Foibles, Mussolini.
John Groth	20	Hitler and the Axis (13), Mussolini and Italy, etc.
Hershfield	14	Hitler and the Axis (4), Political, Labor, etc.
Matt Greene	13	Hitler and the Axis (5), War, etc.
Raemaekers	13	Hitler and the Axis (6), War (4), Mussolini and Italy, etc.
Bernard Seamon	9	Hitler and the Axis (3), Mussolini and Italy, etc.
Hendrik Van Loon	7	Hitler and the Axis (4)etc.
William Sanderson	6	Hitler and the Axis (2), National Policy, etc.
Charles Martin	5	Miscellaneous
Charles Sarka (Sagittarus)	3	
Bruce Gregory	3	
Arthur Szyk	3	
Charles Tudor	2	
John E. Periotti	2	
Individual Contributions	7	
TOTAL	181	

CHART IV

Cartoon Subjects

Subject Matter	Number of Cartoons
Hitler and the Axis	71
War	19
Mussolini and Italian Policy	18
Political	13
Defense	10
Lindbergh and Appeasers	8
Labor	7
National Policy	6
Draft	2
Advertising Foibles	2
Japan	2
England's Spirit	2
Greece	2
Klu Klux Klan	1
Loan Sharks	1
Red-Baiting	1
Relations with USSR	1
Miscellaneous	15
	181



Dare Anybody! **Begorra, he did!** *By Leo Hershfield*

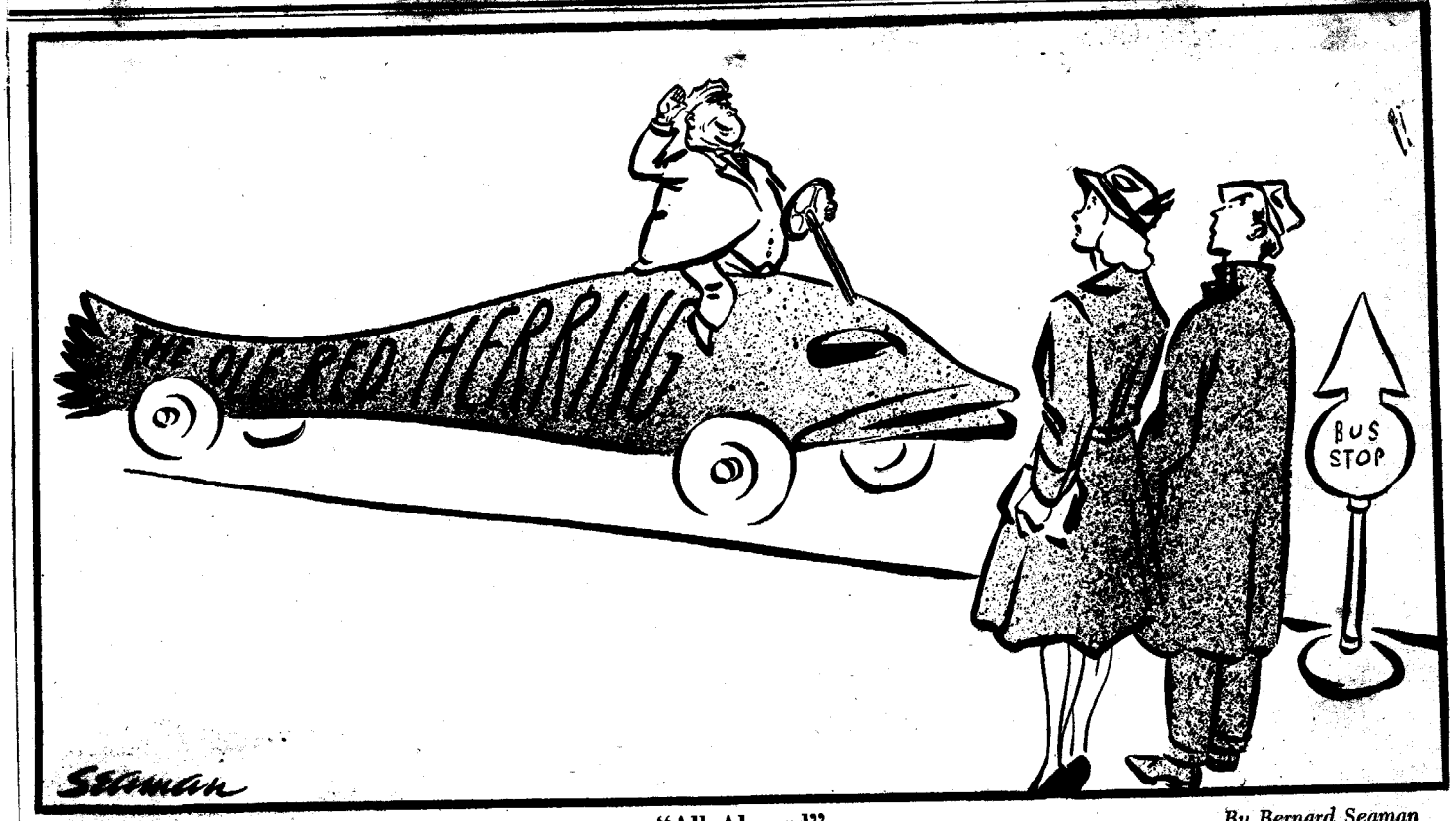


By Charles Tudor, PM Staff

September 15, 1940, p. 2.



His Boarding-House Reach, or Please Pass the Gravy. *Cartoon by Matt Greene, PM Staff*

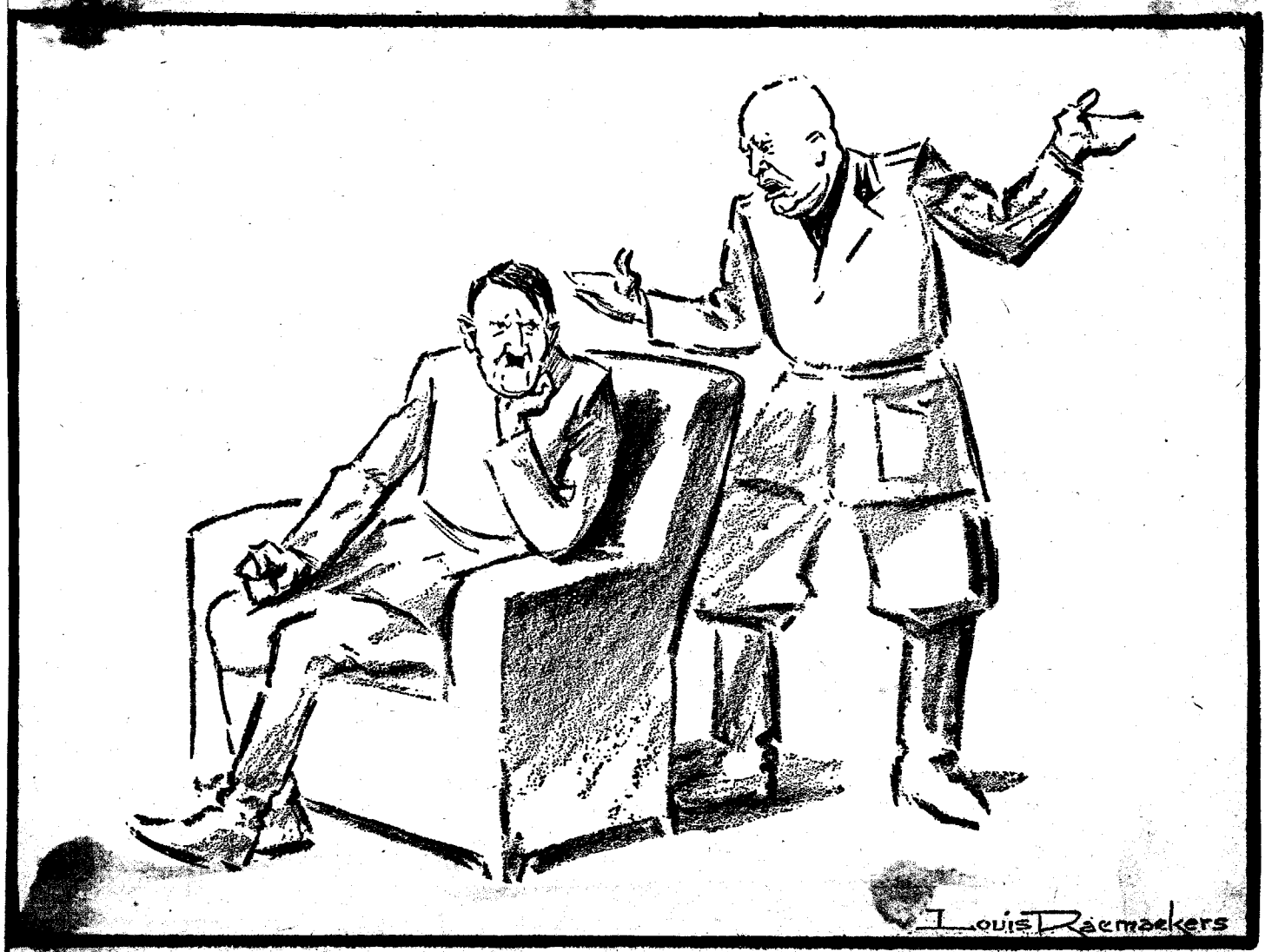


"All Aboard" *By Bernard Seaman*

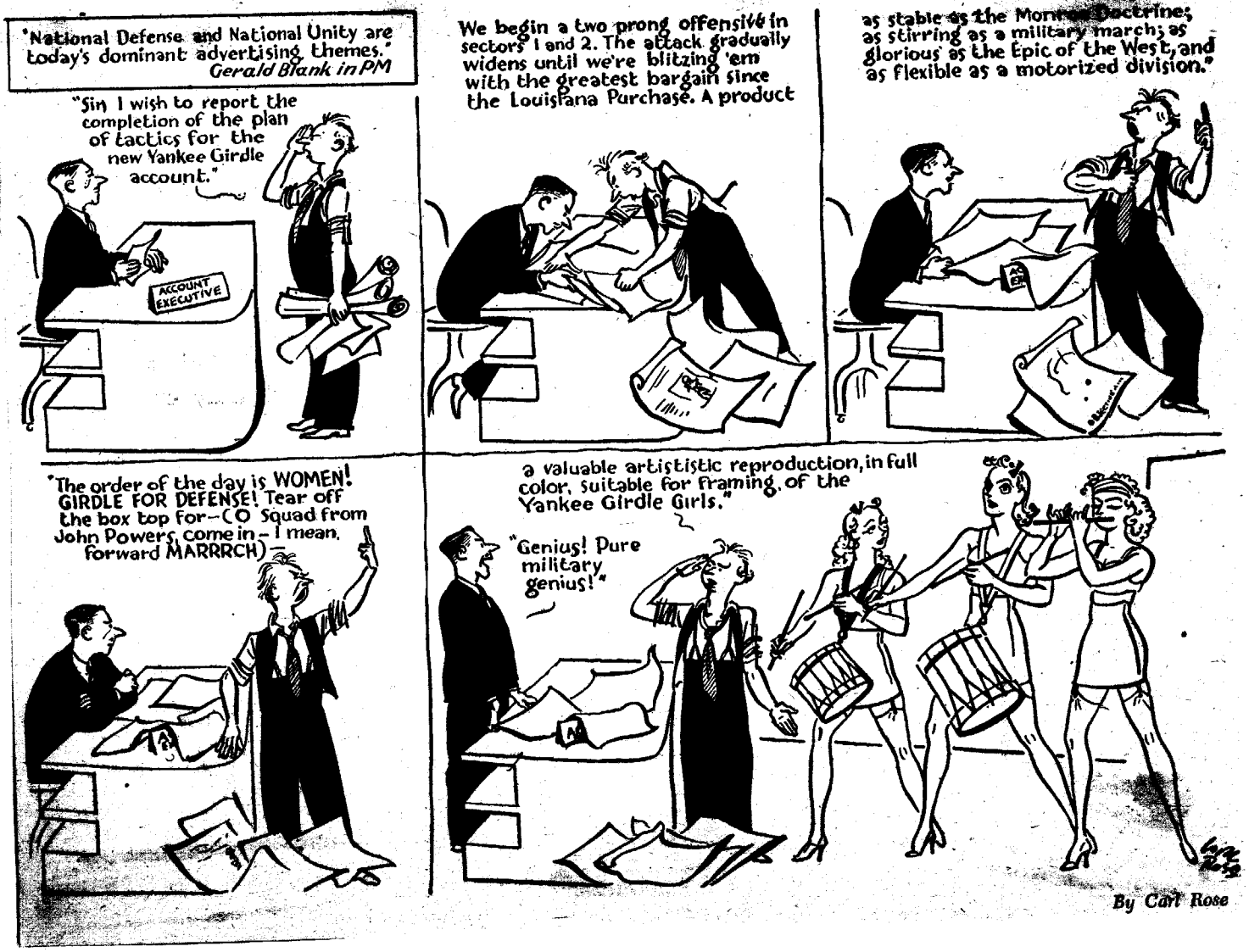


"Do you play bridge, Joe?"

October 9, 1940, p. 2.

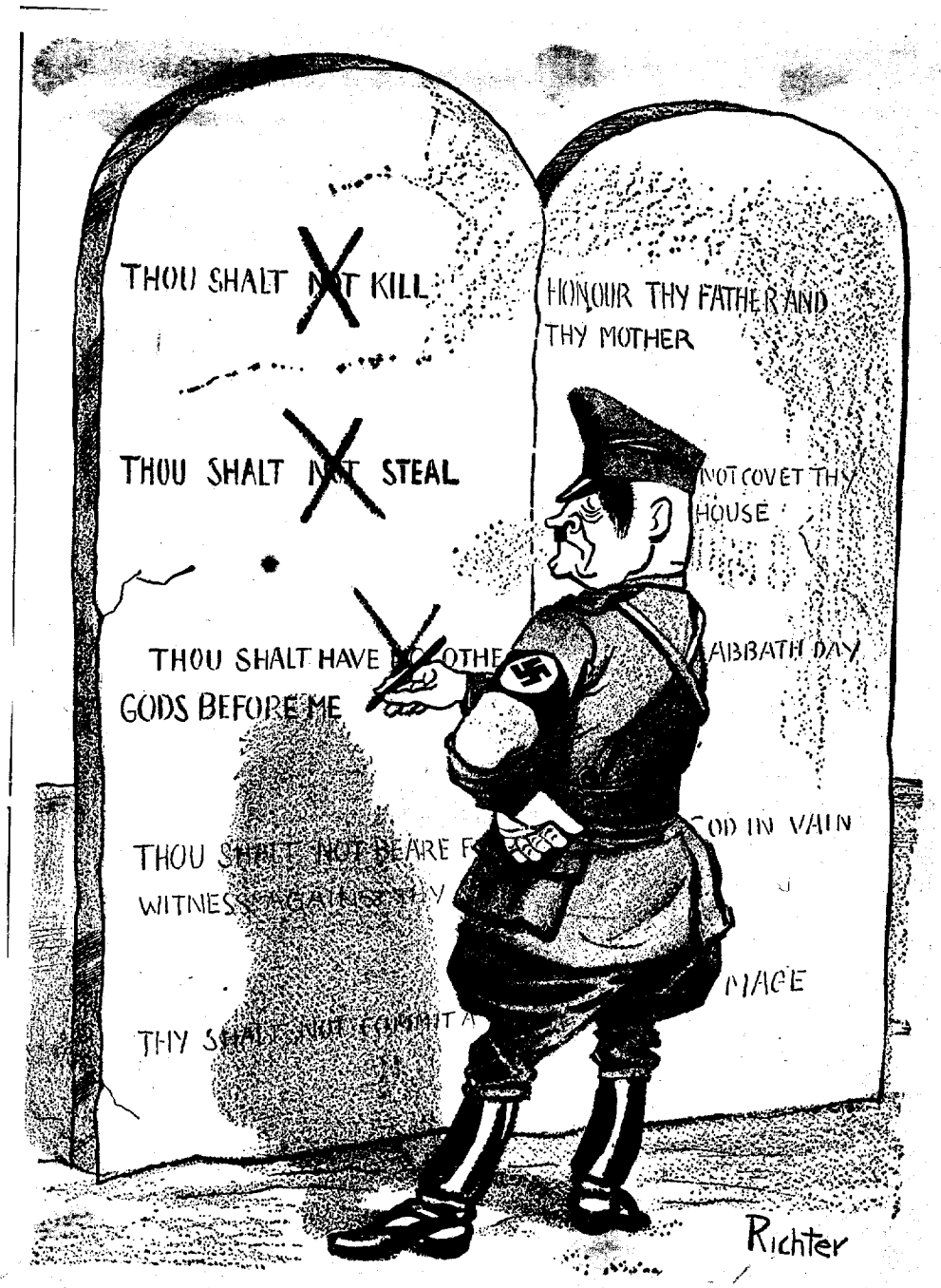


"Oh yes . . . the Rumanians. But these Greek beasts shoot back." *By Louis Raemaekers*


"National Defense and National Unity are today's dominant advertising themes."
Gerald Blank in PM
"Sir I wish to report the completion of the plan of tactics for the new Yankee Girdle account."
ACCOUNT EXECUTIVE
We begin a two prong offensive in sectors 1 and 2. The attack gradually widens until we're blitzing 'em with the greatest bargain since the Louisiana Purchase. A product
as stable as the Monroe Doctrines; as stirring as a military march; as glorious as the Epic of the West, and as flexible as a motorized division."
"The order of the day is WOMEN! GIRDLE FOR DEFENSE! Tear off the box top for—(O Squad from John Powers, come in—I mean, forward MARRRCH)—
a valuable artististic reproduction, in full color, suitable for framing, of the Yankee Girdle Girls."
"Genius! Pure military genius!"
By Carl Rose



"German workers, we have now achieved complete air supremacy." *By John Groth*



A Minor Correction *By Mischa Richter*

December 9, 1940, p. 2.



Zero Hour

Cartoon by William Sanderson

August 16, 1940,
p. 11.



"Lebensraum" *By Arthur Szyk*

January 28, 1941, p. 2.



1940 "Ve'll beat the Voild" 1941 "—!—!——!—!—— ————!!!!"

By Sagittarius

CHAPTER V

THE NEWSPAPER PM

A. Financial Structure

Ralph Ingersoll's reputation as a promoter is well-known in publishing circles, and his feat of over-subscribing the $1,500,000. stock issue of PM[1] is not to be considered lightly. Certainly the editor of a non-existent newspaper must have talked persuasively with the original stockholders of PM, for he not only aroused the interest of some of the nation's wealthiest families, but he also managed to get a contract giving him an absolutely free hand in editorial and business affairs.

It was to Ingersoll's credit that his record with Time, Inc., included his bringing automobile advertising back to Time after it had been transferred to Life in such a manner that it was retained by both publications.[2]

For the promotion of stock, literature boasting of the spectacular success of periodicals such as Time, Life, Fortune, and The New Yorker was circulated. The impression was conveyed that PM would adopt the formula for success as followed in these magazines. So convincing was the sales-talk that Kuhn, Loeb

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1 Stolberg, Benjamin, "Muddled Millions," Saturday Evening Post, February 14, 1941, p. 92.

2 Lundberg, Ferdinand, "PM, the Wall-Street-Popular-Front Tabloid," Harper's Magazine, Vol. 181, October, 1940, p. 486.

and Company investigated the proposition, supposing that Time, Inc., was behind PM in some way or other. The stock promotion was a creditable job.[1]

Ingersoll enlisted the services of Clifford Yewdall, a public accountant, to work out in careful detail for the promoters the financial plan of operation. According to his figures, $752,610. was expected to be on hand after a year of publishing. The paper would be out of the "red" in the eighth month and earning $39,250. the twelfth. Lundberg has this to say of the plan:[2]

> The prospectus stressed that no capital investment was being made; office and printing facilities were to be rented. In every way the prospectus breathed conservatism, concern for profits, attention to every detail of operation.
>
> Stock was sold in units of ten shares of common and one of preferred at $100.10 per unit. Preferred was valued at $100. and common at 1 cent. PM has outstanding 300,000 shares of common, of which Ingersoll took 75,000 shares, and 15,000 shares of preferred. A total of 75,000 shares of common is held for distribution to staff members as bonuses. The common carries all voting power up to three years, so that, his contract aside, Mr. Ingersoll's $750. gives him 25 per cent of the vote, while his personally selected staff holds another 25 per cent. It is believed in newspaper circles that Mr. Ingersoll's personal investment does not exceed $25,000. in all.

It is interesting to note that according to the original

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1 Lundberg, op. cit., p. 486.
2 Ibid., p. 492.

plans, Ingersoll was to be paid $36,000. a year, although he had earlier made a demand for $45,000. from PM stockholders. This demand was vetoed by the attorneys for John Hay Whitney's interest.[1]

According to the original stock stipulations, if the paper were to turn out profitably, the preferred stock is to be retired at par out of profits and all power is to be vested in the common, in which case voting power will be divided between the management and investors. If the paper loses money, according to Yewdall's scheme, the preferred stockholders will be in full control after three years.

For the first five years all stock provisos bearing on control are largely academic, due to Ingersoll's contract. Under this contract, Ingersoll has full power unless a court rules otherwise, or unless he should voluntarily relinquish it in order to appease the stockholders.

By the first of October, 1940, when Marshall Field stepped in to bring order to chaos, there was no cash left on which to operate. For $300,000. of the original $1,500,000. was spent of promotion, $300,000. was used to install the special equipment needed for the new printing job. When pay-checks for the 400 employes were added, a total of $900,000. was spent. Only about $600,000. was left for actual running expenses.[2]

The weekly payroll Of PM was hitting the $25,000 mark early

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1 Lundberg, op. cit., p. 492.
2 Time, October 7, 1940, p. 56.

in the fall of 1940 and its actual operating expenses were even larger. PM claimed to have substantial assets, however, even though it did not own its own printing plant nor have a large inventory of paper.

According to Time:[1]

> When the bad news about PM's condition was broken to the directors, PM counsel advised them that although there was still some cash in the till, the payroll could not legally be met because of other obligations. Naturally there was an explosion. But Director Marshall Field was not dismayed. He had faith that PM would eventually succeed, that it would eventually do great good in the world. He offered to take over the paper. Instead, temporary advances were arranged to keep it going while other directors scurried around looking for alternatives.

The search was not satisfactory and so Field's plan to take over as PM's "sole and all-controlling angel"[2] was submitted to the stockholders. His provisions included that he would form a new company to take over all assets and obligations and put up a sum of $300,000. to pay back the original stockholders at 20¢ on the dollar. He then offered to provide for distribution to old stockholders, a special Class B common stock entitled to a 15% equity in the new company. He also offered to lend the new company at least $500,000. additional capital and to buy its voting stock at 10 per share.

Or, as PM explained it:[3]

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1 Time, op. cit., p. 56.
2 PM, October 18, 1940, p. 8.
3 Ibid.

Marshall Field Will Become Largest Stockholder in PM

Marshall Field, chairman of the U. S. Committee for the Care of European Children, will become the largest single stockholder in PM within the next few days.

Stockholders of The Newspaper PM, Inc., the corporation which now owns PM and of which Mr. Field is also a stockholder, voted yesterday to accept the offer of Mr. Field for the sale of all the assets of the corporation at a price of $300,000 and a 15 per cent interest in the common stock of the new corporation to which the assets will be transferred. The new corporation will assume all the liabilities of the paper.

In a statement after the stockholders' meeting, Mr. Field made it clear that there would be no change of any kind in the policies of PM, which will continue under the guidance of Ralph Ingersoll, present editor.

Marshall Field is the third to carry the name and is the grandson of the founder of the well known Chicago department store.

Glad of Opportunity

Speaking of his first real venture into the newspaper publishing field, Mr. Field said:

"I am glad that I shall have the opportunity to forward the cause of PM.

"Mr. Ingersoll and his associates have accomplished the remarkable task of bringing into being a new, liberal, truth-seeking newspaper. It is my conviction that their efforts deserve continued support. In view of the arrangements which have now been made, the paper can and will carry on under Mr. Ingersoll's editorship. It is his and my intention that the policy of the paper shall remain unchanged."

Until now, Mr. Field explained, he had been reticent to make any public statement about the proposed sale of the paper because the stockholders had not yet acted. He felt that any discussion of the plan on his part might have prejudiced the other stockholders.

Plan of Sale

The plan of sale provides for two kinds of common stock in the new corporation, Class "A" and Class "B." The "B" stock, which will go to the present corporate owner of PM, is entitled to 15 per cent of the equity provided for all the common stock. The "A" stock gets the balance. Mr. Ingersoll will join Mr. Field in the ownership of the "A" stock.

So far as the name of the corporation owning the paper is concerned, it will remain unchanged. The stockholders yesterday authorized the present corporation to change its name from The Newspaper PM, Inc. to Publications Research, Inc. When this change is made, Marfield, Inc., the new owner, will change its name to The Newspaper PM, Inc.

October 18, 1940, p. 8.

> The plan of sale provides for two kinds of common stock in the new corporation, Class "A" and Class "B". The "B" stock, which will go to the present corporate owner of PM, is entitled to 15 per cent of the equity provided for all the common stock. The "A" stock gets the balance. Mr. Ingersoll will join Mr. Field in the ownership of the "A" stock.

In connection with the transaction, the stockholders authorized the present corporation to change its name from The Newspaper PM, Inc., to Publications Research, Inc. after which Marfield, Inc., the new owner, was to have changed the name back again to The Newspaper PM, Inc.[1]

Thus, by means of a financial re-organization, PM was given a blood transfusion and new life and its physician, Marshall Field, became the largest single stockholder.

B. Circulation of PM

PM's circulation chart has not indicated a healthy pulse rate. Since the furor of its first day's publication, it has been up and down.[2] Early in its history, Business Week placed the circulation figure at 173,000 and claimed that 225,000 was needed to break even.

Newsweek[3] set the figure for trial subscriptions (a month or three months) at 175,000. By October, Time[4] reported 70,000 newsstand and 30,000 mail subscriptions. The 1941 International Year Book lists PM as having 122,353 daily circulation and

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1 PM, op. cit., October 18, 1940, p. 8.
2 Business Week, June 22, 1940, p. 20.
3 Newsweek, Vol. 15, June 24, 1940, pp. 51-52.
4 Time, October 7, 1940, p. 56.

125,648 for its special Sunday edition.[1]

The circulation peak after the "honeymoon" period of trial subscriptions was about 200,000. In June, 1941, it was around the 100,000 mark, according to the Editor and Publisher questionnaire.[2]

Estimates on the circulation figure needed for PM to break even vary from 200,000 to 300,000, but even at the lowest figure, the circulation must be doubled if PM is to cease running at a loss. Drastic promotion steps were taken in the spring of 1941 to double the circulation in New York City.[3]

Compared with the circulation of the New York Daily News, 1,948,759, and the Mirror, whose circulation stands at 768,945,[4] PM is scarcely delving into the tabloid field enough to be noticed.

On a purely technical grounds, PM made a gross blunder in its original solicitation of PM subscribers. In early circulars, potential subscribers were told not to send in any money but just their names. The money was to be paid to the newsdealer who delivered the paper. This arrangement indicated a lack of understanding of the New York City newspaper distribution system. Whoever issued it had apparently failed to check with the circulation department.

For according to the prevailing system, newsstand dealers

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1 Editor and Publisher 1941 International Year Book, Vol. 74, No. 4, Section II, January 25, 1941, p. 64.
2 Schneider, Walter E., "Ingersoll Sees PM's First Year as Start in Fulfilling Pledges, Editor and Publisher, Vol. 74, No. 24, June 14, 1941, p. 9.
3 See Section C, this chapter.
4 Editor and Publisher, op. cit. p. 64.

and stationers deliver the morning papers in the early hours when business is dull. In the afternoon, most of them cannot be bothered with home deliveries. PM comes out around noon.[1]

Ingersoll has admittedly sought circulation-builders, but they have increased newsstands sales but sporadically and without any lasting increase. The most successful of these special features have been "The Truth About England," Ingersoll's "report" brought back from besieged Britain, and "What Are We Going to Do About It?" PM's challenge to fascism.[2]

C. Promotion of PM

It is estimated that PM spent some $300,000.[3] on promotion before the first issue of PM ever appeared. This included the preparation and circularizing of Ralph Ingersoll's famous "Confidential Memorandum" of May 14, 1940, which was mailed to potential subscribers from coast to coast.

On this original promotional program, PM used, in order of expenditure -- direct mail, radio, newspapers, and magazines. The radio expenditure was largely for spot announcements.[4]

The "Confidential Memorandum" was a two-color, offset, 12-page prospectus designed to resemble a typical office memo:

> From: Ralph Ingersoll
> To: The staff of PM [5]
> Subject: This paper as of May 14

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1 Lundberg, op. cit. p. 488.
2 Schneider, op. cit., p. 38.
3 Time, October 7, 1940, p. 56.
4 Letter to the writer from Allen Rose, Promotion Department, July 8, 1941.
5 Ingersoll, "Confidential Memorandum," p. 3.

All the News and Heaven, Too



Cartoon by John Pierotti, PM Staff

September 24, 1940, p. 11.

FR[illegible]EPORT ON ENGLAND
by [illegible] Ingersoll: the [illegible]-page book
bas[illegible] the PM series. It's worth [illegible].50.
Y[illegible] it as a gift with [illegible]-six
month subscription to PM. See Page 15.

December 13, 1940, p. 12.

A SET OF PM PICTURES FREE

Wouldn't you like to own a set of PM's pictures, PM's most striking pictures, selected from the thousands we have published? They're 8 by 10 inches, well finished and ready for framing. They're yours as a gift with every subscription to PM. Give your friends a Merry Christmas and give yourself one too. See Page 15.

December 13, 1940, p. 12.

It gave the impression of letting the public in on a grand secret, of telling them before publication of PM's exciting innovations. It was lengthy, verbose, and not too well unified, but one could not deny its fascination. There was a "Through the Looking Glass" aspect about the whole thing, and an exciting promise in the repeated "PM will be written in words and pictures."[1]

Promotional features have been used frequently in PM. Some of the more sensational coverage, such as the Spellman rape case which ran from December 12, 1940 to February 2, 1941, might be regarded as a bid for increasing circulation, by competing with tabloids such as the Mirror and the Daily News. Ingersoll's "Truth About England" series was mentioned as a circulation-builder by Ingersoll himself.

In its first months, PM ran promotional squibs and cartoons, such as John Pierotti's "All the News and Heaven, Too."[2]

During December, the promotional activities took on an increased tempo. The Christmas gift appeal was made in the daily subscription blanks. Ingersoll's Report on England in book form and a group of PM's most striking pictures, ready for framing, were offered with subscriptions.[3]

The boxed subscription blank frequently ran on the same page with Ingersoll's series, then the featured attraction in PM, or with other highly publicized stories.

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1 Ingersoll, "Confidential Memorandum," p. 3.
2 PM, September 24, 1940, p. 11.
3 See page 243 for illustrations.



- **The oldest fish story in the world!** 7 pages of pictures on the New York Aquarium . . . backstage with the penguins. Who answers to "Mr. Fish"? It's in PM – Sunday.
- **Dress for *your own* man,** says Designer Elizabeth Hawes. Don't wear that gown just because it looks good on some glamour girl. PM – Sunday.
- **64 pages of words and pictures** blended into a gala Sunday Show. More about how to save money on insurance . . . books . . . theater . . . movies . . . Two pages on Baby Lois – brushing her hair. Why people laugh . . . and, What kids write on sidewalks . . . Time Capsule . . . and plenty of exclusive news and pictures. Don't miss PM on Sunday!

Don't Miss PM *on Sunday!*

February 28, 1941, p. 25.

Would You Like to Be PM's *Average Girl?*

PM'S WEEKLY is looking for a girl between 18 and 25 to be PM's *Average Girl.* The reactions of this girl to new clothes, beauty treatments, exercises, cycling excursions and so on would be reported in words and pictures for the readers of PM's Weekly.

If you would like to be PM's *Average Girl,* please send in your photograph and a letter telling who you are. Address Charlotte Hall, PM's Weekly, 147 W. 42d St., New York City. Photographs will not be returned and PM reserves the right to print any letter or photograph received without any obligation to the applicants. PM editors will be the sole judges. Deadline April 7, 1941.

March 21, 1941, p. 14.

An interesting bit of promotion was the cartoon reprinted from the Communist New Masses. The caption referred the reader to PM's position on the matter, "on page 12, lower right."[1] The "position" was a subscription blank. This is another instance of PM's taking adverse criticism and putting it to use for promotional purposes.

Early in the year, a boxed column advertising the attractions for the ensuing day began to appear somewhere in PM. This feature appeared in single or double column and with regularity during February.

In late March, PM announced that it would conduct a search for "PM's Average Girl." The stipulations were simple enough; the purpose was obviously promotional.

During the spring of 1941, PM took another tack in its promotional progress. Following through its violently anti-Fascist editorial policy, it published an elaborate 64 page "Special Issue" entitled "War is at Our Doorstep -- What Are We Going to Do About It?"[2]

The issue contended to be a "frank discussion of the biggest question that faces the American people today."[3] Although this voluminous edition might be justified on the grounds that literature such as this may serve to prepare the people's minds for war (if such a service is warranted or desired,) it nevertheless remains "promotional material".[4]

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1 PM, December 15, 1940, p. 11.
2 "What Are We Going To Do About It?", PM Special Issue, (undated.)
3 Ibid.
4 According to a letter received by the writer from Allen Rose, July 8, 1941.

The "special issue" is prefaced:[1]

> PM, New York's newest newspaper recently turned loose 10 to 16 fighting pages a day to picture and discuss the threat of Fascism to America. Those sections made newspaper history in the war against Fascism. Nothing like them had ever been attempted before -- a complete picture and word resume of what this great conflict is all about.
>
> Despite the fact that PM printed and sold more papers each day, demands for back-numbers and reprints continued to come in. In response to this demand, the publishers of PM put these articles back on the presses -- to meet the demand from people who had missed an issue or who wanted the whole series to reread and study.
>
> Material for these articles was gathered by PM's own staff of experts and from outside authorities. They were edited by PM's editor, Ralph Ingersoll, who returned only a few months ago from a flying trip to London to give America the real facts about Britain in the "blitz."
>
> These articles have not been re-edited. We didn't want to lose a day getting them to the public again. They appear as they were in the paper -- pulling no punches, frankly giving you the true facts about what's going to happen to America if the fascists win. The question, "What Are We Going to Do About It?" means just that.

The issue contains editorials, maps, atrocity and horror stories of treatment in Nazi-subjected countries, stories of national defenses, articles on the dire onslaught of Fascism against the Catholics in Europe and on the role of American labor; an expose of Fascist organizations in this country, and dramatic pictures by the dozen. It is a promotional piece on

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1 PM, Special Issue, op. cit. p. 2.

two scores -- for PM, and for the national action that PM is attempting to incite.

Despite the highly patriotic and nationalistic air about the whole issue, PM devotes page 62 to setting forth, in full-page type, the following statement of principles:[1]

> PM is against people who push other people around.
>
> PM accepts no advertising.
>
> PM belongs to no political party.
>
> PM is absolutely free and uncensored.[2]
>
> PM's sole source of income is from its readers -- to whom it alone is responsible.
>
> PM is one newspaper that can and dares to tell the truth.

At the end of PM's first year, (June, 1941,) a sequel to the "Confidential Memorandum" was prepared by PM's promotional wizzards. Again, it takes the form of a mimeographed memorandum from Publisher Ingersoll, this time entitled "What is PM?"

T. S. Irvin, in praising this 60 page, two-color offset, tabloid-sized, stitched folder, calls it "exciting" promotion.[3] Done in heavy stock, the prospectus makes quite a bulky package. Irvin conjectures that Promotion Manager Harold Smith may have purposely planned a hefty piece of literature.

The distribution of this prospectus is being made in June, 1941. Nine different but typical neighborhoods in New York City were selected for the sampling campaign. The results in each neighbhorhood will be watched by PM's promotion staff. The

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1 PM, Special Issue, op. cit., p. 62.
2 In the light of the discussion of PM's financial backing earlier in this chapter, this statement might be questioned.
3 Irvin, T. S., "Now is the Time for Promotion," Editor and Publisher, Vol. 74, No. 23, June 21, 1941, p. 27.

neighborhoods in which the sampling campaign is most productive are the kinds of neighborhoods in which PM is likely to find new readers, it is assumed, and so greater pressure will be applied in follow-up in these sections.

The sample will be followed by free copies, and then by a strong solicitation for new readers.

In his "Now is the Time for Promotion,"[1] Irvin terms the plan "well thought out -- expensive, but for a paper dependent entirely on circulation revenue, it looks like a good investment."

"What Is PM?" attempts to estimate the first year of PM's activities.[2] The following are excerpts from its content:

> And now, near the end of its first year, PM is at last sure enough of its own strength to go back to the public and promote itself.
>
> We like introducing you to PM at this stage of the game because we can skip all the false starts we made during the last six months and forget all our failures -- the ideas which sounded good to us but didn't work out in practice.
>
> PM's fresh start consisted in gearing its "useful news" pages not to its ideas of what people ought to want to know, or to what national and local advertisers wanted the readers to know, but to solving the simple, most fundamental problems common to all our lives.
>
> Thus approaching the end of its first year of publication, PM has grown from a piece of paper to a going concern, employing over 400 people. It has a nation-wide sale.

In another recent promotion piece,[3] it is claimed:

> PM bases its success not on the number of its readers but on their kind and character. PM's

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1 Irvin, T. S., op. cit. p. 27.
2 Schneider, op. cit. p. 38.
3 Irvin, op. cit., p. 27.

> fight to establish a new 100% free newspaper -- responsible only to its readers and its own beliefs -- has been a hard fight. PM lost many readers because it cannot make a single compromise with its principles in order to hold them.

D. PM's Physical Appearance

"PM" was chosen as the name for Ralph Ingersoll's experiment in journalism because of its breeziness and attention-getting qualities. It might also stand for "picture magazine."[1] It was not an original name, however, for in March, 1940, the New York Times reported in its column of "Advertising News and Notes"[2] that:

> The P.M. Publishing Company, publishers of P.M. magazine, has relinquished all its rights to the name of PM to Publications Research, Inc., which corporation plans to publish an afternoon and Sunday newspaper in this city, it was announced yesterday. The new name of P.M. magazine will be AD.

Ayer's Directory[3] lists the magazine P.M. as a bi-monthly magazine published in New York and edited by R. I. Leslie. It boasts a circulation of 4,500.

Size, Shape, Type, Format

PM is 32 pages daily with an additional section of 32 pages, largely feature material, on Sunday. The pages are 11 by 14 inches in size, somewhat smaller and more square than the ordinary tabloid. The pages are stapled together in order that the paper will not fall apart.

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1 Comment by Mrs. Marion Bachrach, formerly of PM staff, July 3, 1941.
2 New York Times, March 11, 1940, p. 26.
3 Ayer's Directory, 1940, published by N. Y. Ayers & Sons, p. 650.

PM is printed on a special grade of paper, dull of finish, firmer and fuller fibred than ordinary newsprint. According to PM, it "costs more," too.[1]

The printing is done by a special "frozen ink" process which uses a newly developed ink reputed not to rub off.[2] It also makes possible the use of finer screen plates for better reproduction of photos and drawings.

Nine point Caledonia type on a ten point base was chosen for PM because it is more legible and easier on the eyes than the type used in many magazines. This is larger than usual news type.

On March 26, PM introduced a new Roman heading type designed specifically for its use. The article announcing it appeared on the "Opinion" page and promised matching italics, but pleaded patience on the part of the readers since type production is a long and tedious task. T. M. Cleland, PM's typographer has this to say about the type:[3]

> The simple use of only two types, this clear Roman for stories that are news and an Italic face for commentary heads, is an important factor in PM's aim to establish typographic order and clarity in its columns. It is PM's aim to make this the easiest of all newspapers to read -- to bring order and more order out of the typographic chaos that confronts the reader of many newspapers -- to spare him the abuse of emphasis and the bewildering variety of types which, like a confusion of tongues, makes more noise than sense.

There are four columns to the PM page, each column being 25 per cent wider than the ordinary news column. This also is

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1 Ingersoll, "Confidential Memorandum," p. 3.
2 A practical experiment encountered as an incidental result of handling stacks of PM's in the research for this study convinces the writer that this contention is disqualified.
3 PM, March 26, 1941, p. 2.

New Head Type for PM

With this issue PM takes an important step in the evolution of its typographic design. Today appears for the first time a new Roman heading type which has been in production for more than a year. PM has had to wait while the skilled craftsmen, who cut by hand the steel master punches required for every letter and character in every size, performed their miracle of patience. These men, masters of a difficult art, are few in number and never to be hurried. Meanwhile we have had to be content with the best makeshift in heading types available. There is yet another long wait ahead for italics to match these roman letters.

The new heading type is a bolder version of the design of PM's text type. Originally suggested by PM, it has been developed through the co-operation of W. A. Dwiggins —designer of the text face—and the Mergenthaler Linotype Co. Far less rigidly mechanical than the types we have been using, it has a vivid "speaking" quality ideally adapted to the rapid idiom of headlines in the news.

The simple use of only two types, this clear Roman for stories that are news and an Italic face for commentary heads, is an important factor in PM's aim to establish typographic order and clarity in its columns. It is PM's aim to make this the easiest of all newspapers to read—to bring order and more order out of the typographic chaos that confronts the reader in many newspapers—to spare him the abuse of emphasis and the bewildering variety of types which, like a confusion of tongues, makes more noise than sense.—T. M. CLELAND.

March 26, 1941, p. 2.

planned to "bring order out of confusion -- makes the news easier to get at, easier to read."[1] All stories are printed in their totality, or on consecutive pages. There is no reference to the back of the paper.

An additional color is added on eight of the pages. The original plan was to change these colors daily in order to help the readers to distinguish each day's paper and to lend variety.

This plan was used until November 27, 1940. From then on, a saddle brown color was used for week-days and bright blue for the Sunday section. From December 16, 1940, up until March 31, 1941, the saddle brown was combined with black print, with the exception of March 17, St. Patrick's Day, when green was used in honor of the occasion.

When asked what PM's contributions to journalism during its first year have been, "mechanically speaking," Ingersoll's reply was:[2]

> Mechanically speaking, PM has shown that there is real reader convenience in an easy-sized, stapled paper with no-rub ink--easy to read because of its legible size body type and clear head-type, its excellent picture reproduction. And it's been shown that it can be done, in the face of a long tradition to the contrary. There has been no serious mechanical failure.

PM's stream-lined typography was duly recognized this spring when the F. Wayland Ayer award of "First Honorable Mention" in

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1 Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 3.
2 Schneider, op. cit., p. 9.

the tabloid group was accorded the newcomer.[1]

E. PM's Front Page

> PM's front page will start the job of telling people what's happened since yesterday by confining itself to headlines and pictures. The headlines will be accompanied by large numerals referring to the story inside the paper. Headlines will be informal, not tailored to fit the space, and they will be written by the writers of the stories concerned. The pictures will be dramatic. The object of the whole page is to give the reader a thirty-second answer to the question: What's new?"[2]

Has PM fulfilled this boast? A study of the front pages from September 1 through March reveals that PM has not confined itself to headlines and pictures but has delved into comment, editorials, quotations, and excerpts from important articles or speeches reprinted within PM.

There is a very fine discrimination between what may be termed a "headline," in that it directs the reader to the right page, and a promotional device designed to attract attention and sell more papers on the newsstands. For instance, James A. Wechsler's series on the Bethlehem Steel Corporation was "headlined" on the front page in two issues[3] between February 10 and 16, (although the six installments of the story were published in this period.)

Because of the dual nature of these "headlines," it is impossible to draw an arbitrary boundary between "what's news" on

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1 New York Times, April 11, 1941, p. 19.
2 Ingersoll, op. cit. p. 4.

'The Man Bethlehem Steel Couldn't Buy'

By JAMES A. WECHSLER
Pages 18-19

PM SELLS NO ADVERTISING

February 12,
1941, p. 1

James A. Wechsler Writes:

Labor Story of Bethlehem Steel

Pages 19-21

PM SELLS NO ADVERTISING

February 10,
1941, p. 1.

the front page of PM and what is promotion. There were, however, at least ten very obvious uses of promotion during the seven month period studied.

One could not deny the claim of informality in the headlines. During the draft registration period, for instance, a headline taunted, in inch-and-a-half type:[1]

Hey Adolf!
Draft Moves Swiftly,
Not a Hitch.

This was accompanied by a large picture of waiting registrants.

On the day after election, the informality asserted itself in three-and-a-quarter inch letters declaring "IT'S FDR."[2]

It is also true that the pictures are dramatic; at least they are attention-getting. Very often a picture accompanies the main headline; again, the headline will be molded about the featured picture.

In the promotion of Ralph Ingersoll's "The Truth About England", pictures of bombings accompany the headlines. When the first installment appeared, the whole front page was devoted to it, topped by a headline which could scarcely be condemned as "tailored to fit space:"[3]

H i t l e r

H a d

L o n d o n i n

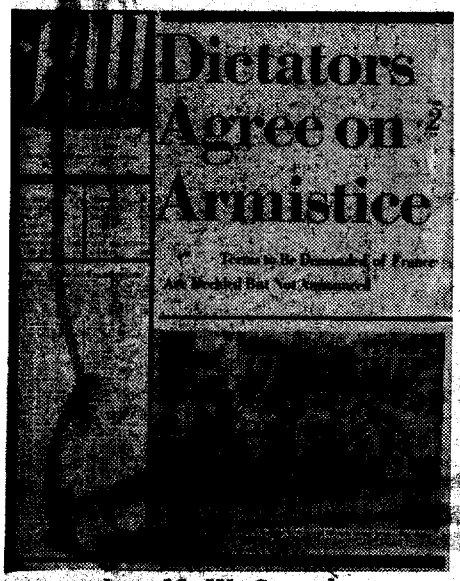
S e p t e m b e r

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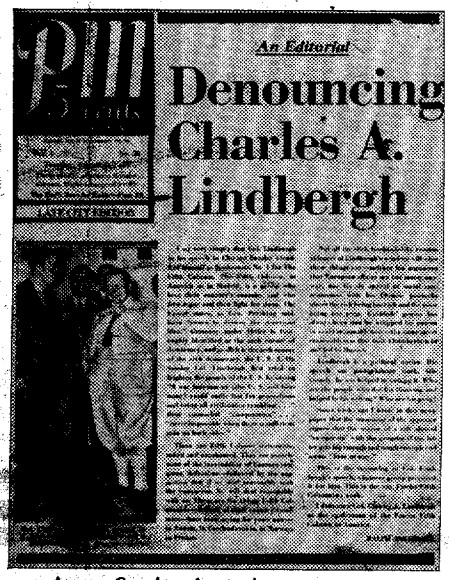
1 PM, October 16, 1940, p. 1.
2 PM, November 6, 1940, p. 1.
3 PM, November 18, 1940, p. 1.

[illegible] Months Old Today . . .

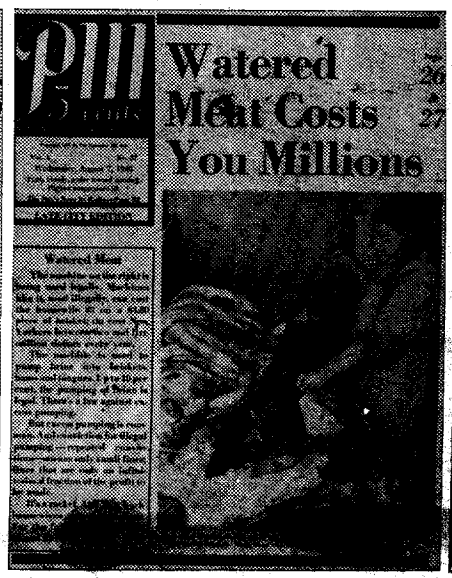
AND that gives us an opportu
brag about the things we are
against people who push other



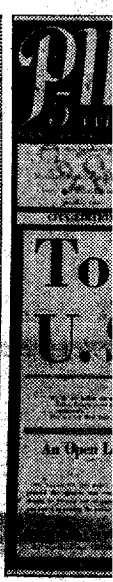
June 18: We Started.



Aug. 6: Against Appeasers.



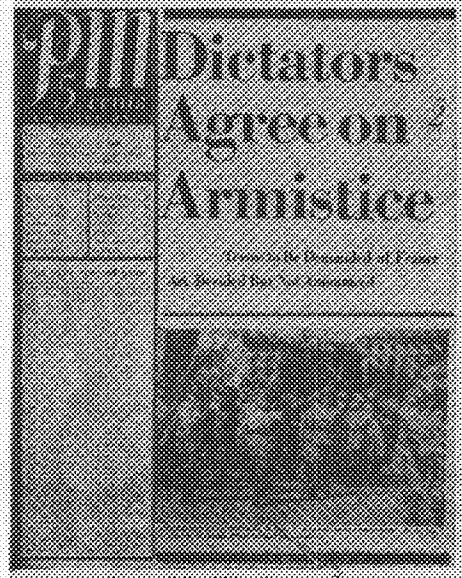
Aug. 7: Against Watered Meat.



Sept. 2:

PM Is Six Months Old Today . . .

AND that gives us an opportu
brag about the things we are
against people who push other



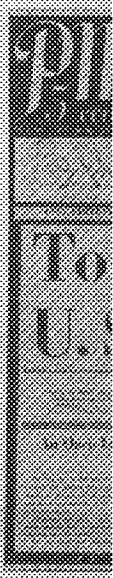
June 18. We Started.



Aug. 6. Against Appeasers.



Aug. 7. Against Watered Meat.



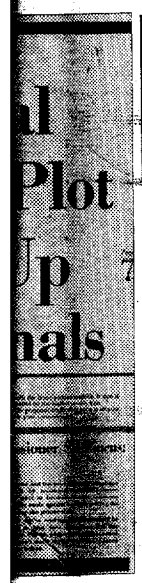
Sept 2.

...ss will, no excuse — to have consistently been ...ths on the occasions marked by these pages we were a little bit more articulate, a little bit more effective. These pages don't represent the sum of our indignation or the total of what we have said. (We were articulate almost every day about FDR, for instance.) A ... our journey; they sho... brag about them only ...

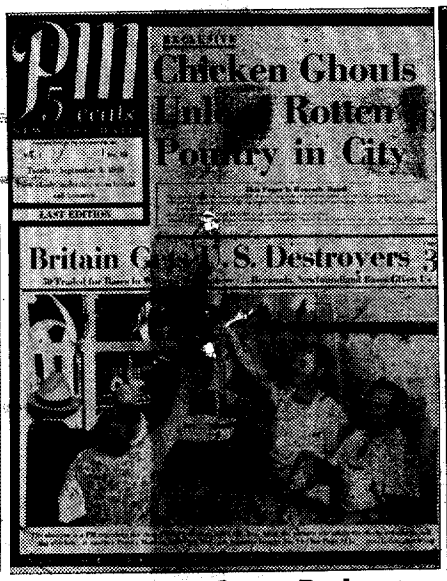


...ouses. Sept. 8: Against Rotten Poultry. Oct. 10: Against Shylocks. Nov. 6 . . . And All the Time. Nov. 18: Fro...

…n will, an excuse — to …have consistently been …But on the occasions marked by these pages we were a little bit more articulate, a little bit more effective. These pages don't represent the sum of our indignations or the total of what we have said. (We were articulate almost every day about FDR, for instance.) A l… our journey; they show… brag about them only …



…mnists.



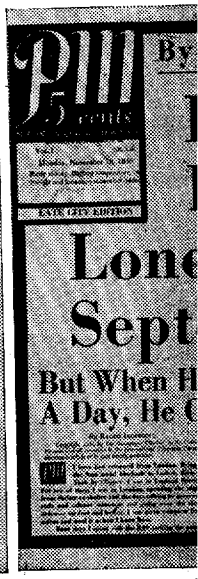
Sept. 3: Against Rotten Poultry.



Oct. 10: Against Shylocks.

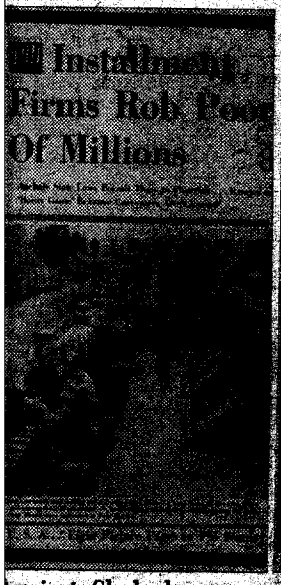


Nov. 6 . . . And All the Time.



Nov. 18: Truth

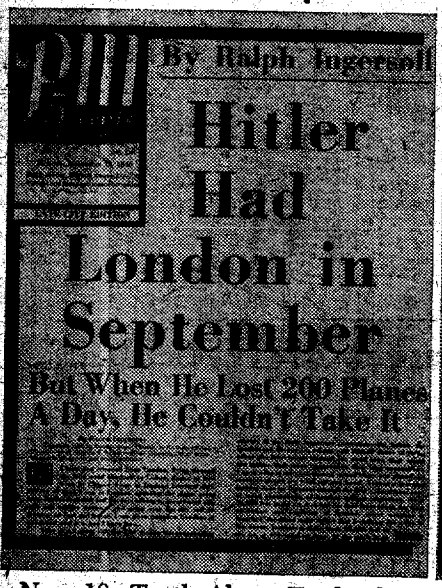
re a little bit more articulate, a little bit more epresent the sum of our indignations or the (We were articulate almost every day about FDR, for instance.) A better figure would be that they are milestones on our journey; they show how far we have come. We can print them and brag about them only because we are sure we can go farther and faster.



gainst Shylocks.



Nov. 6 . . . And All the Time.



Nov. 18: Truth About England.



Dec. 2: For National Defense.

e a little bit more articulate, a little bit more present the sum of our indignations or the We were articulate almost every day about FDR, for instance.) A better figure would be that they are milestones on our journey; they show how far we have come. We can print them and brag about them only because we are sure we can go farther and faster.



Against Skylocks.



Nov. 6 . . . And All the Time.



Nov. 18: Truth About England.



Dec. 2: For National Defense.

In the early issues there is a deliberate diversity of front page make-up. During the winter months, however, the editors dropped their efforts in favor of a series of similar pages. From December 8 through December 15, for instance, seven successive issues appeared with the front pages decked out in headlines alone, these printed in a similar fashion. From December 17 through February 10, a period of almost two months, every issue save one was of the headlines-with-picture variety.[1]

Despite the headline-summary promise, many front pages were devoted exclusively to full-page pictures.[2]

The presence of color on the front page has been dealt with in Section D of this chapter.

Until February 10, PM's front page carried a brief commentary on the weather and the temperature. Since then it has born a reference, "Weather report on Page 3." This is consistent.

Another distinguishing mark is the blocked insert in the lower color panel, "PM Sells No Advertising." This appears in every single issue. It is frequently repeated in the content of stories on advertising practices and Federal Trade Commissions hearings.

Lundberg points to PM's front page as one of its most obvious broken promises.[3] He says:

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1 For a complete analysis of the nature of the front page see chart on page 260.
2 PM, July 18, 1940, p. 1 and July 26, 1940, p. 1.
3 Lundberg, op. cit., p. 488.

> The biggest promise on which PM has fallen flat is: "PM's front page will give the reader a thirty-second answer to the question: 'What's new?'" Whatever else it does, the new tabloid doesn't get the news fast enough; it is anywhere from two to three hours late in spot news; it often blunders. At the opening of the Republican convention it predicted "Taft is in." And gave the reasons.

Part of Mr. Lundberg's criticism belongs to the news-writing department rather than the editing, but he is justified in his condemnation of PM's front page for failing to live up to its advertised plan.

CHART V

FRONT PAGE MAKE-UP IN PM (September through March)

Picture and Headlines	94
Headlines only	43
Headlines with sketch	1
Editorial with picture and headlines	2
Editorial accompanied by single headline	2
Editorial with several headlines	2
Single headline plus comment	2
Crusade pictures and headlines	2
Report or Expose excerpts, plus headlines	3
Speech excerpts, plus headlines	2
Speech excerpts with picture and headlines	2
Open Letter (to the President)	1

F. Photography and Art Work

PM made some very definite promises about its use of pictures. Here, at last, was to be a daily newspaper which would tell stories with pictures rather than have the pictures illustrate words.[1] Prospective readers were told that:

> Over half of PM's space will be filled with pictures -- because PM will use pictures not simply to illustrate stories, but to tell them. Thus, the tabloids notwithstanding, PM is actually the first picture paper under the sun.

The reader is told how a story will be treated and the pictures for it chosen:[2]

> When PM's news comes into the city room it is stopped at the Managing Editor's desk and a decision is made in collaboration with the departmental editor and the picture editors. The problem: Will the story be told in pictures or in words?
>
> * * *
>
> If the story is told in words, it may be accompanied by pictures, but they will serve merely as illustrations.
>
> If the story is told in pictures they will be accompanied by no running text, words being confined to captions. All the incoming news in PM will be subject to this process and will come out in the paper with a clear emphasis on either words or pictures. (PM is put together with an alternation of words and picture pages to facilitate handling, to make better layouts possible and to improve reproduction.)

PM's picture staff was large from the very beginning. Under the direction of Harry B. Baker, who holds the title of picture manager, it included Margaret Bourke-White as head photographer; T.M. Cleland, art director; William T. McCleary, picture editor; Charles Tudor, art editor; Howard Allaway, John Caldwell and Don

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1 Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 9.
2 Ibid., pp. 9-10.

Hollenbeck, assistant photo editors; Gene Badger, Hugh Broderick, Steven Derry, David Eisendrath Jr., Alan Fisher, Martin Harris, Peter Killian, Leo Lieb, Mary Morris and Ray Platnick, photographers.

Artists on the staff during its first months included Bert Briller, Harold Detje, Matt Greene, Leo Hershfield, Charles Liedi, Paul Melone, Charles Martin, John Pierotti and David Stech.

Since the "honeymoon" period, however, a number of staff members have been dropped. Some, like Margaret Bourke-White, have put in a re-appearance since the war in Russia.

The work of the artists has been dealt with in the cartoon section. In addition to their editorial work, the artists frequently illustrate court trials. Such is the case with the full page sketches entitled "The Genius of Lucky Strikes Defends His Bonuses"[1] and "The Artist as Reporter Covers the Howard Hopson Trial,"[2] vivid characterization of court room scenes and figures. The reason for the popularity of sketches in connection with trials is that photographers are barred from many court rooms and the sketches can be drawn from memory, if not from actual scenes.

In addition to the staff photographers, which early made a name for PM, the newspaper frequently uses the photographs of foreign and American services. Among these are Wide World, an Associated Press subsidiary; Authenticated News Photos,

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1 PM, December 20, 1940, p. 18.
2 PM, December 27, 1940, p. 22.

emanating from Hollywood,[1] Canadian Photos, European, Sovfoto and many others.[2]

Pictures with the "British Combine" credit line appear more frequently than any others coming from Europe. This group is a combine of independent photo services, both British and American, which are merging forces for mutual benefit. The pictures of this group are, by their very nature, somewhat propagandistic.

August 19, 1940 was the date of several radical changes in PM's format, and among other changes, this was the day on which ten distinct pages in the heart of the newspaper were set aside for picture-news. This practice was followed for several months and put PM in the category of picture-magazines. The caption "Ten Pages on News in Pictures" appeared in connection with this feature for several days.

PM's photographs continue to be of the highest calibre. No attempt is made to limit the space devoted to photography and a special photographry feature appears in the Sunday section. At the close of the study, as in the early days of PM's publication, ample space is devoted to good photographs.

There has been a definite limiting of hand-drawn art work, however. In answering Editor and Publisher's questionnaire on innovations that might possibly be eliminated if PM were to begin over again, Ingersoll said:[3]

> Nothing fundamental (would be changed) except ... hand-drawn art would be eliminated if

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1 According to Editor and Publisher Yearbook for 1941.
2 Definite attempts were made, through letters to Paul Miller of the Associated Press and to PM directly, to gather background information on these services., but none was forthcoming.
3 Schneider, op. cit., p. 36.

> starting all over again ... We will have comic strips when we find the right ones.

For its photography and art work, as originally conceived, PM should rate high. There have been compromises, of course, but on the whole this department has been sustained at a higher degree of consistency than the editorial departments.

NEWS IN PM

FOREIGN NEWS IN PM

It is strange and baffling to note that PM's prospectus had little to say of the provisions for foreign news coverage.[1] It only stated that:

> PM will handle orthodox news --based on the United Press Service for which PM has contracted -- and on the enterprise of its own reporters and correspondents here and abroad.

In addition, Ingersoll set forth his "elements of journalistic writing"[2] which are of importance at the beginning of the news story analysis.[3] They included:

> A definite interest in the personalities and characters of the people who make the news, as well as in the news itself ....
>
> A definite interest in the background and continuity of news -- and a similar interest in appraising the future ....
>
> A definite interest in the significance and meaning of news .....
>
> And, perhaps more important than any of the above: A consuming interest in the story value of the news. When PM uses a column of its precious space to write a story at length, it must be a story -- it must be readable in itself. Implicit in PM's relationship with its readers is the understanding that if PM devotes much space to a story, it must be a good story.

The tenets of news writing as defined by Ralph Ingersoll can well be considered at this point for they have been adhered

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1 Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 5-6.
2 Ibid., p. 9.
3 Ibid.

to faithfully by PM's correspondents both here and abroad. PM's stories come from scattered corners of the globe, but they are alike marked by their careful background material; the recognitition that people, not statistics, make news, and their intensely readable style.

Perhaps it is these qualities which give PM's foreign news pages more of a magazine air than those in more conventional newspapers. The "Foreign Commentary" pages are devoted to full-page articles or series on conditions in European and South American countries. They are effectively illustrated with pictures and sketches. The majority of the writers have had some experience in the field of foreign correspondence.[1] At the head of the story, in many cases, appears an italicized note with a thumbnail sketch of the author's background and a forthright listing of his sources.

Every Story .... Will be Identified

In his section, "PM Will Be Written in Words and Pictures,"[2] Editor Ingersoll has this to say:

> The writer of every story in PM will be identified. All stories will be signed by initials. Where two men have collaborated--as reporter and rewrite man, for instance--the initials of both will be included. A masthead will list all names so that unfamiliar initials can be identified.

Although this policy applied to all news classifications, it is more significant in relation to foreign news, where the segregation of fact from commentary is of vital importance and complex enough at the source of the news, than it is to domestic

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1 See Chapter II, "PM's Staff."
2 Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 9.

news. Therefore, an analysis has been made of a month's foreign news in respect to the acknowledgment of source. The month of August, 1940, has been chosen because within this month, decided changes began to become evident.

In its earlier months, PM frequently added its own touches to the cold facts of a wire dispatch and acknowledged the editing by signing the desk man's initials with the press acknowledgment, as "UP-W.W." The tendency to increase the use of stories signed "By the United Press" or only "UP," and to use wholly unidentified stories, became noticeable during the month of August.

Chart VI is largely self-explanatory. However, a few comments should be made. The lead stories on the "Bulletin" page which were signed by the deskman's initials only were in the form of "round-up" stories and appeared early in the month.[1] After the 11th of August, this practice was dropped completely.

The signed commentary stories are the regular dispatches from PM's correspondents; Richard Boyer, Robert Neville and Ben Robertson, Jr.; the General's daily analysis, background stories by Selwyn James and Tabitha Petran, and other minor commentary dispatches.

The "Short Wave" column, a regular daily feature of the foreign news page, was not included in this analysis, nor was "In Short," a column of unacknowledged one-paragraph dispatches.

It is interesting to note that of the 22 unsigned stories,

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1 PM, August 1, 9, 10, 11, 1940, p. 2.

CHART VI

An Analysis of Identification of Foreign News Stories and Commentary in PM during August, 1940

Identification	Bulletin Page	Foreign News Stories	Foreign Commentary
United Press	9 (lead) 7 (others)	67	2
UP and Staff-Edited	9 (lead stories)	42	1
Deskman's Initials Only	4		
Correspondent's Signature		4	69
UP Combined with Other News Agency		1 (with CBS)	
CBS		1	
NBC		1	
Unidentified		22	1

most of them were single paragraph dispatches. Several made definite acknowledgments by quoting BBC (British Broadcasting Company.) One quoted the Exchange Telegraph on a Lisbon dispatch.

The frequency of unsigned stories increased during the latter part of the month. Three unsigned dispatches appeared on both August 27 and on August 29.[1] On the latter date, the dispatches were from Bucharest, Budapest and Vienna.

Volume of Foreign Coverage

An analysis was made of a week's period to ascertain the volume of foreign coverage. The period covered was from Sunday, August 25 through Friday, August 30, 1940. This was chosen because it was a fairly normal week. There were stories on German bombings of England and a certain tensity in the foreign news occasioned by England's fear of invasion, which was at its peak during this period. But no spectacular diplomatic coups nor striking military advances which would in any way increase or intensify the degree of foreign coverage were made during this week. It might well be considered a typical week, as a review of a number of weeks preceding and following this particular one revealed.

It will be noted[2] that pages 3, 4 and 5 vary little on any of the six days. The bulletins, regular news stories, and commentary features remain in much the same position. From

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1 PM, August 27 and 29, 1940, p. 4.
2 See Chart VII, p. 270.

CHART VII

Volume of Foreign Coverage ..... Week of 25-30, 1940.

DATE	Page 3 BULLETINS	Page 4 FOREIGN NEWS	Page 5 or 6 FOREIGN COMMENTARY	FOREIGN PICTURES and SPECIAL FEATURES
SUN. AUG. 25	Bulletins Summary Lead Story	3 News Stories "Short Wave" "In Short"	"The General" Richard Boyer dispatch "PM's Review of the Week." Background Story	p. 13 - "Time Marches Backwards for the Jew." - 4 pictures pp. 20-21-"Movies" Review of "Foreign Correspondent"
MON. AUG. 26	Lead Story Summary Bulletins "Headlines in the Morning Paper"	5 News Stories "Short Wave" "In Short"	"The General" Boyer Dispatch Background story by Selwyn James	
TUES. AUG. 27	Bulletins Summary Lead Story	2 UP News Stories Ben Robertson dispatch "Statistical Table on London & Berlin"		p. 15 -"Clipper Brings Pictures of London Bomb Damage" - 4 pp.22-23- "American Women Run Their Own Lives .. German Women's Time Belongs to the State."
WED. AUG. 28	Bulletins Summary Lead Story	5 News Stories (3 UP) Map "In Short"	"Short Wave" "The General" "Richard Boyer dispatch	
THURS. AUG. 29	Bulletins Summary Lead Story "Today's Foreign Headlines	One Picture One Map 6 News Stories (3 UP) "Short Wave" "The General" Ben Robertson	Duncan Aikman on Latin America	p. 18 - Duke and Duchess of Windsor in the Bahamas.
FRI. AUG. 30	Bulletins Summary Lead Story	2 News Pictures 5 Stories "In Short"	Robert Neville "The General" B. Robertson "Short Wave"	pp. 14-21 "Eight Pages of Great War Pictures" - 10 pages.

time to time, when an important series is being printed, the "Foreign Commentary" pages may be extended from one to two or even three pages.

Page three bears the "What's New?" summary column, the bulletins, an occasional lead story, and at times, the "Headlines in the Morning Paper" feature. This quotes headlines from the Herald Tribune, New York Times, Mirror, and Daily News.

The "Short Wave" feature appearing on page four is composed of a resume of news commentary gleaned from foreign broadcasts. It is interesting to note that the stations are seldom mentioned. One gains the definite impression that in a government-controlled radio, the identification of station is not important. The commentator is always identified however. If the broadcast is British, it is from BBC (British Broadcasting Company), which German stations mentioned from time to time are DJZ, DXB and DJL.

The "Short Wave" column usually reflects the opinion of the foreign press and radio on the relation of the United States to world conflict.

"The General"

There has appeared daily in PM since its first issue a column of analysis on war strategy signed by "The General".

Who the "General" is remains a complete mystery. Attempts to discover his identity included a conversation with Hilda Appel[1] of the PM staff and her comment on a rumor currently

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1 Conversation with Hilda Appel, September 14, 1941.

stocks are being transferred also remain to be worked out. Questions of priority and allocation will be handled by the Office of Production Management and the armed services under direction of the President and his new "inner cabinet," whose membership includes his closest adviser, Harry Hopkins.

Duncan Aikman Surveys 'The Unready Republic'

Is the U. S. A. ready for the challenge which it must face?

No, says Duncan Aikman, whose series on *The Unready Republic* starts in tomorrow's PM. Mr. Aikman has recently returned from a four-month, 12,000-mile tour of the country.

For many years Mr. Aikman has been going out to the grassroots and to Washington to study Americans in their homes and doing the Government's work. In recent years he has traveled extensively in South America. He is the author of several books, including *The All-American Front* and *America's Chance for Peace*, the latter in collaboration with Blair Bolles.

At a time when every American is asking, "What next?", Mr. Aikman's articles will provide a basis for the answer.

n Victory Without Fighting

Istanbul in Thrace. Turkey has three field armies of 800,000 men.

In the last analysis, however, Turkey's ability to fight off the Germans depends upon Russian co-operation or, at least, non-intervention. What Turkey finally does will depend more on Russian than on British persuasion. Turkey's eastern frontier and its long Black Sea coast are exposed to Russia. Since the Russians still are carrying water on both shoulders, as demonstrated by their belated protest against German occupation of Bulgaria, they probably will try to keep Turkey non-belligerent. The Dardanelles, which would be menaced by German invasion of Turkey, is an important Black Sea outlet to the Russians.

Trapped Greeks

As for Greece, it is difficult to see how it can avoid compliance with the Nazis' demand that it accept a German-dictated peace with Italy. There has been little change recently on the Albanian front. The war there appears to be approaching a stalemate. The Germans have about 200,000 troops poised on the Bulgar-Greek frontier. The Reich has another 500,000 men—32 divisions, including two *panzers* and a large air force in Rumania readily transportable through Bulgaria to Greece.

The capitulation of Bulgaria placed the Germans in a favorable strategic position to strike in any direction. While the British obviously attach great significance to the Balkan situation, it is doubtful whether they would risk sending any considerable body of troops into Greece proper. To do so would be to chance another Dunkirk. Nevertheless the British could help with sea and air power.

In case the Germans do invade Greece, the best avenues of approach are down the Struma and Vardar valleys, the former in Yugoslavia and the latter in Bulgaria. Salonika lies between them. Good rail and highway approaches are available by either route. But Hitler probably would prefer to set Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to work raising crops than use them as military allies for campaigns against either the Turks or the Greeks.

March 12, 1941, p. 7.

popular in PM's editorial offices, "Wouldn't it be funny if 'The General' were to be drafted?" To understand this hint, however, one would have to be completely familiar with the PM staff.

John P. Lewis, managing editor, answered a query on the General's identity in this manner:[1]

> The General is a composite individual. No. 1 man on the team is a Washington military man, at present connected with the United State War Department.
>
> No. 2 man, the writing end of the combination, is Leonard Engel, a member of the PM staff, and an expert on military affairs, also.

"The General" confines himself to facts and their significance. His column is fairly and objectively written. He seldom attempts to inject his own reactions into his analysis and scarcely ever gives way to wishful thinking. If anything, the General goes to great extremes to be fair. In his analysis of September 8, 1940, he inserted the following note:[2]

> Allowance is made for the natural exaggeration of the defender's claim.

(The reference is to a British claim on the number of German planes shot down.)

The General is economical with words. He does not waste space on inconsequential introductions; his initial sentence usually plunges his reader deep into the subject under consideration.

PM's "Foreign Commentary" is an active and vital section

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1 Letter from John P. Lewis, Managing Editor of PM, September 16, 1941.
2 PM, September 8, 1940, p. 5.

devoted to carefully prepared and interestingly written stories of conditions in foreign countries, usually European. Series of stories developing a particular theme are common.

The commentary stories are not "spot news." Sometimes they appear weeks after they were written, as Richard Boyer's August experiences, printed in October.[1]

In answering Editor and Publisher's question, "What one thing stands out above all others, journalistically speaking, in the PM experiment?"[2] Publisher Ingersoll said that PM's "great and important contribution"[3] to journalism was to present the truth of the news and that:[4]

> One phase of this is PM's realizations that certain important stories could be gotten only by sending its man to the source and bringing him back to write his report, free from censorship, and with his normal news perspective restored. Exclusive news material could be preserved and safe-guarded from perishability.[5]

Ingersoll continues:

> Richard Boyer was sent to Germany as PM's correspondent and allowed to send back routine cable dispatches while gathering the real truth of inside Nazi Germany. When he returned he was turned loose with his story, told to write it with the full understanding that he could not go back to Germany, that PM, in fact, did not want him to return. He did; and it was one of PM's early scoops and while other papers and press services have tried to do it, none could so well disregard the inevitable impossibility of return. ..... When I went abroad and brought back my report on England with certain, definite, hitherto undisclosed news, I was not trying to beat the censors; but I felt that was the

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1 PM, October 7, 1940, p. 5.
2 Schneider, Walter E., "Ingersoll Sees PM's First Year as Start in Fulfilling Pledges," Editor and Publisher, Vol. 74, No. 24, June 14, 1941, p. 9.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.

> only way to get the truth that I knew was not coming over by cable. Since then we've brought Ben Robertson back from England for the same purposes, Dick Boyer from Central America, Carl Wall from Germany, George Lyon from Canada, Ernest Hemingway from China, Robert Neville from the Far East, and we now have Carl Randau in Japan.

Richard O. Boyer's Series

Boyer's "routine dispatches" appeared on the "Foreign Commentary" pages in PM, as did Ben Robertson's dispatches from London. Upon his return, Mr. Boyer wrote the "Victorious Germany" series which ran during late September and early October, 1940.

Boyer's writing is alive and interesting. He is capable of couching his discoveries in intensely readable narratives.

In "A Strangled Press,"[1] his description of the ways in which the assorted foreign correspondents go mad under release from pressure, says more than paragraphs of analysis. The following section illustrates:[2]

> Since the war correspondents are crammed into a small bus which hurtles all over the road all day and often during much of the night, cabin madness will sometimes break out. For instance, a Greek tried to strangle a soft, round Hungarian in an aviator's helmet who had referred to his colleague with the question, "Isn't he a dirty man?"
>
> Rumanians, usually obsequious in Berlin, will go crazy with a certain release from official pressure and utter queer goat cries at all the girls .... One of them,

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1 PM, October 3, 1940, p. 5.
2 Ibid.

> a hatchet-faced little man with a beret, drove occupants of a bus into madness on one trip by practicing his English throughout the tour. His command of the language consisted entirely of "I lof you. How do you do. Wan, two, thee, foah."

In "Weary of War,"[1] Boyer gives sentence vignettes of the German people and their varying attitudes toward the war. "And World Domination"[2] predicts war with Russia in 1941 and comments:[3]

> Most American military attaches ... believe that Germany would simultaneously invade from the Baltic and Balkans, trying for an encircling movement which would crush the Russian Army between the pincers. They believe it quite possible in such an event that Japan would attack in the east.

"Blitzkrieg's Boomerang"[4] is composed of leaves from Boyer's diary between August 20 and 25, 1940, and consists of descriptions of life in Germany.

The last of Boyer's stories, "When Will It Be Over?"[5], is a series of impressions gathered from conversations on the Atlantic Clipper.

Boyer's second major series came in answer to a question posed by PM[6]; to wit:

> What do the people of Central America think of hemisphere defense? Is the Panama Canal in a region friendly or unfriendly to the U.S.A.?

To find the answers, PM sent Boyer to Central America for a report.

Boyer is forthright in his presentation of what he learned.

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1 PM, October 4, 1940, p. 5.
2 PM, October 6, 1940, p. 5.
3 Ibid.
4 PM, October 7, 1940, p. 5.
5 PM, October 11, 1940, p. 5.
6 PM, December 26, 1940, p. 5.

FOREIGN COMMENTARY

Victorious Germany . . . . . Weary of War

Those Who Wanted 'A Better World' Line Up for Bread

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By RICHARD O. BOYER

PM EXCLUSIVE

What is Germany like?

A country is made up of its people and here are a few of the people I met:

There was the thin, intense little Jew who would glance all about before he whispered hoarsely, "They are devils, these people. Devils!"

There was the German doctor, a man in excellent political standing, who would go out on the balcony of his home in the blacked-out night and shout like a crazy man to the British planes above. "Hit us, wipe us out!" he would shout. His father had been beaten to death in a concentration camp.

There was the round, moon-faced Hans Schroeder, who said he favored the war because he wanted two suits of clothes, an automobile and plenty of good things to eat. "It's the British who keep them from us," he said.

There was the Nazi official who wanted a palatial home. The owner was moved into a concentration camp, charged with immorality, and the Nazi moved into the home.

Mourns Over U. S. A.



They laughed happily when they dropped their pennies in the Nazi Winter Help Collection Box. Why not? "Papa" Goebbels was looking—and anyway that was in 1938. Today a stenographer earning $12 weekly must give nearly half of that in taxes and "voluntary" contributions.

Photo by Wide World

as a clerk for $13.20 and whose discussion of the war was always confined to the statement, "It's always been like this. It will never be over."

It Takes 4 Months To Get a Suit Pressed . . . If You Have a Suit

or 60 points. A woman's dress requires 60 points, but women have the greatest difficulty with the problem of stockings, being allowed only six pairs a year and these costing 30 or

papermen must declare why they need the gas, how much and what for.

COAL—Evidently sufficient for industrial and military purposes, but withheld to such an extent from the civilian population that most buildings are only slightly heated in winter. This results in an increase in illness during the coldest months.

Labor Shortage, Too

Despite approximately 1,500,000 prisoners of war in Germany, permitted to work at the rate of about 10 cents a day, there is a serious labor shortage, since between 6,000,000 and 7,000,000 Germans are in the armed forces. Women and boys between 14 and 17 are employed everywhere. Stores are so shorthanded that there are long queues in front of food shops. Only women with small babies or foreigners may ignore the waiting line and get their food immediately.

Laundry is not returned for at least 14 days and often takes much longer. Between six weeks and four or five months is required to clean a suit. Photographs are not developed short of two weeks for lack of paper to print them on and people to do it. Special *Bezugscheine,* or government permits, are necessary to buy rugs or other cloth articles not included on the clothes card. Rubber articles, shoes and many other

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Photo by Wide World

There was the German who mourned over the United States. "Why do you do it?" he would ask. "Why do you help England? Why do you not help Germany? Germany is the only country that can save you from Communism."

There was the German who would say, "Hitler is a great man. He has done much for Germany. But he has made a mistake. He should not have gone to war

out night and shout like a crazy man to the British planes above. "Hit us, wipe us out!" he would shout. His father had been beaten to death in a concentration camp.

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Mourns Over U. S. A.

There was the young German soldier, married and with two children, who whispered furtively, every time he had opportunity, that he wanted to go to the U. S. A. after the war. He almost wept when he heard conscription had been instituted there. "Why, it's getting just like Germany!" he said. "I might as well stay here."

There was the tall, slim, sincere member of the German Frauenschaft, the women's welfare organization, who had taken to Nazi- as a child takes to religion and now was having the same sort of reaction as a youth who begins to doubt that the world was made in six days.

"I thought Hitler would make a better world," she said. "I acted from the best motives. I worked and I studied and I even suffered and look at the world now! I don't know what to believe any more."

There was the silent, shabby taxi driver with whom I rode to work every morning. Finally I asked him about himself and he said only, "I never talk."

There was the good looking tennis professional who had been drafted into radio work because he knew English.

'You Can't Know'

"You can't know how it is. You can't know how it is!" he would say and fail completely in telling me how it was. He would mumble something about being watched all the time, about having absolutely no freedom of movement and no personal life and then end with his familiar refrain.

There was the little stenographer who made $12 a week and was forced to give almost $6 of it in taxes and "free will offerings" to Nazi party organizations.

There was the dignified, fine looking middle-aged man who worked 84 hours a week as a clerk for $13.20 and whose discussion of the war was always confined to the statement, "It's always been like this. It will never be over."

This is Germany in 1940.

* * *

In the first place you can't get enough to eat to live comfortably, but you can get enough to live uncomfortably. An average German meal consists of a fish with its head intact, its eyes glassy and staring, and a yellowing potato, which is a masterpiece of the unappetizing. Dessert usually consists of stewed fruit.

When traveling with Germans in conquered territories one sometimes was a little embarrassed when they went into an almost sensual frenzy at the sight of strawberries, oranges or a slab of beef.



They laughed happily when they dropped their pennies in the Nazi Winter Help Collection Box. Why not? "Papa" Goebbels was looking—and anyway that was in 1938. Today a stenographer earning $12 weekly must give nearly half of that in taxes and "voluntary" contributions.

Photo by Wide World

Living Standard Low

Although the Germans have plundered France, Holland and Denmark of foodstuffs, the living standard of the German people has not improved, since the food has gone into the army and into storage to be rationed out during a long war. The crop this year in Germany was below normal because of a wet, cold summer. Most people expect a winter exceedingly severe as to food in Germany—and famine in many other parts of Europe.

In the second place you can't buy enough clothes to keep you warm in winter, though you can buy enough clothes—if you are not a Jew—to cover your body. Clothing is rationed out, just as food is, and each citizen of Germany has a Kleider Karte, or clothes card, containing 100 points for a year. You can buy a suit of clothes (60 points) but you can't buy a suit of clothes and an overcoat or a raincoat in the same year, as the total of any two of these items is over 100.

A shirt ranges between 20 and 40 points, socks take up about 20 points and a small amount of underwear easily adds up to 50 or 60 points. A woman's dress requires 60 points, but women have the greatest difficulty with the problem of stockings, being allowed only six pairs a year and these costing 30 or 40 points out of the inelastic 100. Obviously it is impossible to purchase anywhere near enough clothes for a year under this system, and so Germans are wearing clothes that are several years old.

Serious Shortages

There are serious shortages in Germany of:

MEAT, SOAP, OILS and FATS—There is a complete lack of salad and cooking oils, butter is doled out in very small amounts—about a half a pound per person per month—and bacon and eggs are virtually unknown. There is no coffee or tea and virtually no chocolate. The Germans are now eating 41 per cent less fat than they did before the war; 43 per cent less meat; 71 per cent fewer eggs; and 11 per cent less sugar. The only category in which there is an increase is bread. Two per cent more bread is eaten now than before the war. One cake per month of grimy imitation soap and one small box of imitation soap powder which one must give to one's laundry are the rations of washing materials. Real soap exists only in store windows from which it is forbidden to sell any article.

MILK—Completely prohibited to Jews, and allowed in very small quantities to adults, and in adequate amounts only for babies.

RUBBER—An ordinary eraser, for example, is not purchaseable. Bicycles are numerous, but cannot be bought until one has a special permit for the purchase of tires.

GASOLINE—Carefully rationed to the few car owners who have permits to drive—these being representatives of important businesses or officials. Even embassy cars have a daily quota which is low and news-

14 and 17 are employed everywhere. Stores are so shorthanded that there are long queues in front of food shops. Only women with small babies or foreigners may ignore the waiting line and get their food immediately.

Laundry is not returned for at least 14 days and often takes much longer. Between six weeks and four or five months is required to clean a suit. Photographs are not developed short of two weeks for lack of paper to print them on and people to do it. Special *Bezugscheine*, or government permits, are necessary to buy rugs or other cloth articles not included on the clothes card. Rubber articles, shoes and many other goods also require permits and in each instance you have to prove necessity to an official.

No German, or visitor to the country, can move from place to place without reporting to the police on arrival. No German can receive or read a foreign newspaper or listen to a foreign broadcast. Neither can anyone in Germany, except newspaper offices when they have obtained special permission, send a cable or a telegram out of the country. Picture postcards are forbidden to be sent through the mails to a foreign country. One cannot mail into the country any printed matter, including all books, magazines and newspapers.

This is Germany in 1940.

* * *

Shortly after I arrived in Germany an American girl, pretty and charming, came to Berlin to work for one of the few American firms still operating there. She made no secret of her admiration for the Nazis. She said her trip to Germany was the answer to a lifelong dream.

She fought hard to retain that dream but each day her admiration was watered down just a bit. She did everything she could to hear only what favored Germany, to minimize what was bad.

I saw her the day before I left and she said, with some pain, "I was wrong. I was wrong about the Nazis."

(This is the fifth of a series. The sixth will appear Sunday.)



In the first story he says:[1]

> I have talked to scores of Mexicans and Central Americans and I have never heard one who believed that the United States is threatened with Nazi invasion through Mexico, Central America, or South America -- nor one who did not believe that the U.S.A. wanted access to bases so that she might better secure economic denomination of Latin America. Since this is the overwhelming truth, it better be known unless we wish to build our Latin-American policy on the pious platitudes of after-dinner speakers.

In his story, "Mexicans Resent U.S. Deal for Naval Bases,"[2] Boyer develops the Mexican labor situation. In a subsequent story he repeats some of the actual conversations between officials in regard to arrangements for naval bases.

A pessimistic note on the inevitability of war -- a war which would force the United States to take an imperialistic role toward Mexico, and which might mean bloodshed on Mexican territory, runs through the Boyer stories. Both on December 30, 1940, and January 1, 1941, his lead sentence includes mention of American soldiers in Mexico. In describing "Mexico; Diseased Poverty Masked in Beauty,"[3] he writes:[4]

> Oaxaca is a typical Mexican town, a sort of Mexican Middleton, which, if there is a war and you are of draft age, you may get to know well .....
>
> You might even die there, for people do get killed in war. It is a pleasant place to die.. It is pleasant to die in Oaxaca, if die you must, because dying and death are honored there.

And again, in "Dogged Mexico Plods Along":[5]

> It would be ironic, indeed, if war accomplished for Mexico what peace could not, if

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1 PM, December 26, 1940, p. 5.
2 PM, December 30, 1940, p. 10.
3 PM, January 1, 1941, p. 5.
4 Ibid.
5 PM, January 2, 1941, p. 5.

FOREIGN COMMENTARY

Panama Threatens to Lease Bases to Nazis

Pro-German President Likes to Embarrass U. S. A. . . . Nor Are We Beloved Elsewhere in Distrustful Latin America

What do the people of Central America think of hemisphere defense? Is the Panama Canal in a region friendly or unfriendly to the U. S. A.? To find out, we sent Richard O. Boyer, of PM's foreign news staff, on to Panama from Mexico where he reported on plans for acquisition of naval and air bases and on the change in the national administration. He has just returned and is writing a series of articles of which the first is on the specific subject of our relations with Panama and the general subject of Latin American opinion of this country. Other articles will tell of conditions in Costa Rica, Guatemala and Mexico.

By Richard O. Boyer

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PM Exclusive

The Panama Canal, that narrow strip which is the most vulnerable point of the American outer defenses, is flanked on either side by a country whose president is frankly friendly to the Nazis and who recently declared that while the Republic of Panama is small it might follow a policy of "embarrassing" the U. S. A.

At the same time Panama's anti-American president, one Arnulfo Arias, said there was no reason why Panama should not lease military or naval bases to countries other than the United States. **He left little doubt that among the other countries that he felt might be entitled to military bases in Panama were Germany and Italy.**

His attitude makes Panama not only the key to America's defense but the key to the most important part of her foreign policy. **If President Arias succeeds in goading the U. S. A. into armed intervention, the resentment in all Latin America against what would seem a Yankee aggressor nation might seriously impair the entire structure of continental solidarity.**

Senor Arias knows this well. That is why he feels that he can "embarrass" the U. S. A. with impunity. That is why he declares a vital link in Panama Canal defense, the airfield at Rio Hato in the Republic of Panama, is not for sale or lease to the U. S. A. That is why he declares that the Panama Canal is not in danger.

Actually, the Rio Hato field is a key point in the defense of the Canal. Its runways are long enough to accommodate the largest bombers. Its gasoline supply was in exposed tanks that made ideal targets, and that most of the planes of the zone were at two major fields in old-fashioned hangars that could be easily bombed.

Conditions and attitudes in Panama or any other specific locality in Latin America must be related to the entire scene south of the Rio Grande, a scene we in the United States prefer to view through colored glasses.

American Friendship

A two-months' trip through Mexico, Guatemala, Costa Rica and Panama has convinced me there is an ever-increasing pyra-



President Arnulfo Arias

this is the overwhelming truth, it better be known unless we wish to build our Latin-American policy on the pious platitudes of after-dinner speakers.

Moreover, virtually everyone I talked to said that hemispheric defense and bases were not something that could be secured once and for all by treaty. It was the kind of problem they said that would never down. Every candidate for high office would always charge his incumbent opponent with selling out to the U. S. A. since diatribes against "Yankee imperialism" have always been popular with the Latin American masses.

Anti-American demonstrations are bought and sold, sometimes paid for by Nazi money, newspapers are bribed, public officials bought, Nazi and British propaganda handed out while American salesmen rush about sweeping in the business of their Nazi rivals unable to deliver their cheaper goods because of the naval blockade. Spies,

of America, there are unbelievable degrees of aristocracy and snobbery. Often a $225-a-month man refuses to associate with a $200 a month man and since those of equal pay get similar housing it is easy to determine how much everyone gets.

Among the American civilian employes, none is so poor that he cannot look down on a private soldier and these latter are filled with stories, which they readily tell, of how they were kicked out of the homes of fellow Americans when they went to call upon an American girl.

"Are we fighting for democracy or aren't we?" they frequently demand, while civilian employes complain endlessly about the crowded housing conditions and the poor food.

Doctrine of Race Hatred

It is against this background that Arnulfo Arias, a dark, Napoleonic little man in his 30s with a terrific admiration for himself, preaches a doctrine of race hatred, of Panama for the Panamanians under a system where the Negroes and Chinese born there are not considered Panamanians. He has, in fact, advocated castration for the Negroes.

His first act on assuming the presidency was to appoint Carlos Yasaza, former consul to Hamburg and commonly reputed to be a Nazi sympathizer, as his chief adviser and private secretary.

Senor Yasaza is also editor of the anti-American *La Tribuna*. It was in the president's inauguration speech on Oct. 1 that he said that Panama might "embarrass" the U. S. A., and that other countries had equal rights to bases there although these remarks were deleted from published editions of his

countries that he felt might be entitled to military bases in Panama were Germany and Italy.

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Senor Arias knows this well. That is why he feels that he can "embarrass" the U. S. A. with impunity. That is why he declares a vital link in Panama Canal defense, the airfield at Rio Hato in the Republic of Panama, was illegally acquired and that is why he is obstructing the acquisition of six more vital air bases in the Republic.

Because he knows that any intervention might topple the diplomatic edifice of hemispheric defense, he brazenly hires a Nazi, an aerial photographer, who will fly over the environs of the canal in the guise of a city planner. He knows that the primary interest of Nazis in Mexico and Central America is not to seize control or further German invasion but to create incidents that will force the U. S. A. to action, which will wreck continental solidarity. He knows that any American who shouts for intervention in Latin America is unconsciously playing the game of the Nazis.

New Defenses Delayed

And yet if the canal is menaced by Nazis, as responsible quarters hold, it is menaced even more by bungling Americans. Important new defenses are still far from completed because lack of housing and recreation, bad food, red tape and stiff necked bureaucracy are causing a skilled labor turnover as high as 40 per cent.

Although there is an acute shortage of skilled labor, hundreds are returning to the U. S. A. after a few weeks in Panama, bitterly resentful of the conditions under which they worked.

Moreover, soldiers say that Army morale is bad because of lack of entertainment and sort of spontaneous Jim Crow or segregation policy used against them by civilian employes and their families.

In addition, I was informed by members of a Congressional committee investigating the canal that defenses were inadequate, that there was not a modern bomber in the Canal Zone, that there was insufficient proper ammunition, that the zone's gasoline supply was in exposed tanks that made ideal targets, and that most of the planes of the zone were at two major fields in old-fashioned hangars that could be easily bombed.

Conditions and attitudes in Panama or any other specific locality in Latin America must be related to the entire scene south of the Rio Grande, a scene we in the United States prefer to view through colored glasses.

American Friendship

A two-months' trip through Mexico, Guatemala, Costa Rica and Panama has convinced me there is an ever-increasing pyramid of misinformation about these countries. **It is almost as if many thought that by believing pleasant sugar-coated lies about how we are loved in Latin America we could make that desirable condition become a fact.**

Perhaps this arises from the grandiose phrases of Latin American diplomats who speak glowingly to Americans about hands-across-the-Rio Grande and apprehensively, resentfully, and fearfully about hemispheric defense in private. The only factor they like in the whole setup is the possibility of American loans.

One of the chief public men of Mexico, an apparent proponent of continental defense and bases in Mexico for American use in event of war, said to me with considerable anguish: "God save Mexico from the friendship of the United States!" and a common saying in that country is "Poor Mexico! So far from God and so near the United States."

In Costa Rica, a member of that country's Congress, discussing an American loan to this country, quoted George Washington as saying: "Beware of a strong country who wishes to do a favor for a weak one." **In Guatemala where the white middle class is plotting revolt against the dictator Ubico, Americans are frequently embarrassed with the question of why we, so willing to fight for democracy, back dictators who have suppressed trade unions and freedom of speech, assembly and the press in Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua.**

I have talked to scores of Mexicans and Central Americans and I never heard one who believed that the U. S. is threatened with Nazi invasion through Mexico, Central or South America — **nor one who did not believe that the U. S. A. wanted access to bases so that she might better secure economic domination of Latin America.** Since said that hemispheric defense and bases were not something that could be secured once and for all by treaty. It was the kind of problem they said that would never down. Every candidate for high office would always charge his incumbent opponent with selling out to the U. S. A. since diatribes against "Yankee imperialism" have always been popular with the Latin American masses.

Anti-American demonstrations are bought and sold, sometimes paid for by Nazi money, newspapers are bribed, public officials bought, Nazi and British propaganda handed out while American salesmen rush about sweeping in the business of their Nazi rivals unable to deliver their cheaper goods because of the naval blockade. Spies, informers and intelligence officers contribute their bit to a rather sordid international melodrama that contrasts with the desperate efforts of peasants to get and keep a parcel of land, of workers to get and keep trade unions.

Oil Men Are Busy

American and British oil men dicker with the Avila Camacho government in Mexico, probably fruitlessly, for the return of their fabulously rich expropriated properties. There is a growing rush for concessions on the part of Americans from the new government, and everywhere the 20,000 Germans in Mexico and Central America spy on the much larger number of Americans, while the latter keep a close watch on the Nazis. **Almost daily American military planes fly up the coast of Central America from the canal, searching the coastline for any signs of Nazi bases or other activity. It is a dizzy scene but nowhere is the situation more bizarre and unreal than in Panama and the Canal Zone.**

Here where the hot trade winds clatter the stiff palm leaves on the Atlantic side and where a stifling, humid heat is constant on the Pacific, some 25,000 American civilian employes, and perhaps 30,000 soldiers, wallow in the never-ending boredom of an isolated colonial society. Sometimes Panama and the Canal Zone seem a unique center of hate. The Panamanians hate the Americans but they hate to an even greater degree the Jamaica Negroes who have been imported by the American government to do common labor on the canal and its defenses.

The Americans declare that the Panamanians are loafers, that they can't do or won't do a good day's work.

In this little strip of heat, this Gibraltar Panama for the Panamanians under a system where the Negroes and Chinese born there are not considered Panamanians. He has, in fact, advocated castration for the Negroes.

His first act on assuming the presidency was to appoint Carlos Yasaza, former consul to Hamburg and commonly reputed to be a Nazi sympathizer, as his chief adviser and private secretary.

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In this initial speech he also attacked the whole concept of democracy and paid a thinly veiled tribute to Germany and Italy. Col. Pedro J. de Ycaza, prominent Panamanian lawyer, made an affidavit for the American War Department in which he alleged that Arias belongs to the fifth column and that his ties with Hitler and Mussolini are concrete, notorious and evident.

In addition President Arias has recently forced a favorable plebiscite on a new constitution, which makes him a virtual dictator, suspends all laws for six months, has a provision providing for expropriation of American firms, and even in one clause makes a claim to the Panama Canal itself. In declaring that the vital American air base at Rio Hato was illegally acquired, Arias intimates that he will bargain strongly before giving land for six other air bases that are urgently needed in Panama.

There has been a great influx of Nazis since Arias assumed the presidency. One of them, a certain Mertz, who is a professor at the University of Panama, recently assigned the Panama Canal as a final thesis to his students, emphasizing that he wanted an exhaustive study covering all aspects of the waterway. The aerial photographer retained is Dr. Karl H. Brunner, the one who was retained by the government to beautify Panama City.

In dealing with Arias the American government must always consider the delicate equation of when possible danger to the Panama Canal outweighs the danger of damage to the policy of hemisphere defense. It is a subtle and difficult problem.

Tomorrow: Costa Rica, a country on the alert in its dealings with the big neighbor up north.

> her countryside bloomed, nurtured by the blood of American boys, as foreign to Mexico as the loans which secured the raw material.

The full import of the changes brought to Mexico by the Revolutionary Cardenas are revealed by Boyer through a smoking-car conversation, "'Revolution of Fish' Is Called Mexico's Greatest Need."[1] This story is an excellent discussion, brightly interpreted. Leaves from Boyer's Mexico City diary comprise another in the series. The last two features are a full page editorial by Boyer "On the Efforts Now Being Made to undo Mexico's Reforms"[2] and on the next day, "A Reply by Richard O. Boyer to an Editorial By Ralph Ingersoll."[3]

Boyer's work is marked by keen analysis and a trick for telling a story in an appealing, readable manner. Many of his most important points are made through repeated conversations, a difficult technique which he uses with a deft, experienced touch.

The work of Richard O. Boyer is closely paralleled by that of his wife, Sophia Ames Boyer. After the close of each of his series, a group of Mrs. Boyer's stories, largely impressions recorded as she traveled with her husband, are published.[4] On October 13 and 14, 1940, she wrote on the difficulties of every day living in Germany and on the Nazi propaganda diet. Following her husband's Central American series, Mrs. Boyer's four stories on the stature of women

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1 PM, January 3, 1941, p. 5.
2 PM, January 8, 1941, p. 8.
3 PM, January 9, 1941, p. 8.
4 PM, October 13 and 14, 1940, p. 5.

'Revolution of Fish' Is Called Mexico's Greatest Need

Interview on a Train ... People Sick From Living on Beans, Corn

Poet Unburdens t Boyer ... Charges O Men Bled the Nation

This is the eighth of a series of articles on Mexico and Latin America.

By Richard O. Boyer

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PM Exclusive

The rhythmic iron beat of the flat-wheeled Mexican train, seeming to repeat endlessly cadenced metallic syllables, was an impediment to conversation, but we sat in the smoking room and shouted over the clackety refrain. A red, moonfaced man with sad eyes was explaining Mexico to me by means of a fantastic parable, but his own genealogy seemed even more fantastic. He said he was the great-grandson of a British pirate who had settled in Mexico and had started a family before he became homesick and returned to England where he was hanged. A nervous gnome of a man whose blue eyes darted as swiftly as their owner's movements, said he was a poet, that he was writing an epic concerning Alexander Hamilton, and enigmatically added that what Mexico needed was a revolution of fish.

For my benefit the conversation was chiefly English. Now and again, however, a brakeman came in and said very slowly as if to a child:

"Tierra y Libertad."

Knowing that I was a journalist he was doing his best to get over his viewpoint. The great-grandson of the pirate seemed impatient.

"That's typical of Mexico," he said. "He's repeating over and over again the slogan of the Mexican revolution, 'Land and Lib-



Mexican peasants have been demanding land and liberty for more than 400 years. Their sweat has enriched the big proprietors. But the Cardenas Government distributed 30,000,000 acres among them. One co-operative project cares for 56,000 families.

Photo by Margaret Bourke-White

this time, at last got to the point of his involved narrative.

"So you see," he said, "Mexico is like the man who crawls to the top of a high tower and shouts to the people below, 'Now see what a wonderful thing I am about to accomplish! I will take this daring leap that

had been the slaves of those who had. **They said that of all the foreign exploiters, who had drawn wealth from Mexican soil while starving the Mexican people, the oil companies had been the worst.** They mentioned the names of trade union organizers who had been martyred because they tried to or-

horizon with scarlet and purple. And the train, its metallic refrain never ceasing, sped through the Mexican night.

* * *

I left the smoker and went back to my coach where I joined Juan de los Reyes, a government agricultural engineer who was taking me to the Laguna, **that huge combination of 200 co-operatives in Coahuila and Durango, where 56,000 families have been given 110,000 acres by the Mexican Government. On it they collectively raise cotton in the most dramatic effort of the Cardenas regime to give land to Mexican peasants, land that they have fought for for more than 400 years or since the time of the Spanish Conquistadores.**

Behind the struggles of the priests, Hidalgo and Morelos in the Mexican war for independence from 1810 to 1821 was the peasants' demand for land and the same force gave power to Benito Juarez, finally overthrew the dictator Diaz a half century later, and gave dynamic force to Emiliano Zapata, the great Mexican agrarian revolutionary who was killed in 1919. Until the time of Senor Cardenas, who distributed about 30,000,000 acres, this description of the Mexican agarian situation by Gen. Juan Alvarez in 1858 remained essentially true:

"The majority of the *hacienda* owners and their employes traffic in, and become enriched with, the miserable sweat of the unfortunate peasants; the peasants are snared like slaves, and debts are imposed upon them, passing even to the eighth generation, increasing in size and

'Revolution of Fish' Is Called Mexico's Greatest Need

Interview on a Train ... People Sick From Living on Beans, Corn

This is the eighth of a series of articles on Mexico and Latin America.

By Richard O. Boyer

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PM Exclusive

The rhythmic iron beat of the flat-wheeled Mexican train, seeming to repeat endlessly cadenced metallic syllables, was an impediment to conversation, but we sat in the smoking room and shouted over the clackety refrain. A red, moonfaced man with sad eyes was explaining Mexico to me by means of a fantastic parable, but his own genealogy seemed even more fantastic. He said he was the great-grandson of a British pirate who had settled in Mexico and had started a family before he became homesick and returned to England where he was hanged. A nervous gnome of a man whose blue eyes darted as swiftly as their owner's movements, said he was a poet, that he was writing an epic concerning Alexander Hamilton, and enigmatically added that what Mexico needed was a revolution of fish.

For my benefit the conversation was chiefly English. Now and again, however, a brakeman came in and said very slowly as if to a child:

"Tierra y Libertad."

Knowing that I was a journalist he was doing his best to get over his viewpoint. The great-grandson of the pirate seemed impatient.

"That's typical of Mexico," he said. "He's repeating over and over again the slogan of the Mexican revolution, 'Land and Lib-



Mexican peasants have been demanding land and liberty for more than 400 years. Their sweat has enriched the big proprietors. But the Cardenas Government distributed 30,000,000 acres among them. One co-operative project cares for 56,000 families. *Photo by Margaret Bourke-White*

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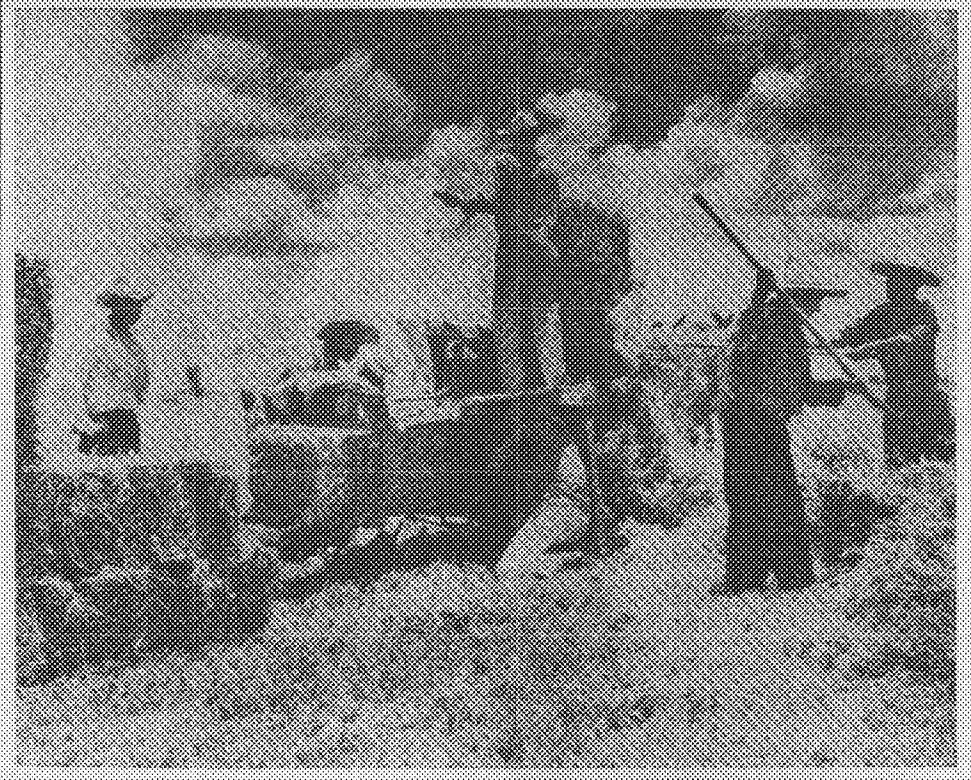
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Mexican peasants have been demanding land and liberty for more than 400 years. Their sweat has enriched the big proprietors. But the Cardenas Government distributed 30,000,000 acres among them. One co-operative project cares for 50,000 families.

Photo by Margaret Bourke-White

The train, at last got to the point of his unsolved narrative.

"So you see," he said, "Mexico is like the man who crawls to the top of a high tower and shouts to the people below. 'Now see what a wonderful thing I am about to accomplish! I will take this daring leap that has been the slaves of those who had. **They said that of all the foreign exploiters, who had drawn wealth from Mexican soil while starving the Mexican people, the oil companies had been the worst.** They mentioned the names of trade union organizers who had been martyred because they tried to or-

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"That's typical of Mexico," he said. "He's repeating over and over again the slogan of the Mexican revolution, 'Land and Liberty!'

"What Mexico needs," said the poet again, "is a revolution of fish. There's been too much phrase-making, too much shooting. What is Mexico's most serious problem? The absence of a proper diet! The people are sick from living for centuries on beans and corn. Yet the ocean abounds in life-giving fish! If we could just build a railroad, just one, from east to west, we could bring the people fish! That's more important than passing resolutions!"

Troop Escort

A mesmeric feeling of strangeness came upon me as the train clattered through the desert's dust, our vision punctuated with the gray-green distortions of the antediluvian cacti, the hard silver green, crevice-carved mountains, somehow tortured like all the landscape, a constant ever before us. In the coach behind us was an armed detachment of soldiers to protect us from bandits and every now and then a man with a revolver strapped to his thigh would enter the smoking room. Each time the train stopped a pack of starving dogs streaked down the aisles, their noses exploring under each seat with an incredible sniffing speed, and hosts of dark, shawled women, barefooted and sometimes maimed or crippled, would try to sell us tortillas.

We would speed through a dry, baked, dusty group of huts, glimpse men on horseback. At one place there was a baseball team and a band drawn up beside the track, but the train sped unfeelingly by. We would clatter by adobe shacks, glaring and isolated in the desert. A skinny, soft-eyed child stared impassively at the train, which was his one momentary, daily contact with the outside world.

Now the great-grandson of the British pirate, Mexican to the top of his hair by this time, at last got to the point of his involved narrative.

"So you see," he said, "Mexico is like the man who crawls to the top of a high tower and shouts to the people below, 'Now see what a wonderful thing I am about to accomplish! I will take this daring leap that no one has ever taken!' And poor Mexico does take the leap, and he is knocked unconscious and then the poor fellow tries it over again."

Mexican peasants have been demanding land and liberty for more than 400 years. Their sweat has enriched the big proprietors. But the Cardenas Government distributed 30,000,000 acres among them. One co-operative project cares for 56,000 families.

Photo by Margaret Bourke-White

'Mexico Has a Man'

At this point someone in the conversation mentioned the expropriation of the oil companies on March 18, 1938 by the then President Lazaro Cardenas.

"God, how I remember that day!" exclaimed the great-grandson of the pirate, his brown eyes losing their sadness.

"That was Mexico's Declaration of Independence," said the poet, forgetting his revolution of fish. "That was a greater day for Mexico than the Battle of Bunker Hill for the United States!"

"God," said the pirate's descendant, "I was writing newspaper editorials then. I remember I didn't know anything about it. I didn't know it was going to happen. No one did. When they told me I remember saying "Thank God, at last Mexico has a man!' I wrote an editorial. I never knew what I wrote. I remember sending out for a bottle of whisky and then I couldn't type. I dictated my editorial. It must have been all right though because the next day I got hundreds of telegrams."

It seemed as if everyone in the smoking compartment had drawn closer together, joined by some common memory of days that were gone but of days that were heroic. The brakeman had come in again and he was listening. He seemed to see no need of his slogan now.

Perhaps I looked as if I did not understand the significance of the expropriation for which the oil companies say they should receive $450,000,000 while the Mexican Government says $10,000,000 is the proper amount. They all began talking at once. They said that for 400 years Mexicans had not only never owned their own wealth but had been the slaves of those who had. **They said that of all the foreign exploiters, who had drawn wealth from Mexican soil while starving the Mexican people, the oil companies had been the worst.** They mentioned the names of trade union organizers who had been martyred because they tried to organize the oil workers.

"Write this down, write this down," said the poet, his blue eyes popping with a strange urgency.

I wrote "Manuel Gomez, Hilario Jacinto, Adolfo Merinos, Lino Cruz," and "Jeronimo Merinos."

"And write down 'Valentin Fernandez'," said the poet. "He was killed because he had the audacity to drink water from a cup that was reserved for our foreign bosses."

They told me that the oil companies had refused to abide by Mexican labor laws, had refused to accept decisions of the Mexican Supreme Court, and that the case had been exactly as if a giant, Mexican combine had come to the U. S. A. and refused to obey the Wagner Labor Act and the Wage-Hour law.

"I can still remember Cardenas's words to Daniels," the former editorial writer said. He recited in a rich dramatic voice. " 'Respectfully inform his Excellency, the Ambassador, that if the richest oil fields in the world stood in the way of maintaining our national dignity, became an insuperable obstacle to maintenance of that honor which we prize so highly, we would burn the oil fields to the ground rather than sacrifice our honor.' "

No Alternative

The conversation murmured on but the elation that had been there slowly seeped from it. Now they were saying once more that Mexico had no alternative but to accept whatever conditions the U. S. A. imposed in the negotiations for hemispheric defense and get loans as large as possible. They sounded tired, sounded as if the great and ardent days of the Cardenas administration had exhausted them. It was getting dusk and the sunset streaked the somber blue

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"The majority of the *hacienda* owners and their employes traffic in, and become enriched with, the miserable sweat of the unfortunate peasants; the peasants are snared like slaves, and debts are imposed upon them, passing even to the eighth generation, increasing in size and augmenting the personal labor of the unhappy victims. At the same time, humaneness, reason, justice decline, and with them declines the compensation for so much anxiety, so many tears and so much weariness.

"Expropriation and abuse grow and the insatiable greed of some *hacendados* never diminishes. They have gradually taken possession of privately owned lands, of *ejidos*, entire communities, and with unparallelled boldness claim ownership, although there is no legal title to back them up. So it is with good reason that the communities clamor for justice, protection and support; but the courts are deaf to their clamors and petitions; persecution and imprisonment are the reward of those who claim what is justly theirs."

Tomorrow's article will describe agrarian reform at Laguna.

Mexican Political Groups Take Over City Hall

MATAMOROS, Mex., Jan. 3.—Matamoros has been placed under martial law by state authorities to prevent any outbreak from an argument over the office of mayor. Supporters of both Thomas de Saro and Antonio de Leon, candidates in the recent election, seized control of different parts of the city hall.

The state has ordered the militia to oust the supporters of De Saro, government party candidate, who previously had been certified as elected.



AN EDITORIAL

On the Efforts Now Being Made to Undo Mexico's Reforms

PM sent Richard O. Boyer to Mexico and Central America in October to report on local reaction to Hemisphere Defense. Since his return two weeks ago we have published a series of ten articles supplementing the dispatches he sent while away. Two months are naturally too brief a period to become an "expert" on a foreign country, but ample time for an observant reporter to gather essential information on which to base opinions. We asked Mr. Boyer to write an editorial summarizing his opinions of Mexico's relations with the U. S. A. PM believes every reporter who has worked on a story for some weeks should express his editorial views of the subject he has investigated. This Mr. Boyer does today.

In this final article I would like to record my fear, and catalog my reasons for it, that Mexico is moving towards a form of Fascism—a reaction aided and abetted not by the Nazis alone but also by Mexican reactionaries and American businessmen in and out of Mexico.

Now Fascism, to my mind, is imposed upon a people in more ways than by a Nazi invasion. Moreover, it is more than a publicly avowed creed; it is, more primarily, a tragic condition. Perhaps in the last analysis, however, it makes little difference to the people who suffer under it how it was imposed or what it is called. The result is always the same, the breaking up of trade unions, the undoing of reforms, the lengthening of hours of labor, the disappearance of civil rights, and the crushing of a people by a militant reaction.

The question is, "Are these things developing in Mexico?" If they are what are the forces behind them? Presumably if Fascism is news in Europe, the possibility

General Almazan, frequently said to have the backing of expropriated American oil companies, was characterized as a Fascist with virtually complete unanimity by the liberal press of both Mexico and the U. S. A. What was he in favor of? Why, restoring the power of the conservative Church, smashing the trade unions, restoring "discipline" to labor, returning the properties of the expropriated oil companies, taking the Mexican national railroads from the hands of the workers, and generally reversing the reforms of President Cardenas.

During the progress of the election Manuel Avila Camacho, the present president of Mexico, stole Almazan's fire by stealing Almazan's policies. Privately he told many key people that he was as much of a conservative as Almazan and publicly in an interview in *Hoy* he intimated that he was not as much of a revolutionary as his candidacy on the ticket of the Party of the Mexican Revolution might indicate. In doing so he received the support of virtually every reactionary in Mexico, including Portes Gil, a former president. In doing so he ultimately received the support of the U. S. A.

Reactionary Threat

Now I submit that if Almazan is a Fascist, as he was generally termed, for advocating a certain program, then Camacho is one when he advocates the same thing. Purely for geometric purity, and in the nature of a theorem, I also submit that the Nazis in Mexico, the Falangistas, the Almazanistas, the Camachistas, and certain powerful American elements, as will be shown later, are in complete unanimity as far as the smashing of labor, and the reversing of reform, are con-

means as much or as little as a Liberty Leaguer's tribute to the Constitution.

What did Cardenas do that any rational person could disapprove? He gave 1,500,000 destitute families land. He reduced illiteracy from 65 to 45 per cent. He gave labor its first genuine, practical opportunity to organize into trade unions and he passed an act roughly equivalent to the Wagner Labor Act. He forced foreign oil companies to observe Mexican labor laws and when they would not he expropriated them. It is all this that is threatened.

For it is not as if this Nazi-Falangista-American program for the smashing of trade unions and the return of reaction was remaining academic. President Camacho is putting it into effect. The first thing he did was to appoint a reactionary cabinet and make a truce with Almazan and his followers under that ancient, and to me suspicious shiboleth, of national unity. The next thing he did was to send two bills to Congress, both of which will probably pass and both of which indicate which way the wind is blowing.

The first, striking at the heart of land reform, entitles property holding religious bodies to take legal recourse against expropriation as a means of regaining land. Such organizations, until 1917, were one of the largest land holders in Mexico. The second bill gives all judges life tenure, reversing the Cardenas law that Supreme Court judges had a term of but six years, and this is generally thought to be a prelude to a Mexican Supreme Court decision reversing the Cardenas oil expropriation.

Nor is that all. President Camacho, too,

Falangista followers, between Almazan and Camacho. But where does the U.S.A. come in? "Back of the whole Mexican picture," says the current issue of *Hemisphere*, authoritative Latin American review, "is speedy heightening of U. S. influence to a point beyond anything in the past 10 years. Settlement of disputes over expropriation of both oil and land belonging to U. S. citizens are now taken for granted, following conclusion of Mexican visit by U. S. Vice-President-elect Henry Wallace, with a Washington loan coming soon after. U. S. Army concern over state of Mexican transport and private proposal of a U. S. syndicate to invest several million dollars in Mexican railways are rumored to have hastened recent abrupt termination of trade union control."

Billion Dollar Stake

But does one really have to labor the point of U. S. influence in Mexico? After all such an authority as Edgar Turlington, author of *Mexico and Her Foreign Creditors* and former assistant legal adviser to the State Department, says we have investments of almost a billion dollars there. No one would seriously suggest that there has ever been a Mexican regime which has ever successfully opposed the interests of the United States for a sustained period. Cardenas' work, for example, which we did not especially like, is being undone now, and the fire of Calles was once removed by a visit from Dwight Morrow. And we know, finally, that one of Camacho's cardinal policies is the regaining of American capital and that American industrialists have said there could be no new money until the present Mexican labor laws were changed

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Now Fascism, to my mind, is imposed upon a people in more ways than by a Nazi invasion. Moreover, it is more than a publicly avowed creed; it is, more primarily, a tragic condition. Perhaps in the last analysis, however, it makes little difference to the people who suffer under it how it was imposed or what it is called. The result is always the same, the breaking up of trade unions, the undoing of reforms, the lengthening of hours of labor, the disappearance of civil rights, and the crushing of a people by a militant reaction.

The question is, "Are these things developing in Mexico?" If they are what are the forces behind them? Presumably if Fascism is news in Europe, the possibility of an indigenous version of it at our own border, one which may have American connections, is also news.

There are according to the best sources, some 7,000 Nazis in Mexico. As far as mass agitation is concerned it is generally thought that the Nazis, themselves, acting directly, have not had much effect on a population of 20,000,000. But, working through 50,000 Falangistas, members of a Mexican Fascist organization having its origin in Franco Spain, they have been an important factor. These people ardently backed Juan Andreu Almazan in the recent election. Their program, like that of the Nazis, was typically fascist, calling for the breakup of the trade unions, the rescinding of the Cardenas labor laws and of other popular reforms, and the elimination of the Party of the Mexican Revolution.

As a result of this backing, and of his own consistently Fascist pronouncements, Church, smashing the trade unions, restoring "discipline" to labor, returning the properties of the expropriated oil companies, taking the Mexican national railroads from the hands of the workers, and generally reversing the reforms of President Cardenas.

During the progress of the election Manuel Avila Camacho, the present president of Mexico, stole Almazan's fire by stealing Almazan's policies. Privately he told many key people that he was as much of a conservative as Almazan and publicly in an interview in *Hoy* he intimated that he was not as much of a revolutionary as his candidacy on the ticket of the Party of the Mexican Revolution might indicate. In doing so he received the support of virtually every reactionary in Mexico, including Portes Gil, a former president. In doing so he ultimately received the support of the U. S. A.

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There is no opinion more erroneous than that former President Cardenas is a dangerous, bomb-throwing revolutionary. With some differences he is to Mexico what Roosevelt has been to the U. S. A. and his reforms are to his country what the New Deal has been to this. Perhaps the misconception—in cetrain quarters—about Cardenas' role derives from the terminology of the so-called Mexican Revolution. The Revolution, as conceived in Mexico, is an evolution, an evolution of reform and that has been the former president's conception of it. Every Mexican manufacturer and banker pays glowing tributes to the Revolution but it opportunity to organize into trade unions and he passed an act roughly equivalent to the Wagner Labor Act. He forced foreign oil companies to observe Mexican labor laws and when they would not he expropriated them. It is all this that is threatened.

For it is not as if this Nazi-Falangista-American program for the smashing of trade unions and the return of reaction was remaining academic. President Camacho is putting it into effect. The first thing he did was to appoint a reactionary cabinet and make a truce with Almazan and his followers under that ancient, and to me suspicious shiboleth, of national unity. The next thing he did was to send two bills to Congress, both of which will probably pass and both of which indicate which way the wind is blowing.

The first, striking at the heart of land reform, entitles property holding religious bodies to take legal recourse against expropriation as a means of regaining land. Such organizations, until 1917, were one of the largest land holders in Mexico. The second bill gives all judges life tenure, reversing the Cardenas law that Supreme Court Judges had a term of but six years, and this is generally thought to be a prelude to a Mexican Supreme Court decision reversing the Cardenas oil expropriation.

Nor is that all. President Camacho, too, has called for "the disciplining" of labor and another of his early acts was removing the Mexican railroads from labor control. In addition he is surrounded by those who have advocated that labor's right to strike be terminated by compulsory arbitration.

Moreover, he is attacking the Party of the Mexican Revolution, at least in its present form, of which labor is an integral part. Already he has dissolved one of the four sectors or divisions of the PRM, that of the soldiers who were included so that they might be a part of national life and close to the desires of the people. To add one more element to the picture, Camacho desires to form national youth and women's organizations under the Mexican government and one can only hope that they will not too much resemble those in corporate states.

Now we have a certain unanimity between the labor-hating Nazis and their the past 10 years. Settlement of disputes over expropriation of both oil and land belonging to U. S. citizens are now taken for granted, following conclusion of Mexican visit by U. S. Vice-President-elect Henry Wallace, with a Washington loan coming soon after. U. S. Army concern over state of Mexican transport and private proposal of a U. S. syndicate to invest several million dollars in Mexican railways are rumored to have hastened recent abrupt termination of trade union control."

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And what of Nazi machinations to invade the U. S. through Mexico? If the Nazis have such plans I don't think they can accomplish them. Most American officials in Mexico beileve that the goal of Nazi agents there is to impose a fascist-like government upon the country. I am afraid that's being done already and that the duel for who will own it has already been won.

RICHARD O. BOYER.

(In an editorial on Jan. 2, Ralph Ingersoll suggested that Mr. Boyer, in his tour of Mexico and Central America, might have unwittingly harvested a crop of carefully sown Nazi propaganda. Mr. Boyer said he'd like to answer that editorial. Tomorrow he will do so.)

in Mexico, Guatemala, and the Canal Zone, were more like a beautifully written and illustrated travelogue than a sociological study.

Robert Neville's "Inside Hitler's Europe"

Neville's series concerned the current political situation in the countries conquered by Hitler and traced the particular pre-war political and economic problems which made each country vulnerable to Fascist onslaught.

The story on Czecho-Slovakia,[1] for instance, explains the organized resistance of the Czechs to Nazi domination. It is crammed with interesting facts. A competent explanation of Hungary's "revisionist psychosis"[2] and its weakening effect upon the independent government, the status of Belgium and its political background leading to surrender,[3] the formation of a French Fascist figurehead[4] -- these are the factors which make Neville's stories exciting reading.

One of the commendable points about PM's foreign commentary articles is the clear manner in which the "Source" is set forth at the beginning of each story. In the first story on France,[5] the source note states:

> The economic figures in this article are taken largely from Iron Age, the industrial magazine; sources of the other material are newspaper correspondence, Nazi decrees passing through the censorship, reports of refugees from the occupied and unoccupied zones of France.

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1 PM, September 5, 1940, p. 5.
2 PM, September 17, 1940, p. 5.
3 PM, September 19, 1940, p. 5.
4 PM, September 23, 1940, p. 5.
5 PM, September 20, 1940, p. 5.

FOREIGN COMMENTARY

Inside Hitler's Europe . . . No. 10, Belgium

Dazed Belgians Are Glumly Obedient Under Occupation

The sources of this article are reports from diplomatic channels, published Nazi decrees and the statements of responsible refugees from Belgium.

By ROBERT NEVILLE

Throughout the first World War the King of the Belgians kept a small army in the field and a Belgian government continued to function on a tiny piece of Belgian soil. The Belgian people in the occupied territory continued for four years to resist their German conquerors, whether by non-co-operation, actual sabotage or espionage.

Today, by contrast, the King of the Belgians is a German prisoner, the Belgian Government which escaped to France has disbanded and no organized Belgian Army is in existence to fight the Nazis. As a result, the Belgian people feel helpless and bewildered and, from all accounts, are both resigned and obedient to the German Army of Occupation.

Belgium differs from the other Nazi-occupied nations of Europe in that the Germans here have not announced their intention of setting up a puppet government. Instead, the local Mayors have been permitted to keep their jobs, although always under the supervision of a "visiting" German officer.



One of the most interesting jobs in Belgium is held by Max Liebe, counselor of the former German Embassy at Brussels, who is now in charge of "political reconstruction." In just what way Belgium is going to be "politically reconstructed" remains a mystery, although a few fairly good hints have appeared in the German press.

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'Self Determination' in Luxembourg

Adolf Hitler, who has a phobia against small, independent states, has decided to wipe the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, which he invaded last May, off the map. Hereafter the 999 square miles and 296,913 citizens of Luxembourg will be counted German. Previously the Grand Duchy had a customs union with Belgium.

Gustav Simon, a Nazi provincial governor, has been named civil administrator. He has decreed the abolition of all political parties; the voiding of the Constitution; the use only of German as an official language; the outlawing of the name "Grand Duchy" in official documents; the famous Nuremburg laws applying to Jews. Meanwhile, all except about 15,000 of the 80,000 people of Luxembourg who fled to France at the time of invasion have returned.

The big Nazi prize in Luxembourg consisted of an annual production of 5,000,000 tons of iron ore, about 1,500,000 tons of steel and 1,500,000 of pig iron. This increased German iron-ore production by about 50 per cent. Luxembourg also had 17,000 horses, 108,512 head of cattle, 147,366 pigs, 1,955 sheep and 3,515 goats.

Such a small state can naturally give only very ineffective resistance to the German Reich. That the Nazis have found Grande Duchess Charlotte's former subjects anything but enthusiastic about their newly imposed Germanism is evident from this excerpt from the *Warschauer Zeitung:*

"Although they are almost entirely Germanic, during their 100 years of independence they have withdrawn from the spiritual circle of the German people and have been spiritually assimilated by the French. Luxembourg is more French than German. Francophilism and pacifism led them to believe the present war is Germany's fault."

Main Problems Are Famine, Lack of Work, And Reconstruction

¶ Belgian industries hire now on the average no more than 20 per cent of their former staffs.

¶ The Nazis have decreed the slaughter of 50 per cent of the livestock and some 90 per cent of the poultry. This was because Belgium normally imported some 55,000 tons of wheat from the U. S. and Canada and can now get no more. Furthermore, the country had stored up no wheat reserves.

¶ Crops are much below average because of severe winter, late spring, rainy summer and reduction of acreage because of mobilization.

¶ Coffee has disappeared, eggs and butter cannot be bought and the bread ration is about a half pound daily. All in all, the rations of a German soldier amounts to about three times that allowed a Belgian citizen. Before the war Belgium imported about 49 per cent of all the food she ate.

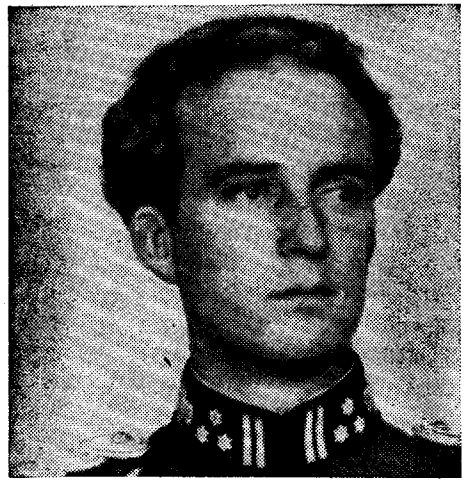
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Belgium differs from the other Nazi-occupied nations of Europe in that the Germans here have not announced their intentions. The Germans have declared, for instance, that Norway and Denmark will be freed from "protective custody" as soon as possible, although they will certainly be expected to conform to the economic tenets of the New Order of Europe even when freed.



Leopold expected peace with honor, but is a virtual prisoner.
Photo by Wide World

Martial Law

As a token of their good intentions the Nazis have allowed both Norway and Denmark to keep local governments to handle domestic matters. Belgium, on the other hand, is ruled still by a German military commander and the country is under martial law. The commander, incidentally, is Gen. Alexander von Falkenhausen, well-known militarist who helped train the Chinese Army before he was withdrawn because of German sympathy with Japan.

A Nazi Chief Commissioner of Reconstruction has also been named and he has been reported directing the rebuilding of town halls, schools, railroad stations and even homes along the familiar lines of Hitler's approved architectural style. Few big Belgian cities suffered in the invasion, but countless smaller ones did, among them Tournai, Namur, Nivelle, Alost and Louvain, to mention only a few. In some places the local Mayors have been permitted to keep their jobs, although always under the supervision of a "visiting" German officer.

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One of these hints is that the Kingdom of Belgium was, after all, an artificial creation. Its 8,000,000 citizens, for instance, were about half French-speaking Walloons and about half Dutch-speaking Flemings who held different ideals of government and who, for 20 years, were always fighting each other. The two groups had been held together simply by the cohesive power of the throne.

The Nazi press has frequently sympathized with the Flemings as Germanic cousins ruled by the Walloons. There has even been some speculation about joining the Flemings and Dutch together into one homogeneous Nazi-dominated protectorate and placing Leopold, a Saxe-Coburg and a German prince, on a puppet throne. The Nazis, incidentally, profess admiration for Leopold as a man of courage who knew when he was beaten. He is now in Laeken Castle under a German general's custody.

The extreme Flemish leaders of Belgium have come into their own with the Nazi occupation, although strangely enough the Rexists, the Belgian Fascists, have been kept in the background. Leon Degrelle, the Rexist leader, was reported by the Germans several times as having been killed by the French, but the last news is that he is still alive.

There have been no atrocities reported, although numerous Belgian officials obnoxious to the Flemish nationalists have been arrested. The German wireless several times has announced that the Belgian people are indignant over the number of "patriots" that the former government turned over to the French for imprisonment in France before Leopold made his famous surrender.

Unemployment

Up to late August the refugee government under Premier Huber Pierlot continued in existence in Vichy. This was obviously impossible for long, however, and it has since been disbanded. Marcel Henri Jaspar, the former Minister of Health, now heads a committee of Belgian deputies who are in London and have urged the formation of an autonomous Belgian fighting force. In time they are expected to function much as the French Committee of Gen. de Gaulle is operating.

The pattern of civil administration in the occupied countries often differs, but that of economic administration never does. Belgium's economic situation is simply staggering.

¶ Unemployment is now well over 1,000,000.

¶ About a third of the 2,000,000 Belgians who have fled to France have returned. When the others get home they will increase the unemployed.



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Lt.-Gen. Baron Alexander von Falkenhausen, taciturn Nazi strategist, rules over-run Belgium for Hitler.
Photo by Wide World

¶ The entire railroad system has been taken over by the Germans for military purposes, with virtually no other traffic allowed on it.

A works program has been started. To finance it the Germans have founded a new bank of issue which will print money on the basis of labor rather than on Belgian gold, foreign exchange and securities, all of which are now frozen either in London or New York anyway.

Surrendered by its ruler, given little hope or encouragement by its leaders, Belgium is today a forlorn, isolated and devastated community crushed by the German occupation and seeing before them the specter of approaching famine.

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Lion Feuchtwanger's "Some Reasons Why France Was Doomed"

Feuchtwanger, a noted German author who lived in France as a refugee for seven years, wrote a series of articles[1] for PM to explain partially the debacle of the French Republic. His articles formed a general resume of the French people and their natural characteristics -- their love of leisure and of gracious living, their indifference to politics and Je-m'en-foutisme (I don't give a damn) attitude, their sublime contentment. The series is written with deep feeling and with real regret for the war's effects on France.

"France Under Hitler's Heel"

This series appeared between March 10 and 18, 1941. According to Alexander Uhl of PM's staff, who wrote the introduction:[2]

> It is written by Americans who have been in both the occupied and unoccupied regions in recent months and by writers who have kept closely in touch with France. It makes no pretense to resolve great political problems. In attempts, rather, to present a picture of the French people themselves, the new forces that are working on them and their reactions to these forces.

The first installment is printed beneath a striking streamer of "Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite," with a rough swastika superimposed over each word.

The nature of the articles can be gleaned from the follow-

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1 PM, November 10, 11, 12 and 14, 1940, p. 5.
2 PM, March 10, 1941, p. 6.

LIBERTÉ, ÉGALITÉ, FRATERNITÉ

For nine months now—ever since the vengeful armistice of Compiegne—France has been a land of inexplicable mystery and of bewilderment to those of us who knew her before the war. Torn in two by the armistice, her industrial region occupied, her capital ruled by Nazis, her cafes—where thousands of free Frenchmen, American tourists, refugees from totalitarian lands, once sat—now filled with German soldiers, her people have had no voice either at home or abroad. Thousands of words have been written about why France fell—betrayal, lack of will to live, decadence of the democratic system, corruption in her political life, divided loyalties. Thousands more have been written about the intrigues of Vichy, the scheming of Fascist politicians such as Laval, the contempt for parliamentary government held by Petain, the role played by Weygand. The world has been flooded with excuses, explanations, recriminations, wild charges. But what of the French people themselves? What have the Nazis, the Petains, the Lavals done to them?

It is hard for us who know the peasants and workers of France to believe that they have been swept overnight into more than a dull acceptance of a bastardized form of totalitarian government imposed on them by superior force and political organization.

We know little of their reactions in their common everyday living, little of what Hitler is doing to them in destroying their culture, in wiping out the memory of their once universal "Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite."

Today PM begins a series on France under Hitler's heel. It is written by Americans who have been in both the occupied and unoccupied regions in recent months and by writers who have kept closely in touch with France. It makes no pretense to resolve great political problems. It attempts, rather, to present a picture of the French people themselves, the new forces that are working on them and their reactions to these forces.

In the long run what matters most is what is happening to the French people themselves—what is happening to their belief in themselves and the spirit of freedom and liberty which made France for so many years the refuge of persecuted people from all over Europe. There are signs that the people of France are coming out of the lethargy that struck them when the war was lost for them. To understand what the rest of the world can expect from them, it is necessary also to understand what is being done to them—to catch a glimpse of their schools, their movies, their newspapers, their daily life.

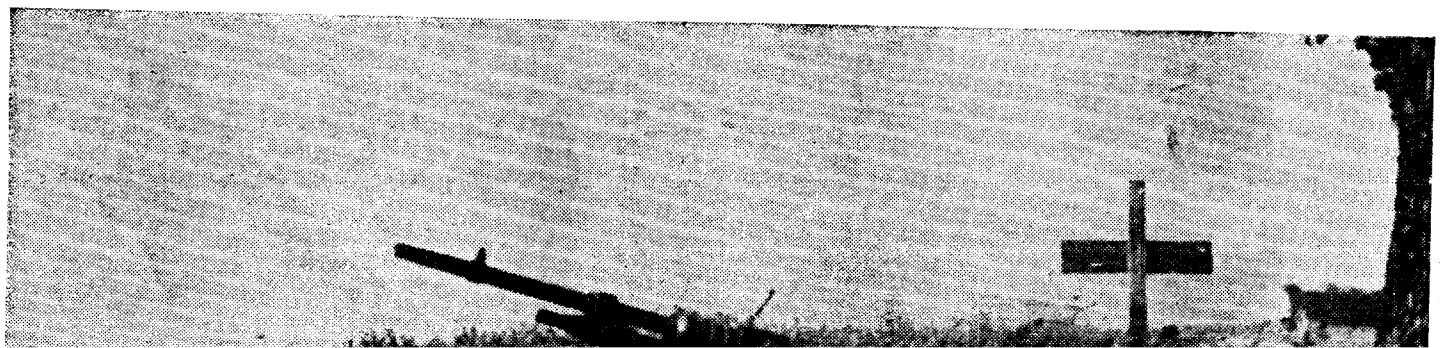
I lived in France four years—1931-1935. They were years of hot political battles, street riots, domestic disorders. Whatever happened, the French were always fiercely nationalistic, fiercely individualistic, fiercely democratic. I believe they still are.—ALEXANDER UHL.

FRANCE UNDER HITLER'S HEEL:

Nazis Use Brittany As 'Kindergarten' for Invasion

American Woman Watched Troops Practice Landings

Mrs. Lorna Lindsley is an American free lance writer and motion picture producer who has lived in France on and off for 18 years. She was in Perpignan, France, preparing to produce a documentary film on Spanish refugees when the war started. She went to Paris, where she



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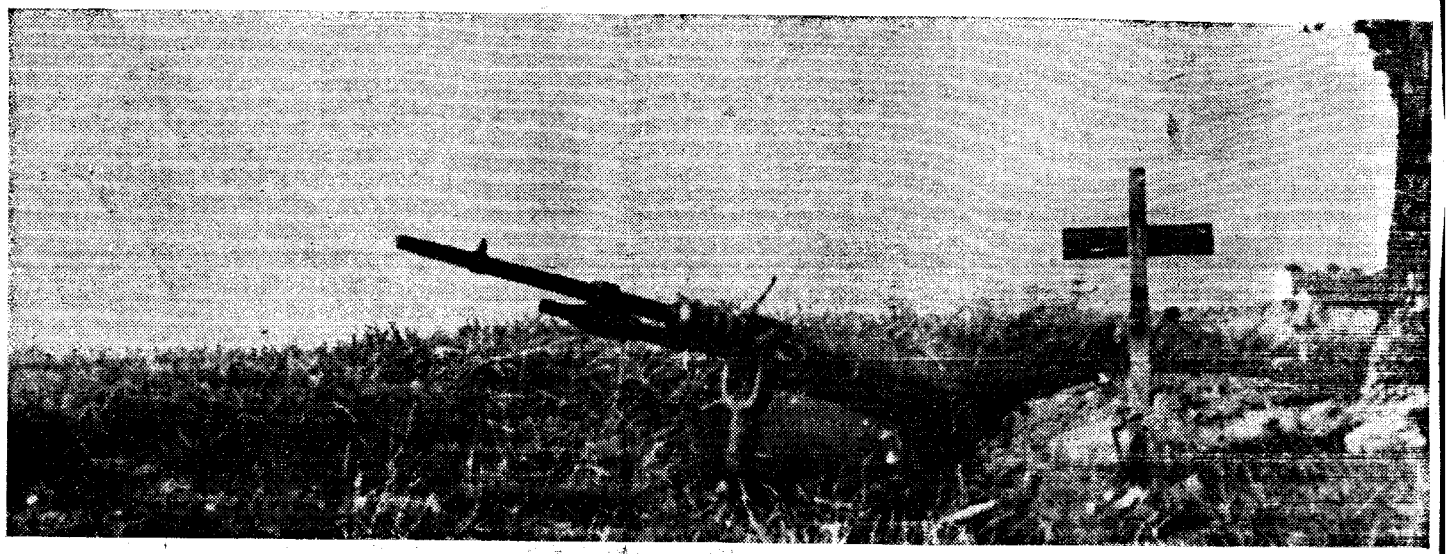
PM Exclusive

There were three of us who wanted to go to Brittany, one because he was a Breton, the other because he was a painter, and myself. No papers are necessary to travel in the occupied territory as long as you don't go into the military zones which are in the north and on the channel coast facing England. We took third-class tickets at the Gare Montparnasse and packed into the corridor of the train while German soldiers rode in special coaches reserved for them.

We had expected to camp out in a fisherman's house near St. Brieuc which belonged to the Breton, but the Germans were there before us, a crew of four men to nurse a shore battery which they had installed on the bluff. It was blustery October weather with gusts of rain, sleeping outdoors was impossible, so we walked along the coast in search of small hotels not requisitioned by the army.

The sea was empty of boats; only a few fishing smacks put out to sea to bring in a catch of mackerel and sardines. They are back in port before ebb tide to rest on their crutches on the mudflats. At sea and in port they fly the French flag, but the white flag of surrender must fly above it. It's an improvised sort of flag, like a castaway's trousers flapping on a raft. It is usually made of a piece of Breton household linen, frayed at the end. It does not look as if it were made to last long.

The fishermen grumble because the ocean is no longer theirs to go where they want, and often when the catch is running high they are called back to port to clear the sea for gun practice. Also there steam trawlers have been requisitioned and even many of their small sailing craft, for the invader needs boats.



Not all Frenchmen fled before Hitler's *Panzer* divisions when the Nazis overran France last year. This one stood by his machine gun to the last and was buried beside it. By this time the gun has undoubtedly been salvaged by the Germans, but the grave still is there.

Sometimes we walked along the coast over high bluffs between the beaches. We followed the coast guards' path through the heather. German soldiers were there now, often stretched out asleep in the sun, shirt and boots pulled off. The German soldier in repose takes a sun bath where the French soldier goes to a bistro for a glass of wine and some conversation.

There were Germans on the beaches too, eternally drilling. And these exercises leave strange patterns on the sand. Instead of the confused footprints of peace time, the playing children, the running dogs, there are booted feet forming huge squares with neatly turned corners, drill-ground patterns.

Only once did they stop us and ask for papers. The demobilization orders of my companions were all they wanted to see. Behind the beaches were rows of summer villas, once beloved of British tourists. They looked dreary and empty until we saw German soldiers emerging from them, like worms from an apple.

Even so small a port as Dahoet showed German activity. When we reached there the tide was out, and drawn up on the long stone quay were rafts. They were constructed of stout logs, had planks on them and side rails. They could be tied together and were wide enough for a tank to cross. At high tide these were towed into the bay for exercises, the soldiers were drilled in mounting and dismounting them, the men had to jump into the water in heavy army kit and swim ashore. Spectators to this show were not encouraged, lines were drawn near the shore to prevent us from passing, but we glimpsed it from a distance. The whole proceeding seemed rather infantile, a kindergarten for the invasion.

We walked to Cap Frehel, a superb jutting cliff topped by a lighthouse and semaphore station. The French coast guard had fired the station and lighthouse before they left in June, but the Germans, being right around the corner, had put the fire out immediately. Photography on this point was "strongly forbidden," but I risked it and the soldiers who saw me did not stop me. If an officer had been there the story would have been different. We went inland to stay in a farming village. Mounted infantry were billeted there and there were lots of good horses. The men seemed to have little to do all day but curry their mounts. There were no complaints against the soldiers in the villages except that they ate so much. "They are very correct," the women said.

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In the cafes at night the Germans and the townspeople talked together. They discussed the war. One night an aviator from the last war, a Frenchman, went so far as to suggest that perhaps Hitler wouldn't win the war. A young German at a nearby table, who had six empty beer glasses in front of him, took exception to this. He jumped to his feet and shouted:

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MORE

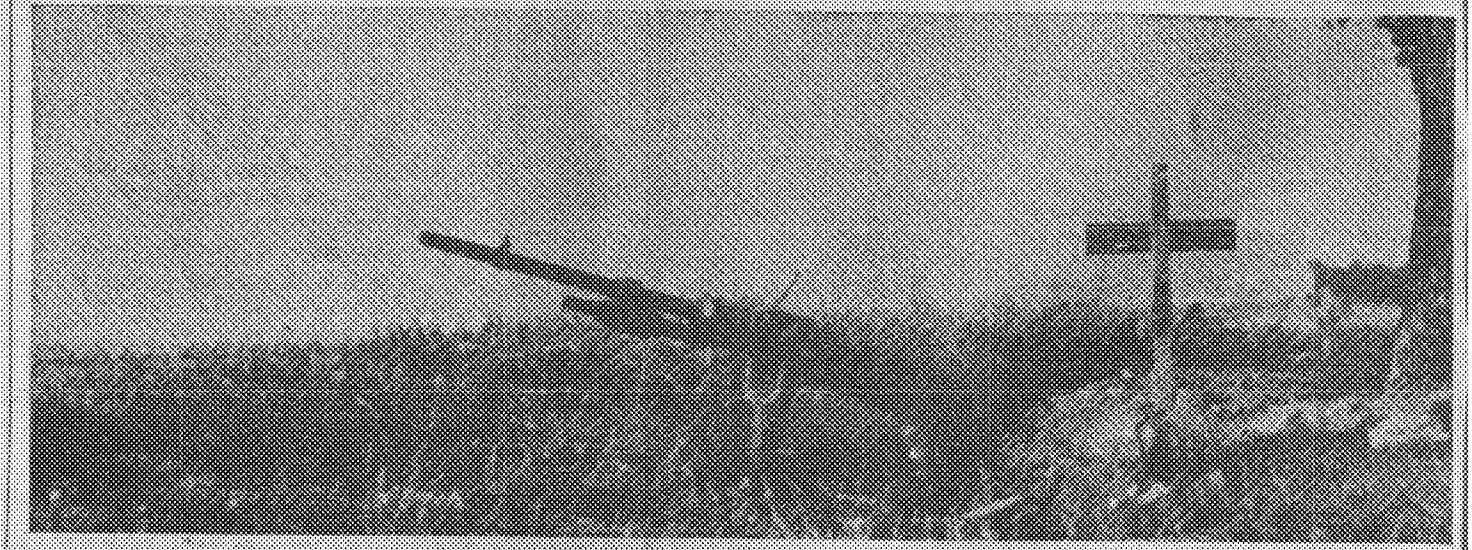
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MORE

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"Nazis Use Brittany as 'Kindergarten' for Invasion," Lorna Lindsay [1]

"Hitler Conquered Paris But Goebbels Lost It," Joseph Congress 2

"Nazi Movie and Radio Propaganda Falls Flat," Joseph Congress 3

"History Textbooks Must Obey Nazi Orders," Joseph Congress 4

"Refugees Suffer Most from Nazi Conquest," Claiborne Pell 5

"People Hunger for Want of Transportation." Claiborne Pell 6

This competently written series, in which comment overshadows fact, is another in the many attempts to fathom the mystery of France.

Ralph Ingersoll's "The Truth About England"

Ralph Ingersoll's report on his visit to London was given more publicity than any other feature in PM and also more prominent display. While he was in London, Ingersoll's dispatches were few and scanty; one of them is the brief, forthright story, "Courage of the British Is Damnedest Thing You Ever Saw, Says Ingersoll."[7]

Active promotion for the "Truth About England" began on November 15[8] when a striking picture and an accompanying

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1 PM, March 10, 1941, p. 6.
2 PM, March 12, 1941, p. 6.
3 PM, March 13, 1941, p. 6.
4 PM, March 14, 1941, p. 6.
5 PM, March 16, 1941, p. 6.
6 PM, March 18, 1941, p. 7.
7 PM, October 27, 1940, p. 6.
8 PM, November 15, 1940, p. 15.

story announced that Ingersoll's story would begin on Monday, November 18. Four pages of pictures of London's bombed East End residents appear in the same issue.[1] Two days later, PM's managing editor, John P. Lewis, interviewed Ingersoll, who obligingly told of his London schedule and of the questions he wanted to have answered.[2]

On Monday, November 18, the story about England began on page one and continued through page five. Enormous headlines on the cover announced that "Hitler Had London in September"[3] and the story, in Ingersoll's own personal narrative style, began at the foot of the cover page. (It is interesting to note that three successive paragraphs, early in the story, begin with the pronoun "I".)[4]

In a rapid fire, exciting piece of writing, Ingersoll describes how Hitler had London, "but when he lost 200 planes a day, he couldn't take it."[5]

A three paragraph editorial note prefaces the second installment, "A Trip to the Besieged City of London."[6] In it, Editor Ingersoll explains:[7]

> I have just come back from a month's trip to England. I went for first hand knowledge of the war and to find out what I thought you might want to know. Not merely about the war. About the social changes that are taking place in Great Britain today.

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1 PM, November 15, 1940, pp. 16-19.
2 PM, November 17, 1940, p. 8.
3 PM, November 18, 1940, p. 1.
4 Ibid., p. 2.
5 Ibid., p. 1.
6 PM, November 19, 1940, p. 12.
7 Ibid.

Ralph Ingersoll: Truth About England, Starts Monday

Coventry Shows Nazis Can't Reach Targets by Day and Can't Hit Them by Night, Says PM's Editor

By JOHN P. LEWIS

Hitler's massed night raids on Coventry give their own best evidence of two of his principal failures in the attempt to conquer England:

¶ The British control their own air by day.

¶ The Nazis can't place their bombs where they want them in their night raiding expeditions.

These are the conclusions of Ralph Ingersoll, editor of PM, who has just returned from London after a firsthand survey of the battlefronts of the British Isles.

Monday, PM will start publication of a series of articles by Mr. Ingersoll, telling the complete story of the Siege of London, filling in as an eye-witness the gaps and the interpretation left out by cabled news reports of the war.

It's No Surprise

"There is no surprise in the very heavy night raiding that's being reported from both London and Berlin," Mr. Ingersoll declared. "The raids of the last few nights are are as much on schedule as the curtain going up at a theater. When I left England the RAF Bomber Command was already preparing for the raids that are now taking place over Berlin and the Air Raid Precaution people were getting ready for the Germans to come.

"This, as most correspondents have pointed out, is because of the importance of a full moon to the success of night bombing. The bomber pilots get their bearings from moonlight reflected on surface water—harbors, rivers, lakes, ponds, etc. The English are already at work experimenting with chemical scums that will black out surface water without killing fish or vegetation or polluting the water itself. But obviously they cannot black out whole harbors and because I have visited other English plants and seen what terrible damage the Germans were able to inflict on the countryside around them without scoring a single direct hit. Probably not more than one per cent of the area they bombed in Coventry was occupied by factories.

A New Low

"The Coventry raid seems to me a new low in wanton cruelty. Frustrated in their attempts to destroy these plants by day, they struck a sleeping city with the whole weight of the *Luftwaffe* by night.

"I have asked this question before in the columns of PM: 'What terrible things have to happen before decent people rise in their wrath and destroy the men who order such things done?' The murder of the women and children of Coventry is a striking example of what I was talking about."

Mr. Ingersoll went to London to get the answers to questions like these:

How is England standing up under the bombardment? Is Germany winning the war? What is the RAF going to do about the German night attacks? Do Britain's counter-bombing attacks carry a punch? Can the British people stand up under the punishment they have been taking? Can the British Government—the first government in



Ralph Ingersoll, editor of PM, returns to New York with the story of Great Britain at war. *Photo by Leo Lieb, PM Staff*

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Photo by Leo Lieb, PM Staff

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"This heavy German raiding during the full of the moon does not reflect on the RAF's control of the air over England by day—in fact it is a testimony to that control. It is because the RAF has achieved such complete control of the air by day that the Germans have to resort to heavier raiding by night in an attempt to compensate for their disadvantage.

Bombing Inaccurate

"Night bombing from high altitudes, even with the reflection of the moon on water to steer by, is extremely inaccurate. Once again, the Germans are trying to compensate for this inaccuracy by discharging bombs like buckshot in their raid on Coventry.

"They were not picking on Coventry as a sentimental opposite number to Munich. In their terrific attack on Thursday night they were trying to hit and destroy Coventry's airplane factories. They could not get at them by day. They were probably not even able to locate them accurately in the light of their fires and flares Thursday.

"So what they did was to send wave after wave of planes over in the dark, dropping everything they had.

"It's exactly as if a gang of thugs, knowing that two men they wanted to kill were somewhere in a commuting crowd in the Grand Central waiting room, but not being able to pick out their men, stood on the balcony with machine guns and shot hell out of the whole crowd hoping to hit their men in the process. The only certain result would be that hundreds of innocent bystanders would be killed and wounded.

"The English say that little damage was done to the airplane plants. I believe that, they struck a sleeping city with the whole weight of the *Luftwaffe* by night.

"I have asked this question before in the columns of PM: 'What terrible things have to happen before decent people rise in their wrath and destroy the men who order such things done?' The murder of the women and children of Coventry is a striking example of what I was talking about."

Mr. Ingersoll went to London to get the answers to questions like these:

How is England standing up under the bombardment? Is Germany winning the war? What is the RAF going to do about the German night attacks? Do Britain's counter-bombing attacks carry a punch? Can the British people stand up under the punishment they have been taking? Can the British Government—the first government in history to find itself in the front lines of the war it is waging—carry on? Are the American planes able to stand up against the Germans—or Italians?

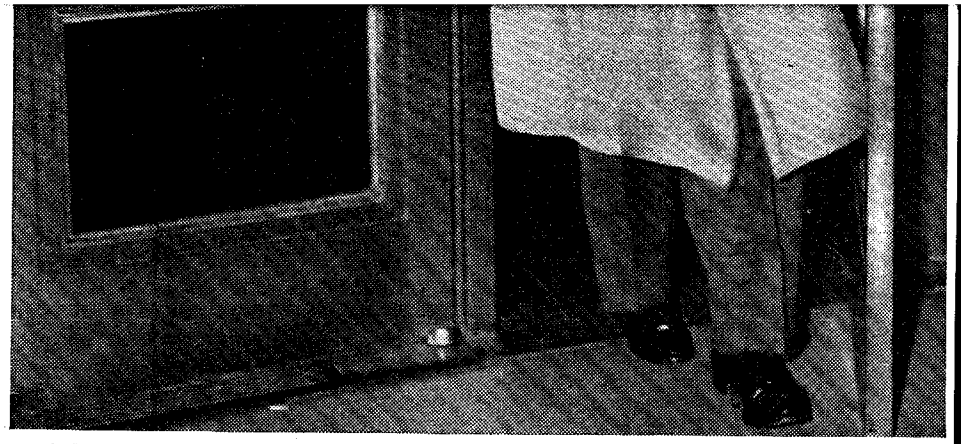
On his trip, PM's editor lived with England at war, England fighting such a defensive war as not even H. G. Wells could foresee.

By night he stumbled about in the blackout, tasting the crowded neolithic life of hunted people. He burrowed underground with the ordinary people of London's East End in their great community shelters as Hitler's bombs rained outside. He walked the subways with the poor, sat in the more exclusive and less safe shelters of the better off, slept above doors with those who disdained protection of the shelters altogether.

By day, he talked with every important cabinet minister, with the men and women on the street, with soldiers and stay-at-homes. For four days he lived with the men of the RAF. He talked with pilots who have been shot down and lived to go up again. One of these men had bailed out six different times. He talked to the commanders who sent out the pilots of the RAF to fight the Germans over England and to bomb the Germans on the continent. He looked over the movies taken automatically by fighting pilots whenever they pressed their gun triggers. He obtained records of their conversations back at the home hangars.

Scream Bombs

Too, he obtained recordings of the scream bombs, and the blasts of the German explosives He watched the people scoop off their roofs the German incendiaries, marveled with them at the total destruction of the parachuted land mines dropped silently out of the dark.



Ralph Ingersoll, editor of PM, returns to New York with the story of Great Britain at war.

Photo by Leo Lieb, PM Staff

Mr. Ingersoll now is setting down the answers he set out to get. His stories will tell the whole story of life under the *Blitzkrieg*, the whole story of the battle in the front line which is England. His stories will bring into perspective the things that have happened and will point to the future. They will carry their own lessons about America's own problems of preparedness and help to the British. He will bring into light a people under the spell of death in the dark, make clear the psychological reactions of a nation to the greatest effort at mass terrorism ever made.

Everybody knows by now that "Britain can take it!" The question now is, "How?" and "For How Long?"

Mr. Ingersoll brought back the answers and begins tomorrow his report to PM readers.

Lincoln PTA Not to Test Merger

The right of Teachers College, Columbia University, to merge the Lincoln School and Horace Mann School—a step voted by the trustees of Teachers College Nov. 4—will not, at this time, be challenged in the courts by the Parent-Teachers Association of Lincoln School.

At a stormy three and one-half hour meeting of the parents' asociation Friday night, a large majority of more than 150 parents present accepted the merger in principle by nominating representatives to an advisory committee set up by the trustees to plan for the proposed combined schools.

Professor Harrisson Elliott of the Union Theological Seminary, president of the parents' association, was nominated to the committee and immediately elected. Two more members will be elected by mail.

The text of the resolution temporarily accepting the fact of the merger provided two safeguards, however, under which the parents' association may decide to continue the fight later.

The resolution stated that the parents were in no way waiving their legal rights by accepting the merger for the time being, and stated that final approval would come "only when the characteristics of the combined schools and the experiments and investigations associated therewith shall have been more clearly defined" than in the unification resolutions passed by the trustees.

The parents agreed during discussion that legal action would be necessary if the trustees of Teachers College failed to live up to their promise to abide by the terms of the $3,000,000 endowment given to Lincoln School by the General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation. This endowment provided that Lincoln School should be "experimental." Horace Mann is a demonstration school.

***What a military court martial looks like to the spectators inside: Sketches on* page 15.**

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NEW YORK DAILY

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VOL. I No. 110

Monday, November 18, 1940

Partly cloudy. Highest temperature, 50.
Tonight and tomorrow somewhat colder.

(With Radio Programs for Tuesday)

CITY EDITION

By Ralph Ingersoll

Hitler Had London in

JAN-1
END

London in September

But When He Lost 200 Planes A Day, He Couldn't Take It

By Ralph Ingersoll

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PM Exclusive

I have just returned from London, flying through the Nazi aerial blockade to Lisbon, thence to New York by Clipper. I was in England fourteen days. For ten of them I was in London, spending the nights going from shelter to shelter and the days talking to government officials and cabinet ministers and going over the city and its defenses on foot and by car. I was given complete freedom of action and used it as best I knew how.

Four days I spent with the RAF visiting the commanding officers of the three important commands—the fighter, the bomber and the coastal, talking with literally scores of young pilots who have fought through the aerial blitz, their squadron leaders, their group commanders, their wing commanders. I spent a day at the experimental station where new planes and captured planes are tried out and tested. I spent a morning looking down on Germany through the RAF's magnifying lens, at aerial photographs of bombed military objectives, taken 30,000 feet in the air. I visited the field from which the most mysterious and terrifying of Britain's secret weapons is launched, the dread night fighter that is striking down two to five enemy bombers a night from 20,000 feet in the air, at 300 miles an hour, in the pitch black

MORE

WESTERN ADVERTISER

> About its industrial production and what damage the Germans have done it. About its cities and what life is like in them under bombardment. And about its people--its soldiers, its civilians and its leaders.
>
> How I went about this I have set down in a kind of diary-narrative of my trip and in interviews with individuals.

There is an air of mystery about Editor Ingersoll's tale, a feeling of being let into a strange and challenging, if somewhat confidential, world. Of the town where the clipper landed, he writes:[1]

> I am not going to name the town because while hundreds know it and on my way back I heard it quite casually referred to in a restaurant in Lisbon, I see no reason for giving it to the Germans in print.

The third installment, "Report to the Police, Please,"[2] is written cleverly with an eye for observation of the human as well as the inanimate.

Despite the vividness and the keen reporting of "An Audience with Churchill,"[3] one is conscious of a great deal of unnecessary comment. Writes Ingersoll, in reference to Winston Churchill:[4]

> I am quite tall myself so that people sometimes look small to me who do not look small to other people.

The Churchill story is extremely frank.

Ingersoll does not minimize his role in visiting England,

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1 PM, November 19, 1940, p. 12.
2 PM, November 20, 1940, pp. 13-15.
3 PM, November 21, 1940, pp. 12-13.
4 Ibid., p. 12.

nor does he hesitate to share the glory of his reception with his readers. In "London: Gay by Day, Grim by Night,"[1] he writes:[2]

> .....to my surprise, in London I suddenly found that I had a reputation. My visit was taken with seriousness.
>
> I don't believe this was solely because PM has in its brief lifetime taken an aggressive anti-Fascist and general pro-British point of view ....
>
> To understand how it happened that I went beyond these amiable and orthodox formalities you must understand -- and I'm afraid it will be very difficult for you, so far away from it -- how alone these people feel, besieged upon an island from which they ran a world so long. And how their confidence in themselves has been tried. So than when a man came to them from America of his own free will and in friendliness-- a man who is what they call a "newspaper owner" and thus presumably quite able to find out what he wants to know by sending his correspondents while he sleeps in his warm bed at home -- they are not impressed by the gesture, but they are touched by it.
>
> I am using the word "they" very inclusively, to include a Prime Minister, who made me an awkward little speech of thanks which embarrassed me very much, to the unknown air raid warden trying to tell me his hopes and his problems, sitting in the cellar in the dark, to young pilots who came down from cold encounters with death at 400 miles an hour, six miles in the sky, to pedestrians on the street, and whoever it was who left the anonymous little note at the Dorchester which read:
>
> "For neither despising us,
> Patronizing us
> Nor advising us,
> Ingersoll of U.S.A.
> Earns a Britain's thanks today".

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1 PM, November 22, 1940, pp. 13-15.
2 Ibid., p. 14.

The Truth About England:

A Bomb Falls Into the Night...

The Secret of Hitler's Failure to Terrorize London's Millions: They Don't Talk About It

Ralph Ingersoll, editor of PM, today writes two more chapters of his series on *The Truth About England*. These stories were written on his return from a trip to London to see firsthand how the British are making out in the war.

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Death in the Dark

By Ralph Ingersoll

There was not much pattern to my days in London. The difficulty of making and changing arrangements by telephone and the fact that from the second day till the day before I left I was waiting on my appointment with the Prime Minister—its time and place was not set until an hour before I saw him—meant that I could make no commitments in advance. Each day I simply made and kept as many engagements as I was able. Ben Robertson, who slept with me the first night, simply stayed on.

I have had difficulty since I got back making people really understand how entirely casually people take sleeping anywhere they happen to be when the blackout comes in London. Possibly it's because the phrase sleeping with someone has connotations in our vocabulary. Possibly it's because the idea of not having a room of one's own to sleep in every night is so foreign to everyone's experience here.

I asked everyone I met in and out of the Government how many Londoners slept in shelters and how many slept in their homes. No one had any idea. There are no statistics whatever available. Estimates of the number who slept in shelters, public and private, varied from 50 per cent to 95 per cent. The only thing you can be sure of is that very few sleep normally, night after



This is the one great picture of fear to come out of London since the war, blind children in an air raid shelter. While Londoners have their moments of fear, as described in Mr. Ingersoll's story today, it usually doesn't show in the photographs that come through on their war activity.

few. Few also are the busses and the trains and the tubes. It was, for instance, altogether natural that, when I had a radio talk to dictate during my second week and a young lady public stenographer came to type it for me and the work went on without either of us noticing the time until suddenly the maid came in and drew the curtains for the blackout, Ben and I should offer her our couch to sleep on. And she should debate for some minutes before deciding her room-mate might be worried and she didn't mind taking the bus anyway. A house lent to a young officer friend of mine by his aunt never had less than a dozen inhabitants a night, and never the same dozen.

You must realize what it does to convention to take in first relatives, then acquaintances and finally strangers who were bombed out. And you must also realize—perhaps the most important thing of all—

room. There was a storm over London and the wind howled through the open window. Shells from the gun burst directly overhead, so that I ducked each time, sure the

A freckled elevator man said, "That was me, ma'am." She said, "Well, I wish to heaven you'd told me it was you. You've been scaring the life out of me." When I got down to

12 THE WAR PM, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1940

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You must realize what it does to conversation to take in first relatives, then acquaintances and finally strangers who were bombed out. And you must also realize—perhaps the most important thing of all—



This is the one great picture of fear to come out of London since the war, blind children in an air raid shelter. While Londoners have their moments of fear, as described in Mr. Ingersoll's story today, it usually doesn't show in the photographs that come through on their war activity.

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I asked everyone I met in and out of the Government how many Londoners slept in shelters and how many slept in their homes. No one had any idea. There are no statistics whatever available. Estimates of the number who slept in shelters, public and private, varied from 50 per cent to 95 per cent. The only thing you can be sure of is that very few sleep normally, night after night, in their own beds in their own rooms. Households who do not take to shelters go down to the hall downstairs, or into the cellar. In hotels you find people sleeping in the halls—presumably to get away from the noise and the possibility of flying glass from the windows.

Even leaving out the fear of being out during heavy raiding you must also realize the difficulty of moving about a complicated city like London during a blackout. There are taxis that cruise all night, but they are

type it for me and the work went on without either of us noticing the time until suddenly the maid came in and drew the curtains for the blackout. Ben and I should offer her our couch to sleep on. And she should debate for some minutes before deciding her room-mate might be worried and she didn't mind taking the bus anyway. A house lent to a young officer friend of mine by his aunt never had less than a dozen inhabitants a night, and never the same dozen.

You must realize what it does to convention to take in first relatives, then acquaintances and finally strangers who were bombed out. And you must also realize—perhaps the most important thing of all—that when the night is full of noise no one wants to be alone. The presence of other human beings is comforting.

I think the only time I was really all out frightened—literally panicked—was when I came in alone one late afternoon and Ben, who was to join me, did not show up for several hours. It was the night a new and still larger gun moved into the park opposite. I was told it was a six-inch navy gun. It began to go off right after the first alarm. I went to watch from my bathroom-dark-



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room. There was a storm over London and the wind howled through the open window. Shells from the gun burst directly overhead, so that I ducked each time, sure the shrapnel would fall where I was. If it did, I heard none of it. But the crash of the gun was first deafening and then suddenly terrifying. I bolted the window and went in and tried to read the evening paper. The gun kept crashing and crashing and crashing. All of a sudden it came—a terrific desire to get to some other place in a hurry. I went out and rang for the elevator. It was about 8:30.

As I got in a very elegant old dame came down the corridor and got in with me. The gun went off. She said, "What was that?" A freckled elevator man said, "That was me, ma'am." She said, "Well, I wish to heaven you'd told me it was you. You've been scaring the life out of me." When I got down to the lobby people were standing around talking and going into dinner quite normally. I knew what I wanted to do. I wanted to go down into the boiler room, get into a corner and curl up where I couldn't hear that damn gun. I thought if I did, when Ben came in he would be ashamed of me. I said nuts to myself. The gun went off a couple of times more and shook the revolving door. It made the sign reading AIR RAID WARNING flap. I said to myself, "Look here. You've decided that if you're going to be hit you're going to be

MORE

Beginning Monday: The RAF . . . Send in Your War Questions

Beginning on Monday a new series of articles by Ralph Ingersoll will describe his visit to the RAF fighter and bomber stations and answer the vital questions: What part are American planes playing in the air war over England? How do they compare with the British and German planes?

Mr. Ingersoll has held a pilot's license himself. He talked with combat and bomber pilots in their own language. He has sat in the cockpits of their planes, watched them fight from the ground, heard the stories of their victories from the pilots themselves when they landed again. Mr. Ingersoll's series of articles on life in London, as well as other interviews with members of the Government, will be interrupted to publish this series about the RAF—because news of the part American planes are playing in the Battle of England seems to PM of immediate importance in our own national defense planning.

Meanwhile . . .

Ralph Ingersoll went to England to report personally to PM's readers on the progress of the war there. He has already written that one reason we in America have not known more about the war is that we haven't told our correspondents what we wanted to know and asked them to report back. So PM invites its readers to write in with any questions they may have. Following the completion of the current series, PM will publish these questions and Mr. Ingersoll will give his own answers. Questions to which he does not know the answers will be cabled to PM's correspondent in London and the answers published when they are obtained.

PM believes that the progress of the war in Europe is of vital concern to Americans, that we owe it to ourselves to know everything we can find out about every aspect of the war which stands between us and the expanding forces of Fascism. As citizens of a democracy we have decisions to make both in connection with aiding Britain and in connection with insuring our own defense.

Please word your questions as precisely as possible. Address them to the Foreign News Editor of The Newspaper PM, 147 W. 42d St., New York.

Ingersoll's descriptions are fresh and meaningful. In his story, "Watching a London Night Raid,"[1] he writes:[2]

> And then a second later the noise of a shell bursting, a hollow thump like someone knocking gently on heaven.

In his gripping, realistic description of "A Night in an Air Raid Shelter,"[3] Ingersoll in an editorial note,[4] sets forth his purpose:

> ..... so that you may see and feel them as I, another American, saw and felt them.

Although his writing is largely descriptive, Editor Ingersoll injects a philosophic note occasionally. In "A Bomb Falls in the Night,"[5] he writes:[6]

> The fear that I'm talking about is the unreasonable fear produced by noise and the imagination. How a soldier who is under fire and is liable to be killed in action feels I know only from books. But I was and am interested in the other kind of fear, because that is the principal tool with which Adolf Hitler has conquered so much of the world. It's the Britisher's ability to cope with it and to survive it and learn that it's a headache and not a fatal disease that's an important part of my confidence that the British will withstand and survive Adolf Hitler, and there's absolutely no question that they survived a terrific dose he gave them in September and are flourishing under the dilute solution which seems all his is currently able to administer now.

On Monday, December 2, 1940, Ingersoll's "Truth About England" series was followed by a section devoted to "The RAF." These are of a more technical nature and explanatory

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1 PM, November 24, 1940, p. 10.
2 Ibid.
3 PM, November 25, 1940, p. 12.
4 Ibid.
5 PM, November 28, 1940, pp. 12-13.
6 Ibid., p. 13.

as well as descriptive. In the third RAF article, three paragraphs are deleted and a large-type italicized note explains that this has been done "at the request of the British government."[1] The note continues:[2]

> The manuscripts of Mr. Ingersoll's articles have not been submitted to the British or any other government before publication. But this article as originally written was checked with military authorities in this country some days ago and news of its contents were cabled to England. The Ministry of Information then wired PM the following request:
>
> ("TWO PASSAGES RELATING OUR SECRET DEVICES ....EARNESTLY PLEAD .... OMISSION FOR SECURITY REASONS ... EMPHASIZE THIS VERY IMPORTANT. BRITAIN.")
>
> Although Mr. Ingersoll's description was confined to one of principles and was intentionally vague, PM appreciates the spirit in which the request was made, cheerfully deletes military secrets of possible use to the enemy.

An interesting discussion on "What British Find Wrong in U.S. Planes"[3] was among the RAF stories.

From December 9 through December 16, 1940, Ingersoll answers from two to four questions a day. The questions were solicited from readers and those chosen for publication were given lengthy and careful answers. On the latter day, a boxed message from Editor Ingersoll explains that some of the questions have been forwarded to Ben Robertson in London to have him ferret out the answers. In this last paragraph,

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1 PM, December 4, 1940, p. 14.
2 Ibid.
3 PM, December 8, 1940, p. 13.

Ingersoll signs off with the following:[1]

> Meanwhile, thank you for your cooperation. And if you will excuse me, I will get back to my job of editing the newspaper.
>
> "Truth About England"

Late in the year, Ingersoll's articles were collected and published by Simon and Schuster under the title, Report on England.[2] Frederick Lawrence, reviewing the book for the Saturday Review of Literature, calls Ingersoll's work an "arousing book" and remarks on his accomplishment in seeing England in two weeks and having his report ready in another three.[3] Says Lawrence:

> It is new, and something of a feat of journalism, that the 'story' so produced should be a workmanlike job ... The 'report' demolishes some old concepts of newspaper writing and reporting .... It gives us observations in various dimensions: sharp observations, human observations, imaginative observations, precise observations, technical observations ..... There has been a great lag in applying (technical observation) to American journalism. But the technical observation I found in this book deeply impressed upon me the necessity of technical knowledge for suitable reporting of the happenings of this technical age .....
>
> Another characteristic of the book is its attitude toward so-called objective reporting. One can never convey the images and the feelings of facts with imagining them sharply and himself having feelings about them. Also, reporting is conditioned to the reporter's concepts of the meanings and the values of things. All this poses for large debate a question of relativity in reporting. I believe that Mr. Ingersoll's

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1 PM, December 16, 1941, p. 8.
2 Lawrence, Frederick, The Saturday Review of Literature, Vol. 23, January 18, 1941, p. 13.
3 Ibid.

> reporting is predominently subjective. It is alert, alive with curiousity, inquisitive, untiringly aggressive in laying hands on that most elusive of things, a fact, and in getting at the meaning of it.

Ben Robertson Jr. from London

Ben Robertson Jr. covered London for PM since August, 1940. His work has been alive and competent with a warm, human touch that becomes quite emotional at times.

In December, Robertson wrote a group of stories of "British Women at War." In the first of these he chose the six bravest, "admitting it's impossible really to pick the bravest when all are brave."[1] Included among them is Helen Kirkpatrick, an American newspaper woman. Subsequent stories in this series describe the "Saga of the Housewife on the London Front,"[2] and report that "Bombs Wipe Out Class Distinctions."[3]

On January 6, 1941, Robertson landed in New York, back from war-torn England. Several weeks later, just before ex-Ambassador Joseph Kennedy was scheduled to address the American people on the subject, "Keeping America Out of War," Ralph Ingersoll interviewed his London correspondent. The complete interview, as recorded by stenographers, was published under the title, "Explaining the Paradox of Joe Kennedy."[4] The inter-

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1 PM, December 11, 1940, p. 5.
2 PM, December 12, 1940, p. 5.
3 PM, December 13, 1940, p. 6.
4 PM, January 19, 1941, pp. 10-11.

British Women at War:

Bombs Wipe Out Class Distinctions

Fine White Hands No Longer Caste-Mark of An English Lady

By Ben Robertson, Jr.
Staff Correspondent

PM Exclusive

LONDON, Dec. 13. – During these last few months the women of Great Britain have learned through suffering–they have been chastened.

Enemy bombs have done more than destroy houses and railway bridges, they have blasted in the British front door, they have knocked down stone walls around gardens and have demolished iron fences. Fine white hands are no longer the caste-marks of a lady in this island. Nor does it matter who sees diapers hanging in your yard. Bombs have smashed thousands of windows and every one has had a chance to see how much your furniture cost, they know how much you paid for your curtains and now that the roof is gone–who cares, what does it matter?

You have had to become acquainted with your neighbor in a war that is a total war. You need him too often not to get to know him and he stands equally in need of you. Conscription started the walls of the British snobbery system falling down–conscription brought all types of men into the Army as privates; now the *blitz* has brought the women into the general camp: the bombed queen and the costermonger.

Take the Women's Volunteer Organization, for instance. That outfit, when it began in the early days of the war, brought into its ranks numerous fashionable matrons–the Honorable Mrs. So and So and Lady This and That. It was heavy with society, but the *blitz* in the East End changed their outlook–working people themselves have told me those women have changed.

No Time for Daintiness

The Britishers were in need of all about them and there was no time for daintiness, for charity work from Lady Bountiful. So dowagers from the West End rolled up their sleeves and started in cooking, scrubbing, washing dishes, finding clothes for tens of thousands, delousing children.

It has proved even more profoundly stirring to women of London's suburbia–to hundreds of thousands of women who before the war lived in miles and miles of little middle class houses, all with prim gardens and with neatly trimmed hedges about them. These were the women who really were England's snobs–who were so refined, they held the little finger straight whenever they picked up a cup of tea. They kept up with the Joneses, before the war they were England's blackcoated class, what we call white collar workers. Their husbands were city clerks, bank clerks, government employes and they very often did not speak to you because your child only went to common school, whereas their child went to Dulwich.

Roll Call

All that went with the *blitz*. These women are driving ambulances now, working in offices, driving buses, driving canteens, working side by side with cockney women and with Lady Reading.

Take Bristol as an example and you will see what has happened to British suburbia. Nobody cared who lived next door in Bristol before bombs began to threaten, you could die and it would not make much difference, for Bristol was at peace and it had its pleasures to attend to.

But the other night when the *blitz* really hit that city, it found suburbia ready. When the *blitz* began they sounded an alarm and in the darkness of the streets the people had a roll call and those who answered went to look for those who did not. Suburbia dug itself out, its women set up communal camps in the streets and every one brought something for the pot.

The next day all over Bristol appeared instructions which some day may be taken by historians to show the beginning of a new era in that city. These instructions all began: "Citizens of Bristol."

Bristol people had almost forgotten they were citizens–they do not vote as we do in America.

But there on the morning after the *blitz* was that old word again in its brilliant, stirring full meaning–*citizens*. It thrilled them. That is an example of what I mean when I say barriers are breaking down.

Mistrust Gone

There is no longer the mistrust which formerly existed between British cities. Manchester and Birmingham had been inclined before this war to look upon London as the effete capital, but even Manchester and Birmingham revised their opinion of London when they saw how the capital took to the *blitz*.

So recently has Coventry risen to higher glory and greatness. And so one by one has Birmingham and Southampton and Bristol, each as it has been tried. Even in Dublin they are having to admire these British cities.

As an example of this new pride which British cities have found one for another, consider that at the present moment Londoners are not talking about themselves at all–they are talking about Joan Simpson of Southampton, about Mrs. Jean Eddowes of Bristol, about the children in Mrs. Rew's shelter at Southampton. They are talking about Mrs. May Todvold of Southampton–these are London's heroines and heroes of the present.

Little Joan Simpson, who is 14, is the pride of London because when the *blitz* was at its worst in Southampton she ran a quarter of a mile through bombs and fire to take her baby sister to a place of safety.

Drove An Ambulance

Mrs. Eddowes drove an ambulance all of one night in Bristol, taking the injured away. She drove through a wall of fire in a dead-end street and brought out several firemen who were cut off.

The children in the shelter at Southampton, most of them between 12 and 14, volunteered 100 per cent when word came to them that all hands were needed outside.

Mrs. Todvold bound up her face and dashed into a burning garage and saved not one, but several canteens which she knew would be needed greatly later on in the night.

This is the third of a series on the women of England. Another article will appear Sunday.

December 13, 1940, p. 6.

view was a total denunciation of Kennedy's luke-warm attitude toward Britain's plight and an effective indictment of "His Excellency the Ambassador to the Court of St. James."[1]

Robertson's report on his months in England was entitled "I Covered the Blitz." The first article appeared on January 20.[2] Like Ingersoll's report, the stories in this group are personal narratives, serving as a framework for explanatory material and a bit of philosophizing.

Other articles in the series were:

"How Churchill Relaxes."[1]

"To Hell with the Bombs"[2]

"Moonlight Brings Death ..."[3]

"Blackout on a British Train"[4]

"British Democracy Grows"[5]

"Bombs Can't Stop Britain"[6]

"The British Can Win"[7]

"Thumbs Down in Ireland"[8]

"About Britain's War Aims"[9]

As his series proceeds, Robertson is concerned more and more with war aims and objectives and less with the descriptions of bomb-wracked England. He is alert and penetrating

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1 PM, January 21, 1941, p. 6.
2 PM, January 22, 1941, pp. 6-7.
3 PM, January 23, 1941, pp. 6-7.
4 PM, January 24, 1941, pp. 6-7.
5 PM, January 26, 1941, pp. 6-7.
6 PM, January 27, 1941, pp. 8-9.
7 PM, January 28, 1941, p. 7.
8 PM, January 29, 1941, pp. 8-9.
9 PM, January 30, 1941, p. 8.

in his reporting. His series is one of the best to appear in PM and a testimony to Ingersoll's technique of bringing a reporter back from the scene so that he may write the truth and benefit by a detached perspective.

Miscellaneous

The above series are among the most important of the many foreign commentary stories appearing during the nine months of PM's publication covered by this study. They were chosen because they illustrate PM's efforts at complete coverage and because they are samples of active, virulent writing.

In them, one finds signs of a new technique for war correspondence. It is possible that this type of writing may be more and more in vogue as the search for truth in foreign affairs becomes increasingly complex and difficult.

Foreign News Pictures

It is impossible to consider foreign coverage without inserting a discussion of foreign news pictures in PM. Ingersoll promised PM's readers that:[1]

> Over half of PM's space will be filled with pictures -- because PM will use pictures not simply to illustrate stories, but to tell them.
>
> If the story is told in pictures they will be accompanied by no running text, words being confined to captions. All the incoming news in PM will be subject to this process and will come out in the paper with a clear emphasis on either words or pictures.

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1 Ingersoll, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

The earlier promise of the prospectus was made good by Ingersoll; PM has been consistent in carrying a large proportion of photographs. The latter promise, however, was not observed. As early as July 23, 1940, scarcely a month after the first issue was circulated, a "News in Pictures" spread about the chalk cliffs of England[1] was accompanied by nine columns of explanation.

As many as seven consecutive pages with ten pictures of bombings in England have been printed in a week-day issue.[2] PM's Weekly (second section, Sunday edition,) regularly devotes from seven to ten pages to full-page photographs on a particular theme. The subject of one of these was "Halifax: Where the War Comes Closest to America."[3] Each of the seven large photographs in life in Halifax is accompanied by several inches of copy as well as appropriate captions.

In addition to foreign news photographs, PM occasionally reproduced groups of sketches and cartoons. Notable among these was the "Smuggled Sketchbook" a series of sketches made in Germany by William Sharp and allegedly smuggled out of the country. The sketches, with Sharp's own captions, were published in PM between October 22 through October 27, 1940.

Sharp's sketches are crude, piercing, and ironic. In subject, caption, and implication they express intense hatred for the Nazi party members and their ruthless policies. They

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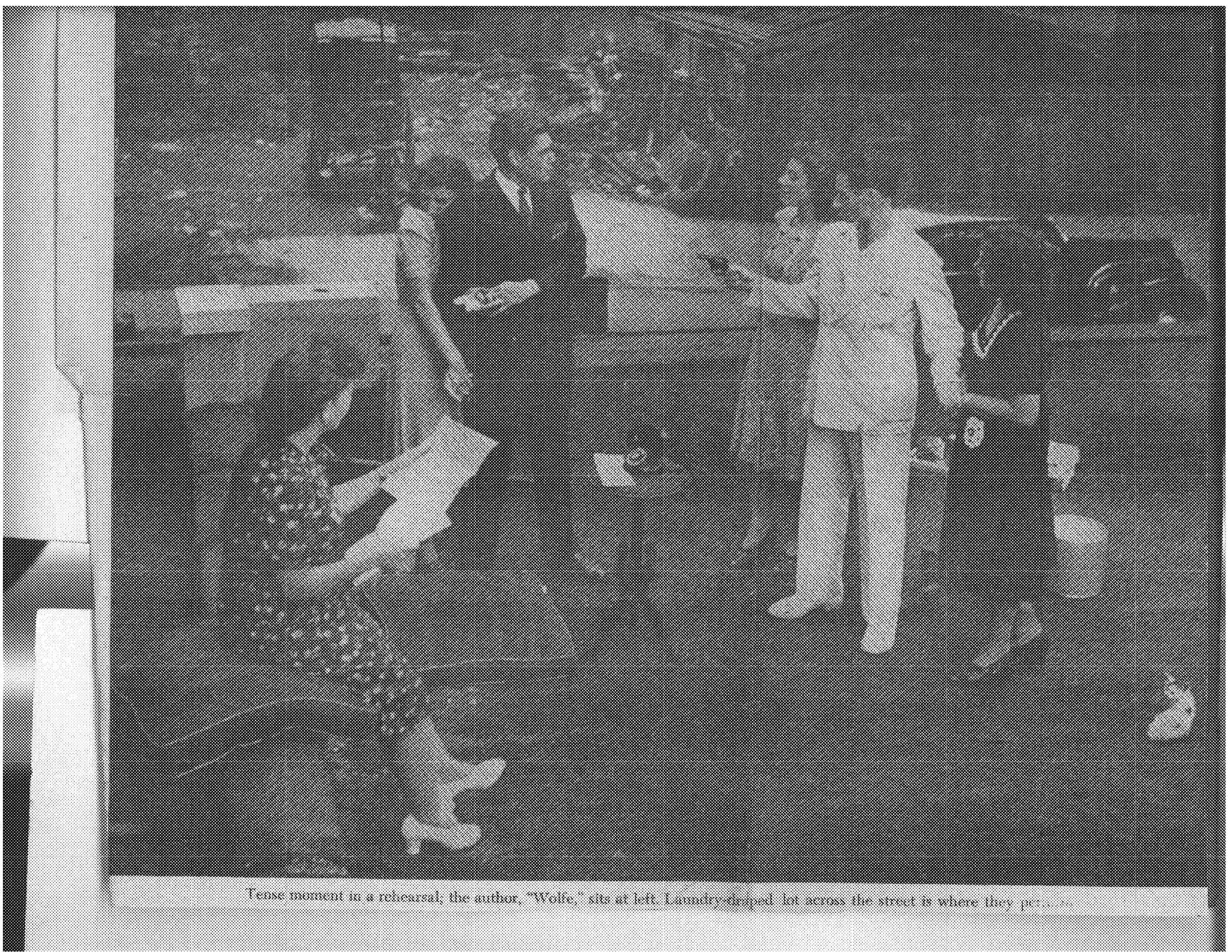
1 PM, July 23, 1940, pp. 16-17.
2 PM, September 12, 1940, pp. 17-22.
3 PM, October 27, 1940, pp. 33-39.

. . . And This Is Where They Hold Rehearsal



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Tense moment in a rehearsal; the author, "Wolfe," sits at left. Laundry-draped lot across the street is where they pe[illegible]

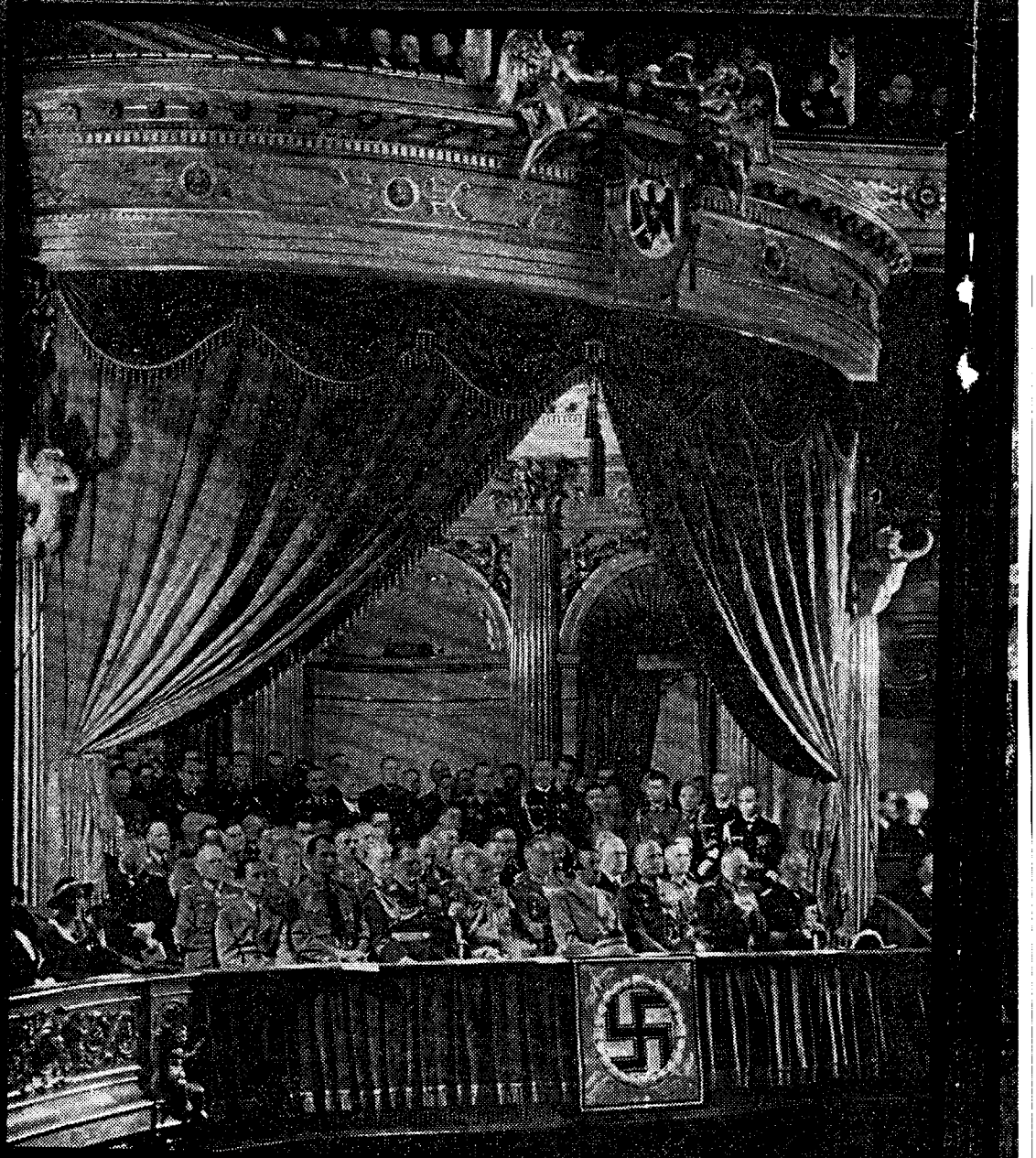


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Hitler's Phoney Social Revolution



Hitler sold himself and company to the German people on the idea that he was putting across a Social revolution. That, in the words of Col. Charles Lindbergh, "when the rich get too rich and the poor get too poor, something happens." It didn't. The social revolution gave the masses a variation of the same old stuff.

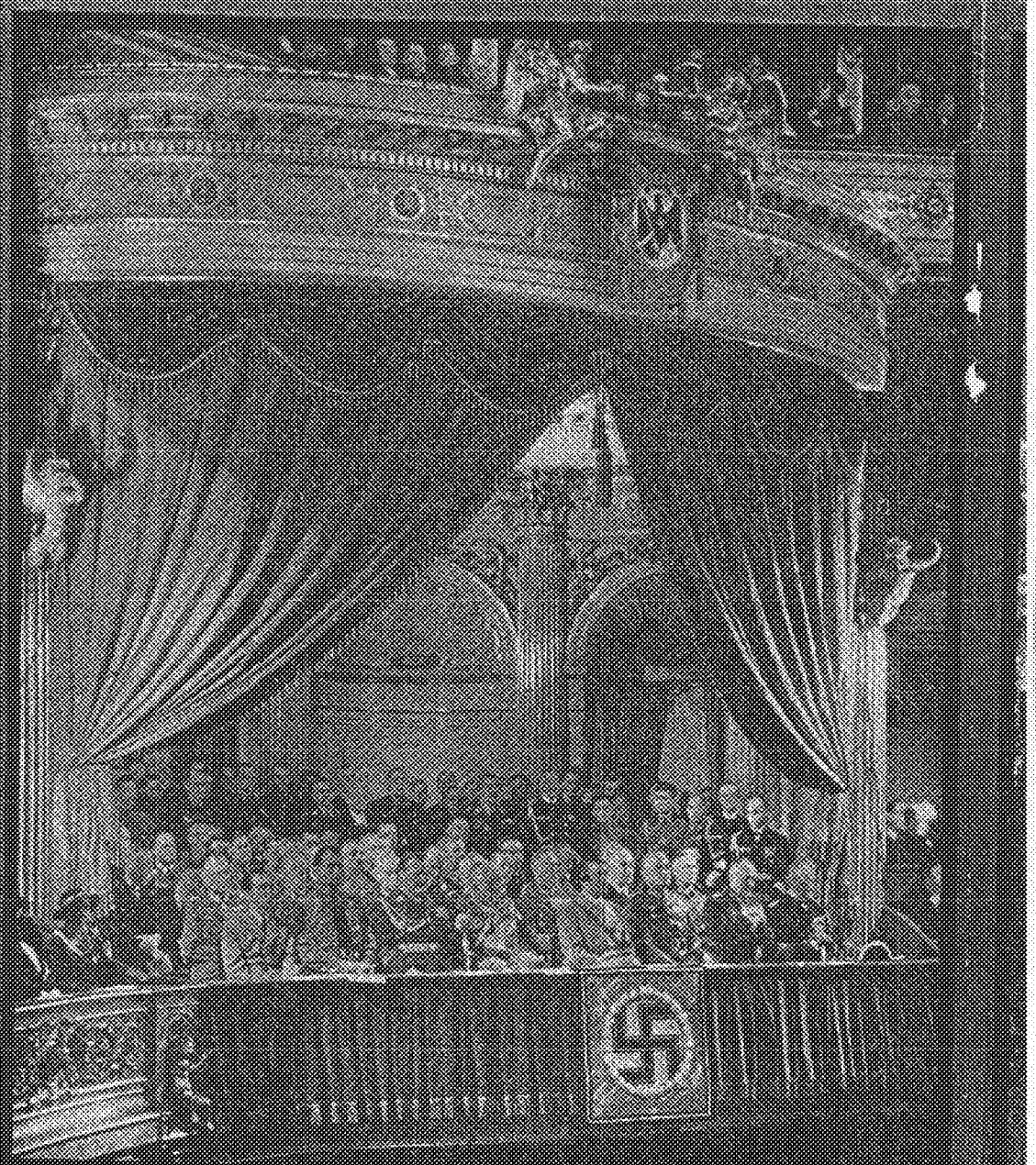


Hitler's regal monogram surmounts the door of his study. He listens to Beethoven from the Emperor's box of the State Opera. His courtiers robbed workers' funds to buy themselves Black Forest estates; the people for whom the Social revolution was made got food cards to buy soybean frankfurters. He drove out a few rich industrialists, mostly Jews, but his own gang moved in.

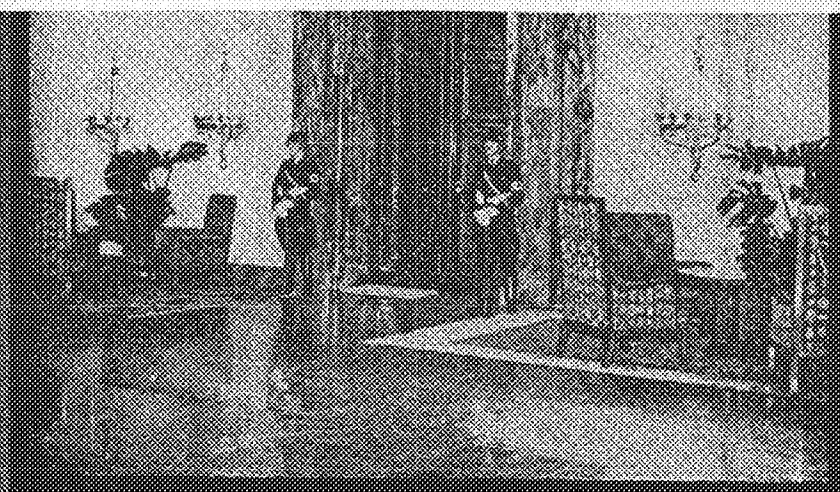
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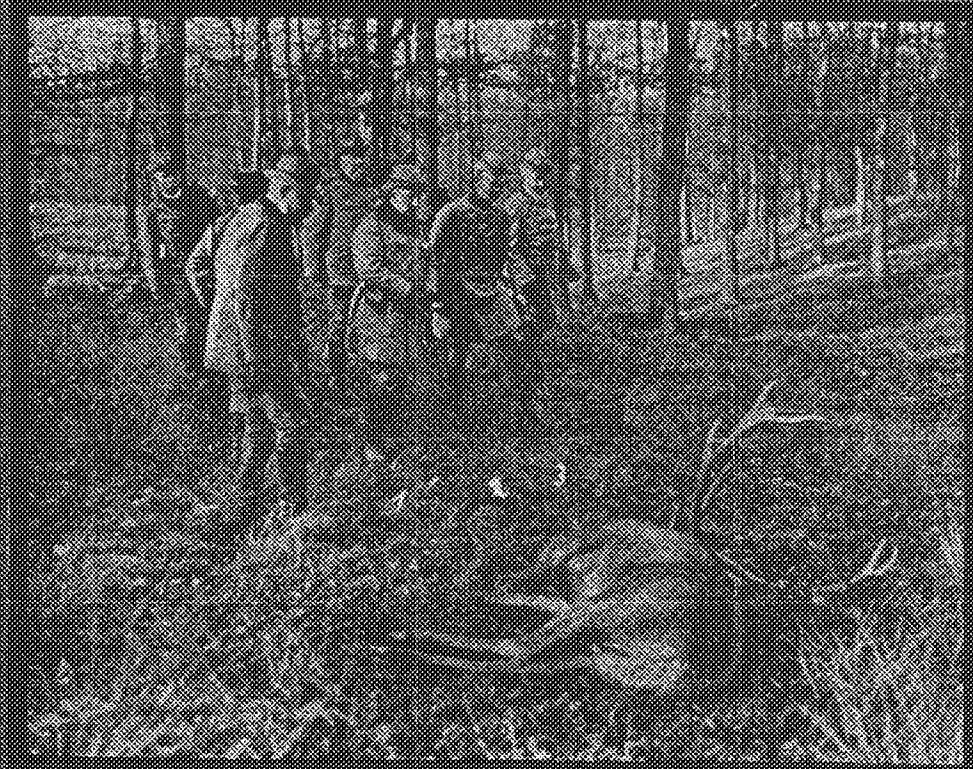
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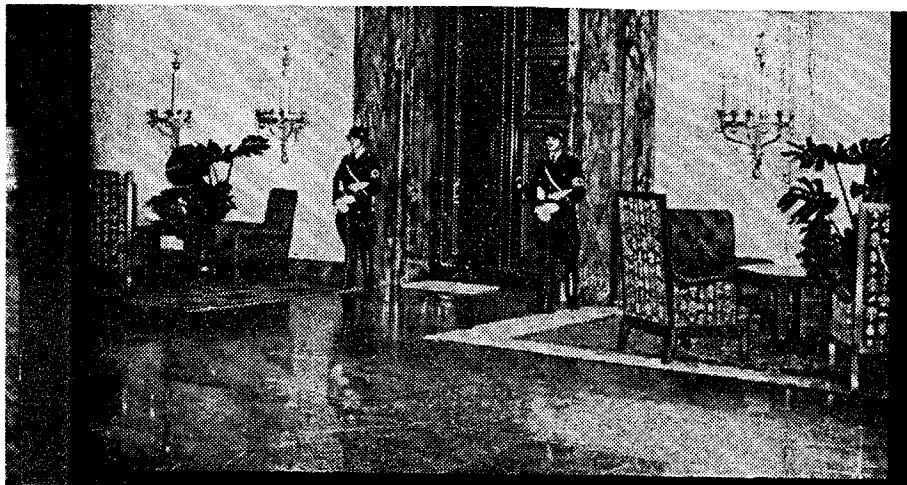
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Hitler affected to hate the monarchies of Prussia and Austria because they gathered around them the decadent aristocracies. Now his own aristocracy is obuilding. It is the blackgarbed Schutzstaffel. The Kaiser shot stags in the



Black Forest; Goering holds baronial shooting parties in [illegible]. German people fell for Hitler's promise to cut them in on the [illegible] living; discovered too late the hooks in the Swastika.



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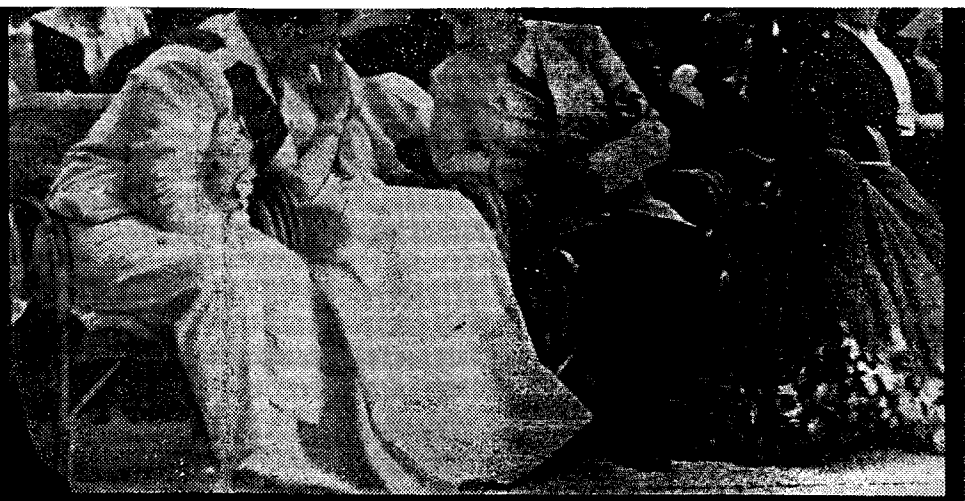
Not for nothing did Hitler name his party the National Socialist German Workers' Party. The "national" and the "German" sounded good to the industrialists; the "socialist" and the "workers" attracted the masses. In the end everyone was fooled. Labor is denied any entity but as a servant of the State. Industrialists are no longer masters of their own business. The glitter of imperialism was replaced by the glitter of the Elite guard.



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Wilhelm II feted his generals with champagne, Goering pours it for Prince Paul and Princess Olga of Yugoslavia. Hitler promised the German people that once the Jews and the capitalists were out of the way their ills would be over. He pledged that the lower middle class, ruined by inflation, would get its own back. It is paying heavily today for that credence. Individualism has disappeared—the State is the family.

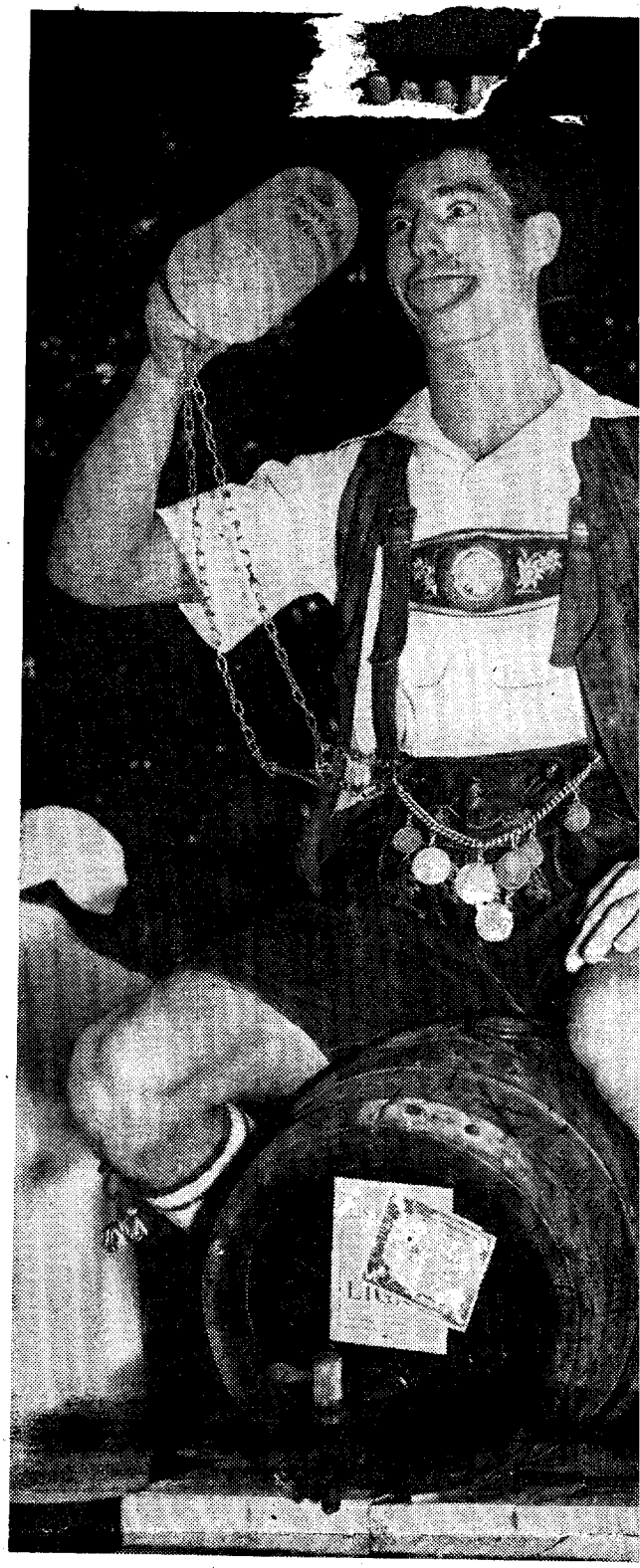
Singing, Dancing Bavarians Celebrate Harvest Festival



Peace-loving, America-loving Bavarians hold their 51st annual Folks Festival at Franklin Square, L. I. In native costume, drinking lots of beer, eating gloriously and with great gusto, they celebrate the end of a harvest.



These Bavarians would rather sing the songs of their fatherland than talk about it. They don't mention politics except to express the idea very strongly that Hitler has no part in their lives and that America is their life.



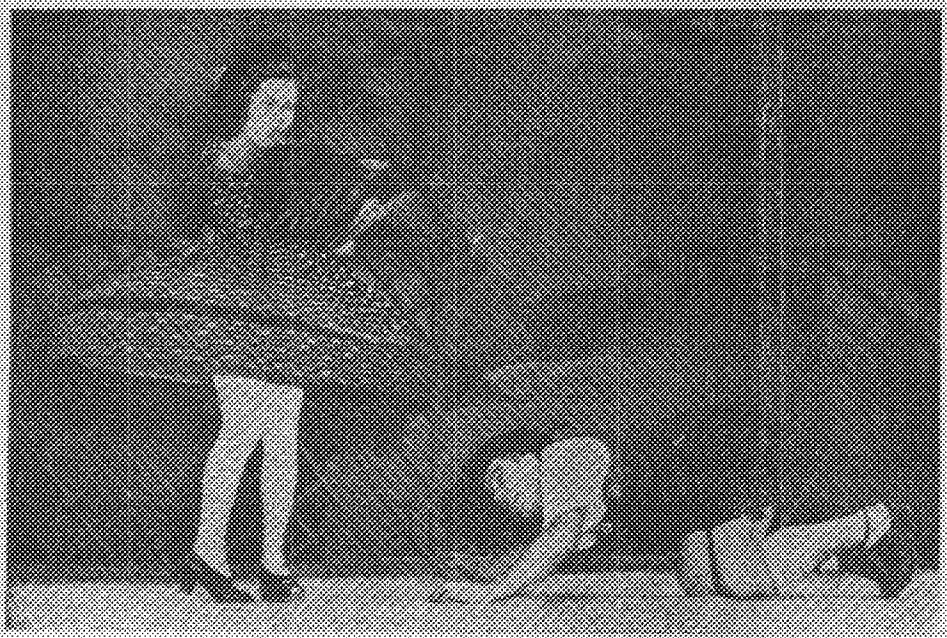
He can't get away from the barrel nor the mug, and to. But to the homely party he contributes color, la for himself. This barrel and 119 others went home







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Men, women and youth, others sing the songs of their fatherland, then talk about it. They don't mention politics except to express the idea very strongly that Hitler has no part in their lives and that America is their life.



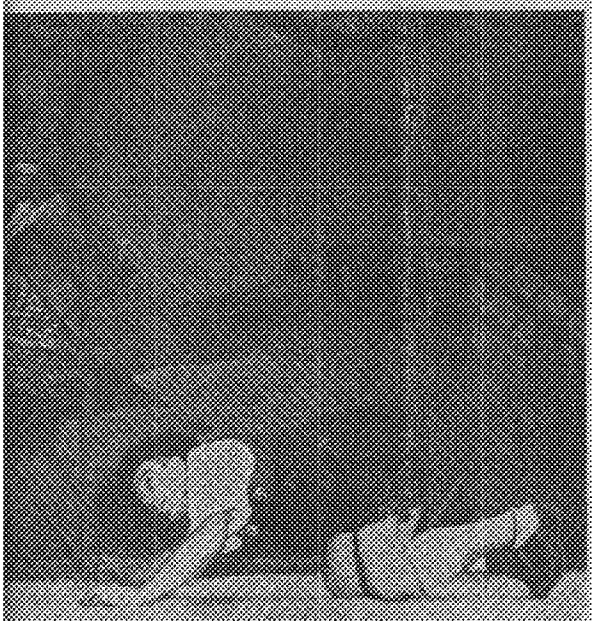
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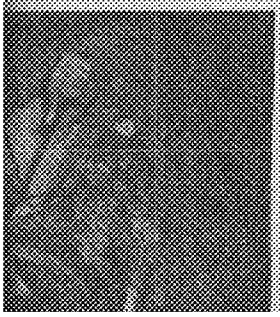
Bavarians hold their 51st annual Erdte Festival in native costumes, drinking lots of beer, eating roasts, they celebrate the end of a harvest.



He can't get away from the barrel nor the mug, and right well doesn't want to. But to the homely party he contributes color, laughter and a good time for himself. This barrel and 110 others went home empty.



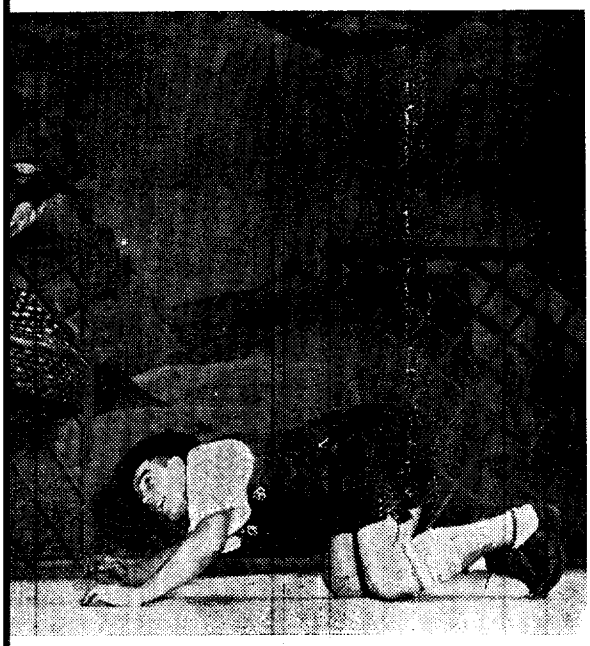
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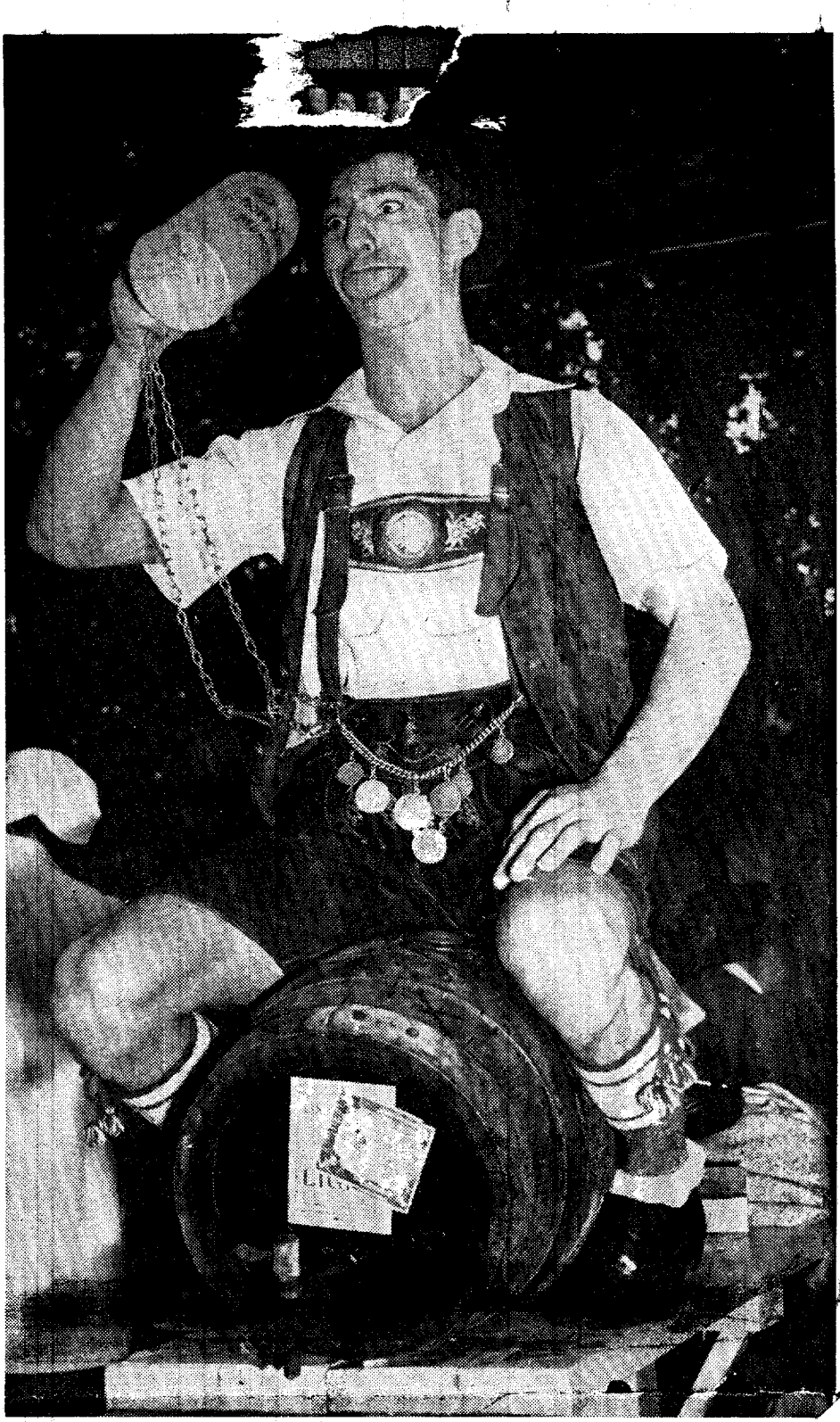
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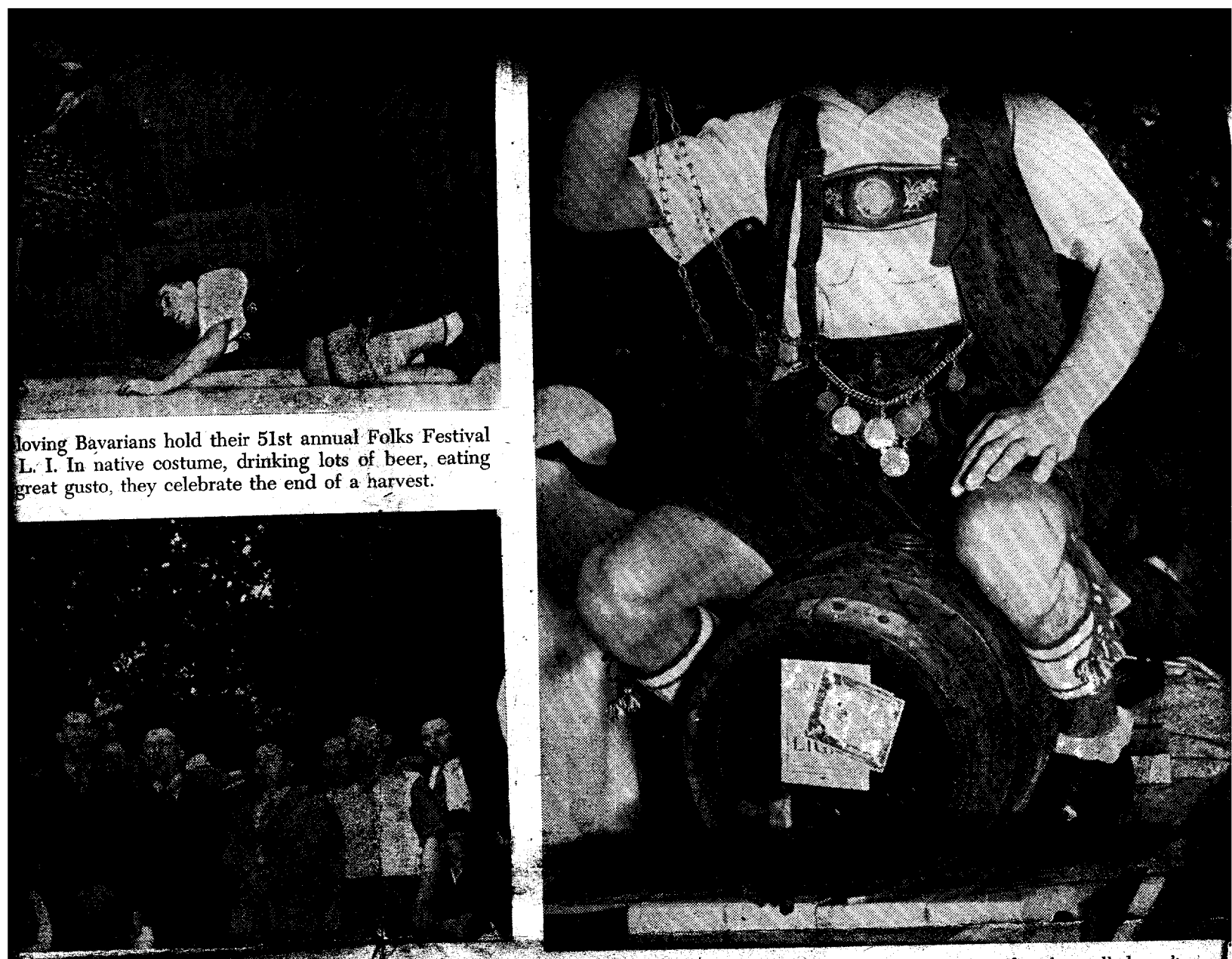






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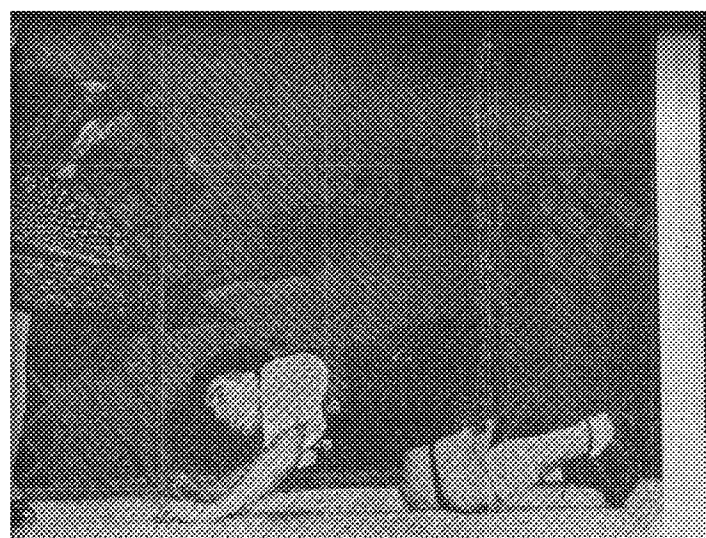
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Nazi propagandists got the cold nod from Frank Vogel (white coat) when they suggested that the ancient festival might be turned into an "enlightenment" meeting.



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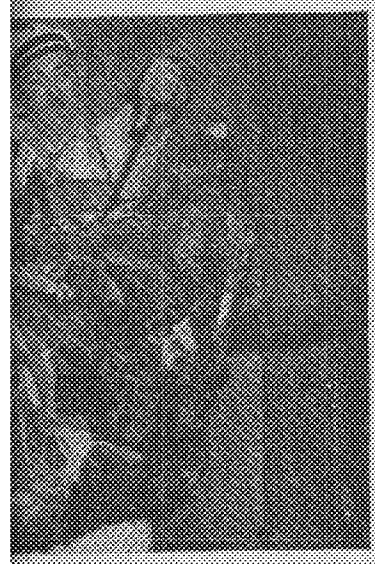
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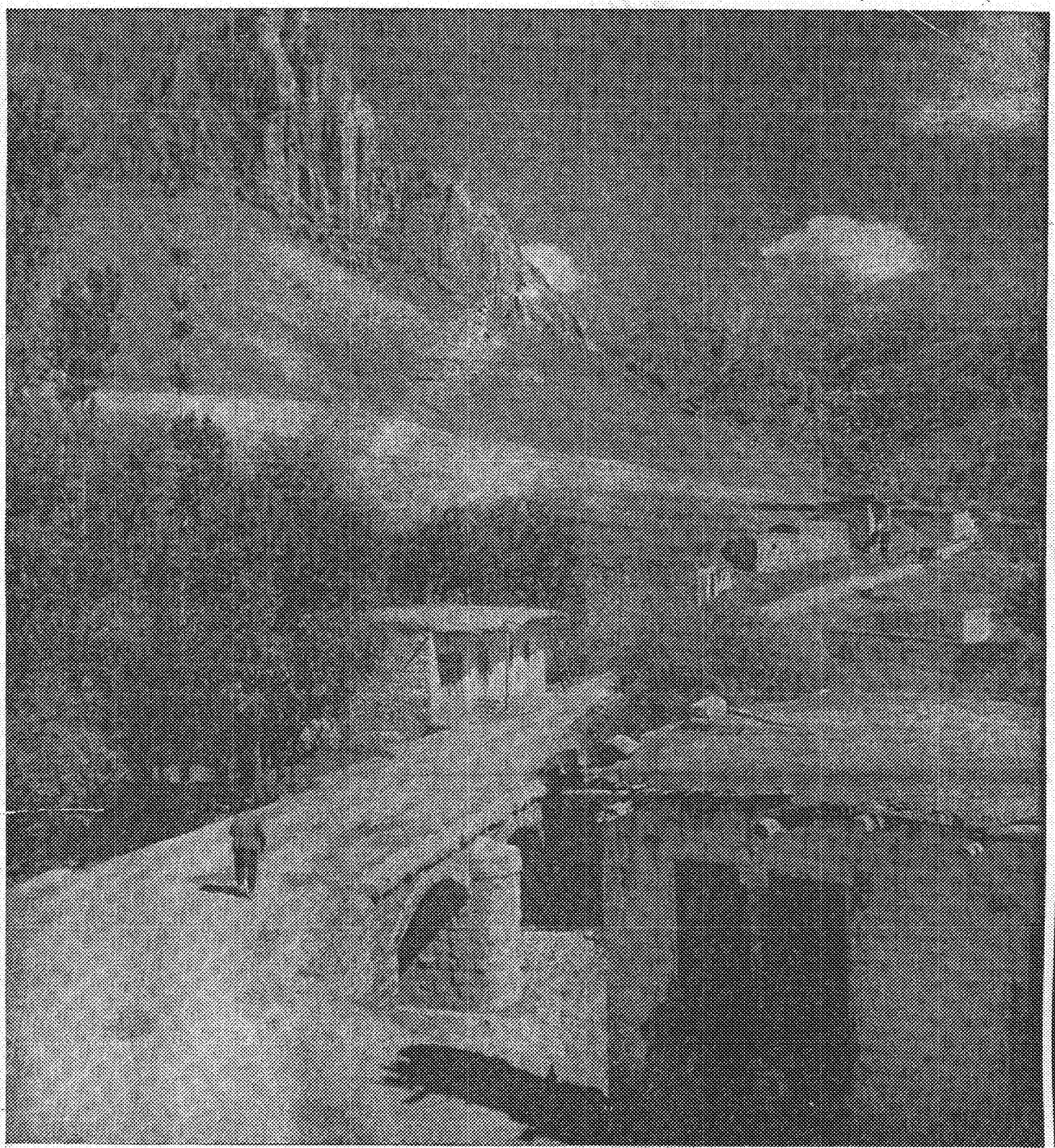


Nazi propagandists got the cold nod from Frank Vogel (white coat) when they suggested that the ancient festival might be turned into an "enlightenment" meeting.



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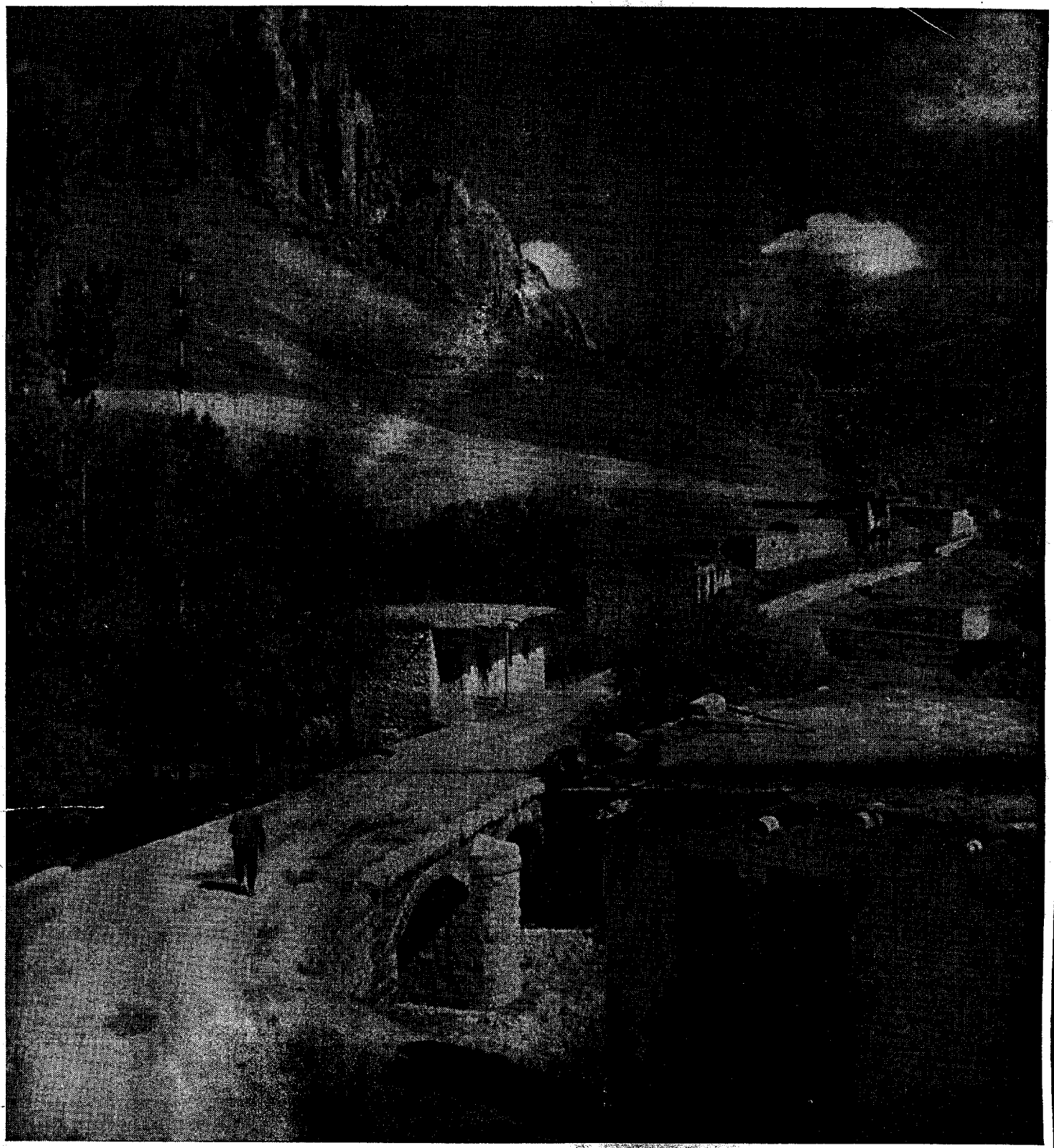
. . . And a Countryside Easy to Defend



Terrain like this makes Turkey comparatively easy to defend. Roller atop first house is for packing down mud-and-hay roof after rainstorm.

Turkish geography combined with Turkish patriotism makes the country a tough one to conquer. The scene above is typical of Antolia—eastern or Asiatic Turkey. This is a big plateau guarded on three sides by a double line of natural defenses—high mountain ranges and the sea—and on the east by a wall of snow-covered mountains. Winter brings frequent light snowfalls to most of Anatolia, summer dry weather with the temperature averaging 90 degrees. European Turkey is cooler in summer, blizzards in winter. A major objective in any war involving Turkey probably would be the Dardanelles. For this heavily-fortified strait, the ancient Hellespont, forms part of Turkey's main defense line and also controls the warm-water route to and from Russia.

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The Wind May Blow Cold on Ludgate Hill . . .



This is a view down Ludgate Hill, from St. Paul's Cathedral, during a snow storm two years ago. The statue is of Queen Anne.

Temperatures in England, November through March, average 43 degrees; in New York City, 36. Precipitation averages less than two inches a month; in New York City, more than three—but in England it rains more frequently. England's daytime life this winter probably will continue to be fairly normal (trooping to shelters along slippery, slushy streets will be unpleasant business but the English are not soft people). Night life will not be normal but it may be a trifle more bearable. For the government is installing bunks and plumbing in shelters and assigning doctors to the big ones. The theater season is shot to pieces but there are still restaurants, pubs, movies, concerts—and a few cellars for dining, dancing and sleeping.

Photo by Wide World

The Wind May Blow Cold on Ludgate Hill . . .



This is a view down Ludgate Hill, from St. Paul's Cathedral, during a snow storm two years ago. The statue is of Queen Anne.

Temperatures in England, November through March, average 48 degrees; in New York City, 38. Precipitation averages less than two inches a month; in New York City, more than three--but in England it rains more frequently. England's daytime life this winter probably will continue to be fairly normal (trooping to shelters along slippery, slushy streets will be unpleasant business but the English are not soft people). Night life will not be normal but it may be a trifle more bearable. For the government is installing bunks and plumbing in shelters and assigning doctors to the big ones. The theater season is shot to pieces but there are still restaurants, pubs, movies, concerts--and a few cellars for dining, dancing and sleeping.

Photo by Wide World

are designed to incite hatred and in this they are completely successful. "The King of the Jews,"[1] for instance, is accompanied by the following lines, written by Sharp:[2]

> In 1934, I read something some Nazi had written. This was It: "How high Horst Wessel towers over that Jesus of Nazareth!" Horst Wessel was a roughneck, a pander, one of Hitler's hooligans. He was killed in a street brawl, and he is the Nazi hero. This is the way the Nazis really feel about the Church.

Summary

An attempt has been made to analyze the coverage of foreign affairs in PM through a quantitative and qualitative study. PM is probably more actively interested in the present war than is the ordinary daily newspaper. Its editorial columns, its commentary pages, its news columns and its features, as well as photographs and sketches, are filled with news of developments in Europe, in the Far East, and in South America. A number of sources are tapped in the assembling of news and commentary, ranging from United Press dispatches to the tales of refugee journalists.

PM's foreign news sections are filled with commentary. It is unwaveringly pro-British, unflinchingly anti-German. The belief that this is the United States' war as well as England's is reflected in the foreign news sections and accounts for a large proportion of the comment.

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1 PM, October 22, 1940, p. 15.
2 Ibid.



Totentanz Once when Adolf Hitler was standing by the tomb of Richard Wagner, whose music he adores, he referred to himself as "the young drummer of the German people." He has been a drummer all right, thumping the tom-toms of hate and "race" to a chorus of hysterical "Heils," while the German people march blindly to their destruction. This drawing I completed in Germany. Imagine what would have happened if the Gestapo had seen it.

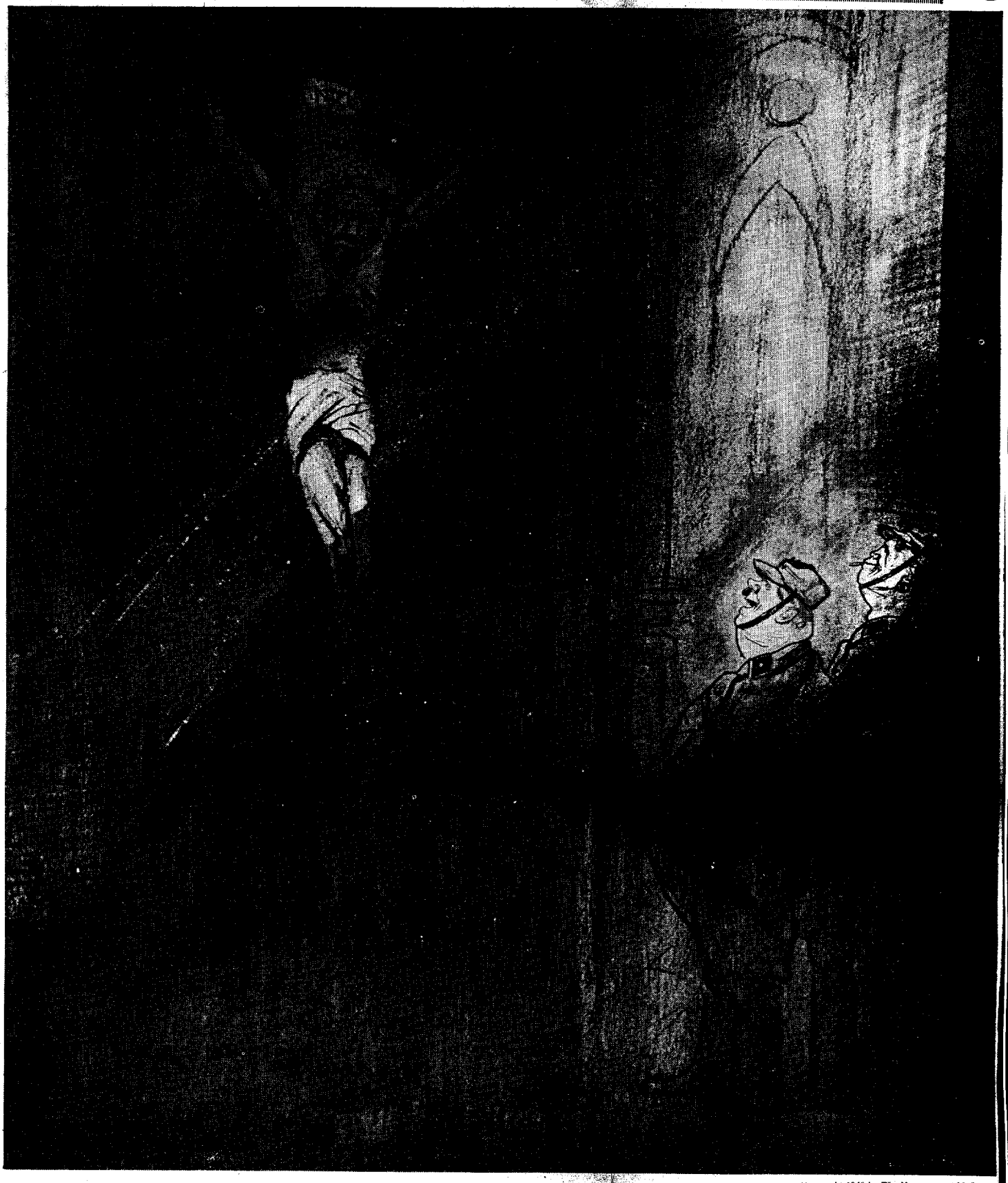
Picture on this page copyright, 1940, the Newspaper PM, Inc.



Montagu

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Picture on this page copyright, 1940, the Newspaper PM, Inc.



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Copyright 1946 by The Newspaper PM, Inc.

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In order to more scientifically determine the degree of pro-British sentiment, a study was made of the slant indicated by the headlines on stories emanating from Europe. Front page headlines were chosen because these are the eye-attracting messages to the public in answer to PM's posed question, "What's new?"[1] Again, in keeping with the other analyses, the month of August was chosen.

There were a number of issues which devoted the whole front page to a campaign, such as "Watered Meat Costs Millions,"[2] or to an editorial, as "Denouncing Lindbergh,"[3] but of the front covers which printed foreign headlines, the following was observed:

Headlines Neutral	3
Headlines Pro-British	14
Associating Hitler with the United States on a war basis.	1

The inside headlines on lead stories were tabulated as follows:

Neutral	11
Pro-British	11

In eight instances, the same thought was expressed in both the front cover headline and the streamer over the lead story on the "Bulletin" page. On the whole, the page 2 (page 3 after the "Opinion" page was moved forward to page 2 on August 19, 1940) headlines were more neutral than those on the cover.

As to the nature of the pro-British sentiment -- while this is an intangible sort of thing to determine, two very

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1 Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 4.
2 PM, August 7, 1940, p. 1.
3 PM, August 6, 1940, p. 1.

definite trends were noted:

(1) The headlines expressed deep sympathy for the suffering which the British were undergoing and definitely attempted to turn pity into aggressive action.

(2) The headlines turned every British bombing of Hanover into a stimulating sort of buildup for morale, although a German bombing of an English city was a horrible, cruel, and dastardly act.

The pro-British sentiment is expressed more flagrantly and consistently with photographs and art lay-outs then through the use of news story, comment or editorial.

Because of all the rumors concerning Communism on PM's staff and among its promoters, one is naturally alert to signs of pro-Russian leanings in its news pages. Ingersoll's editorial attitudes toward Communism have already been dealt with. There remains the problem of discovering any degree of pro-Soviet coloration in news and headline.

Since Russia was a relatively unimportant factor in the headlines during the seven month period included in this study,[1] it is difficult to make any commitment on headline bias or commentary in news stories. The only major incident which reflects a sympathetic attitude with the U.S.S.R. is in PM's coverage of the Leon Trotsky assassination in August, 1940.

On August 21, 1940, PM reported: "Trotsky, Attacked by a

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1 Since the outbreak of the Russian-German conflict (August-September, 1941) PM has supported Russia with much the same enthusiasm that it came to the aid of Britain. Ralph Ingersoll traveled to Moscow in early September to make a personal report on conditions in the Soviet capitol, much as he visited London late in 1940.

Death Comes to Trotsky, Builder of a Nation, Fugitive of the World

'I Am Sure of Victory . . . Go Ahead' . . . Were His Final Words

MEXICO CITY, Aug. 22.—Leon Trotsky, defeated giant of the Russian Revolution, died last night, slain by a man who posed as his friend.

Twenty persons were said to be detained for questioning in the case.

Before he slipped into a coma, from which he could not be rallied, he murmured:

"This time they succeeded. Jackson (the assassin) was a member of either the OGPU or a Fascist—most likely the OGPU."

In the same breath with his accusation came the final word for his disciples:

"I am sure of victory for the Fourth Internationale. Go forward."

Thus, at 9:25 last night, ended the life of the man who with Lenin brought about the world's most profound revolution and with his death ended the bitterest of modern feuds—Trotsky against Stalin.

In another room in Green Cross Emergency Hospital lay his assailant, Jaques Mornard van den Dreschd, Persian-born son of Belgian parents, known as Frank Jackson. His blonde companion, Sylvia Ageloff, 30, of 50 Livingston St., Brooklyn, was held for questioning under police guard. Her father or one of her brothers was expected to fly here today.

President Lazaro Cardenas ordered that funeral expenses should be borne by the government. It was reported that the body would be taken to the United States.

Trotsky's wife, two bodyguards and hospital aids were at Trotsky's bedside when he died. Mrs. Trotsky was crouching on a cushion on the floor beside Trotsky's bed. She rose every few minutes to touch his legs to see if they were still warm. His last words to his secretary had been of his wife:

"Take care of her. She has been with me many years." Trotsky was quoted as saying.

"Jackson (as Trotsky knew Dreschd) shot me with a revolver. I am seriously wounded . . . I feel that this time it is the end . . . I am close to death from the blow of a political assassin . . . We had entered the room to talk French statistics. . . ."—UP.



Two operations could not save Trotsky.
Wired Photo by Wide World

A Man of Destiny

Obscured in blind and savage invective, in the bitter confusion of doctrinaire battles that had a world at stake, Trotsky's career will wait long for a just appraisal of its contribution to history. But in his 61 years, spanning the long fight of Russia's intellectuals to free their country from feudal bondage, he shaped the course of history as have only a few of the world's great leaders.

Born Lev Davidovich Bronstein, in November, 1879, son of a prosperous Jewish farmer, his childhood coincided with Tsarism's bloody suppression of the Nihilists, heroic terrorist revolutionaries of the early '80's. A Jew in a land where racial discrimination reached its height of sadistic refinement, a middle class intellectual in a world of medievalism and privilege, Trotsky inevitably joined the forces opposing the existing regime.

In 1898 when nine delegates of the Russian revolutionary movements met in Minsk to found the Social Democratic Labor Party, germ of the later Bolshevik Party, Trotsky was already engaged in underground political activity. The efficiency of the Tsarist police put him in jail for two and a half years, and banished him for four years in the frozen wastes of Siberia.

In 1902 when he escaped to London, then the intellectual center of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, he was welcomed by revolutionaries like Lenin and contributed brilliantly to the party organ *Iskra.*

The 1905 Revolution

In 1905, when the top-heavy Tsarist Empire began to crumble from within, Trotsky was the first of the exiled revolutionary leaders to return to Russia. There he became the soul of the first Petrograd Soviet. There in intervals of hiding and imprisonment he worked out his famous theory of Permanent Revolution, which, 12 years before the 1917 Revolution, foresaw a social revolution following in the wake of an anti-Tsarist democratic revolution, and thereafter spreading to all the countries of western Europe.

Between 1905 and 1917 Trotsky was again an exile, a free-lance journalist. The World War drove him from one country to another. Three months before the outbreak of the March 1917 Revolution he set sail for the U. S. A. Ten weeks later he was on his way back to Petrograd. There, with Lenin in hiding in Finland, he joined the Bolshevik Party, and played a leading and able role in directing preparations for the Bolshevik revolt.

Lenin and Trotsky

Lenin made Trotsky his first Commissar of Foreign Affairs, upon his shoulders placed the responsibility of concluding peace with Germany. Stalinist textbooks now give Trotsky a weasel role in the Brest-Litovsk negotiations, accuse him of "provoking a fresh assault on the unarmed land of the Soviet." The territorial losses of a treaty more punishing than Versaille they attribute to Trotsky's treachery.

Trotsky's next job was to organize, out of Russia's exhausted, unarmed and starving millions, a Red Army. In the wars which the Bolsheviks fought on 14 fronts for more than four years, Trotsky, as Commissar of War and leader of the Red Army, must be credited with at least a measure of their spectacular successes.

The Split-Up

When Lenin died, the Bolsheviks were already splitting into factional groups. In a period of social change tearing through the fabric of an entire nation, of homeric problems requiring daily decisions affecting the lives of millions, each group thought itself the only true instrument of the Revolution, denounced its opponents as corrupters of the Revolution's ideals, falsifiers of history, unfaithful to Lenin.

Trotsky was exiled in November, 1927, and sentenced to permanent banishment two years later and went to Constantinople. Driven in the years since then from the Turkish island of Prinkipo, to Czechoslovakia, France, Norway and finally Mexico, he has been accused of participation in lurid conspiracies, fantastic plots. His years of exile have been lonely, bitter and barren—the price a great Revolution exacted from one of its Titans.—T. P.



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Trotsky's Assailant Questioned.

Friend, Has One Chance in Ten to Live."[1] In the lead of the factual United Press story which follows, the following is clearly set forth:[2]

> Trotsky's entourage said they suspected the assassin was an operative of the Russian secret police.

On the following day, another United Press dispatch from Mexico quoted Trotsky's last words, writing:[3]

> Before he slipped into a coma, from which he could not be rallied, he murmered:
>
> "This time they succeeded. Jackson (the assassin) was a member of either the OGPU or a Fascist--most likely the OGPU."

A second story, following the United Press dispatch, was a sketch of Trotsky written by Tabitha Petran and headed "A Man of Destiny."[4] Miss Petran concludes:[5]

> His years of exile have been lonely, bitter and barren -- the price a great Revolution exacted from one of its Titans.

On the following day, August 23, a dispatch from Frank Jellinek supplanted the usual United Press story. The headline to the Jellinek story was "Police Mystified in Trotsky Murder."[6] In his lead, Jellinek writes:[7]

> No evidence whatever given out here connects Leon Trotsky's murder with the U.S.S.R.'s secret police, (OGPU) the

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1 PM, August 21, 1940, p. 4.
2 Ibid.
3 PM, August 22, 1940, p. 5.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
6 PM, August 23, 1940, p. 4.
7 Ibid.

Police Mystified In Trotsky Murder

By Frank Jellinek

MEXICO CITY, Aug. 23.—No evidence whatever given out here connects Leon Trotsky's murder with the USSR's secret police, the local Communist party or with the previous attempt on Trotsky's life.

Sylvia Ageloff, of Brooklyn, blonde friend of the murderer, Jacques van den Dreschd, has placed herself under the protection of the American consul and was removed to a hospital, apparently prostrated by the assassination. The belief is that she was simply the murderer's unwitting go-between.

Miss Ageloff, discovered yesterday to be a New York City Department of Welfare social worker on a leave of absence, was further identified as the sister of a former stenographer of Trotsky in Paris. Both she and van den Dresch lived quietly here.

Meanwhile, quarreling factions among Trotsky's followers are now competing for his body. Trotsky's lawyer, Albert Goldman, who arrived by plane, hinted in his speech at the grave that the body will remain in Mexico. James Cannon, who claims to be Trotsky's political heir as leader of the Fourth International, wants to take it to New York for a demontsration.

Physicians here believe Trotsky could not have made the death bed political remarks exploited at his bier. In his condition, he could scarcely have muttered more than a few broken words.

According to further evidence released today, van den Dreschd's strange choice of a weapon—an Alpine pick used by Mexican miners—was attributable to his geological and mining experience. (See also page 9.)

August 23, 1940, p. 4.

OGPU Slew Trotsky, Local Radicals Say

Around New York, PM gathered the following comments on Trotsky's death:

Max Shactman, national secretary of the Workers Party, who recently split with Trotsky over the latter's support of the Soviet Union, says:

"The fact that Jacques Dreshd, the assailant, was armed with pistol, dagger and ax indicates a premeditated effort. Investigation will undoubtedly reveal his connection with the notorious OGPU."

Jay Lovestone, leader of the Independent Labor League, who split away from Trotsky earlier to found his group, says:

"This murder is a crude job, perpetrated by Stalin through his OGPU, which has been functioning more and more as an international Murder, Inc."

James Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers—Trotsky's Own—Party, says:

"We accuse Joseph Stalin of being the murderer of Leon Trotsky, who, after Lenin, was the greatest working-class revolutionist of our times."

James Rorty, independent literary radical, says:

"The whole business was engineered by the OGPU, through its local Mexican representative, Sequeiros, who collaborated with Jackson in the recently unsuccessful machine-gunning of Trotsky's home."

The *Daily Worker* comments today:

"Dreschd, or Frank Jackson, as he was known in Trotskyite circles, said that Trotsky had threatened to turn him over to the police as a deserter from the Belgian Army if he did not agree to commit acts of sabotage in the Soviet Union under Trotsky's leadership. He also said in his statement that Trotsky forbade him to marry Sylvia Ageloff, sister of one of Trotsky's secretaries."—T. D.

August 23, 1940, p. 9.

> local Communist party or with the previous attempt on Trotsky's life.[1]

Further on Jellinek remarks:

> Physicians here believe Trotsky could not have made the death bed political remarks exploited at his bier. In his condition, he could scarcely have muttered more than a few broken words.

In the same issue, an article declares: "OGPU Slew Trotsky, Local Radicals Say."[2] The "radicals" are Jay Lovestone, the leader of the Independent Labor League, which split with Trotsky's party, and James Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, Trotsky's own.[3]

It stands to reason that PM's critics would not let the obvious inconsistency between the United Press stories and Jellinek's pass without comment. Victor Riesel, managing editor of The New Leader, summarized the conflict in a letter to The American Mercury.[4] In the "Open Forum" column, Riesel writes:[5]

> Sir:
>
> If your recent editorial on the new New York tabloid, PM, needed any further corraboration, that paper has just provided it conclusively. Its coverage of the assassination of Leon Trotsky in Mexico showed a clear and blatant pro-Stalin bias which leaves no doubt that the sheet is strongly under Communist influences.
>
> On Friday, August 23, when every other news-

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1 PM, August 23, 1940, p. 4.
2 Ibid., p. 9.
3 Ibid.
4 Riesel, Victor, "Open Forum," American Mercury, Vol. 51, November, 1940, p. 377.
5 Ibid.

Trotsky Thought He'd Come to U. S. When Republicans Got Into Office

One of the last interviews granted by Leon Trotsky before his assassination was to Mrs. H. V. Kaltenborn, wife of the radio commentator. Her account of the meeting follows.

By Olga Kaltenborn

Behind a huge table covered with manuscript and newspapers, the man we had come to see rose to greet us. He wore a brown leather jacket, white trousers, open-collar blue shirt and sandals. Snow-white hair topped a huge forehead. His blue eyes were sharp and unsmiling.

He kept us waiting while he attended to correspondence. The library walls were lined ceiling-high with books—one section devoted to the works of Lenin and Marx, another to Trotsky's own works. A third was filled with books dealing with our host's arch-enemy, Stalin. Most of the books had markers sticking out, indicating they had been or would be used for reference.

Impressive Personality

I reached out casually to take out one of the books, curious to see what passages had been marked. With a shocked gesture my friend stopped me. "Don't touch any of his books," she whispered, "he is apt to fly into a fury [illegible] anyone touching his books."

For about five minutes we sat in silence watching Trotsky go over his letters very carefully before signing them. As he concentrated on his work, he appeared an impressive human being, a man of outstanding personality without an iota of charm or human appeal, a tremendous intellectual machine in a small, frail body. After the final signature was added, the waiting guard went out with the mail.

"I am sorry that we are taking so much of your valuable time," my friend began with a gracious smile.

"Yes," was Trotsky's emphatic answer, "I am giving you very little of my valuable time."

To lighten the atmosphere I remarked, "I sometimes see your friend, the translator of your *History of the Russian Revolution*, Max Eastman." Trotsky countered, "My former friend. He is no more my friend. He has gone to the right."

Once more we sought an auspicious beginning for the interview. It was suggested that it was a pity he had not yet been able to come to the U. S. A. to testify for the Dies Committee.

Regretted Bar by U. S. A.

"I would have liked to come," he replied. "I would have told them things worth hearing."

"But perhaps the Dies Committee would not have provided the best auspices for your visit—"

"Any auspices would have served. I believe in a fight. But Roosevelt would not let me come. When you have a conservative President, I will come to America. You see the American people could not associate me with your liberal President but under a Republican president I will come."

Feeling our interview would soon be ended I plunged in with an indiscreet question:

"How do you feel about Russian aggression in Finland?"

"I cannot blame Stalin. He did right."

Stalin Right

"But what about Communist ideology which frowns on imperialistic aggression?"

"Russia will take Finland. History will show that Stalin did right."

This surprised me. I had the feeling that Trotsky, the internationalist, was also a Russian nationalist. I also felt that with this man no kind of argument or discussion was possible. His was an arbitrary dictatorial mind, completely indifferent to the feelings or sufferings of others.

"Do you think the war will end this year?" was the next question. With the suggestion of a sly smile he snapped:

"I would not bet my little finger on that."

He rose to signify the interview was at an end.

"Are you continuing your memoirs?" I asked, glancing at the mass of manuscript on his desk. Impatiently he shook his head.

"No, not memoirs. I have no time now for memoirs."

August 27, 1940, p. 5.

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By Olga Kaltenborn

Behind a huge table covered with manuscript and newspapers, the man we had come to see rose to greet us. He wore a brown leather jacket, white trousers, open-collar blue shirt and sandals. Snow-white hair topped a huge forehead. His blue eyes were sharp and unsmiling.

He kept us waiting while he attended to correspondence. The library walls were lined ceiling-high with books—one section devoted to the works of Lenin and Marx, another to Trotsky's own works. A third was filled with books dealing with our host's arch-enemy, Stalin. Most of the books had markers sticking out, indicating they had been or would be used for reference.

Impressive Personality

I reached out casually to take out one of the books, curious to see what passages had been marked. With a shocked gesture my friend stopped me. "Don't touch any of his books," she whispered, "he is apt to fly into a fury if he sees anyone touching his books."

For about five minutes we sat in silence watching Trotsky go over his letters very carefully before signing them. As he concentrated on his work, he appeared an impressive human being, a man of outstanding personality without an iota of charm or human appeal, a tremendous intellectual machine in a small, frail body. After the final signature was added, the waiting guard went out with the mail.

"I am sorry that we are taking so much of your valuable time," my friend began with a gracious smile.

"Yes," was Trotsky's emphatic answer, "I am giving you very little of my valuable time."

To lighten the atmosphere I remarked, "I sometimes see your friend, the translator of your *History of the Russian Revolution*, Max Eastman." Trotsky countered, "My former friend. He is no more my friend. He has gone to the right."

Once more we sought an auspicious beginning for the interview. It was suggested that it was a pity he had not yet been able to come to the U. S. A. to testify for the Dies Committee.

Regretted Bar by U. S. A.

"I would have liked to come," he replied. "I would have told them things worth hearing."

"But perhaps the Dies Committee would not have provided the best auspices for your visit—"

"Any auspices would have served. I believe in a fight. But Roosevelt would not let me come. When you have a conservative President, I will come to America. You see the American people could not associate me with your liberal President but under a Republican president I will come."

Feeling our interview would soon be ended I plunged in with an indiscreet question: "How do you feel about Russian aggression in Finland?"

"I cannot blame Stalin. He did right."

Stalin Right

"But what about Communist ideology which frowns on imperialistic aggression?"

"Russia will take Finland. History will show that Stalin did right."

This surprised me. I had the feeling that Trotsky, the internationalist, was also a Russian nationalist. I also felt that with this man no kind of argument or discussion was possible. His was an arbitrary dictatorial mind, completely indifferent to the feelings or sufferings of others.

"Do you think the war will end this year?" was the next question. With the suggestion of a sly smile he snapped:

"I would not bet my little finger on that."

He rose to signify the interview was at an end.

"Are you continuing your memoirs?" I asked, glancing at the mass of manuscript on his desk. Impatiently he shook his head.

"No, not memoirs. I have no time now for memoirs."

August 27, 1940, P. S.

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paper reported the Mexican police's suspicions that killed Frank Jackson was linked to the Soviet's secret police, PM ran a dispatch from its Mexican correspondent, Frank Jellinek, which led off as follows:

> "No evidence whatever given but here connects Leon Trotsky's murder with U.S.S.R.'s secret police, the local Communist party, or with the previous attempt on Trotsky's life .... etc.[1]

Jellinek, of course, was not at Trotsky's bedside. Further, in the dispatch Jellinek deliberately distorted the activity of Albert Goldman, the New Yorker whom Trotsky's American followers rushed to Mexico City when the story broke.

Mr. Jellinek has an interesting background which Mr. Ingersoll of PM must have known when he hired him last year as Mexican correspondent. Jellinek is English and was on intimate terms with British Communist Party leaders, which he considers an "honor." He was in Spain during the Civil War, and was one of the few correspondents to receive full cooperation of the Stalinite propaganda commissars. His books were published by the British Left Book Club, which until the early days of the war was a fellow-traveling organization. American Communists though so well of Jellinek's PM dispatch that the Daily Worker reprinted it in the next day's edition as the only "impartial story" out of Mexico. Moreover, on September 4, the Daily Worker story from Mexico signed "by Frank Jellinek (Federated Press)," which indicates that Ingersoll was using the same correspondent employed by the pro-Communist Federated Press. In that dispatch, Jellinek again whitewashed the Mexican Communists and the G.P.U.

On August 26, with delicate solicitude for G.P.U. feelings, PM permitted its rewrite desk to edit out of a United Press story on Sylvia Ageloff's confrontation of

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1 See foregoing quotation from PM, August 23, 1940, p. 4.

> Jackson, the phrase, "you dirty agent of the G.P.U." Every other New York daily carried these tell-tale words in the story.
>
> Handling of the Trotsky assassination adds another item to the long dossier of pro-Stalinisms Mr. Ingersoll must explain sooner or later.

Riesel may be overly critical but the fact remains that in its foreign news as well as its commentary and editorials, PM is given to comment and opinion. There is little to be said for its objectivity.

NEWS OF THE NATION

The Election

> That this paper will be without political affiliations has always been taken for granted -- because a politician's platform presumes that he knows the truth and is practicing it. Whereas PM admits it does not know the solution for all the ills of mankind. What PM believes in is the search -- and in the legitimacy of the search: the public's right to know whatever we as journalists believe at the moment it is to the public's interest to know.
>
> Without any question, PM will come to have strong feelings for or against this or that candidate in local, state and national elections. These feelings, like those of any other journal, will be reflected in its columns. PM belongs to no political party and its positions will be taken on the merits of individuals and individual situations. What makes PM tick is a serious belief in honest journalism as an end in itself -- the bringing of the truth to the people so that they may decide for themselves what to do about it. 1

This is PM's declared stand on the political front, and it is a noble one. It is to be regretted that PM's editors found it impossible to hold to the above objectives. Political indifference in a newspaper is a cowardly thing; impartiality, carried into the thick of a campaign, might be considered as equivocating; but a fair consideration of issues, based upon the premise that the newspaper does not know the solution for

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1 Engersoll, Ralph, "Confidential Memorandum," Publications Research Inc., May, 1940, p. 11.

all the ills of mankind but believes in the search, is an admirable stand and may well be adhered to.

Certainly PM made good its promise that its positions would be taken on the merits of individuals and individual situations. Personalities appeared to be more important than issues in the political campaigning as reflected in PM's pages.

In his editorial pronouncement on PM's stand in the presidential election, Editor Ingersoll stated that the most solemn duty of an independent paper is an analysis and argument of political issues[1] and promised to announce which way the newspaper's political die would be cast by October 1. PM's sympathies however, were obvious by the time of the Democratic nominating convention. By September, the newspaper was actively campaigning for Roosevelt; its news columns and commentary reflected complete confidence in the New Deal and a desire for its continuation.

Mrs. Marion Bachrach, formerly of the Washington Bureau of PM, contends that PM was from the first a pro-Roosevelt newspaper.[2] As early as July 23, 1940, Kenneth Crawford wrote from Washington that the "Presidential Campaign Begins with Democrats Figured to Win."[3]

One of the first stands taken by PM was espousal of the third term. George Washington was resurrected to express an opinion;[4] contemporary politicians were quoted on their views

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1 PM, August 27, 1940, p. 2.
2 See page 25, Chapter II.
3 PM, July 23, 1940, p. 9.
4 PM, July 26, 1940, p. 8.

Presidential Campaign Begins With Democrats Figured to Win

Republicans Need Groundswell of 1932 Proportions to Overcome Roosevelt's Conceded Advantage

By KENNETH CRAWFORD

WASHINGTON, July 23.—Now that the air has been cleared of convention noises and hotel room smoke, the Washington political minds are beginning to get together on an appraisal of the campaign situation. The consensus:

1. The Roosevelt-Wallace ticket starts the campaign with so many advantages that it must be conceded the better chance of winning.

2. The Willkie-McNary ticket if it is to win must kick up a groundswell of 1932 proportions, and as yet the political seismograph indicates no such disturbance in the offing.

3. The third-term issue, in itself, probably is not enough; it must be something striking closer to the voter's home—a widespread suspicion, for example, that President Roosevelt is pursuing a war policy.

Conventions Mean Little

4. Except for the nominations, nothing that happened at Philadelphia and Chicago will have much effect on the outcome of the election; by November everything else will be forgotten, including the platforms, the charge that Wendell Willkie telegraphed himself into the nomination and the howl that the Roosevelt draft was a phoney.

The assumption of Democratic advantage rests first of all on the Solid South. Southern states certainly to be counted in the Democratic column, together with border states that may reasonably be called Democratic-presumptive, account for 154 electoral votes. This is a big leg-up on the 266 necessary to win.

These states and their votes are: Alabama, 11; Arkansas, 9; Florida, 7; Georgia, 12; Kentucky, 11; Louisiana, 10; Maryland, 8; Mississippi, 9; North Carolina, 13; Oklahoma, 11; South Carolina, 8; Tennessee, 11; Texas, 23; Virginia, 11.

62 Votes More

To this bloc may be added another 62 votes from states that now seem overwhelmingly Democratic on the basis of recent polls, recent elections and registration. These and their votes are: Arizona, 3; California, 22; Missouri, 15; Nevada, 3; New Mexico, 3; West Virginia, 8, and Washington, 8. In California, Democrats have an advantage of almost 1,000,000 in registration.

With these 62 conceded to the Democrats, the Roosevelt-Wallace ticket starts with 216 electoral votes. The 47 New York votes with those of any other one doubtful state would be enough. A group of Middle Western states would be enough without New York. The 29 votes of Illinois, which leans Democratic, would more than half offset the loss of New York.

These figures do not, of course, preclude the possibility of a Willkie-McNary triumph. They show merely that the outs have a tremendous handicap to overcome.

Intangibles Favor Roosevelt

The intangibles, too, are weighted on the side of the incumbent President. He steers foreign policy with a sure hand and will have plenty of opportunity to display this talent as the campaign progresses. His domestic policies are still popular with the low-income groups. Armament spending assures relatively good and improving times between now and November.

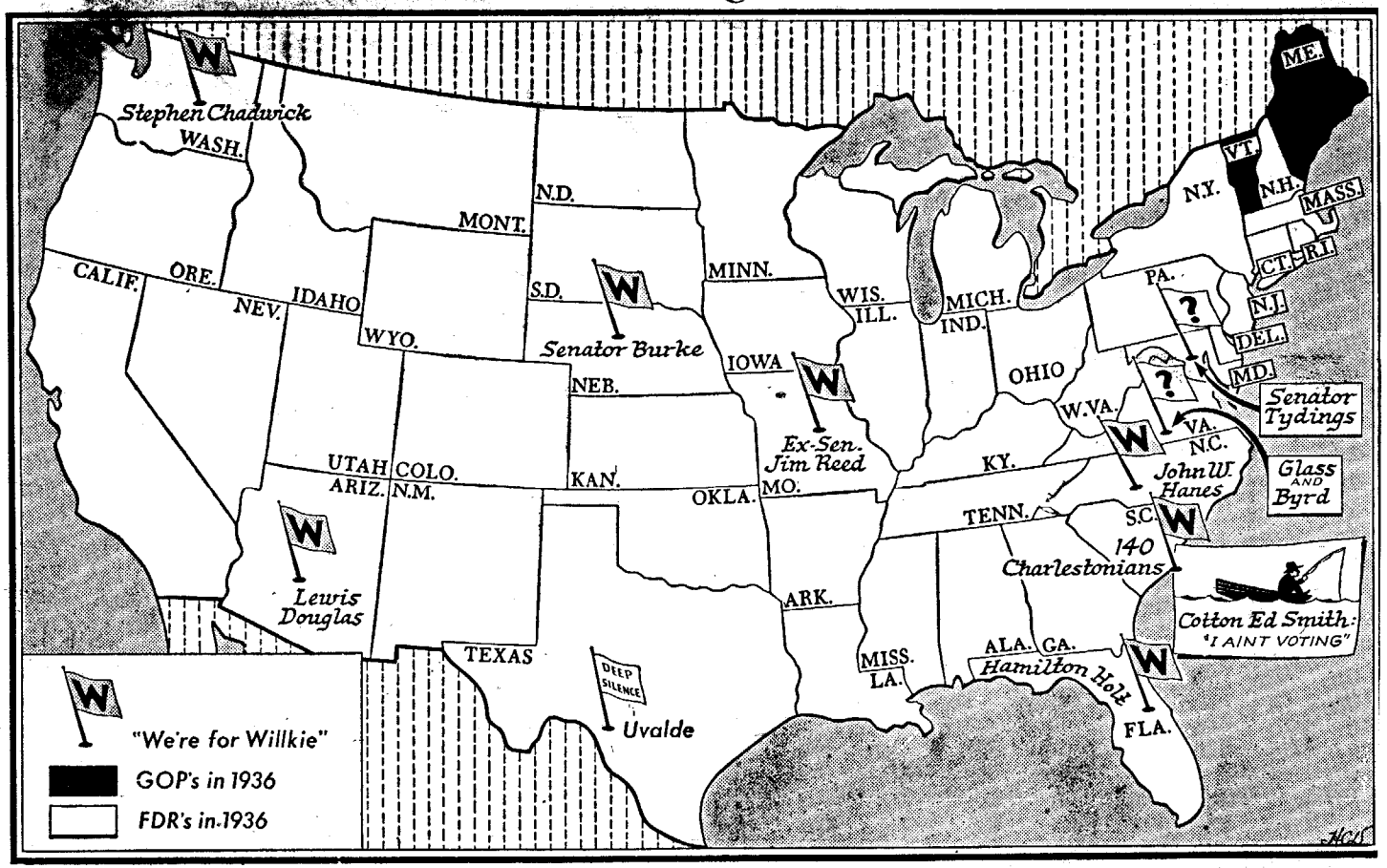
Mr. Willkie, charmer though he may be, will look like pig in poke to many cautious voters. Moreover, the stigma of the utilities business is on him. Records of several Senate hearings will provide campaign pay dirt against him and his company, the Commonwealth & Southern. Digging for it already has started.

The least-kown factor is the third-term shibboleth. It was not effective at Chicago. The President's opponents rallied to it, but actually it was the policies that they opposed, not the proposal to smash a precedent. The question is whether third-term can be translated into dictatorship, as court packing was and as government reorganization was.

All the resources at the disposal of the Republicans—newspapers, magazines, word of mouth from the front office—will be bent to this objective.

July 23, 1940, p. 9.

Can Third-Term Bolters Change White Into Black?



In 1932 literally millions of Republicans, big and little, bolted the GOP to vote for FDR. In 1936 many stayed bolted. In 1940 Republicans hope enough Democrats, banded with a huge share of the independent vote, will bolt to Willkie to insure their victory. But despite numerous predictions of wholesale revolt, results to date appear to be far from decisive, and, in Kenneth Crawford's words, most of the FDR bolters in the last 10 days have simply staged repeat performances of 1936 breakaways. It is too early to evaluate the developing lineup of conservatives for Willkie, progressives for Roosevelt, and the inevitable clinging of some of these to both parties, but here PM Artist Harold Detje dramatizes in black and white the problem facing bolters and the GOP: even with a break of thousands in the party lineups, can they in 1940 reverse the nationally Democratic trend of 1936?

July 28, 1940, p. 8.

in "Seers Who Knew Roosevelt's Mind,"[1] and toward the close of the campaign, Alexander Hamilton, Ulysses S. Grant, Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson were invoked to join Washington in expressing favorable reactions to a third term.[2]

The endorsement of Roosevelt, emphatic as it was, never hit the intensity nor occupied the amount of space that was devoted to the persecution of Candidate Willkie. With PM's usual careful attention to background, the campaign-to-defeat-Willkie began with an analysis of Elwood, Indiana. According to Kenneth Crawford, "Elwood, Willkie's Home Town, Is a Ghost City."[3] His remarks are broad and factual:[4]

> Elwood has been riding the wrong horse almost from the start. It has a feeling that Wendell Willkie is the wrong horse, too. But Capehart has convinced its citizens that they had better shut up about that, at least until the notification is over .....
>
> Right now, about one-fifth of the citizens of Elwood are on relief ..... The township allows a family with children $1.25 a week for groceries -- 25¢ a week for each additional child.

PM, quick to catch Mr. Willkie's tendency to dovetail into the New Deal policies, made the best possible use of its observations. "'New Dealer' Willkie Approves Conscription, Aid to Britain," Crawford headlined his lead story on August 18,[5] and proceeded with the comment:

> Wendell Willkie turns out to be one of those New Dealers. Accepting the Repub-

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1 PM, August 2, 1940, p. 9.
2 "Some Americans Go On Record Regarding the Third Term," PM, October 31, 1940, p. 23.
3 PM, August 16, 1940, p. 9.
4 Ibid.
5 PM, August 18, 1940, p. 7.

ELWOOD, Ind., Aug. 16.—Wendell Willkie has said that the story of Elwood is the story of America. It is a morbid idea. If true, it means that cupidity, exploitation, moronic leadership and decadence are our story. Fortunately, Elwood is a caricature of America, not a portrait. It is America at its fantastic worst.

Elwood is now a city of about 11,000 and looks like any other American city that size except that everything in it is old. Nothing has been built for years. It stopped growing around the turn of the century and nothing much has happened in the last 40 years. Its physical growth was stunted when the supply of natural gas ran out. When its mental growth stopped is a matter of opinion—certainly a long time ago.

Elwood Has a Boom

This year its industries have been the tomato festival and the Willkie nomination. Transitory as both of them are, they are something. Drought has taken the tomatoes and gossip has wilted the Willkie boom. Almost everyone involved will lose money on both events. They won't know that, though, until it is all over.

At the moment, they are under the spell of Homer Capehart, the big music-box man from southern Indiana, impresario of the 1936 corn-field conference, and a go-getter any way you look at him—a revolving go-getter. He is around telling the merchants how to cash in, buying up crops to make way for parking space, ordering the roads salted down to prevent dust, and otherwise running the community. Nobody in Elwood thought about the money-losing possibilities of the Willkie notification until Capehart came along. He has shown them a lot and the time will come, no doubt, when he will have to stay away from Elwood to miss his own lynching.

Surprise! Surprise!

They expect 40,000 visitors for the ceremonies tomorrow when the news is broken to Willkie that he got the Republican nomination in Philadelphia. It seems reasonable to expect that the 40,000 will spend much less than has been spent on preparations.

Elwood has been riding the wrong horse almost from the start. It has a feeling that Wendell Willkie is the wrong horse, too. But Capehart has convinced its citizens that they had better shut up about that, at least until the notification is over.

The thing started in 1887 when it was discovered that the Pennsylvania gas field extended into Indiana. Until then, Elwood had just sort of rocked along as a general store, a mill and a place for farmers to come on Saturday night. Originally the town was called Quincy, later Duck Creek. It didn't know its own strength, whatever the name, until gas was discovered and a man named William McKinley told the town in 1892 about the possibilities of a tariff to protect infant industry.

"Puddler Jim" and Wendell

Its infant industry had been established two years earlier by two young fellows from another part of the state, William B. Leeds and Daniel G. Reid. The industry was tin plate and Mr. McKinley, then a Congressman, got a 2½-cents-a-pound duty on tin plate to protect the American worker's full dinner pail. Mr. Leeds and Mr. Reid, no dopes, imported Welsh tin platers to man their factories and filled their dinner pails with old world rations. Elwood has been low wage and open shop ever since.

One of the Welshmen imported to protect the American worker from exposure to work was James J. Davis, later Secretary of Labor in the Hoover Cabient and Republican Senator from Pennsylvania. He is called "Puddler Jim," and he once lived in Elwood. If you saw that unrehearsed newsreel of Willkie and the *Information Please* boys and heard the amazing off-handedness of Mr. Willkie's answers about Mr. Davis, you might suspect that the Elwood boys stick together. Also that question about Henry Clay—Clay is Willkie's hobby. How the Information Pleasers happened to hit on those two subjects in their program we probably shall never know.

Anyway, the gas lasted about 10 years, what with the town's habit of driving pipes in the ground, lighting the exposed ends and leaving them that way day and night because, what the hell, gas was everywhere. Mr. Leeds and Mr. Reid, having built factories at great expense in Elwood, didn't leave the town even after the gas was gone. For a while they imported coal. They made a pot of money and the progeny and their progeny's progeny are still spending it.

Daniel Reid Topping, having married Sonja Henie, is at the moment the most conspicuous of the line. But the more expensive watering places of Europe have known many of them well. If Sonja were to come to Elwood at the right time of winter, she could skate on Duck Creek with kids who haven't enough skates to go around—youngsters left over from the era of Welsh tin platers with full dinner pails whose fathers have a tough time making a living these days.

A Fifth on Relief

Right now, about a fifth of the citizens of Elwood are on relief. Because Elwood is the one city in Indiana where the administration, whether Republican or Democratic, doesn't have any truck with the WPA, most of the destitute are on the township.

In June, the last month for which figures are available, 1720 Elwoodians were subsisting on grocery orders provided by the township of Pipe Creek, which was spending about $80,000 a year on them. The township allows a family without children $1.25 a week for groceries—25 cents a week additional for each child. If a family has 10 children, it gets $4 a week to feed them. There is one WPA project in the town—employing 83 persons who get an average of about $50 a month. They are the fortunate. Elwoodians who have to go out and pick tomatoes find themselves competing with labor imported from Kentucky, Texas and Mexico, and they can't make anything like $50 a month.

The only industrial concern in town doing much of anything is the Monticello Manufacturing Co. It is making Willkie-for-President signs. It has recently been cited by the National Labor Relations Board for interfering with a CIO union and still more recently there have been complaints that it is violating the Wage and Hour law. (Also see Page 7.)

Q. and A.: File and Don't Forget.

Wendell L. Willkie
Colorado Springs, Colo.

The U.S. Steel tin plate mill, employing 1500 in Elwood, has been closed since 1937. The Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co., employing 1000 left town earlier. What happened in Elwood has happened in hundreds of other U.S. cities.

Elwood is a ghost town. It symbolizes the economic problem facing the country today. Elwood is your home town. You are its most famous son. What plan do you propose to cure its ills?

The problem of unemployment, left by Hoover administration, is still not solved. If elected, what do you propose to do about unemployment? About WPA and direct relief on which some of your townspeople are subsisting in absence of anything better?

LEO HUBERMAN
Labor Editor, PM

WESTERN UNION

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J. C. WILLEVER, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
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LNP WR 36 DL

BH Colorado Springs, Colo., 330P. Aug. 11, 1940

Leo Huberman, Labor Editor,

PM 27 Sixth Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.

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Wendell L. Wilkie.

755P.

Elwood, Willkie's Home Town, Is a Ghost City

Will Republicans Mention This at Notification Ceremonies?

By KENNETH CRAWFORD
Staff Correspondent

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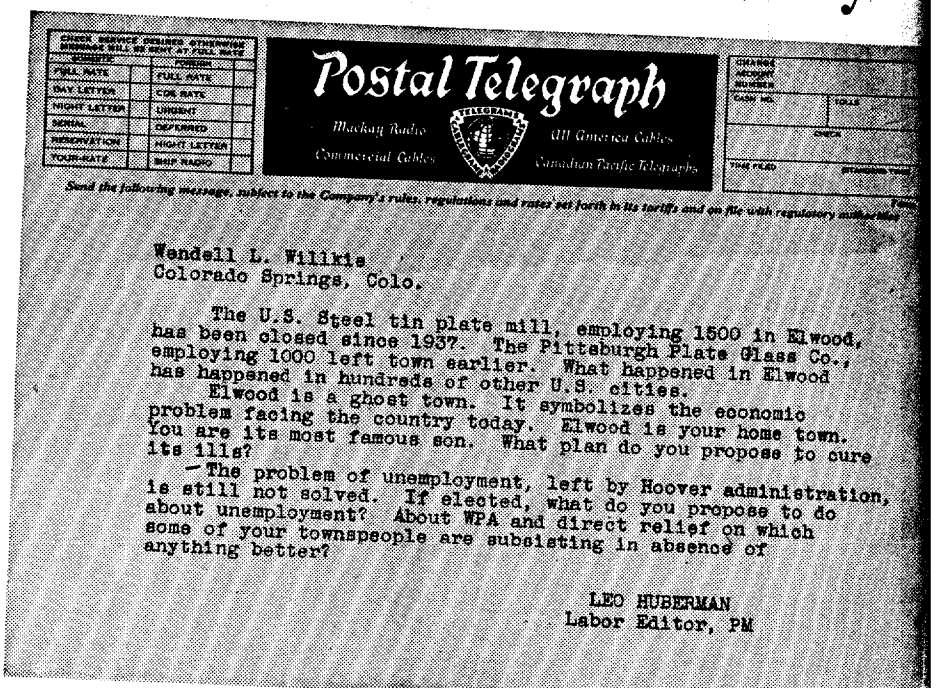
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Postal Telegraph

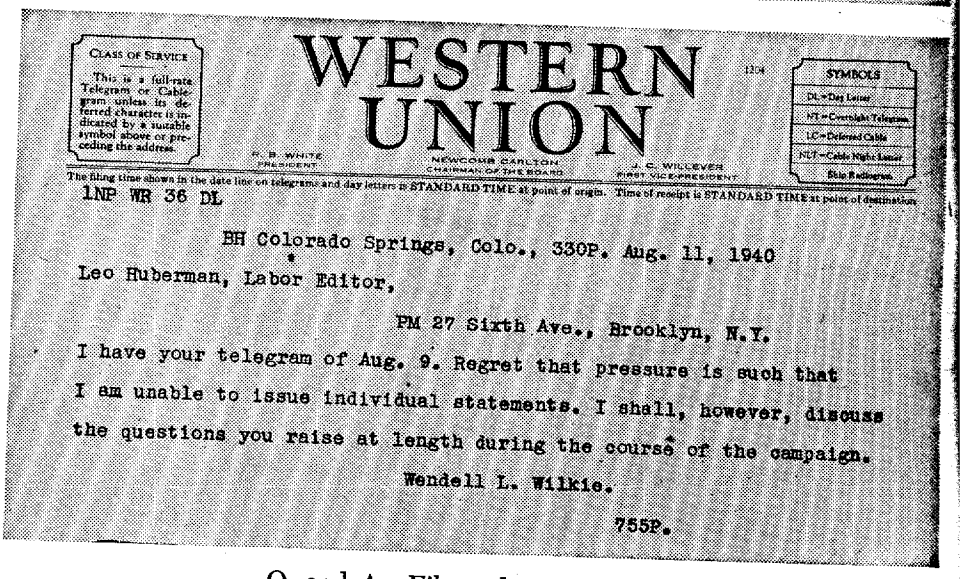
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THE NATION

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'New Dealer' Willkie Approves Conscription, Aid to Britain

Challenges Roosevelt to Platform Debates in Elwood Acceptance Speech

By KENNETH CRAWFORD
Staff Correspondent

ELWOOD, Ind., Aug. 17.—Wendell L. Willkie turns out to be one of those New Dealers. Accepting the Republican nominatio for President in his home town today, Mr. Willkie made a speech that might have been written by President Roosevelt. It indorsed conscription and material aid to Great Britain, and it indorsed what the New Deal has done at home. But it didn't indorse FDR or the suspected motive of the New Deal an or the suspected motive of the New Deal and it didn't like the way Mr. Roosevelt did a lot of things. Here Mr. Willkie rose up to challenge the President meet him on the same platform in a nation-wide stumping tour to debate the matter.

The upshot of the whole thing is that if the economic royalists accept Mr. Willkie's speech at face value, they won't have any place to go this year. If they want to register a protest, they will have to vote for Norman Thomas.

Wants New Wealth

Mr. Willkie tried to set himself apart from the New Deal by saying that the New Deal was defeatist—that it was trying to divide up the wealth of the country—whereas he, Mr. Willkie, wanted to create new wealth so that it would not be necessary to divide up what wealth we now have. But he indorsed every specific New Deal policy and did not make it quite clear how he would create this new wealth.

He started out by saying that he was engaged in a crusade to preserve American Democracy. He talked of his father, Herman Wilkie, who he said "hated all privileges and forms of oppression." He added that he, the child of German immigrants, could aspire to the Presidency and that this, to him, was the American way.

"I have fought from boyhood," he said, "against all those restrictions, discriminations and tyrannies. And I am still fighting."

From these generalizations about his own background, Mr. Willkie swung into specific statements on foreign policy. He said he favored a draft law. He said he was against appeasement of the Hitler government. He said further that he wanted to help keep Great Britain on the face of the earth.

"We must," he said, "admit that the loss of the British Fleet would greatly weaken our defense. This is because the British Fleet for years controlled the Atlantic, leaving us free to concentrate on the Pacific. If the British Fleet were lost or captured, the Atlantic might be dominated by Germany, a power hostile to our way of life, controlling in that event most of the ships and shipbuilding facilities of Europe. This would be a calamity for us."

Mr. Willkie then indorsed President Roosevelt's foreign policy wholly and without equivocation. He said:

"The President of the United States recentl ysaid: 'We will extend to the opponents of force the material resources of the nation, and at the same time we will harness the use of those resources in order that we ourselves, in the Americas, may have equipment and training equal to the task of any emergency and every defense.' I should like to state that I am in agreement with these two principles, as I understand them—and I don't understand them as implying military involvement in the present hostilities.

"As an American citizen I am glad to pledge my whole-hearted support to the President in whatever action he may take in accordance with these principles."

Too Rough on Adolph

Mr. Willkie went on to say that he proposed to lick Hitler and do so "on our own terms, in our own American way." He criticized FDR as having talked too bitterly about Hitler. The administration should do more and talk less, Mr. Willkie said. This led him into a discussion of domestic issues.

"The promises of the present administration cannot lead you to victory against Hitler or anyone else," he said. "This administration stands for principles exactly opposite to mine. We are asked to divide among ourselves what we already have. The New Deal doctrine does not seek risk, it seeks safety. Let us call it the 'I pass' doctrine. The New Deal dealt it and refused to make any more bets on the American future."

As for him, Mr. Willkie said, he wanted to do away with hate—"I stand for a new companionship in an industrial society." New Deal policy, he said, could only "make the poor poorer and the rich less rich."

And He's for Labor

But Mr. Willkie made it plain that he was for the New Deal's reform program.

"I believe," he said, "that the forces of free enterprise must be regulated. I am opposed to business monopolies. I believe in collective bargaining, by representatives of labor's own free choice, without any interference and in full protection of those obvious rights. I believe in the maintenance of minimum standards for wages and of maximum standards for hours.

"I believe that such standards should constantly improve. I believe in the Federal regulation of interstate utilities, of security markets and of banking. I believe in Federal pensions, in adequate old age benefits, and in unemployment allowances."

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"I make this proposal respectfully," he said, "to the man upon whose shoulders rest the cares of state. But I make it in dead earnest."

Back Home in Indiana . . .



Campaign prelude: The upraised hat, the upturned face of Mr. and Mrs. Willkie were snapped on the porch of her old home in Rushville, just before nearby Elwood heard the opening salvos of the Republican nominee's campaign for the Presidency. *Photo by Wide World*

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"I am in agreement . . . We must honestly face our relationship with Great Britain. If the British fleet were lost or captured, the Atlantic might be dominated by Germany, a power hostile to our way of life."

"I cannot follow the President in his conduct of affairs in this critical time. There have been occasions when many of us have wondere dif he is deliberately inciting us to war."

"The President's attacks on foreign powers have been useless and dangerous. He has courted a war for which the country is hopelessly unprepared and emphatically does not want."

"In the defense of America and of our liberties I should not hesitate to stand for war. And I believe it to be the first duty of a President to try to maintain peace."

"I promise to outdistance Hitler in any contest he chooses in 1940 or after. And I promise that when we beat him we shall beat him on our own terms in our own American way."

"Like the Blum government in France, so has our government become entangled in untruthful political adventures."

"Mr. Roosevelt . . . has dabbled in inflammatory statements and manufactured panics . . . The confusion in the nation's mind has been largely due to . . . lack of information from the White House."

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"We cannot rebuild our American democracy without hardship, without sacrifice, even without suffering. I am proposing that course to you . . ."

"I propose that during the next two and a half months, the President and I appear together on public platforms in various parts of the country to debate the fundamental issues of this campaign."—UP

THE NATION

Kenneth Stewart, Duncan Aikman, Wilson James, Tom O'Connor, Penn Kimball, Julian P. Freiser, Ernest Jerome Hopkins, Hannah Baker. Washington: Kenneth Crawford, Alice Fox Pitts, Nathan Robertson, David Lindsay.

'New Dealer' Willkie Approves Conscription, Aid to Britain

Challenges Roosevelt to Platform Debates in Elwood Acceptance Speech

By Kenneth Crawford
Staff Correspondent

ELWOOD, Ind., Aug. 17.—Wendell L. Willkie turns out to be one of those New Dealers. Accepting the Republican nomination for President in his home town today, Mr. Willkie made a speech that might have been written by President Roosevelt. It indorsed conscription and material aid to Great Britain, and it indorsed what the New Deal has done at home. But it didn't indorse FDR or the suspected motive of the New Deal and or the suspected motive of the New Deal and it didn't like the way Mr. Roosevelt did a lot of things. Here Mr. Willkie rose up to challenge the President meet him on the same platform in a nation-wide stumping tour to debate the matter.

The upshot of the whole thing is that if the economic royalists accept Mr. Willkie's speech at face value, they won't have any place to go this year. If they want to register a protest, they will have to vote for Norman Thomas.

Wants New Wealth

Mr. Willkie tried to set himself apart from the New Deal by saying that the New Deal was defeatist—that it was trying to divide up the wealth of the country—whereas he, Mr. Willkie, wanted to create new wealth so that it would not be necessary to divide up what wealth we now have. But he indorsed every specific New Deal policy and did not make it quite clear how he would create this new wealth.

He started out by saying that he was engaged in a crusade to preserve American Democracy. He talked of his father, Herman Willkie, who he said "hated all privileges and forms of oppression." He added that he, the child of German immigrants, could aspire to the Presidency and that this, to him, was the American way.

"I have fought from boyhood," he said, "against all these restrictions, discriminations and tyrannies. And I am still fighting."

From these generalizations about his own background, Mr. Willkie swung into specific statements on foreign policy. He said he favored a draft law. He said he was against appeasement of the Hitler government. He said further that he wanted to help keep Great Britain on the face of the earth.

"We must," he said, "admit that the loss of the British Fleet would greatly weaken our defense. This is because the British Fleet for years controlled the Atlantic, leaving us free to concentrate on the Pacific. If the British Fleet were lost or captured, the Atlantic might be dominated by Germany, a power hostile to our way of life, controlling as that event most of the ships and shipbuilding facilities of Europe. This would be a calamity for us."

Mr. Willkie then indorsed President Roosevelt's foreign policy wholly and without equivocation. He said:

"The President of the United States recently said: 'We will extend to the opponents of force the material resources of the nation, and at the same time we will harness the use of these resources in order that we ourselves, in the Americas, may have equipment and training equal to the task of any emergency and every defense.' I should like to state that I am in agreement with these two principles, as I understand them—and I don't understand them as implying military involvement in the present hostilities.

"As an American citizen I am glad to pledge my whole-hearted support to the President in whatever action he may take in accordance with these principles."

Too Rough on Adolph

Mr. Willkie went on to say that he proposed to lick Hitler and do so "on our own terms, in our own American way." He criticized FDR as having talked too bitterly about Hitler. The administration should do more and talk less, Mr. Willkie said. This led him into a discussion of domestic issues.

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> lican nomination for President in his home town today, Mr. Willkie made a speech that might have been written by President Roosevelt.

The "Highlights of Willkie's Speech,"[1] as given by United Press, were printed without comment, but Crawford's story was seeped in commentary.

Ralph Ingersoll stepped in late in August to clarify the befuddled voter with his "What's the Voting All About?"[2] Ingersoll sets forth the fundamental issues, as he sees them,[3] and ends with the sage observation:

> You will get one kind of country if you vote for Roosevelt.
>
> You will get another kind if you vote for Willkie.
>
> Which do you want?

During September, readers are warned that "Willkie Is Still '1932 Demo.'"[4] and of the "Willkie High Command."[5] In the latter story, the product of Duncan Aikman's pen, there appears the following easily-misinterpreted passage:[6]

> Even though he pulled some of the punches, he has attempted in his extemporaneous talks bracketing Roosevelt with Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin, the plain insinuation in Mr. Willkie's words was: "Good friend, you are ruled by a dangerous egomaniac who among his other crimes, scorns you."

The words, careful reading will indicate, are not Willkie's; they are Aikman's interpretation of Willkie's meaning. Reporting of this sort is misleading and dangerous, and should not be

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1 PM, August 18, 1940, p. 7.
2 PM, August 27, 1940, p. 7.
3 Ibid.
4 PM, September 17, 1940, p. 7.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid.

PM, TUESDAY, AUGUST 27, 1940 • NEWS OF THE NATION

NATIONAL COMMENTARY

WHAT'S THE VOTING ALL ABOUT?

By Ralph Ingersoll

For four or five years now it has been said repeatedly that what this country had coming to it was a new political alignment—two new political parties representing opposite sides on national issues.

Along about the middle of the New Deal we appeared to have four: a nostalgic Republican party that wanted only the good old days; a realistic Republican party that thought not only the automobile but also collective bargaining in Detroit might be here to stay; a Democratic party that disapproved of the Democratic Administration—and something called the New Deal party, that nobody was able to define. Spokesmen for all four parties were saying that the old concepts of Republican and Democrat had outlived their usefulness and that a new alignment was in order, the obvious one being the anti-Administration Democrats with the die-hard Republicans, and the New Deal either fighting it out alone or picking up some "left wing" Republicans.

When the Republicans chose a right wing Democrat as a candidate it looked as if it had happened. It looked as if for the first time in a decade the voters would have a chance to choose between a candidate who stood uncompromisingly for reform—for making this country a more satisfactory place for the majority of the people to live in—and a candidate equally uncompromising in his belief in reaction—in a return to the social theory that the ultimate welfare was best served by seeing to it that the group that owns and manages industry be rewarded first, secure in the confidence that they would pass on their blessings.

It looked as if it posed this choice. But did it?

Meaning What?

This choice, of course, is the fundamental national issue and has been not for one, but for several generations. *Laissez faire* in America has held that if the owners and producers profit they will have both the incentive to manufacture better things and sell them more cheaply and, in making more money, will pass on more profits in higher wage scales. These in turn will increase the market and thereby in turn enable them to manufacture more economically, thus continuing a happy cycle in which the rich get richer and the poor get theirs too. And in its heyday it produced such miracles as Henry Ford's revolutionary wage scale—his $5 per man per day in 1914. The reform movement in this country never really got anywhere until the debacle of 1929 cost the industrialists the people's confidence.

The New Deal has been an experimental operation to find the way to give the people themselves a say in how the profits of U. S. industry should be made and shared—with the workers by collective bargaining, with the aged by Social Security, with the unemployed by work relief, etc., etc. The conception included the concept of a federal government strong enough to match the strength of concentrations of industrial capital, so that the government, representing the wishes of the people through their elected representatives, could bargain as an equal with the combined industrialists of the country.

This, of course, is why both radical and reactionary hate the New Deal and Mr. Roosevelt, who stands for it. The industrialist, vis-a-vis a strong federal government bent on bargaining with him on how he should divide his profits, reacts in exactly the same way as the industrialist vis-a-vis a labor union of his own employes insisting on its right to a say in how much of a profit should be plowed back into higher wages and shorter hours. The very raising of the question—of whether the employer-industrialist is answerable either to the public or to his own employes—is not merely a challenge to his profits, but is also insulting because it casts reflection on his ability as the manager of his own enterprise.

Righteous Indignation

Since most industrialists have excellent consciences and consider they do very well both by their employes in the wages they pay and by the people in the taxes they remit, for either the government or their employes to claim the right to collaborate in their decision brings righteous indignation—and for either to ask for more is most unreasonable and malicious.

The radical hates Mr. Roosevelt and the New Deal for the equally logical reason that the concept of bargaining is itself reactionary. Its objective is not the confiscation of capital—quite the reverse. It is based on the assumption that capital must continue to exist in order to carry out the bargain. If capital is in danger it must first let up on it, then turn around and help—just as a trade union has in the last extremity no choice but to let up on the employer. The labor leader who is not a revolutionist must in all his bargaining be conscious of the reality that he cannot bargain for more than there is—or even all there is.

It is at this precise point that the revolutionary leaves in a huff. The radicals approved of the New Deal when it drew up a chair to bargain with industrial power in this country. But just as soon as it became apparent that the concept of bargaining was sincere, that Mr. Roosevelt did not really want to confiscate industry, but sought instead to make his government its partner, they raised the cry of treason to revolutionary principles, moved down from 14th Street to Wall and Broad, and presently were to be seen in the newsreels in the persons of John L. Lewis and Herbert Hoover, shaking hands in Philadelphia. Mr. Lewis didn't rally for Mr. Hoover, or vice versa. But they both hated Mr. Roosevelt, and each for his own very good reasons.

Both Mr. Hoover and Mr. Lewis have real grievances against Mr. Roosevelt. Mr. Roosevelt insisted on the government's right, as representatives of the people, to sit down with the industrialists whom Mr. Hoover represents—in SECs, NLRBs, etc.—and assume the role of uninvited partner in the most sacred of capitalistic rites—the carving of the melon. Yet when Mr. Lewis suggested that the best thing to do would be just to walk off with the melon itself, Mr. Roosevelt put him in his place with his famous "plague on both your houses" crack.

From Appearances

This essay began with a speculation on whether two new parties are to emerge from this summer's conventions—parties which would represent these two divergent points of view and give the people their first chance to see them in all their sharp contrast and to decide in their sovereign will by which theory they wanted this country's government administered.

The points I have to make here are two.

First: that apparently, on the surface, as recorded in platforms and pronouncements, no such issue as I have described is being posed.

Second: I want to state my belief that despite appearances it *did* happen. The two theories I've described are aligned on opposite sides of the fence and represented by opposed political tickets and at last the people have the choice.

I make the first point because of the similarity between the Democratic and Republican platforms and because Mr. Willkie is firm, if not emphatic, in his statement that he sincerely believes in all the Roosevelt reforms—has only to criticize their administration.

Willkie's Stand

I make the second point because Mr. Willkie himself, when I had the pleasure of talking with him, cleared up any doubt in my mind. He said approximately these words:

"What I am against is concentration of power. A generation back too much power was concentrated in the hands of one man named J. P. Morgan (the elder). Now I believe too much power is again concentrated in one man's hands, this time Franklin D. Roosevelt."

For purposes of argument only, I am giving Mr. Willkie a score of 100 per cent on sincerity. Despite his own dynamism, then, he seeks to make the office to which he aspires less potent, to castrate the federal government. Now, the big concentrations of industrial capital in this country—such as Fords, General Motors, duPonts, U. S. Steels, etc., may not have as rosy cheeks as they had in the late 20s, but if you look at the record of their earnings and observe that there is no such history of dissolution and division as followed Trust Buster Roosevelt's accession to power, you can hardly make out a case that they are seriously ailing.

For all practical purposes, they are intact and under the same managements as they were in the 20s. For eight years they have been linked in imposed partnership across the conference table from a strong federal government which has legislated and talked them out of money for old-age benefits, a division of the profits with the unions they dealt with, etc. Now Mr. Willkie, figuratively, would get up from the conference table and walk from it, leaving industrialists again to run their own business the way they thought reasonable.

He went on to say that he thought the industrialists were reasonable in wanting to protect their interests and didn't I? To which my answer is, "Of course. But the issue is not whether they look after their interests reasonably—which, since they are able and intelligent men, I take for granted—but whether or not their interests are in conflict with the interests of the country as a whole."

Clear Thinking

Not only does Mr. Willkie as President propose to be a Samson who cuts his own locks, but he is also as precise and as clear thinking, as the able lawyer he is should be, about ways and means for strengthening the position of the bargainers who have squirmed in their conference chairs through eight long years of bickering with Mr. Roosevelt's government. The things he proposes to do in the way of eliminating red tape, simplifying needlessly complicated laws, etc., are all sensible and no one who likes to see things well managed can find fault with them. The point is not whether or not red tape should be cut—of course it should—but whether more sensible restrictions in the interest of a balance of power are contemplated to replace them. And on this there's no evidence whatever. In fact, in Mr. Willkie's philosophy no checks are called for, short of the emergence of another J. P. Morgan, like Pierpont, to simply trample the industrialists' goodness of heart to put the public welfare ahead of their own.

Business men and industrialists—in fact all those with incomes of from $5000 a year up—sensed from the beginning Mr. Willkie's faith in them as the managers of our destiny. Their enthusiasm is passionate—literally—because he confirms their belief in themselves. He trusts them, and like every other human being they feel worthy of being trusted. No one begrudges them this and I am simply recording the fact as evidence that, platforms and lip service to reform to one side, Mr. Willkie emerges as the leader of the rich who for eight disheartening years felt their wisdom and integrity questioned by a people's government which insisted on the rights of a partner in the administration of their businesses.

The position of Mr. Roosevelt's party on domestic issues does not need to be discussed because when he waved goodbye to Mr. Garner and Mr. Farley he reaffirmed his belief in men like Mr. Ickes and Mr. Hopkins, as pure New Dealers as there are. And when he brought solid capitalists like Mr. Stimson and Mr. Knox into his cabinet, and Mr. Stettinius and Mr. Knudsen into his government, he reaffirmed his belief in the capitalist system, however many radical votes it cost him. He testified to his confidence in a government strong enough in will and intention to bargain with the men who ran this country in the 20s—from Wall Street and Wilmington and Detroit—but a government which also believed in the right of Wall Street, Wilmington and Detroit to exist.

Clear Choice

So finally, in November, the voters of this country will have a clear choice to make between the two opposed philosophies—the government of the people an equal partner with the government of industry *versus* the government by industrial power, policed by a smaller, more efficient but self-weakened government in Washington. It seems to me of paramount importance that neither the confusion of international issues nor the confusion of political oratory obscure this basic fact.

The war is the most pressing issue. But what's good for the country is good for the war—and vital to what happens to us after the war. Under one government we will fight the war one way, under the other, another. Under either we'll win it. Then under one government we will rebuild the country one way, under the other, another. What you and you and you—and I—must decide, to repeat what I have written before, is down what road we want our government to lead us, taking for granted that both governments offered to us in November, and we ourselves, want the same thing: a stronger, happier country to pass on to our children. A country in which work is more plentiful and more satisfying, in which we earn more leisure and learn to use it more wisely, in which sickness and ignorance and poverty are fought for the enemies they are, a country reaffirming the civil liberties that are again precious to us, a country in which a man can think and create for himself, where the individual has dignity and self respect—a country grown to leadership amongst the nations of the world, with a leader's privileges and responsibilities—a country with a great future.

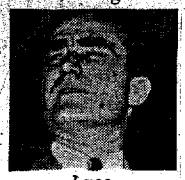
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Willkie's Lucean GOPhilosopher?

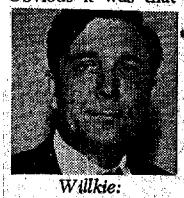
Pleased as Punch was tousle headed Republicanominee Wendell L. (for nothing) Willkie yesterday when he read in the horse-and-cartchart *New York Herald Tribune* that his great and good friend, TIME Publisher Henry Robinson Luce, thought him no "fat Alf" after all, never had. Reader Willkie's intelligent eye, running over the paper, hit upon a page 16 headline quoting Luce in full some praise of Candidate Willkie.



Luce:
"No switcher he"

Slapped on the wrist was the brash *New York Post*, no Willkie-lover, which had called Luce an "ex-backer" of Willkie on the basis of a TIME article reporting that GOPoliticians feared he was bobbling that 1940 campaign as dismally as Landon burbled the 1936 campaign. Luce's answering letter to the *Post*, quoted in the *Herald Tribune*, showed Luce no mid-stream horse changer.

Amazing were the lengths to which he went in praise of a horse he was not selling. Obvious it was that he thought the plain people from Long Island and the Main Line who packed the galleries, put Willkie over at Philadelphia, had nominated the all-time man of the year, No. 1 American on every count. The Luce letter proclaimed Willkie a MAN WHO:



Willkie:
"No fat Alf he"

¶Is owed a profound debt of gratitude by every American because he has done more than any man in America to lead this country toward national unity in the vital problems of national defense and foreign affairs.

¶Is responsible more than anyone else in the world—a whale among such small fry as Roosevelt, Pershing, Bullitt—for the sale of U. S. Navy destroyers to Great Britain.

¶Is going to take Roosevelt apart with hard hitting extemporaneous oratory later in the campaign on issues both foreign and domestic.

New to America is this Lucean formula for measuring achievements of statesmanship: the formula: that Willkie, merely by keeping shut his charming trap, refraining from criticism of Roosevelt in connection with the cruiser deal, put over the deal; that Roosevelt, who sweat blood for months selling more assistance for the British to the American public and then negotiated the deal with patience and finesse, owes it all to Willkie's silence. The fact: Willkie flatly refused to indorse the cruiser deal to clear the way for its consummation weeks ago, reserved the right to capitalize its political consequences if public reaction were bad, indorse in principle when it was good.

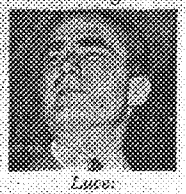


Roosevelt:
"No account he"

Easy will be Willkie's campaign task if he takes Luce's talk to heart. He can button his lip, spend his time bussing babies, pile up debts of public gratitude by refraining from criticism of Roosevelt statesmanship. Original, still loyal Willkie-backer Luce can reckon up public's mounting debt of gratitude weekly in TIME, LIFE, monthly in FORTUNE.—KENNETH CRAWFORD.

Willkie's Luce, GOPhilosopher?

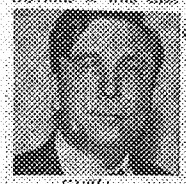
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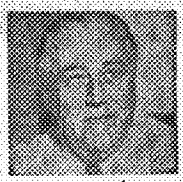
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¶Is owed a profound debt of gratitude by every American because he has done more than any man in America to lead this country toward national unity in the vital problems of national defense and foreign affairs.

¶Is responsible more than anyone else in the world—a whale among such small fry as Roosevelt, Pershing, Bullitt—for the sale of U. S. Navy destroyers to Great Britain.

¶Is going to take Roosevelt apart with hard hitting extemporaneous oratory later in the campaign on issues both foreign and domestic.

Now to America is this Lucean formula for measuring achievements of statesmanship. The formula: that Willkie, merely by keeping shut his charming trap, refraining from criticism of Roosevelt in connection with the cruiser deal, put over the deal; that Roosevelt, who sweat blood for months selling more assistance for the British to the American public and then negotiated the deal with patience and finesse, owes it all to Willkie's silence. The fact: Willkie flatly refused to indorse the cruiser deal to clear the way for its consummation weeks ago, reserved the right to capitalize its political consequences if public reaction were bad, indorse in principle when it was good.



Roosevelt:
"No account he"

Easy will be Willkie's campaign task if he takes Luce's talk to heart. He can button his lip, spend his time bussing babies, pile up debts of public gratitude by refraining from criticism of Roosevelt statesmanship. Original, still loyal Willkie-backer Luce can reckon up public's mounting debt of gratitude weekly in TIME, LIFE, monthly in FORTUNE.—KENNETH CRAWFORD.

PM, MONDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1940

"I Beg Your Pardon..."

Most pictures of men dressed in picket signs and handing out leaflets look alike; only the signs are different. This one really caught the flavor of the cold war that leaflet distributors face when they preach Roosevelt to unreconstructed Republicans.

The distributors are members of the newly formed Employes Committee for Roosevelt, set up to rally the labor vote. Unaffiliated with the Democratic Party, its sponsors say they are aiming their message at non-union workers primarily, convinced that the union vote is pretty solid by now. Financed (unlavishly) by private contributors, the committee's work is done by volunteer employes from an ungilded office at 3 E. 41st St., Manhattan.

Its chairman is Mrs. Elizabeth Stevenson, a 40-year-old gown-hand at MacCosco's store; her aids range from truck drivers to life insurance agents, all unpaid. The committee's obsession is propaganda: it hopes to circulate 2,000,000 pieces of literature in crowded city spots by Election Day. It all stresses the theme that the New Deal has helped labor, that the GOP won't. A similar group has just started in Boston.

The lady shown in this picture stopped to look and passed on. PM doesn't know her name. To veteran pickets her expression needed no caption. The scene occurred on midtown Fifth Avenue.

PM Photo by Morris Engel



"I Beg Your Pardon..."

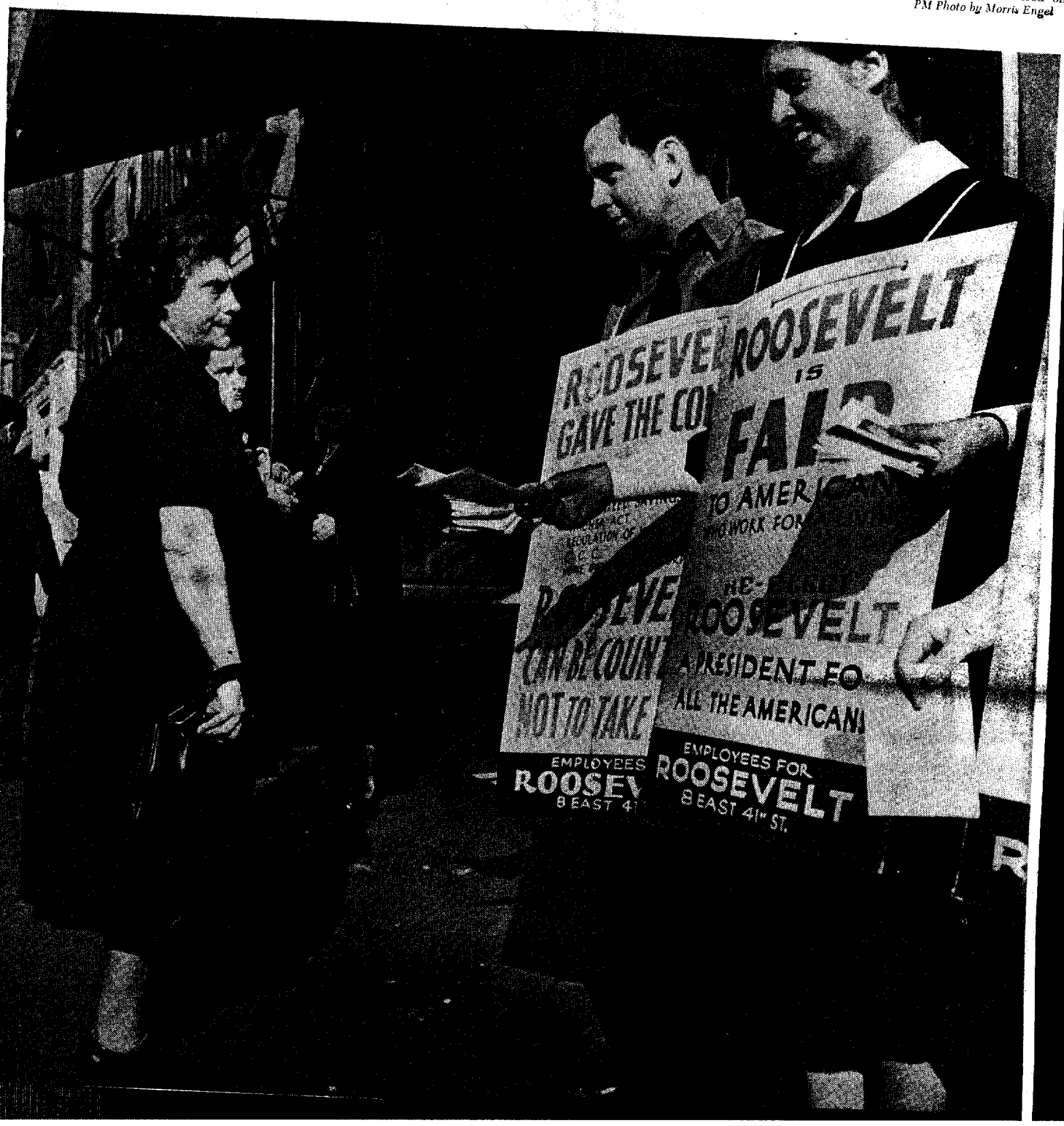
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encouraged.

In the Sunday issue of October 20, four pages were devoted to a feature entitled "Camera Reveals How Campaigning Has Altered Willkie's Personality."[1] The lead of this 14 picture display is tinctured with anti-Willkie propaganda.[2] The accompanying story declares:

> It is impossible to study every word uttered by a Presidential candidate -- before and after his nomination -- as a means of figuring out who he really is and what he really stands for.
>
> Insofar as PM is a word-newspaper, PM has weighed the Willkie words and concluded that Mr. Roosevelt's words make better sense.

Even the captions are filled with comment:[3]

> He conducted his campaign not like a serious-minded business man fed up with the foolishness of politics but like a ward-heeler's protege who had got his technique from old picture books. "Even certain of Willkie's friends," the New Yorker notes, "admiringly speak of him as if he were a road company.

It is interesting to note the post-mortem air about this feature, which appeared on October 20, two weeks before the election.

PM's Labor Department went to bat for Roosevelt with its condemnation of Willkie for his praise of the president of Republic Steel, Tom Girdler. A striking reproduction of an ex-ray showing bullet-punctured lungs is accompanied by the question, "Is Willkie Right About Girdler?"[4] and the story of an innocent man who was shot in Girdler's strike-breaking ac-

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1 PM, October 20, 1940, pp. 47-50.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., p. 48.
4 PM, October 23, 1940, p. 18.

Photography:

Camera Reveals How Campaigning Has Altered Willkie's Personality

It is important to study every word uttered by a Presidential candidate—before and *after* his nomination—as a means of figuring out who he really is and what he really stands for.

Insofar as PM is a word-newspaper, PM has weighed the Willkie words and has concluded that Mr. Roosevelt's words make better sense.

PM is also a picture-newspaper. We believe news photographs are not merely to be gaped at but also to be *learned from.* We believe the cameras that have documented Mr. Willkie's life and campaign have reported certain things more accurately and more understandably than words alone could have reported them.

So, as a word-analyst would study all of Mr. Willkie's words, we have studied a great stack of Willkie campaign and pre-campaign photographs. We believe these photographs, taken all together, yield an important truth.

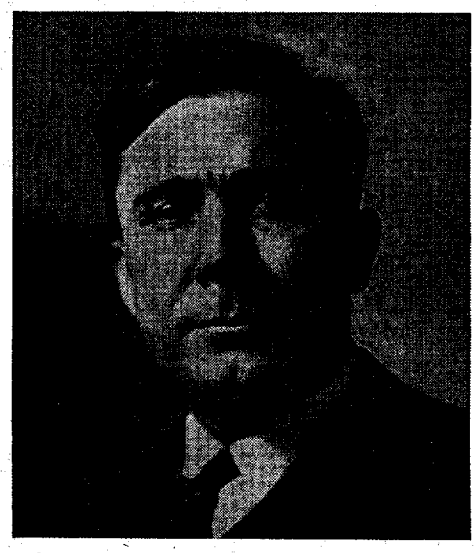
To wit: Mr. Willkie, who made his reputation as a solid business man, stopped behaving like one when he hit the campaign trail.—WILLIAM MC CLEERY.



Spectacle-fondling was the sole sign of nervousness displayed by Mr. Willkie when, armed to the hilt with knowledge of his utility business, he appeared before a congressional committee in May, 1939. *Photo by Harris & Ewing*



Frankly bespectacled, conservatively dressed, Mr. Willkie seemed at home in his role of solid business man when he left the White House after a TVA talk with the President in November, 1937. *Photo by Underwood & Underwood*



This sober, restrained portrait was approved by Willkie in '37. *Photo by Underwood & Underwood*



In June, 1940—before the GOP convention—Mr. Willkie sat for this one. *Photo by Harris & Ewing*



In this official campaign photo—featuring forelock, toughness—the change began to appear.

NOW TAKE A DEEP BREATH AND TURN THE PAGE

WILLKIE: He Takes Off His Spectacles and Lets Down His Hair . . .



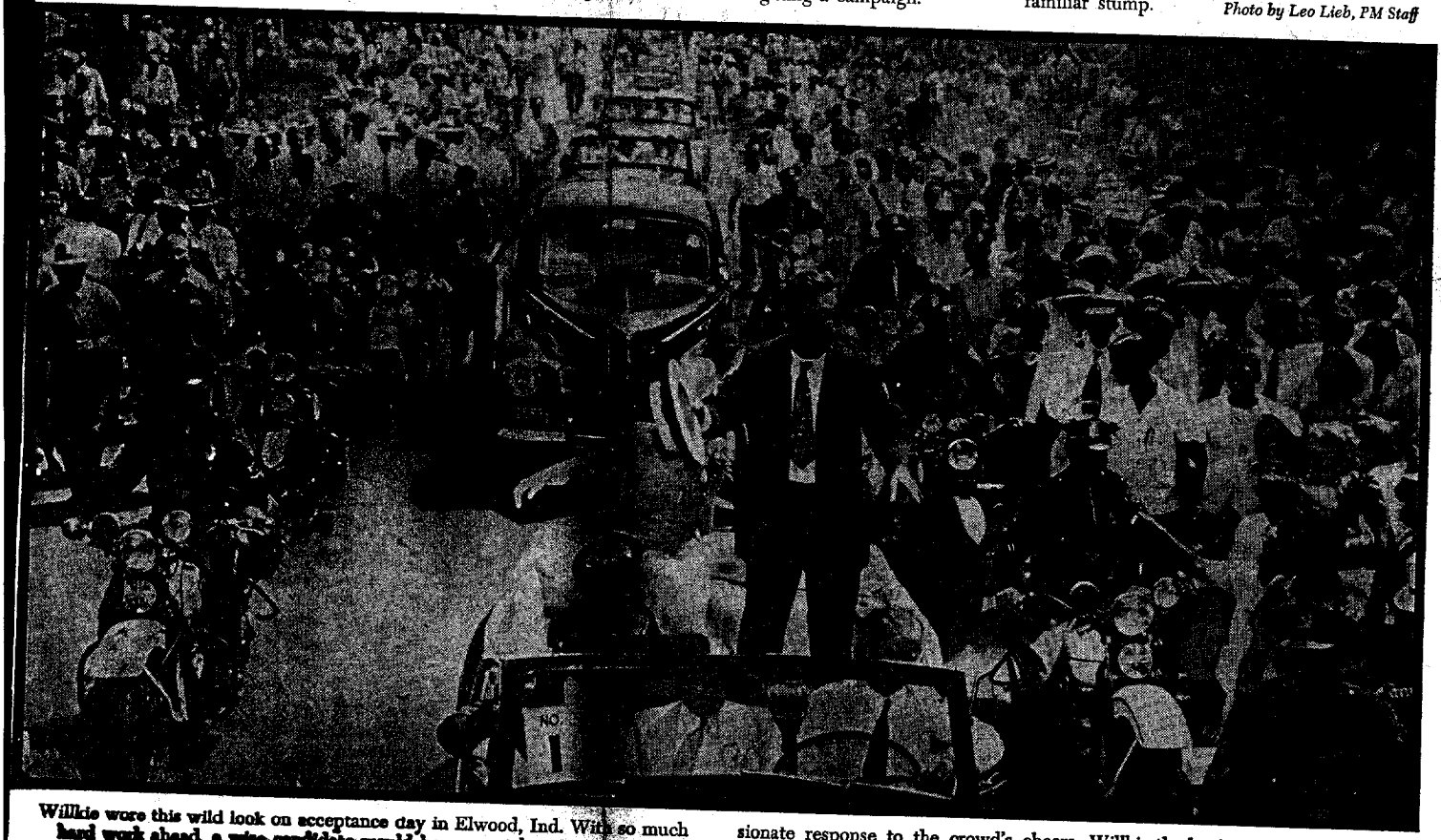
Willkie made his career and his reputation with his glasses on (or in hand) and his hair reasonably neat. These were two of the things he changed when he started campaigning.



When this picture was taken, Willkie had nearly lost his voice. His natural speech was another of the things he gave up when he entered the strange new business of fighting a campaign.



The man who took congressional committees and White House conferences calmly—because that was his business—strained himself on the unfamiliar stump. *Photo by Leo Lieb, PM Staff*



Willkie wore this wild look on acceptance day in Elwood, Ind. With so much hard work ahead, a wise candidate would have spent less strength in passionate response to the crowd's cheers. Willkie-the-businessman would not have been so wasteful of energy. But he had changed. *Photos by Wide World*

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330

. . . and the Solid Business Man Becomes a Ham Politician



He smirked at Chief Middle Bull . . .



He mouthed a cone for the cameras . . .



He conducted his campaign not like a serious-minded business man fed up with the foolishness of politics, but like a ward-heeler's protege who had got his technique from old picture books. "Even certain of Willkie's friends," the *New Yorker* notes, "admiringly speak of him as if he were a road company."



In pre-nomination speeches, Mr. Willkie scoffed at political horse-play, said he never would pretend to be a hay-pitcher. But, once nominated, he turned calf-patter.

MORE

Willkie Honors Girdler; This Is Girdlerism

Only two years after Tom Girdler, Chairman of the Republic Steel Corp., successfully put down strikes of his employes at various of the company's plants, he was hailed by Wendell L. Willkie as one of the "great industrialists" who built America. Welcoming the nation's "returning sanity," Mr. Willkie said:

"If we are patient we will see the time when men like Girdler are recognized as the true heroes of America."

Mr. Willkie could not have forgotten the bitter steel strikes of 1937, when tear gas, labor spies, thugs, police, and national guardsmen were used, as the NLRB has shown, to prevent Girdler's Republic workers from organizing.

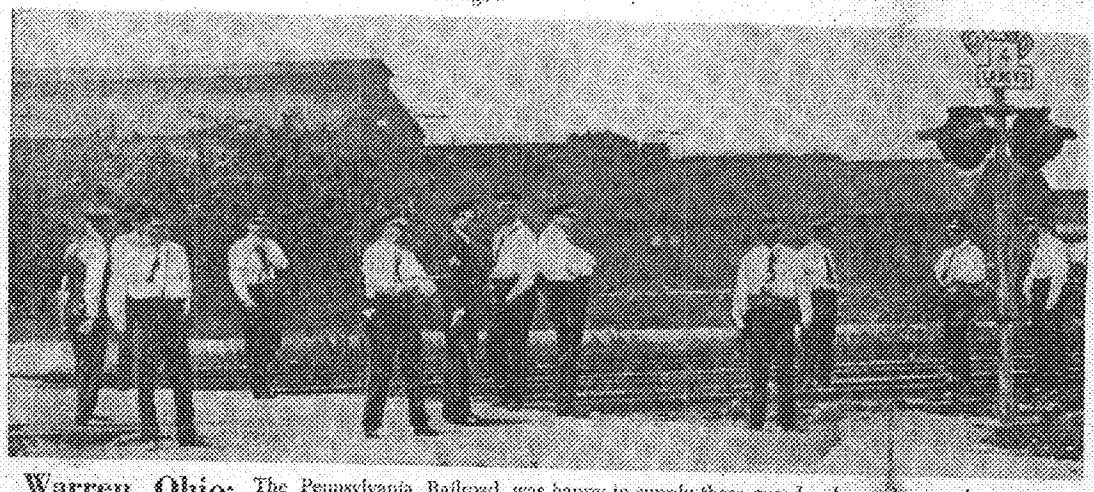
Workers in steel towns remember, too. Perhaps that is why some of them booed the Republican candidate when he appeared.

Mr. Girdler once said: "The most vicious and untruthful charge against the company is that we do not accept the principle of collective bargaining."

These photos show just how Mr. Girdler's Republic does its bargaining with labor.



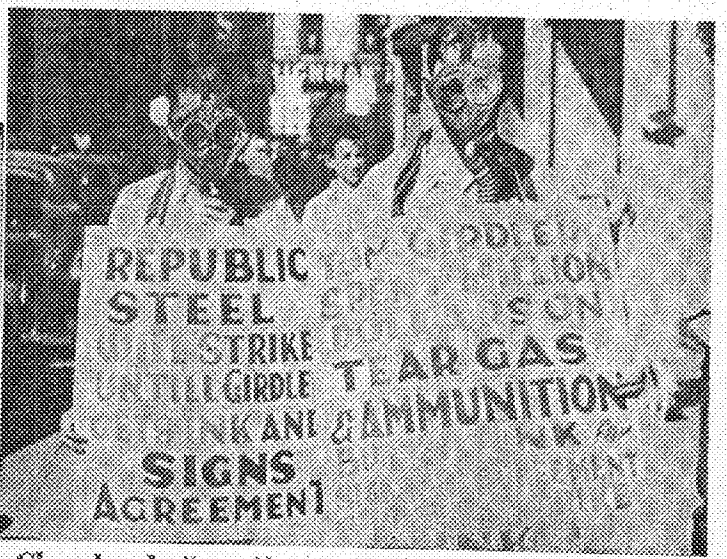
Chicago: One of ten victims of the notorious Memorial Day, 1937, massacre lies on the ground near the Republic plant, as a colleague removes his cap in respect. Note the revolver in the policeman's hand, on the right.



Warren, Ohio: The Pennsylvania Railroad was happy to supply these guards who made sure that supplies could enter the struck Republic plant at Warren. Pickets were not permitted to go beyond the tracks in the foreground.



Mr. Girdler and E. T. Weir, chairman of the Republican Finance Committee which helps put Willkie's talks.



Cleveland: You could wage a *blitzkrieg* with the tear gas employed against Republic pickets during the 1937 strikes. Strikers weren't the only ones gassed.



Youngstown: Mr. Girdler's Republic Steel was always able to get the aid of national guardsmen and local police, who helped put down strikes.

Photos by Wide World

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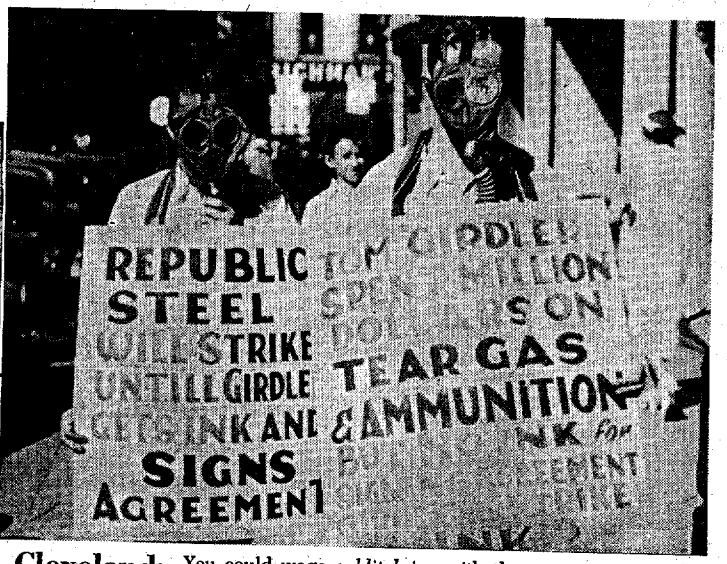
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Photos by Wide World

tivities. The same note is pursued the following day on the Labor page when a picture of "Willkie's Hero Girdler"[1] was printed. It is obvious that the propaganda device of transfer was used here.

Another technique employed is to stress the support of unpopular persons or groups. The Republican party was linked with appeasers and thus indirectly with the Fifth Column whenever possible. Hans Wagner's "Like It or Not, Willkie Gets Night Shirt Backing"[2] and Lou Wedemar's "Insurance 'Fear' Pamphlets Used Against FDR",[3] are examples of this technique in operation.

Charges of coercion in connection with Willkie's campaign were begun early in August in a story headlined "GOP Pressure Charged Among Kresge Workers."[4] Although this story was straight news, it nevertheless began the smear campaign which culminated in Amos Landman's story, "Employers Turn Heat on Their Employe's in Drive for Willkie Votes."[5] This latter story names nationally-known companies which asked employes to vote for Willkie.

The campaign was still young when PM decided to have an anti-Willkie column but the name and nature of this daily political commentary was not easily determined. "Politics Make Strange, Etc."[6] marked the first appearance of a column by

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1 PM, October 24, 1940, p. 12.
2 PM, October 31, 1940, p. 7.
3 Ibid., p. 10.
4 PM, August 7, 1940, p. 8.
5 PM, October 31, 1940, p. 11.
6 PM, September 21, 1940, p. 11.

Politics Make Strange, Etc.

By PAUL REVERE, II

That "Vote for Browder" sign that covers most of the Claridge Hotel's side (facing south) is expected to start plenty of fireworks. The hotel management intended to combat the commy stain by running a sign as large under it—disclaiming responsibility. But now will fight it.

Lawyer J. M. Goddard happened to be walking by the Claridge and saw the "Vote for Browder" herald. He went in to chat with the hotel owner about it. Goddard also got many friends to complain. When the owner said he couldn't do anything about it, as the Commys would probably sue him, the lawyer promised to defend him gratis if they did. That explains why the Claridge owner is taking down the Browder ballyhoo at his own expense.

■ ■

Gerald L. K. Smith of the Huey Long era is in town at the Ritz Carlton trying to raise some money for what Republican Presidential candidate?

■ ■

The "patriotic" Steuben Society (which just came out for Willkie) suggested that the U. S. A. take over British and French possessions in part payment of the old war debts. The Society overlooked one important point in taking its "objective" position. The German Government also owes a debt to the U. S. A., totaling $654,354,250. And what about Austria's debts, dumbkopf?

■ ■

Joe McWilliams walked into Bellevue Hospital instead of being carried in on a stretcher the way several of his bodyguards got there. . . . Secretary Ickes caught Sena-

[illegible] lubs, would have aspired to be president f the Community Chest and honorary pall earer whenever a prominent man in town ied.

Not so Shadid. He was too close to the eople, too critical, and too honest. Elk ity, where he practised, is a city of 4000 habitants in western Oklahoma, center of farming district. The average farm has 60 acres, but the land is dry and the mmer is poor, at the mercies of rainfall nd fluctuations of the market.

Shadid saw that thousands of farmers' amilies did not get the medical services hey needed. He also saw doctors exploit- ng the people in order to make a living. They were not crooks, not all of them. The ystem was wrong. "Sickness and death," e once wrote, "should be to nobody's ad- antage. No one should look at them as the ope of his livelihood. An injury to one hould be felt an injury to all."

In the fall of 1929 he called a meeting nd explained to the people that if 2000 amilies would contribute $50 each they would be able to build and equip a hospital or themselves. And if they paid $25 a year hey would receive all medical and surgical

September 21, 1940, p. 11.

Democracks

By Paul Revere II

Remember the gag about the breathless man who raced into a Delancey Street barber shop and yelled: "Epstein's store is on fire!" and then ran out again? Anyhow, a fellow who had a face full of lather jumped up and ran out, too. After he lost his wind running two blocks, he stopped and said: "What am I running for? I'm not Epstein!"

Well, now they are telling it on Willkie, who ejaculated: "Why am I running? My name isn't Roosevelt!"

Then there's the one about the N. Y. *Times*. It ran the Gallup Poll on the obituary page the same day it deserted FDR for WW. But only for one edition, when somebody realized the joke wasn't that funny.

Pardon the shove, but did the N. Y. *Times'* other paper in Chattanooga come out for Willkie because Commonwealth & Southern (of which he was President) has its home grounds in Chattanooga?

Wendell recently drew his sword on the Hate-Spreading groups and cold-shouldered support from them. Yet when Henry Ford announced his support of Willkie, the Great Hair-Musser stated he appreciated it.

And wasn't that the darndest coincidence that morning when Henry Ford happened to be near the N. Y. Central coach in Grand Central Station when Fritz Kuhn was leaving for Sing Sing?

Walter Lippmann of the *Herald Tribune* bawled out those silly people who stoop to calling FDR a dictator for political reasons. Apparently the *Tribune's* editorialist doesn't read Lippmann. Because the same day an editorial blasted Roosevelt as a dictator.

Herbert Hoover mounts the podium at every chance to groan about the starvation in Europe. That's very humane of Herbert, but he is also the bitterest enemy of the New Deal which believes in feeding the starving Americans his own administration gave the nation.

You see so few Roosevelt buttons because the people carry their affection for him in their hearts—not on their lapels.

A straw-vote taken by the men in the pro-Willkie *Times* Sunday editorial department brought this result: FDR, 22; WW, 8.

The *Times* is behind Willkie—and vice versa.

The town is still quoting

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The town is still quoting Ickes' christening of Willkie as: "That's Right, But."

In the Stork Club last night we heard this conversation between some out of towners and a well known newspaperman. A fellow, a little saturated, his wife and two friends came over and started talking politics.

"Honey," said the wife, "don't talk Willkie to him—everybody know he's for Roosevelt. C'mon!"

"I'm not only for him," said the newspaperman, "I will let you name your own odds that he is elected."

"We know better than to bet on our man," she said pleasantly, "we wish we could say that we thought he stood a chance."

"Lady," said the New Yorker, "your candor is refreshing."

"It's not candor," was the dejected reply, "it's just pessimism."

WILLKIE BUTTONS

By PAUL REVERE II

From the Oct. 4 *Congressional Record:* Mr. Rich Speaks: I know Mr. Willkie is going to keep us out of war if he is elected. I know he will use every effort to bring peace. He will help all classes in this country. He will help the farmer, the laboring man, everybody in America. He will be the man to insure the continuance of freedom of speech, press and religion. Peace will come again to the nations of the earth, happiness will abound everywhere and the God of Heaven will reign eternally."

What! No Mickey Mouse?

■

Mr. Gallup reminded Gen. Johnson that the last editor who hooted his poll was the Mr. Big of *The Literary Digest.* And wasn't it lucky that the pro-Willkie dailies discovered the Dunn Poll, which, by the merest coincidence, gives their candidate a whole plateful of red apples.

■

C. H. Staples of Washington writes: "Candidate Willkie is most unusual. He is the only person in history who has been able to Gallup backwards!"

■

I think it was Sinclair Lewis who said: "To be a successful author a guy must be willing to write for the wastebasket."

Nowadays he can write for Wendell.

■

J. Elinson understands all you have to do to buy the *World-Telegram* these afternoons is to pay the newsboy three Willkie buttons.

■

And Judge Jonah J. Goldstein says the only issue between the Republican'ts and Democrats seems to be Security *vs.* Securities.

■

In Wall Street a vote for WW is job insurance. But in the rest of the land a vote for FDR is life insurance. . . . Where There's a Willkie There's a Waste. . . . I like the way *Script,* the Beverly Hills Weekly, claims FDR's favorite jingle. Says it ran it Sept. 28. Izzatso? It ran on page 2 of PM Sept. 18, to wit:

McNary had a little lamb
Its name was Leg O'Mutton
An' everytime it wagged its tail
It showed its Willkie button!

■

The difference between Europeans and Americans these nights: When Americans fear anything they turn the lights on—not off.

■

Add Hangnail Descriptions: Wendell Willkie: Little Sore Echo.

■

The WW forces cancelled the proposed Dewey speeches for Willkie. Why? Because Dewey's last speech drew more publicity than their star?

■

Wm. Koenig's suggestion: How about a slogan like this: Vote for the Master, Not the Apprentice!

■

Clarence Budington Kelland, whose storybook heroes are always left holding the skinny leg of the chicken, is working on the Willkie campaign. Good copy, eh, Bud?

■

The eggs thrown at Mr. W. in Detroit were probably those he laid.

WILLKIE BUTTONS

By PAUL REVERE II

The town's pet gag is the one that swept Washington the other day, to wit: Six months ago the slogan was "Stop Willkie!" Then it was: "Stop Willkie From Talking!" Now the Repubbers are screaming: "Stop Willkie From Going Into Maine and Vermont!"

In brief, brother Wendell appears to be developing from a dark horse into a white elephant.

Latest style in campaign buttons: Wolf at the door wearing a Willkie button.

The *W-Telegram's* editorial writer is tearing his toupee about the alleged "smearing" of their candidate. Hasn't the *W-Tel's* editorialist ever read Roy Howard's personal assassins on page one of the second section? They (Pegler, Johnson, Al Williams et al) have been flinging the slime at FDR for years.

That's a swell entrance for H. Brubaker's: "The GOP leaders are justly indignant over the widspread whispering campaign that Willkie is a Nazi. It almost drowns out their yelling campaign—that FDR is a Red."

WW claims he will continue many of the benefits FDR has started. Then he turns around and says everything about the New Deal has ruined the U. S. A.

Att'n Republicans! We enjoyed your complaints to the editor on page 2. That's the yell of Arthur Krock of the *Times*, too. He says the New Deal is trying to crush freedom of the press. Krock, of course, knows that *Editor and Publisher* recently revealed that two-thirds of the American press is trying to crush FDR.

Well, I allweeze try to be obliging. Send on your gags about Roosevelt and if they are not too dull or stale you will see them here.

Herbie Hoover says that those who want to send food to Europe do not want to injure Britain's cause. Well, among those who want Herbie to feed Europe is any Nazi newspaper. They don't want to harm the British cause, either. Much.

Herb has unenviable record of trying to keep all the people from starving. Except those in Ohio, where they'd rather balance a budget than feed the hungry.

Wealthy Beverly Hills Willkie-ties are removing WW stickers from their big cars. So the average pedestrian won't associate their candidate with the dollar-sign element.

The Demos-for-Willkie who accuse FDR of being a dictator are herewith reminded that if he were—they'd be wearing lilies on their chests instead of Willkie emblems.

Why newspaper readers get cross-eyed: From the *W-Telegram's* Oct. 7 issue: Gen. Johnson said Willkie was leading by a wide margin. Raymond Clapper's colyum reported: "By all indications FDR is far in the lead."

Roosevelt can't lose. We base the hunch on the fact that all neutral polls show him in the lead, and anyhow, Pegler is on Willkie's side. Not to mention the kiss of death bestowed on Wendell by Henry Ford.

Some admirers of Mr. Willkie think it is simply terrible the way so many Americans are throwing things at him. What's so terrible about the good old American custom of marrying eggs to ham?

October 11, 1940, p. 11.

October 14, 1940, p. 11.

Paul Revere III. Its career was short-lived. Four days after its initial and only appearance, Revere's by-line was signed beneath "Democracks."[1] By October 4, "Willkie Buttons"[2] was chosen as the name for the column which appeared regularly throughout the campaign.

Regardless of name, the column was unchanged in nature. Instead of being an informative collection of sidelights on campaign news, as one might expect in a newspaper such as PM contends to be, it was comprised of gossipy quips and pseudo-clever remarks invariably aimed at Willkie or his supporters. Typical of its wit is this quip:[3]

> Add Hangnail Descriptions: Wendell Willkie: Little Sore Echo.

Toward the close of the campaign, PM reprinted a number of Republican campaign smears[4] with caustic comments on their circulation and the poor taste which prompted them. This denunciation appears paradoxical in the light of the "Willkie Buttons" column and the "Daily WW Special" items which were scattered throughout the paper during the intensive campaign period. As in the "Willkie Buttons" columns, the "WW Special" quips were sometimes clever, often trite, and always personal. A contributor supplied the one printed in the October 23 issue:[5]

> Wendell Willkie
> "The Public Futility Man"

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1 PM, September 25, 1940, p. 12.
2 PM, October 4, 1940, p. 13.
3 PM, October 11, 1940, p. 11.
4 PM, November 3, 1940, p. 8 and November 4, 1940, p. 8.
5 PM, October 23, 1940, p. 2.

Specimen Campaign "Smears"

In the heat of campaigning, grown men sometimes do things for which later they are ashamed. This applies to the deluge of anti-Roosevelt smears reported from various points, two of which are shown herewith. The fortunate thing is, such tactics almost invariably are "roorbacks," driving away far more votes than they get. The public has common sense.



Fifty of these posters in Philadelphia brought into the open a singularly ugly angle of the smear-Roosevelt campaign. They boomeranged and were quickly torn down.



The sketch of this little moron, distributed by the hundreds of thousands, is possibly the cleanest item in the flood of anti-Roosevelt smears. Many have been unprintable.

November 3, 1940, p. 8.

Nor did PM refrain from printing a number of verses such as "Wall Street's Barefoot Boy."[1] According to PM:[2]

> It begins:
>
> "Blessings on you, little man,
> Running back to get a tan
> There among the cockle burrs
> Where the Hoosier voter stirs.
> Leave Fifth Avenue, and your flat,
> Stick some hayseeds in your hat,
> Go and Insull-ate the West,
> Wall Street tells you what is best."
>
> And ends:
>
> "Blessings on you, little man,
> Try and milk us -- if you can."

Examples such as these make one question PM's right to condemn the Republican smear campaign, for while the Republican supporters were circulating mimeographed literature and erecting billboards in condemnation of Roosevelt, PM was conducting a campaign every bit as skilled in name-calling, and frequently, as a subsequent analysis will reveal, conducting it through so-called "news" columns.

Another campaign feature which occurred regularly from September to Election day is the summary of polls and pre-election surveys. Duncan Aikman's article, "Will Wendell Willkie Go Boom? .... Look What Happened to Landon,"[3] was one of the first of these. Indications were emphasized by means of graphs. Ernest Jerome Hopkins' "As Maine Goes (And Where Did It?) Goes the Whole Nation (or Will It?)"[4] served as a summary of polls for the Sunday edition. By late September, PM reported that

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1 PM, October 20, 1940, p. 9.
2 Ibid.
3 PM, September 5, 1940, p. 7.
4 PM, September 15, 1940, p. 8.

the Fortune poll indicated a victory for Roosevelt.[1]

By October 13, PM's confidence in the outcome of the Presidential election was so strong that Roger Dakin headlined his story "Gallup Poll Shows Common Man Will Elect FDR."[2] His lead read:[3]

> President Roosevelt will be re-elected in 1940, as he was in 1936, by the common man, the worker, the average American.

Gallup poll results are reported on October 20 by Weldon James. By the 28th, PM's William P. Vogel, Jr. was predicting "FDR to Carry City by 800,000 Win State."[4] Vogel, who had just completed a series of stories on election reaction throughout New York state, wrote authoritatively and with assurance. Roger Dakin forecast a "Hairline Vote in New York State"[5] on November 3 and on the following day, three prognostications were printed, on a "Poll of Polls",[6] another Kenneth Crawford forecast.

Said Crawford:[7]

> I fully expect the Willkie electors to give their boy a rackety-rax, a big vote for the most likely to succeed and the honor of leading the electoral college prom. When it comes to intensity they have it. But intensity doesn't count in the polling booth. Mr. Roosevelt will be President of the United States again.

Under the heading, "Last-Minute Election Forecasts from Key Points: It Looks Like FDR,"[8] was printed four opinions

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1 PM, September 25, 1940, p. 8.
2 PM, October 13, 1940, p. 8.
3 Ibid.
4 PM, October 28, 1940, p. 9.
5 PM, November 3, 1940, p. 7.
6 PM, November 4, 1940, p. 6.
7 Ibid., p. 7.
8 Ibid.

on the election outcome. Duncan Aikman reported from San Francisco, Sydney Harris from Chicago, William P. Vogel, Jr. on New York State, and Louis M. Lyons from Boston. All of the forecasts were filled with comment.

The final poll was Weldon James, "That Poll of Polls: You Poll It."[1] This summary appeared on election day.

Class consciousness was fostered in PM's anti-Willkie campaign. In a feature story, "Button, Button, Who's Got a Button .... And for That Matter, Who Cares?",[2] Aikman wrote:

> Close to seven-eighths of Willkie buttons are worn by obviously prosperous business men, white-collar straw-bosses, Country Club fashion plates or college boys. This proves that wearing Willkie buttons is fashionable but doesn't get the ticket much on the other side of the tracks ..... employes find button-wearing a nifty, wordless way of yessing the boss.....

On the positive side, PM readers are assured that "Roosevelt Vows Not to Rob Labor of Its Gains in Rush to Arm."[3] There are stories about workers distributing pamphlets for Roosevelt[4] and a full page is devoted to an apple-selling stunt sponsored by an ardent Roosevelt admirer, a man of the laboring class.[5] On the day before election, a full page is given over to prize letters written by Amalgamated Clothing Workers in a contest telling why they are for Roosevelt.

Another campaign feature was the "Presidential Forum" in

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1 PM, November 5, 1940, p. 7.
2 PM, September 8, 1940, p. 7.
3 PM, September 12, 1940, p. 7.
4 PM, October 14, 1940, p. 23.
5 PM, October 22, 1940, p. 23.

Button, Button, Who's Got a Button ...And for That Matter, Who Cares?

By Duncan Aikman

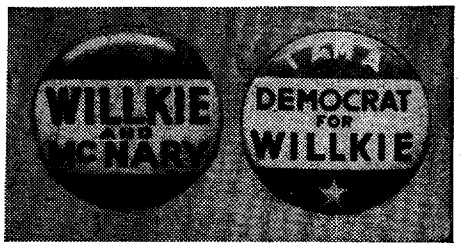
Can a presidential campaign be won by a button blizzard?

The blizzard is on. Its storm center is in two big rooms in the Associated Willkie Clubs' headquarters at 100 East 42nd St. The organization has mailed out and given away close to 2,500,000 buttons since July 28. Present rates of precipitation indicate that as many as 7,000,000 will be snowed on the bodices or lapels of GOP voters before election day.

No campaign has ever seen anything like it. The results are every day more noticeable. On Westchester, Long Island and Oranges-bound Jersey commuting trains, Willkie buttons make you dizzy.

A PM investigator found last week that about 11 out of every 100 strollers in Wall Street were Willkie button-bearers; and so on up to the 14th Street shopping district, where nobody was wearing a Willkie button at all.

Pullmans everywhere, according to re-



turned travelers, are as brightened with Willkie buttons as they used to be with droll stories.

But does it mean anything?

Button, Button, But—

The answer, as delivered by official spokesmen at Democratic national and state headquarters, is that the buttons are more statistical – and emotional – than important. Democratic skepticism can be stated about as follows:

There is an irreducible minimum of about

Heard on the IRT 34th St. subway station stairs; the speakers, two neatly-dressed young business men:

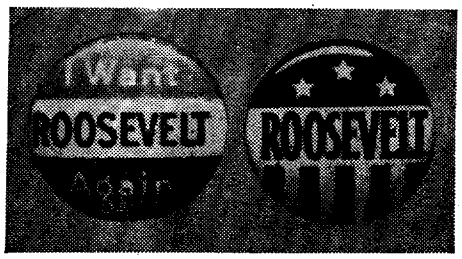
"Where's your Willkie button?"

"Oh, to hell with it."

"Yeh, but how're you going to write any business?"

taxi-drivers near the Metropolitan or Yale clubs last week.

Thousands of Willkie buttons are wasted. At a dance after a tennis tournament at Norfolk, Conn., recently, the boys and girls helped themselves to several punchbowls



full and completely covered their clothes with them. It made a ducky little color ballet, but only one Roosevelt supporter was there anyhow, and he wasn't "changed."

GOP evangelists trying to give away Willkie buttons in restaurants, bands of young women "Willkie-ettes" distributing them at baseball games and public places, make undecided voters mad. Some people don't like to have symbols of conversion thrust on



them until they have made up their own minds.

Even Mr. Gale, chief blizzard-maker for the Willkie button campaign, has personal reservations. Surrounded by eight elderly women button-packers, three smiling girl receptionists and half a dozen sweating office boys, he paused in the middle of his labors—which happened to be package tying for the moment—to deliver himself as follows:

"I get so fed up with buttons here I got zipper pants."

September 8, 1940, p. 9.

which a Democrat and a Republican argued in adjoining columns on some vital issue. In one forum the question "Can America Back a Third Term?" was argued.

Texts of leading campaign speeches by both candidates were printed in full, often with commentary in adjoining columns.

It is revealing to check on the amount of opinion and commentary present in the campaign coverage. The above analysis indicates the nature of comment in the pro-Roosevelt campaign conducted by PM. Statistically, the major political stories handled between July 23 and November 5, 1940, can be tabulated as follows:

"News" stories written with comment and outright expression of opinion (Exclusive of editorials, "Willkie Buttons" and other political commentary columns)	65
Straight news stories (These include the texts of major political speeches. Fourteen of these stories were United Press reports.)	26

Post-election political coverage included several articles on the possible fate of the Willkie clubs[1] and continued support of Roosevelt's policies.

By late November, Willkie was dropped from PM's news pages but he re-appeared in mid-January when a number of stories reported his planned trip to Britain. It is interesting to note PM's changed attitude toward the defeated candidate, commented

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1 PM, November 15, 1940, p. 9, and November 17, 1940, p. 6.

CHART VIII

"IT'S FDR"

In the November 6, 1940, edition of PM, the first issue after the Presidential election, 23 of the newspaper's 32 pages were devoted to election coverage. A detailed analysis follows:

Page

1 ... "IT'S FDR" ... bold headlines dominating page.

2 ... George Lyon's "Unity" editorial and victory cartoon.

3 ... News in bulletin form and a poll of polls.

5 ... News story, also a lengthy narrative poem, "A Young Feller Name Skinner."

6 ... Two human interest stories and one news story.

7 ... Four stories.

8 ... "Kansas City Star First to Concede. Also briefs.

9 ... Two human interest stories -- one on how Roosevelt spent the night of the election; the other concerned with Willkie's activities.

10 ... Brief items on election returns.

11 ... Tabulations of the nation-wide vote.

12 ... Tabulations continued.

14 ... Radio page devoted to NBC's Election House Party. "Willkie Buttons" printed here.

15 ... Sketches of balloting in New York City.

16 and Four pictures.
17

18 and Double spread picture of crowd in Times Square.
19

20 and Five pictures of the Democrats and Roosevelt at
21 Hyde Park.

22 and Six pictures of the Republicans waiting for returns.
23

24 ... Six maps of voting.

32 ... Vote tabulated by states.

There were in this issue only nine pages on which no election news appeared.

upon editorially by Ingersoll.

Thus PM conducted the most intensive of its crusades in behalf of the present administration. All departments cooperated to lend a decisively pro-New Deal air to the whole papers. Politics dominated PM in the last days before the election; no pains were spared in executing the campaign to give Franklin D. Roosevelt a third term.

The Draft

An interest in the peace-time conscription of young men for Army and Navy service was apparent from the first days of PM, despite that fact that Ingersoll opposed conscription during the summer of 1940 on the theory that the time was not ripe.[1]

When plans for drafting a peace-time army were being discussed in Washington, PM frequently expressed a belief in drafting money as well as men, in order that the sacrifice might be divided among more citizens. Nathan Robertson, reporting from Washington in late July, headlined his story "Draft Law Speeds, Taxes Lag, Easier to Get Men than Money,"[2] and said, in part:[3]

> When it's men, it's all very simple. When it's money, it's all very complex.

This sardonic comment concluded a news story which was otherwise free of comment.

Again in August, Robertson wrote: "Money Draft Rises to Embarrass Man Draft."[4] In this, too, he indulges in commentary.

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1 PM, August 5, 1940, p. 2. See Chapter IV, p. 148.
2 PM, July 24, 1940, p. 10.
3 Ibid.
4 PM, August 21, 1940, p. 6.

National Commentary

Money Draft Rises to Embarrass Man Draft

By NATHAN ROBERTSON
Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Aug. 21.—This is an embarrassing day in the Senate. Ever since the World War, veteran's organizations have demanded that the next time men were drafted capital should also be drafted. Both political parties have supported that theory. A bill to draft men is now before the Senate. The embarrassing point is that a vote is pending today on an amendment to include money.

The situation is embarrassing to the Senate because most Senators are planning to vote for the draft of man-power. Yet most of them have no idea of voting to draft money. They consider the idea preposterous. Politically it's dynamite. They wish the subject had never been mentioned.

It would be a little less embarrassing if the amendment had been offered by an opponent, but instead, it was offered by Senator Lee (D., Okla.), a World War veteran who is for the draft of man-power but believes the same principle should be applied to money.

Already a move is under way to duck a direct vote by ruling it out on a point of order. The point of order was made yesterday by Senator Ellender (D., La.) as soon as Mr. Lee offered the amendment. But the Oklahoma veteran is determined not to let the Senate off so easily. He is demanding a record vote on the point of order.

Senator Lee picked a propitious time to offer his amendment. Congress has been growing restless at demands for increased industrial profits on munitions contracts at the same time the draft bill was pending. Even usually conservative members have been talking about applying a draft to industry.

This restlessness was not arrested by recent testimony of Army spokesmen before a Senate committee that even a 12 per cent limitation on armament profits would interfere with getting the equipment needed. The committee was persuaded not to place such a limitation.

Nor was it arrested by testimony of another Army spokesman, Maj. L. W. Miller of the air corps—that the profit limit on plane contracts should be raised from 8 to 12 per cent so that manufacturers could "recoup the losses in previous years."

After hearing more testimony along this line, Senator Russell (D., Ga.) proposed to "conscript business" and Senator McKellar (D., Tenn.) said, "I think that he had better use a little force" on industries that refuse contracts. Similar sentiments were expressed to the Senate yesterday by Senator Bone (D., Wash.), who said:

"If it is democratic to conscript boys, then it's democratic to conscript wealth. Why should the draft be confined to a man with nothing but his body?"

August 21, 1941, p. 6.

PM's interviews on the draft with the "man-in-the-street" began July 26.[1] The first opinion round-up gave a boxed score, (69 pro, 22 con), and elaborated on particular comments. Three days later PM printed a "Sample Poll on Draft"[2] from key cities on the United States. Trends of opposition were noted and the score was listed by city.

In August, Robertson reported on a poll in the Senate indicating "Margin Favoring the Military Draft Bill"[3] and reviewed the "Mail Against the Draft."[4] Later in the same month Amos Landman, after completing a survey of 152 AFL, CIO, and other labor papers, published his results under the heading, "Labor Press Cool to Conscription."[5]

As these stories indicate, PM made a marked attempt to gather opinion on the conscription of manpower from diverse sources and to pass on to its readers the results of this investigation.

In a number of cases, labor's disapproval of the draft bill is noted by PM. A United Press story, "Lewis Joins in Fight on Draft,"[6] is followed by Leo Huberman's resume, "Organized Labor United in Opposition to Conscription."[7] Says Huberman:[8]

> The press, usually quick to play up news of labor's split, underplayed this highly significant story of labor unity.

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1 PM, July 26, 1940, p. 11.
2 PM, July 29, 1940, p. 8.
3 PM, August 6, 1940, p. 8.
4 PM, August 9, 1940, p. 7.
5 PM, August 20, 1940, p. 10.
6 PM, July 29, 1940, p. 8.
7 PM, August 11, 1940, p. 15.
8 Ibid.

The Man in the Street (Times Sq.) Voices His Views on Draft in U. S.

Reporter Questions 100: Finds 69 for It, 22 Against

To find out how the man-in-the-street feels about compulsory military service, a PM reporter invaded Times Sq., queried 100 men, 16 to 60, got a composite reply in favor of conscription. The table herewith tells the story. This is the story of the reporter and his experience.

He started on the Broadway side of the Times Bldg. at 2:30 p.m., asked these simple questions, "Are you for or against conscription? If drafted, would you go willingly or would you claim exemption? If so, what exemption?"

Eager to Talk

Around on 42nd St. beyond Seventh Ave. men crowded each other to be interviewed. One man yelled that he was against conscription. Another shouted for an immediate declaration of war. An elderly man voted for conscription, adding: "And I've got a healthy boy 21 years old. That's a surprise, isn't it?" A policeman herded the crowd away.

Back on Broadway, across from the Times Building, a short man with a twisted body pushed forward to say he would go tomorrow if the Army would take him. A war veteran, wounded, approved the draft provided no one was sent abroad.

Conclusions

His 100 men tabulated, the reporter reached these conclusions. White collar workers talk more belligerently than others. Older men vote, then went to talk. Young men vote, go their way. Many favor conscription, "If it's for national defense."

Of the 30 who "claimed exemption" there were 12 who mentioned dependents as their reason. One was a "conscientious objector," another was "against war." Some listed illness including "general physical disability" and "foot trouble." One said, "This is not a fight for democracy." Of the 100 questioned, six withheld their addresses, three refused to give their names.—P. R.—J. T. H.

THE VOTE

Here's how 100 New York men, questioned by PM in the Times Sq. area, stand on conscription:

For: 69.
Against, 22.
Doubtful, 9.
Would go willingly: 30.
Would claim exemption: 30.
Principal reason for exemption dependents.

PM *will continue this survey throughout the nation.*

July 26, 1940, p. 11.

THE NATION

KENNETH STEWART, DUNCAN AIKMAN, WELDON JAMES, TOM O'CONNOR, PENN KIMBALL, JULIAN P. FROMER, ERNEST JEROME HOPKINS, HANNAH BAKER. Washington: KENNETH CRAWFORD, ALICE FOX PITTS, NATHAN ROBERTSON, DAVID LINDSAY.

Lewis Joins in Fight on Draft ...Republicans Urge Caution

Administration Expects Conscription Bill To Pass After Few Days' Debate, However

WASHINGTON, July 29.—CIO president John L. Lewis sought today to enlist the opposition of his unions to peace-time conscription for the Army. As Congress prepared to debate the Burke-Wadsworth bill, Mr. Lewis said his unions, with their 4,000,000 members, were opposed and he would issue a statement in a few days.

He was expected to support Senator Wheeler (D., Mont.), who favors revision of the voluntary enlistment term from three years to one. He contends that this change, proposed by Senator Vandenberg (R., Mich.) would cause enough men to enlist to make conscription unnecessary.

Administration leaders, however, hoped the bill, requiring 42,000,000 men to register, would be passed by the Senate after five or six days' debate, may be starting this week.

The Senate Military Affairs Committee, which has been revising the bill for more than a week, is expected to approve it tomorrow.

The House Military Affairs Committee, still holding hearings, will question Secretary of War Stimson tomorrow. Chairman Morris Sheppard of the Senate Military Affairs Committee hoped the Senate debate would begin Wednesday.

Leaders thought the bill was packed with political dynamite. One Republican said it would be foolhardy to rush the bill through Congress before public reaction had [illegible] sive. It includes every branch of General including anti-aircraft artillery like this, corps as well as other specialized groups. unctions with efficiency rare in such a

July 29, 1940, p. 8.

Key-City Sample Poll on Draft... Majority in Favor, Hostility Gaining

What do the people think about conscription? PM correspondents in eight key cities stood on street corners, button-holing passers-by (average 50) to ask their reactions to the Burke-Wadsworth compulsory military training bill being drafted by Congress.

The Totals Added

General results: 251 were for, 137 against, 19 doubtful of their attitude (question: "Are you for or against conscription?"); 169 would go willingly, 169 would claim exemption, mostly because of dependents (question: "If drafted, would you go willingly or would you claim exemption? If so, what exemption?).

Only city to oppose was Portland, Ore., 25 to 16, with nine persons refusing to answer. Other cities had about two-thirds of 50 favorable.

Trends Noted

Other noticeable trends were:

1. Few pro-conscriptionists expressed real enthusiasm. Most of them, in words of one reporter, were ready to take it as a bad dose of necessary medicine.

2. Opposition is growing. As scattered talk developed into a concrete bill, imminence began to take effect. At least half the correspondents attributed belated recognition to delayed newspaper emphasis. Many persons still knew little about draft plans.

3. At least 15 conscientious objectors were reported. In Boston, two were college students, in San Francisco, two were in the 31-to-40 age group, others in these approximate limits.

ATLANTA: Only five of 38 for conscription would not need urging. Those polled included young bank employes, street car operators, grocery clerks, department store salesmen, six students.

DES MOINES: Tendency to confuse questions and to interpret them to mean, "Are you in favor of national defense?" Everyone, of course, favored national defense and thought conscription was part of the answer. . . . Of nine farmers interviewed, three in favor, six against. One against complained he was working a 273-acre farm alone. . . . General sentiment of all ex-service men—"I was in one war. I'm not going to another one." Expressed resentment of shabby treatment at close of World War—government and industry promising them jobs when they came back and failing to deliver.

SAN ANTONIO: Willing 38 hedged for most part by saying they didn't think conscription was the American way. Claimed necessity is the mother of conscription. . . . Half of 12 oppositionists outspokenly said, "Goose-stepping belongs on other side of the ocean." Others felt army of volunteers was sufficient, conscription required unnecessary sacrifice.

BOSTON: Naval Reserve officer, in favor, expressed distrust over how "those monkeys in Washington" would handle conscription. Other quotes: "Year in army never hurt anybody." "If it comes to war, we'll all be in anyway, so what's the difference?"

SAN FRANCISCO: The answers to first and second questions were contradictory. Many against conscription—especially in 21-to-40 age group—feared immediate interruption of business careers but would serve if drafted. Majority of those over 31 favoring said they would ask exemption on family grounds or would go if called, "but they wouldn't call me anyway."

CHICAGO: General reaction: "If it has to be, it has to be. I just don't know. It's all happened so fast." The word "draft" didn't register the first time it was used. Negro houseman: "I don't want to learn to fight. I ain't mad at anybody." Lawyer: "Sensitive stomach. Army food bad." Bookkeeper: "My life insurance costs $290 a year, and $21 a month won't even cover that." Gas station operator (American Legion post commander): "Looks like the same old sucker call. Rich will get richer, like last time."

PORTLAND: Of those not answering (nine of 50), three had no opinion; six, in districts where American Legion was strong and labor strife more bitter, were afraid to speak. Ply-wood worker explained: "What if it goes through? I'd be on the spot, see." Those against generally more definite than those for.

LINCOLN: Sudden swarming to preparedness side in two-to-one majority is marked change in Nebraska thinking in last three months.

(New York city, polled last week, stood 69 for, 22 against. See PM, July 26.)

THE DRAFT VOTE

PM correspondents in eight key cities—Atlanta, San Antonio, Boston, San Francisco, Chicago, Portland (Ore.), Lincoln, Des Moines—reported following figures on conscription:

For: 251.

Against: 137.

Doubtful: 19.

Would go willingly: 169.

Would claim exemption: 169.

Principal exemption reason: dependents.

Routine news coverage from the Washington bureau, coupled with United Press dispatches, brought the draft news into PM's columns daily. Although much of this was straight news, comment found its way into the majority of staff-written stories. A definite pro-draft trend was obvious by mid-August.

Throughout the period when the draft was news, PM devoted a number of articles to interpreting the draft mechanism for the reader.[1] As early as July 26, both sides of the draft registration card was printed with ample explanation. On October 15, PM ran a full page of information labelled "This is the How, When, Why and What on Registration Tomorrow."[2] A similar article appeared the next day.[3]

On October 20, PM listed the draft numbers.[4] Other evidences of the newspaper's interest in the treatment of draftees were the story, "Stimson Pledges Remedy for Draft Exam Abuses,"[5] the outcome of an instance in which PM put opinion into action through an exchange of telegrams between Ingersoll and Stimson, and a pair of stories by Gene De Poris and Sutherland Denlinger, "PM Finds a Snarl of Contradictions in Operation of the Draft."[6] In the second of these, the results of a survey of induction standards and their consequences was put forth.[7]

On draft registration day, at least six pages were dominated

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1 PM, July 26, 1940, p. 8.
2 PM, October 15, 1940, p. 10.
3 PM, October 16, 1940, p. 15.
4 PM, October 20, 1940, pp. 9-11.
5 PM, December 16, 1940, p. 10.
6 PM, March 16, 1941, p. 13.
7 PM, March 17, 1941, p. 11.

Stimson Pledges Remedy For Draft Exam Abuses

Answers PM's Complaint About Army Doctors Who Reject Men Accepted by Local Board Physicians

The War Department will do "everything possible" to prevent a repetition of physical examination abuses, common in the first draft call, when the next consignment of selectees reports to the local draft boards in January, Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War, promises in a letter to Ralph Ingersoll, editor of PM.

Mr. Ingersoll, in a telegram to Mr. Stimson, protested that men passed by board physicians thought they were as good as in the Army. They wound up civilian affairs, said good-bys and then found themselves rejected by Army doctors. Secretary Stimson said remedial measures were already under way.

Mr. Ingersoll's telegram follows:

Hon. Henry L. Stimson
Secretary of War,
Washington, D. C.

Under the procedure being followed by the Selective Service Board in New York City, men are being given physical examinations at their local boards, told they are fit for Army service and ordered to report for active duty within five days. They wind up their affairs, surrender their jobs, in some cases sell or close up small businesses, and report to the city's four induction centers. There, one out of every five is rejected as physically unfit.

We do not quarrel with the doctors who turn men down at the induction centers, nor with the Army in its insistence on getting only the cream of the crop physically. But don't you think that the procedure is pretty harsh by which men are forced to say goodby to family and friends and to give up their livelihoods, only to find a few days later that it's all a mistake?

We took this up with the Selective Service Board in New York City, but they advise us that, once the local draft boards pass a man, he is under the jurisdiction of the Army. We know you want the draft to run off smoothly, so we appeal to you:

Cannot this Army physical examination be given before a man, acceptable to his local draft board, is told to wind up his affairs?

PM favored the Conscription Act. We believe that it was necessary for the preservation of democracy in America. But we think democracy is more than a word. We think it means that people should not be pushed around arbitrarily. We know you agree. We are sure, therefore, now that we have brought this condition to your attention, that you will end it.

tor of Selective Service to assure a better initial physical examination by local board doctors.

At the present time, we do not believe it practicable to give the Army physical examination until a selectee reaches an Army induction station. However, the physical standards prescribed by Selective Service and the War Department are identical.

With the experience gained from the first induction, we expect the number of rejections by the Army because of physical examinations will be reduced in the future to a very small number.

I am in entire agreement with your statement that "People should not be pushed around arbitrarily," and you can depend upon it that the War Department is operating with this end in view.

HENRY L. STIMSON,
Secretary of War.

16, 1940, p. 10.

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RALPH INGERSOLL, Editor, PM.

This is Secretary Stimson's reply:

Mr. Ralph Ingersoll,
Editor, PM.

Dear Mr. Ingersoll:

In reply to your telegram of Nov. 29th relative to the rejection at induction stations of men who have passed physical examinations given by local board physicians, I can assure you that the War Department is doing everything possible to prevent a repetition of the situation you described. To that end we are working with the Direc-

I am in entire agreement with your statement that "People should not be pushed around arbitrarily," and you can depend upon it that the War Department is operating with this end in view.

HENRY L. STIMSON,
Secretary of War.

16, 1940, p. 10.

10 NEW YORK PM, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1940

Here Are the Answers to Your Draft Questions

This Is the How, When Why and What on Registration Tomorrow

By RIRHARD G. GREEN

Q. Who must register for the draft tomorrow? A. Every male who has passed his 21st birthday and has not yet reached his 36th birthday. Only exceptions are commissioned officers, warrant officers, pay clerks and enlisted men of the Regular Army, the Navy, the Marine Corps, the Coast Guard, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, the Public Health Service, the federally recognized active Uational Guard, the Officers' Reserve Corps, the Regular Army Reserve, the Enlisted Reserve Corps, the Naval Reserve, and the Marine Corps Reserve; cadets, U. S. Military Academy; midshipment, U. S. Naval Academy; cadets, U. S. Coast Guard Academy; men who have been accepted for admittance (commencing with the academic year next succeeding such acceptance) to the U. S. Military Academy as cadets, to the U. S. Naval Academy as midshipmen, or to the U. S. Coast Guard Academy as cadets, but only during the continuance of such acceptance; cadets of the advanced course, senior division, Reserve Officers' Training Corps or Naval Reserve Officers' Training Corps, and diplomatic representatives, technical attaches of foreign embassies and legations, consuls general, consuls, vice consuls and consular agents of foreign countries, residing in the U. S. A., who are not citizens of the U. S. A., and who have not declared their intention to become citizens of the U. S. A.

Q. Does this mean me? A. Yes, you.

Aliens Must Register

Q. I am an alien. I don't intend to become a citizen. Must I register. A. Yes, though you won't have to serve.

Q. My son is blind, has only one leg and is missing three fingers on his right hand. He will be 36 on Oct. 25. Must he register? A. Yes.

Q. I am recovering from pneumonia and will not be able to leave my home tomorrow. What shall I do? A. Send some competent person to the proper registration place. Let him apply to the chief registrar, who will swear him in as a deputy registrar, give hi ma registration form. Your friend will then attend to getting the requisite information from you and have you sign the card. When he returns the card he will be given your registration certificate.

Q. I have scarlet fever and am quarantined. I am not allowed to have any visitors. What do I do about registration? A. ust as soon as you are well enough to be registered, get in touch with your local board, submit a physician's certificate, and you will be permitted to register. Please don't send us any more letters until the quarantine is lifted.

Where to Register

Q. Where is my proper registration place? A. At the Public School shown on PM's list for your election district.

Q. I am attending college in New York City. Where do I register? A. In the district in which you live, not the district where you go to school.

Q. I live 'way up in the Bronx, and I work out at Coney Island. I go to work early in the morning and don't get home until late at night. May I register in Coney Island? A. No, you register in the Bronx, where you live. Your employer will give you time off.

Q. I'm a traveling salesman and expect to be out of town on Registration Day. Must I get home to register? A. No, unless you are in commuting distance of home. You may register in whateever town you happen to be in. Your card will be forwarded to your home district. Commuters must register at home, however.

Q. I'm in Bellevue Hospital. How can I register? A. That will be taken care of at the hospital.

Q. I stuck a fellow up and am serving a five-year penitentiary rap. Will I be committing another crime if I don't register? A. No. The warden will register you on the day you are discharged from prison.

No Papers Needed

Q. What papers do I have to bring with me when I register? A. None.

Q. What must I know when I register? A. Your name, your address, telephone number, age, date and place of birth, citizenship, and the name and address of some person who will always know where to find you, and your employer's name and address.

Q. I work under Mr. ones at the Standard Oil Co. Mr. Jones hired me for the job. Is he my employer? A. No. Your employer is the Standard Oil Co. If you work for a corporation, give the corporation's name, not the name of its president, or of the man who supervises your job.

Q. I can't read or write. How do $ go about registering? A. You don't have to write when you register. The clerk who takes care of you does all the writing. All you do is sign your name. If you can't do that, you will make an "X," and the clerk will witness it.

Read It

Q. Am I supposed to read what the clerk has filled in on my card before I sign it? A. Of course. You can go to the clink if there is a misstatement there. If you can't read ask the clerk to read it to you.

Q. Do I get anything to show I have registered? A. Yes. The clerk will give you a certificate of registration. You are supposed to carry this with you at all times as evidence that you have properly registered.

Q. How long should registration take? A. No more than 20 minutes—this does not include waiting time.

Q. Suppose I fail to register? A. This is a serious offense, punishable by heavy fine and jail term. If you don't mean to dodge registration you may go to your local board late. They will register you, and if you have no good excuse for your tardiness, you will be one of the first called for service.

SERIAL NUMBER | 1. NAME (Print) (First) (Middle) (Last) | ORDER NUMBER

2. ADDRESS (Print) (Number and street or R. F. D. number) (Town) (County) (State)

3. TELEPHONE (Exchange) (Number)

4. AGE IN YEARS — DATE OF BIRTH (Mo.) (Day) (Yr.)

5. PLACE OF BIRTH (Town or county) (State or country)

6. COUNTRY OF CITIZENSHIP

7. NAME OF PERSON WHO WILL ALWAYS KNOW YOUR ADDRESS (Mr., Mrs., Miss) (First) (Middle) (Last)

8. RELATIONSHIP OF THAT PERSON

9. ADDRESS OF THAT PERSON (Number and street or R. F. D. number) (Town) (County) (State)

10. EMPLOYER'S NAME

11. PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT OR BUSINESS (Number and street or R. F. D. number) (Town) (County) (State)

I AFFIRM THAT I HAVE VERIFIED ABOVE ANSWERS AND THAT THEY ARE TRUE.

(Registrant's signature)

REGISTRATION CARD
D. S. S. Form 1
(over) 16—17105

This form, and this form only, is all that the registrant fills out. The registrar fills out the back, which provides space to note your blue eyes, that wart on your nose and other details.





PM Finds a Snarl of Contradictions in Operation of the Draft

Married? In One District You Go To Army, A Block Away You're Sent Back to the Wife

By GENE DEPORIS and SUTHERLAND DENLINGER

New York City's draft boards are transferring young men from civilian life to the U. S. Army in an operation that is a tangle of confusion and contradiction.

The 280 boards, all manned by civilians, have only the broadest and most general regulations to guide their selection of soldiers. So they go by rule of thumb . . . a rule that varies with the temperament, judgment and general disposition of the members.

We went to 18 draft boards constituting an economic and geographic cross section of the city, and asked them a series of questions in an effort to find out how deferment decisions were made, on what basis, and if there was any sort of general agreement among the boards on what was legitimate grounds for missing the draft.

We found that no two boards think or operate alike. What is reasonable and sufficient ground for deferment before one board is not before another a block away. Some are lenient, some are considerate and some are about as tough as they come.

Some Answers

Eight of the boards we quieried wouldn't talk to us. From the others, we got the maddest variety of answers. Here are the questions, and the conflicting answers:

¶ What do you do with married men whose wives work, or have independent incomes?

A Bay Ridge board said it didn't take married men under any circumstances. A Flatbush board said it had taken married men when the wives had an independent income—but added that if there were children it "probably wouldn't" take the married men.

But a Jamaica board said it would take such men, even if there were children.

A board on the East Side said it would a man whose wife had an independent ome—unless there were children.

An Astoria board said it wouldn't take a man away from a wife who had an income "if they'd been married a reasonable time."

The second question:

¶ How do you classify men recently married?

This question interested us particularly because we'd heard there was the widest possible range of attitudes. In spite of an official bulletin issued Jan. 6 in an attempt to clear up the situation.

This bulletin pointed out there wasn't anything in the Selective Service Regulations to indicate a man married after Registration Day should receive any different treatment from one married before it.

Asked about this, the chairman of a Queens board replied:

"It's only a suggestion. It's not a law. We've taken recently married men, and we take such men even if the wife had to go back to live with her folks."

All the boards we talked to appeared ignorant or disdainful of the official bulletin. Only one of the ten said it wouldn't take married men, "because it would break up homes." A Brownsville board said it wouldn't take any married men at all. But the chairman added:

"Of course, we didn't consider that recently married men are really married."

A board in the Lower East Side said it observed the spirit of the official bulletin. It added: "But in this board, we draft married men."

A local board in Harlem gave a typical answer. It told us it wouldn't, in the existing circumstances, take recently married men. But it said it demanded "good proof" that the man was really married, and that he'd been "keeping company" with his wife for some while before the marriage.

Keeping company" said the chairman of a Bronx board, " for at least a year."

A third question:

¶ What is your attitude toward married couples who live with either parents, and pay all or part of the family upkeep?"

Two boards were hazy. Three said they'd take the man, "if he wasn't needed particularly at home." The remaining five were against drafting a man in those circumstances.

We asked:

¶ What's you attitude toward policemen, toward firemen, toward physicians and lawyers and civil servants?

In Flatbush, a board chairman said to us: "We defer firemen, policemen, some 200 teachers placed on an indispensable list by the Board of Education, and physicians depending upon how long they've practiced and where they're located."

A Brownsville board took teachers "because there are enough teachers on the waiting list to fill in." A mid-Manhattan board referred to a specific section of the Act deferring "necessary men."

Wouldn't Answer

A Bronx board didn't answer; one hadn't had any cops or firemen or physicians. And the rest—as one chairman told us—said they'd "draft everybody."

This was our fourth question:

¶ What about a registrant from a family in which several are employed, but which would suffer greatly if his income were taken away?

We got the business on this one. Here are two extremes.

An Astoria board said that "even if it meant the family moved to cheaper quarters the man would be taken. Sacrifices must be made."

But a Mid-town board told us:

"The law says we must consider the manner in which a family is accustomed to live."

A Flatbush board said it would ask for a complete breakdown of the family budget, but the general response was:

"We'd find out how big a sum would be left if the man's income were taken."

Here's one that brought a diversity of answers:

¶ What do you do with an employed man whose wife is working, or with a man whose wife earns more than he?

Life History Counts

A Brooklyn board told us that "lots of things enter the picture." It remarked that "the man may have been engaged in seasonal work" and said it "looked in to past histories" in such cases.

That seemed completely reasonable. But this chairman added:

"If the husband makes more than the wife, we wouldn't break up the home. But if she made more than he does, we'd have to look at it differently."

A board in Downtown Manhattan said it would draft any fit man whose wife worked while he was idle "even if he lost his job the day his questionnaire was returned."

A Harlem board said that "if the husband was the type that rarely worked" he would be drafted. Two boards said they wouldn't take such a man, another said it would depend on how long the man had been unemployed. Two said their test was: "Could the wife continue to live in the manner to which she was accustomed."

We got seven different answers to this one. *But* different:

¶ What would you do with a single man who supports the parents with whom he lives, but whose married brothers and sisters are capable of taking over their support?

Here are the answers:

1. (by the stuffy banker-chairman of a Flatbush Board) "The mere fact that brothers and sisters are married doesn't preclude the possibility that they may not contribute to the support of their parents."

Won't Break Up Homes

2. (A board in Jamaica). "This board wouldn't ask parents to live with their children, as it would break up a home.

"But if the children could support the parents, the single son would be drafted."

3. (A Manhattan board). "If arrangements can be made, the son is drafted. *Usually he isn't.* Social implications are at least as important as the economic factors."

4. (In Harlem). "The boys would be taken. Because the parents could go to court, and force the others to help."

5. (Midtown Manhattan). "In that case we think the boy would be sent to the Army. Support of parents is mandatory. They could seek relief under the law."

6. (The Bronx). "The board feels it's not up to married people to assume support if an unmarried son is at home."

7. (from Astoria). "It's too hard for us to answer. There are too many complications."

Some selectees have been told that they shouldn't worry about their wives, because they could "go back and live with the parents."

We asked about this. Four boards said they wouldn't propose such a solution under any circumstances. Two said they didn't take married men unless it was a recent marriage, in which case they thought the wife could go back to her parents. Two gave conditional—"it depends on the circumstances"—answers.

We asked other questions, too. We asked:

¶ What about persons vital to national defense?

And got—strangely—a unanimity of expression.

All agreed they'd defer national defense workers, but an East Side board stressed that the deferment was for only six months, and wouldn't be renewed—"because they could find someone to replace the man in that length of time."

Different On WPA

On the question of men on WPA, the practice differed. Four said that so long as the WPA man had dependents it made no difference where he worked; three couldn't answer because they'd had no cases of the kind. Of the two remaining, the Manhattan board, chairmaned by the settlement worker, said "there are two kinds of relief, work relief and home relief. If a man is taken, his family goes on home relief. They are both relief."

And in Harlem:

"If home relief can suffice, the WPA man is drafted. If it's not enough, he's deferred."

¶ We asked the boards what they'd do about a man with money in the bank. Here are two typical answers:

"If the income is sufficient to support his family, we take him."

And, again:

"Find out how much he has and we'll tell you."

But the general attitude was against penalizing the man who has laid aside funds for a rainy day.

¶ One board out of ten said it would defer Fascists as "morally unfit," but the rest would take them, along with Nazis, Communists and agitators.

¶ There seemed pretty general agreement that small store owners would get grace in which to clean up their business, although a Bronx board said it would defer indefinitely a man who had employes.

We'd heard complaints from registrants about supplementary questionnaires issued by their local boards. These [illegible] ters or brothers have money in the bank or own real estate."

Of the ten boards we talked with, five didn't issue such questionnaires. One issued a "bulletin," the rest said they did issue questionnaires for the purpose—as one board chairman put it—of "finding out whether anything is being held back."

Only 80 Appeals

Strangely, in view of their divergent rulings, the boards that talked to us had only some 80 appeals against them, the majority of which were upheld.

The total of appeals for the entire city, up to the end of February, was only 2565, or 1.28%.

We asked the boards about their attitude toward conscientious objectors, whose status is plainly defined under the act. Two didn't answer, four said they recognized the rights of such men as stated by law; a Queens board said "frankly we don't know whether we'd defer any except religious conscientious objectors."

A Jamaica board said it would pass the man along "to a higher agency"; a board in mid-Manhattan said "we wouldn't take their word for it, we've had only a few and we didn't believe them; "and a board in the Bronx:

"We've had some, but we've always talked them out of it!"

Draft Deferment Starts City Fuss

Sidney Z. Searles, 25, won deferment from the draft when his boss, Alfred E. Smith Jr., interceded with Local Board 126, the Bronx, and said he was "necessary in his civilian activity." Mr. Searles is the unmarried assistant counsel to the City Council committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission, of which Mr. Smith is chairman.

Paul J. Kern, president of the commission, is stirring up a first-class row about it. He posted a bulletin advising all his employes to seek deferment as essential citizens and charged the board had yielded to political pressure in deferring Mr. Searles.

Col. Arthur V. McDermott, Director of Selective Service in the city, said in an angry return that Mr. Kern's suggestion "seemed almost to cast discredit on the thousands of loyal citizens who are giving their devoted efforts to the administration of the act." He bridled at the suggestion of political pressure.

The board that deferred Mr. Searles is keeping its policies secret. Answers to PM's questions about its method of excusing prospective draftees were refused. This was before the Searles case was made public.

by news of the draft. A brief analysis follows:

Front page	headlines
Page 7	two major news stories
Page 8	"Unflinchingly Faces Draft" (satire), plus three news stories
Page 14	pictures of seven volunteers
Page 15	reprint of four forms and information for registrants
Page 18	under "Movies," nine eligible movie males -- "These Lads Register with the Ladies"
Page 21	full page picture of the last volunteer.

The class-consciousness note, which may be considered as a possible bid for circulation among the lower middle class, is exploited in the satirical story, "Unflinchingly Faces Draft With Courage of '76 Society,"[1] signed by Cholly Kronenberger."

With its draftees' features such as "City's No. 1 Draft Prospect is Taken on a Holiday"[2] and "All New Yorkers, They Take Their Luck Gamely,"[3] PM parallels the smaller-town press for its interest in the "local boys." For despite its national appeal, New York life is of primary importance to PM.

With conscription a reality, PM's interest turned to the Army and army life, particularly in the major encampments. Acting on rumors circulating about New York, Roger Dakin was sent to Fort Dix, N. J., induction center for metropolitan draftees, to investigate conditions there. His findings are recorded in a series of stories. The first, "Conditions at Fort Dix Are a Credit to the Army,"[4] covered ten pages. Subsequent installments

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1 PM, October 16, 1940, p. 8.
2 PM, October 30, 1940, pp. 18-19.
3 Ibid, pp. 16-17.
4 PM, October 25, 1940, pp. 15-24.

Unflinchingly Faces Draft With Courage of '76 Society

By CHOLLY KRONENBERGER

Few people, in thinking about the draft, seem to have envisaged the perfectly frightful effect it is going to have on the social season.

Let me take you into one or two homes whose occupants are simply at their wits' end these perplexing days.

The Morblay Van Truesdales' daughter, Angela, is a perfect peach of a girl. She rides, skates and dances DIVINELY. She talks fluent French and threw the faculty at Miss Chapin's into a perfect uproar by wanting to "major" in French slang. She's quite a wit, too: when she and young "Reggie" St. Clair were caught snuggling under a rug at "Gracie Blennerhasset's sleighing party, she giggled that they were "bundling for Britain."

Naturally, as a VERY pretty girl and as the daughter of one of our reigning nabobs, "Angie" is terrifically popular. She has the pick of the best young men.

The best young men, as "Angie" would be the first to inform you, are obviously unmarried, in the absolute "pink" of condition, in no need of amassing a competence, and quite without "dependents."

Such young men, I need hardly explain, in addition to making the most eligible escorts, will make the most eligible DRAFTEES.

So that we're all pretty sick about poor "Angie", particularly as this is her first "season" in society.

What's her first season going to be like?

Shall she go with young men who, as the phrase is, have to "help out at home"?

Shall she (even more dreadful thought) go out with *married* men?

Shall she (most dreadful thought of all) go with young men who are near-sighted, lame, tuberculous or otherwise ill-favored?

It's a perfect mess. Consuelo Cowperthwaite Van Truesdale, "Angie's" statuesque and still lovely mamma, confided to me the other day at the "Bunny" St. Robespierres, that she's in a dither. She whispered that she had thought of providing several particularly eligible young men with "dependents," but Morblay, it seems, dissuaded her on account of the law and that sort of thing.



Consuelo's and "Angie's" friends are loyally rallying round them, trying to help all they can. They're deluging "Angie" with a perfect shower of the latest "best-sellers," so that, at least, the poor girl won't go quite, quite MAD during the long winter evenings.

* * * * * *

"Siggie" Blair-Blair is one of our most popular, and DESERVEDLY popular, young matrons. Unlike so many in the *haut monde*, she and "Dolf" are ideally happy in their snug little terrace triplex at "678". "Siggie's" little dinner parties are quite the most delightful ones I know—and for a very good reason. "Siggie" has long made it a hard-and-fast rule ALWAYS to have at least two, and if POSSIBLE, four "extra men" at what she modestly calls her little "fluffies." Young, handsome, dashing boys in their twenties, who can keep the ball rolling from the *tortue en gelée au madère* to the *bombe Josephine*, and who are particularly useful for dancing if "Siggie," as is her wont, takes her guests "on" to Fefe's or the Stork.

When I saw her at the "Lolly" Webb-Coroners night before last, "Siggie"—looking stunning as ever in a bottle-green vendetta ensemble—was close to tears. She's perfectly positive, she told me, that once they start drafting there won't be one "extra man" left on her list of 150. It'll just be the end of those triumphant little "fluffies," she bemoaned. Then, with that perfectly swell sense of humor which is part of "Siggie's" "philosophy of life, she had me envisage a typical morning in the life of her butler.

"Fancy," she said, "Murdoch telephoning to my 'Young Guard,' as I always call them:

"'Could Mr. St. Isleworth dine with Mrs. Blair-Blair on Tuesday, the seventeenth at 8?'

"'Sorry . . . out-of-town . . . in training. Sorry . . . out-of-town . . . in training. . . . Sorry . . . out-of-town . . . in training.'

"And so on," said Siggie, "for 150 telephone calls."

I sympathized.

"Oh, I know how it will all end up," she said ruefully. "Finally, we'll get an acceptance: 'Mr. Marchberry will be delighted, if his gout permits.'"

Poor "Siggie"!

October 16, 1940, p. 8.

Conditions at Fort Dix Are a Credit to the Army

Draftees Arriving Today Will Find Good Food, a Warm Shelter, and Plenty of Clothing

By Roger Dakin

The rumors you've been hearing about Fort Dix are untrue. The men are well housed and fed. They are well clothed. The camp morale is high. The men have adequate recreation both at camp and in town. If your son is one of those who went to Fort Dix today, you need not worry; he'll be well taken care of, and he'll have a good time.

You have probably heard some vicious stories about Fort Dix. We have. Moreover, these stories have been fostered by some shoddy reporting of actual conditions.

Many of the stories we hear must be merely thoughtless gossip. But some—and it is impossible to estimate how much—must be part of a deliberate campaign to sabotage civilian morale. One weapon in the armory of every fifth column is the whispering campaign. Fort Dix has been a victim.

I heard so many stories against Fort Dix and in such detail that I expected the worst when I went to the fort last week to investigate.

More Rumors

I heard that the soldiers were not getting enough to eat, that they were living in tents and freezing at night. I heard that there was a grave shortage of equipment, of shoes, overcoats and raincoats particularly; I heard that the soldiers were drilling with wooden guns, and were being driven by incompetent arbitrary officers.

I heard that vice was rampant in nearby Trenton, Wrightstown and Fointsville; that in an effort to control prostitution the Military Police rode herd on the men night and day, that a soldier was watched like a bonded slave.

I heard that the price of cigarets was impossibly high, that beer was impossible to obtain on the post and expensive off it, that legitimate amusement was virtually nonexistent.

It is a pleasure to report that none of these stories is true.

I was at Fort Dix a week. I chatted with scores of soldiers, took potluck at company messes, pried into quartermaster records, acted as sidewalk superintendent to the builders, and did the night life of nearby towns with a willing photographer. I saw it all, and I think that Fort Dix, as it stands today, is a credit to the U. S. Army.

One soldier I talked to put it in a funny way. He'd been in a CCC camp, and left it three months ago to join the Army. I asked him to make a comparison. He didn't like the CCC. I asked him why, and he made this reply:

"Because it was like being in the *Army!*"

"The Army!" I said, startled. "What's this?"

"This," he said, "this is like camping!"

He added: "Everybody knows what he's doing." I got his point. He likes comfort, efficiency, and order. And those are the keywords at Dix.

In this series of articles I hope to show Dix as it really is, just as I saw it; how the men are housed and clothed, how they are fed, what recreation they enjoy, the status of camp morale, and what is being accomplished in training.

The Basic Barrack

When I went to Dix the first thing I wanted to know was how the men were clothed and housed. But after arriving I found the first thing anyone has to learn is how to get around. Fort Dix is immense.

During the week I was at the fort, more than 5000 civilian employes were busy eight hours a day erecting barracks and tents to house an expected winter population of 18,367 enlisted men, 970 officers, and 1956 vehicles. At that time, 14,180 men were already comfortably housed and provision had been made for the 3720 trainees who will arrive before the end of this month—some of them today.

Building will continue this month and next at the same back-breaking pace now being set—one laborer told me he was going to enlist to get a rest—and by late winter there will be sufficient barracks to house 22,050 men and sufficient tents to house another 21,000. It takes 3500 tents and 350 barracks to hold a population that size, with the tents sleeping six men each and the barracks 63. I'll tell you more about the tents and barracks later.



These men of Company G, 75th Regiment, are warmly clothed; so are all the other men in the company. But note the soldier on the extreme left, front row. He's wearing a denim working hat. Others in the platoon have campaign hats. Every man has all essentials, but some have not received full issue.

The basic type barrack is a two-story building, 116 by 25 feet, made as lightly as is consistent with safety, by what is called balloon construction. The floor and framework is of long-leaf yellow pine. The inside walls are composition board; the outside, plywood. The ground floor squad room houses 29 men, the upstairs, 34.

Lavatories and showers are on the ground floor. There is a 10 by 16 foot "orderly room" partitioned off for officers and noncoms. Also a vestibule and small porch. On the second floor, besides the squad room, is a fair-sized "day room" for reading and lounging. Each floor is heated by one or more squat, pot-bellied coal stoves—in the Army they call them laundry stoves.

The Tents

Each squad room has a rifle rack—usually a baseboard raised off the floor on which the butt of the rifle rests and a notched shelf above this in which the barrel of the rifle rests just below the front sight.

Lockers are not yet available, but are on order. Clothing is hung from a pipe in the center of the room, or on the walls behind each bunk. Present regulations require about four feet between bunks, and each soldier's area extends about six feet out from the foot of his bunk.

Beds are of cot steel with aluminum finish. The mattress is cotton and doesn't lump. The pillow is good.

Most of the men in Fort Dix last week, and all the trainees to come, will sleep in what the Army calls "winterized tents." The term is misleading to a civilian. Most persons think of a tent as something that junior put up in the back yard last summer, and groan at the thought of spending the winter in such a shelter. The army tents, however, are something else entirely; they might better be described as wooden huts with a canvas top. And whatever they're called, they provide warm shelter.

The floor area is 16 feet square, and is constructed of cement or of wood raised off the ground. The area adjacent to the outside walls of the tent is ditched, with earth thrown up against the walls to floor level. A wooden bridge over the ditch leads into each tent.

Well Heated

The walls, for five feet up, are of matchboard—that is, each board has a groove in one edge and a tongue on the other so that when fitted together the joined boards keep out wind and rain. Wooden walls permit a hinged, wooden door for entrance.

The canvas top, optionally 8, 10 or 12 oz. duck, starts from the dirt on the outside of the five-foot wall and comes to a pyramid above the center of the tent. The canvas is waterproof.

Heat is provided by the same heavy, coal-burning laundry stoves used in barracks. The stovepipe runs up the center of the tent and through the canvas top at the apex of the pyramid. The stove and pipe throws off plenty of heat.

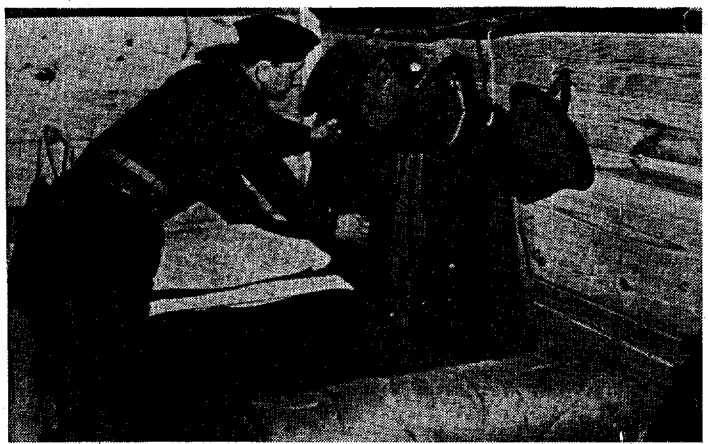
The only complaint I heard was from one private who said his tentmate who tended the stove didn't understand how to damp it for the night; he said it grew so hot he couldn't sleep.

There's plenty of coal. Each company maintains its own coalshed; men can fill their hods at will.

Each tent has electric lights, but no running water. A latrine and mess hall are nearby.

Only six bunks in a tent allows each man plenty of room, but the Army is considering limiting the MORE

A Place for Everything . . .



All the space you see belongs to Serg. G. Semple, Company L, 114th Infantry, plus some space in front of the rolled comforter and behind him. Five other soldiers in this "winterized tent" have the same space, and by regulations keep their bed and equipment in the order shown. Stove and common writing table and chairs are in center of tent.

Conditions at Fort Dix Are a Credit to the Army

Draftees Arriving Today Will Find Good Food, a Warm Shelter, and Plenty of Clothing

By Roger Daniels

The rumors you've been hearing about Fort Dix are untrue. The men are well housed and fed. They are well clothed. The camp morale is high. The men have adequate recreation both at camp and in town. If your son is one of those who went to Fort Dix today, you need not worry; he'll be well taken care of, and he'll have a good time.

You have probably heard some vicious stories about Fort Dix. We have. Moreover, these stories have been fostered by some shoddy reporting of actual conditions.

Many of the stories we hear must be merely thoughtless gossip. But some—and it is impossible to estimate how much—must be part of a deliberate campaign to sabotage civilian morale. One weapon in the armory of every fifth column is the whispering campaign. Fort Dix has been a victim.

I heard so many stories against Fort Dix and in such detail that I expected the worst when I went to the fort last week to investigate.

More Rumors

I heard that the soldiers were not getting enough to eat, that they were living in tents and freezing at night. I heard that there was a grave shortage of equipment, of shoes, overcoats and raincoats particularly. I heard that the soldiers were drilling with wooden guns, and were being driven by incompetent arbitrary officers.

I heard that vice was rampant in nearby Trenton, Wrightstown and Pointsville; that in an effort to control prostitution the Military Police rode herd on the men night and day, that a soldier was watched like a bonded slave.

I heard that the price of cigarets was impossibly high, that beer was impossible to obtain on the post and expensive off it, that legitimate amusement was virtually nonexistent.

It is a pleasure to report that none of these stories is true.

I was at Fort Dix a week. I chatted with scores of soldiers, took potluck at company messes, pried into quartermaster records, acted as sidewalk superintendent to the builders, and did the night life of nearby towns with a willing photographer. I saw it all, and I think that Fort Dix, as it stands today, is a credit to the U. S. Army.

One soldier I talked to put it in a funny way. He'd been in a CCC camp, and left it three months ago to join the Army. I asked him to make a comparison. He didn't like the CCC. I asked him why, and he made this reply:

"Because it was like being in the *Army!*"

"The Army!" I said, startled. "What's this?"

"This," he said, "this is like camping!"

He added: "Everybody knows what he's doing." I got his point. He likes comfort, efficiency, and order. And these are the keywords at Dix.

In this series of articles I hope to show Dix as it really is, just as I saw it; how the men are housed and clothed, how they are fed, what recreation they enjoy, the status of camp morale, and what is being accomplished in training.

The Basic Barrack

When I went to Dix the first thing I wanted to know was how the men were clothed and housed. But after arriving I found the first thing anyone has to learn is how to get around. Fort Dix is immense.

During the week I was at the fort, more than 5000 civilian employes were busy eight hours a day erecting barracks and tents to house an expected winter population of 18,367 enlisted men, 970 officers, and 1956 vehicles. At that time, 14,180 men were already comfortably housed and provision had been made for the 3720 trainees who will arrive before the end of this month—some of them today.

Building will continue this month and next at the same back-breaking pace now being set—one laborer told me he was going to enlist to get a rest—and by late winter there will be sufficient barracks to house 22,050 men and sufficient tents to house another 21,000. It takes 3500 tents and 350 barracks to hold a population that size, with the tents sleeping six men each and the barracks 63. I'll tell you more about the tents and barracks later.

The basic type barrack is a two-story building, 116 by 25 feet, made as lightly as is consistent with safety, by what is called balloon construction. The floor and framework is of long-leaf yellow pine. The inside walls are composition board; the outside, plywood. The ground floor squad room houses 29 men, the upstairs, 34.

Lavatories and showers are on the ground floor. There is a 10 by 16 foot "orderly room" partitioned off for officers and noncoms. Also a vestibule and small porch. On the second floor, besides the squad room, is a fair-sized "day room" for reading and lounging. Each floor is heated by one or more squat, pot-bellied coal stoves—in the Army they call them laundry stoves.

The Tents

Each squad room has a rifle rack—usually a baseboard raised off the floor on which the butt of the rifle rests and a notched shelf above this in which the barrel of the rifle rests just below the front sight.

Lockers are not yet available, but are on order. Clothing is hung from a pipe in the center of the room, or on the walls behind each bunk. Present regulations require about four feet between bunks, and each soldier's area extends about six feet out from the foot of his bunk.

Beds are of cot steel with aluminum finish. The mattress is cotton and doesn't lump. The pillow is good.

Most of the men in Fort Dix last week, and all the trainees to come, will sleep in what the Army calls "winterized tents." The term is misleading to a civilian. Most persons think of a tent as something that junior put up in the back yard last summer, and groan at the thought of spending the winter in such a shelter. The army tents, however, are something else entirely; they might better be described as wooden huts with a canvas top. And whatever they're called, they provide warm shelter.

The floor area is 16 feet square, and is constructed of cement or of wood raised off the ground. The area adjacent to the outside walls of the tent is ditched, with earth thrown up against the walls to floor level. A wooden bridge over the ditch leads into each tent.

Well Heated

The walls, for five feet up, are of matchboard—that is, each board has a groove in one edge and a tongue on the other so that when fitted together the joined boards keep out wind and rain. Wooden walls permit a hinged, wooden door for entrance.

The canvas top, optionally 8, 10 or 12 oz. duck, starts from the dirt on the outside of the five-foot wall and comes to a pyramid above the center of the tent. The canvas is waterproof.

Heat is provided by the same heavy, coal-burning laundry stoves used in barracks. The stovepipe runs up the center of the tent and through the canvas top at the apex of the pyramid. The stove and pipe throws off plenty of heat.

The only complaint I heard was from one private who said his tentmate who tended the stove didn't understand how to damp it for the night; he said it grew so hot he couldn't sleep.

There's plenty of coal. Each company maintains its own coalshed; men can fill their hods at will.

Each tent has electric lights, but no running water. A latrine and mess hall are nearby.

Only six bunks in a tent allows each man plenty of room, but the Army is considering limiting the MORE



These men of Company G, 75th Regiment, are warmly clothed; so are all the other men in the company. But note the soldier on the extreme left, front row. He's wearing a denim working hat. Others in the platoon have campaign hats. Every man has all essentials, but some have not received full issue.

A Place for Everything . . .



All the space you see belongs to Serg. G. Semple, Company L...114th Infantry, plus some space in front of the rolled comforter and behind him. Five other soldiers in this "winterized tent" have the same space, and by regulations keep their bed and equipment in the order shown. Stove and common writing table and chairs are in center of tent.

Fort Dix, Continued:

Housing and Clothing Found Okay

(Continued from page 15)

number to five. In 1917, men slept eight to a tent.

As in the barracks, the bunks are of cot steel with cotton mattress, pillow, three blankets, comforter, and two sheets. On the wall behind each bunk there are four hooks. On No. 1, according to regulations, the soldier hangs his dress uniform and barracks cap; on No. 2, his shirts and fatigue cap; on No. 3, his raincoat, overcoat, and campaign hat, and on No. 4, his steel helmet.

By regulation, each soldier folds his three blankets under his pillow, and folds his comforter at the foot of the bunk. Under the foot of the bunk is the soldier's locker—known as the "foot locker"—in which he keeps toilet articles, letters, cigarets, underwear, and other personal gear.

Barracks bag and rifle are also kept at the foot of the bunk, slung against the wall.

No Choice

Opinion was divided among the men whether barrack life or tent life was better.

"What I like about barracks," one soldier told me, "is that you sit down to eat, you don't stand in line, and you eat off china."

That's because each barracks has its own mess hall and kitchen; food goes right on the table. Living in tents, men must walk to a separate company mess hall, wait in line to be served, and eat off their aluminum kits.

On the other hand, a tent permits more privacy and gives the six men who bunk together a sense of possession and common interest. That's what I gathered from the men I talked with who preferred tent life; they weren't very analytical, they just liked tents.

The question of warmth and comfort was not raised one way or the other; the men we talked to, unless questioned specifically, seemed to assume that barracks and tents were equally comfortable physically.

None of the men we saw had any complaint about their quarters, several said their tents leaked one or another night during the rainy spell two weeks ago. All said the leak was fixed next day.

Even when off the post, over a glass of beer, the men had very little to say about their housing. There was no urge to gripe.

No Buttons Off



Here's Private Crisafulli again going over his "foot locker," so called because it must be kept under the foot of the bunk when not in use. The men have plenty of extra underwear.



Sunday afternoon and Visitors' Day in a "winterized tent" shared by six men of Co. I, 114th Infantry. (Two went to Trenton for the day.) The rifle Private Felix Crisafulli is cleaning is an automatic. The cap with long visor on the hook behind him is the new winter issue; it is wool and has flaps that can be brought down over the ears.

Their attitude seemed to be: "It's all right, that's that, and so what."

The men I talked with were equally indifferent about their clothing issue. They had no complaints, wanted to talk about other things: the burning question the week I was there was whether they could get a Thanksgiving Day leave through the week end. (Many were able to.)

For the record, here's what clothes an enlisted man gets. Trainees will get the same.

Clothing Issue

2 Belts, waist, web.
1 Belt, leather, enlisted men.
1 Cap, service, olive drab.
2 Coats, serge, olive drab.
1 Cord, hat, infantry.
7 Drawers, 4 cotton, 3 wool.
1 Gloves, woolen, olive drab, pairs.
6 Handkerchiefs, cotton, white.
1 Hat, service, olive drab.
1 Hat, denim, working.
1 Insignia, cap.
2 Insignia, U. S., for collar.
2 Insignia, arm, for collar.
2 Jumpers, denim, working.
2 Leggings, canvas, pairs.
2 Neckties, khaki, cotton, washable.
1 Overcoat, with roll collar, wool, olive drab.
1 Raincoat.
2 Shirts, worsted, wool, olive drab.
2 Shirts, cotton, khaki, 8½ oz.
1 Shoes, garrison, pair.
2 Shoes, service, pairs.
8 Socks, cotton or light wool, tan.
1 Strap, chin, for hat.
3 Trousers, cotton, khaki, pairs.
2 Trousers, wool, elastiques, pairs.
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Men on military police traffic duty and others assigned to field detail are also issued overshoes.

In addition to the above, each man is also issued a safety razor with five blades, a tooth brush, a shaving brush, a comb, and three towels. He must buy his own shaving soap and tooth paste.

No Bad Shortage

Up to last week, every soldier at Fort Dix had every essential article of clothing, but a few did not have full issue. Some had only service hats and no cap; some only one pair of working shoes, no garrison shoes. But all had overcoats and at least one pair of wool shoes, and all at least two changes of underwear.

Shipments of supplies were rolling into camp every day, however, and complete issue is expected before mid-winter. Today a special 1000 units of full equipment is waiting at the reception center for the new men. Long before the other new men arrive, their equipment will be ready.

There's nothing wrong with clothing and housing at Fort Dix, although it's in those two fields that the whispering campaign has aimed its most vicious shafts.

A Communist Reports

It's significant, in this connection, that Harry Raymond, reporter for the Communist *Daily Worker*, went to Fort Dix on an avowed trouble shooting expedition and in stories published Oct. 20 and 22 could find only trivialities to report. Here are a few points he made:

1. That there was not enough "warm wooden barracks" to house all the men. He said most of the men "spent their 'bunk fatigue' around stoves in the 'winterized' canvas tents." The quotes around "winterized" and the description of the tents as "canvas" is dirty pool. Raymond didn't say outright that the tents were not warm, it's a matter of proof that they are.

2. That while he watched soldiers hiking to a nearby town for "a dull and expensive evening . . . a small colonel and a large white bull dog shot by in a fast car." That statement is not only trivial, but the implication is completely untrue. We saw at least 20 men being picked up by officers during our stay at Fort Dix, and driven not only to nearby Wrightstown and Fointsville, but to Trenton, 22 miles away. Hitchhiking is how most of the soldiers get to Trenton; many go there and return every night.

3. That there's not enough books in the library at the enlisted men's club. Perhaps by some theoretical scale there's not enough, actually, however, there were at least 500 good books on the shelves when I visited the library. Any soldier who wanted a book that day could have his pick. And that's enough in any language.

4. He quoted one soldier as saying: "The chow's lousy. We've been getting stew regularly every day for dinner and supper. It's stew, stew, stew.

Along with all the falsifications of the whispering campaign against Fort Dix, that last implied criticism by the *Daily Worker* is offside, too. Proper investigation would have revealed the truth.

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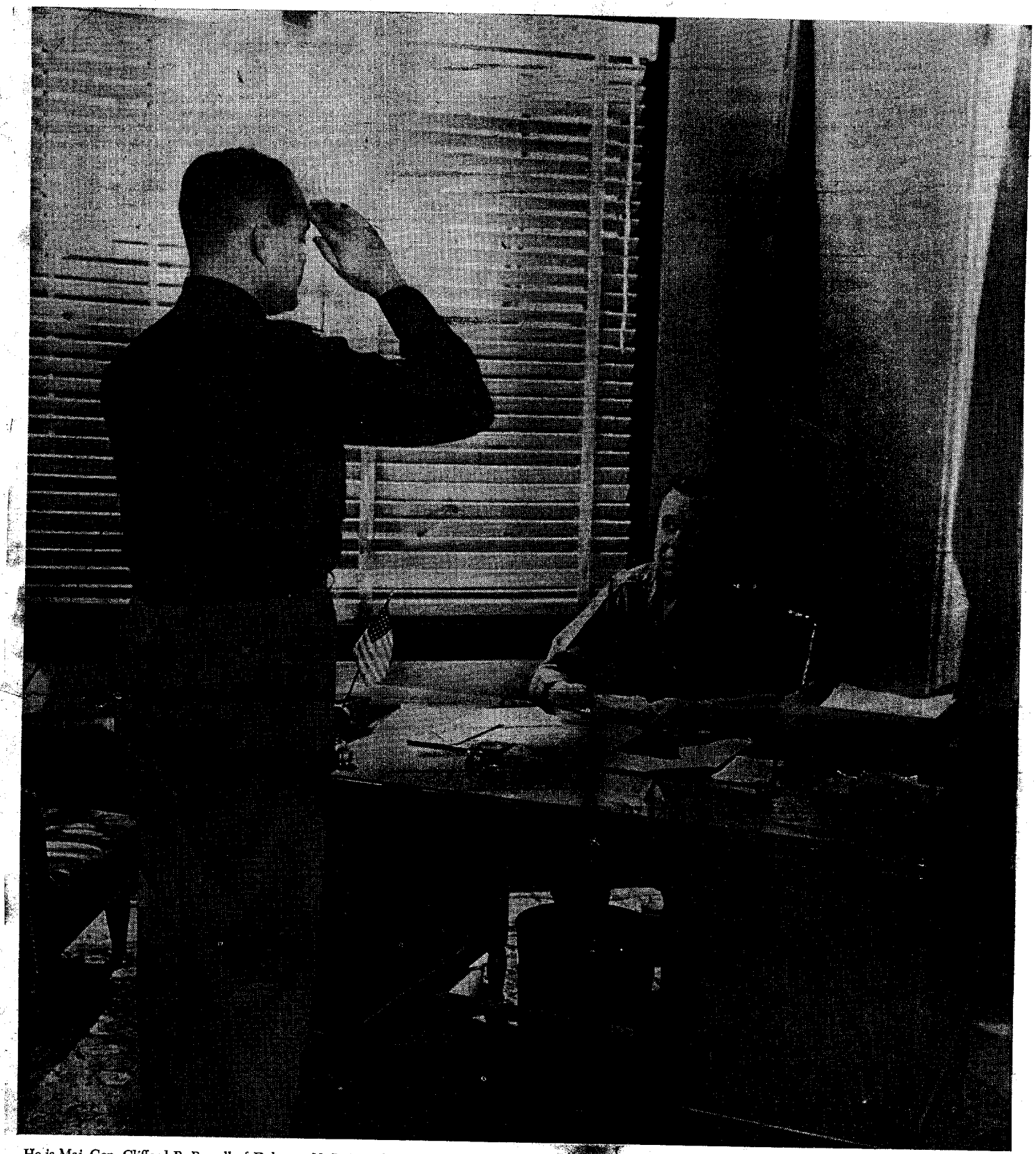
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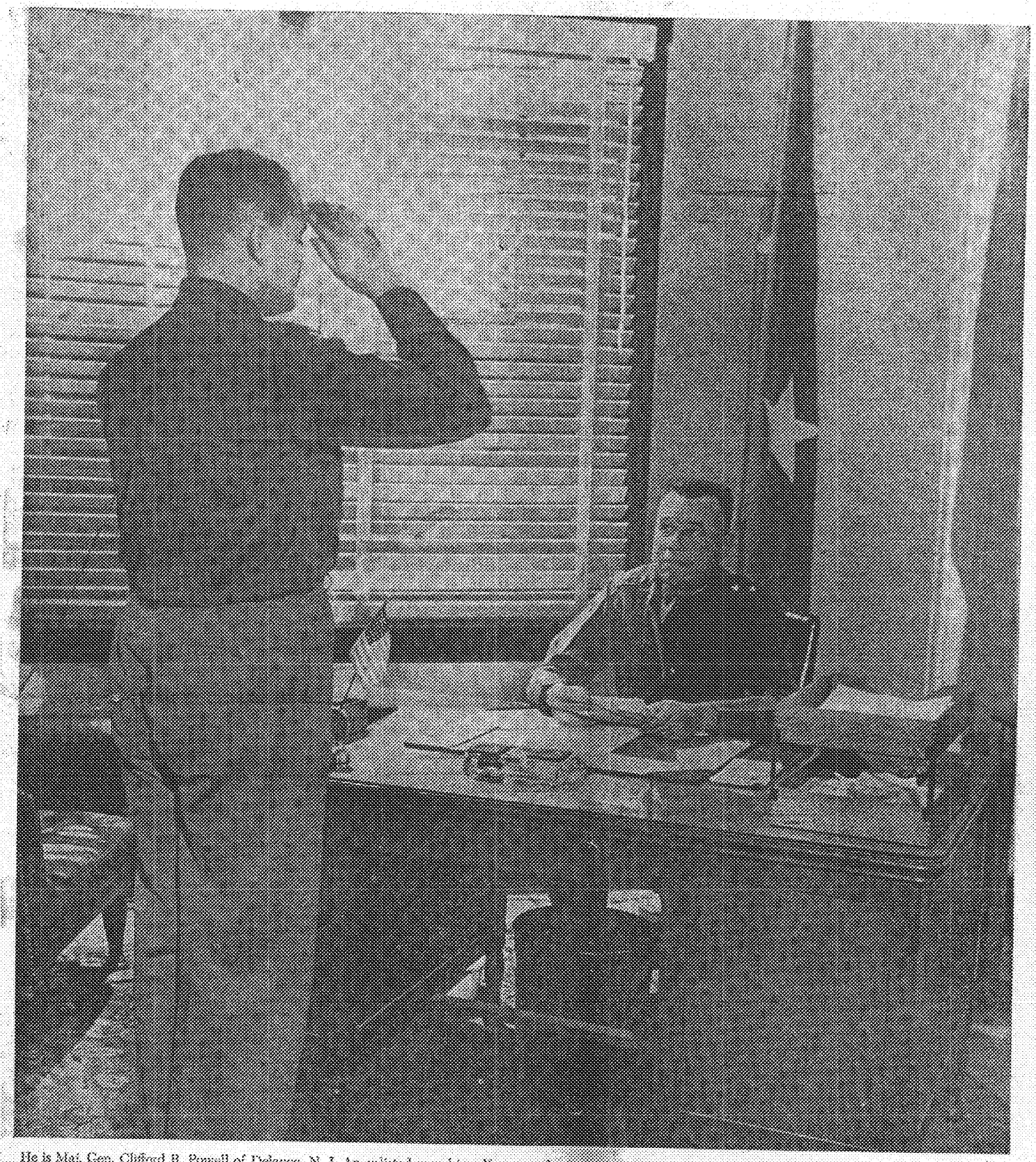
Your Son, and Yours, Is in This Man's Care at Fort Dix, N. J.



He is Maj. Gen. Clifford R. Powell of Delanco, N. J. An enlisted man himself in 1913, he got his lieutenancy in France in 1917, was wounded and won his Croix de Guerre at Aisne in 1918. As commandant of Dix he is charged with the care of 25,000 young Americans. So far he's done a good job. Here at his headquarters he's taking a salute from his aide, Capt. John J. Toffey. The flag, two white stars on a red field, indicates his rank.

MORE

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MORE

PM, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1940

Police, Fire Heads Go to Bat; Protest Draft of Cops, Firemen

City police and fire chiefs took the offensive against the Army today.

Police Commissioner Valentine and Fire Commissioner McElligott have entered vigorous protests against drafting cops and firemen. The former warned that replacement of experienced men with rookies will endanger the safety of the city and the fire chief pointed out that in London today it's more important to know how to fight a fire than to shoulder a gun.

"I'm going to fight the case of every fireman drafted," he declared.

He pointed out that he has been working with the War Department for two years on a master plan for protection of New York in case of attack from the air. Firemen now in the department are trained to play their parts in this plan, he said.

Every policeman called by a draft board has carried with him a letter from Mr. Valentine requesting deferment. The first letter was ignored yesterday as Patrolman Charles H. Wallace, 35, was sent into the Army. Two other young cops have been summoned and the Commissioner has written to their appeal boards.

Deferment of firemen or policemen as groups is strictly contrary to the law, Martin Conboy, co-ordinator of the 13 appeal boards, said in answer to the protests. He said every individual case will have to be considered.

Yesterday's parade of trainees to Camp Upton and Fort Dix was the largest yet, 411 men, who were inducted into the Army. This brings the total to 1138 of the 1917 due Saturday. Roughly 20 per cent of those called were rejected. Selective service headquarters issued warnings to draftees not to quit their jobs until they are accepted by Army doctors.

All the News From FORT DIX

FORT DIX, N. J., Nov. 29.—This cantonment, probably the show place of the East in 1940's emergency mobilization, is settling down for the long haul. A new outfit, the 1229th Corps Area Service Unit, is taking over administrative matters for the post. When the selective service men have been absorbed into the 44th Division, there will be only these two outfits here . . . The rush to get publicity out of the National emergency is on in earnest. Many stage and radio organizations offer to send entertainment out only on condition that they get commercial publicity. And the 15,000 men here are hungry for amusement . . . Coldest of the cold is Pvt. Louis J. Scoma, of Poughkeepsie, just back from Hawaii and assigned to outdoor work . . . Hohn Manenti, of 105 Elliott Pl., Bronx, plays guitar and clarinet, but has none here . . . R. B. "Shady" Lane of Hyde Park hopes to be an aviator but keeps his feet on the ground . . . Says Sgt. Theodore Stilson of Co. I: "It's sure fun watching those city boys try to cut wood." . . . There will be Catholic, Protestant and Jewish services Sunday . . . Maj. J. C. Donoghue, recreation officer, could use about 50 footballs . . . Col. Arthur W. Copp, veteran head of the 57th Infantry Brigade, has been permitted to resign to take a munitions job. Col. Julius Ochs Adler, of the New York *Times*, may succeed him.

—Lou Wedemar

All the News From YAPHANK

CAMP UPTON, Yaphank, L. I., Nov. 29.—First prize of $5 in the 198th's amateur show went to Corp. Leroy Turner, a lean, lank, obviously popular soldier billed as Singing Sam, the Barbasol Man . . . Before the show started, everybody sang *Keep the Home Fires Burning* and *Let Me Call You Sweetheart* . . . Corp. Ralph Foster sang *Maybe*, accompanying himself on the guitar . . . and Pvt. William Britten cocked his thumbs in his web belt to sing a song called *Mother, the Queen of My Heart*, which began: "I had a home down in Texas, down where the blue bonnets grow" . . . The real hit of the evening was the band, which, indoors and thawed out, got hot with a march version of *Annie Laurie* and *Caissons Go Rolling Along* . . . What with the searchlight practice and the show there weren't many soldiers to ride the 7 o'clock bus down to Patchogue . . . A Maj. McKeige from Corps Headquarters inspected the kitchen in the reception center yesterday afternoon . . . Everything O.K., as any rookie eating at that mess could have told him . . . Among local defense industries is the renting of houses and rooms to officers . . . The Headquarters bulletin board is plastered with offers. The Post Exchange (canteen) gets a good play these frosty evenings and so does the recreation hut in Camp 2 . . . Like to play checkers?—Sutherland Denlinger.

A Trainee's Diary...By Harry Grimmett

Harry Grimmett, leader of Manhattan draft Board No. 1's first contingent to Fort Dix, permits PM to publish the diary of his fourth day as a trainee. He is not accepting compensation for it.

Fourth Day, Nov. 28.—Wondered yesterday what we would get for the Republican Thanksgiving dinner today. We got chicken. Not much of it, but very tasty.

We have a new man in tent 64, John Grisina of 125th St., New York. He is billeted in the sixth cot. Seems like nice guy. Had a discussion in the tent on army pay throughout the world and discovered through the aid of Jimmie Lares that the Greeks received the highest pay, five guineas a day. Even the Italian boys laughed at that one.

Mr. and Mrs. Caponeri visited their oldest son Hector. Mrs. Caponeri had seen a posed picture of him in bed and thought he was sick. They brought coffee rings and pastry. We got some. Thank God we have a baker's son in our tent.

The boys in Tent 63 gave No. 1 Chinese boy Chan Chong Yuen a short sheet last night.

The married men seem to be enjoying this bachelor's life.

Today we saluted the officers. We were taught how to do that today.

Some of the boys wanted to look around outside the fort tonight. But we can't go outside for maybe ten days more.

A short sheet is the lower sheet folded back half way down so that when the victim gets in bed he can't stretch out.—ED.

New Tailor For Astor.



John Astor Drayton, 26, of THE Astors, used to live at the Union League Club. Now it's a tent at Fort Dix and those nobby duds don't come from Bond Street.

Photo by John DeBiase, PM Staff

Tomorrow They Become Soldiers

By Sutherland Denlinger

CAMP UPTON, Yaphank, L. I., Nov. 29.—Reborn as soldiers in the country's National Army, brave in brass buttons and new khaki, more than 350 New York City men inducted under the Selective Service Act will be transferred tomorrow to their permanent training posts.

Some 300 were to have left this reception center today for Fort Dix, but last minute orders changed their departure by troop train to 11:55 o'clock Saturday morning. Another 50 boys from Delaware will move to Camp 2 of this reservation to fill out the ranks of the 198th Coast Artillery, a Delaware anti-aircraft unit. And a few (attention, Fort Dix) will be kept here to do clerical work in reception headquarters.

Life here is a cycle of birth and growth and change. Officers on the Post look forward to the time when the last of the present batch of inductees will have gone through the mill. Not that they may rest, but that they may do the many things about camp that need doing.

"We did the essential things first," an officer explained. "We knew that there would be mud, but we knew also that the men would have stout overshoes."

The streets by now are fairly dry, thanks to a day of sunshine marred only by a penetrating wind, and there was more elementary drill today by fledglings who, according to their superiors, are "above average in mental ability."

That's not just opinion, either, but based upon an analysis of what the Army calls a "general classification test." Two of the inductees taking the test were described as "bordering on genius."

Over at the 198th last night they put on an amateur show in the camp theater, and, while it was going on, seven great searchlights of the regiment put on a show that was amateur at all. A plane from Mitchel Field flew over and was promptly caught in the ring, probing, blue-white fingers reaching up into the sky. The plane from Mitchel dipped and twisted, climbed and rolled and dived, but the lights held on. "Damn!" said a soldier standing by the recreational building, "if we only had our guns on him."

occupied from five to six pages, all in praise of the Army's provisions for enlisted men. Excellent photographs accompanied the stories.

After the first draftees left for camp, regular Army correspondence columns made their appearance in PM. Sutherland Denlinger wrote from Camp Upton, L. I., and Lou Wedemar from Fort Dix. Another draft feature was Harry Grimmett's "A Trainee's Diary."

A brief survey of major stories on the draft indicates that 24 news stories, 6 stories with commentary and news, 14 of straight news, and 5 of human interest appeared from July 24 to March 16. In addition, 136 pictures and sketches of army life were reproduced in PM.

Lend-Lease Bill

At least six different PM writers wrote major stories in connection with the Lend-Lease bill between January 13 and March 9, 1941. They included Leonard Engel, Nathan Robertson, Ernest Jerome Hopkins, Henry R. Lieberman, Penn Kimball and Victor Bernstein.

Engel's story at the opening of the Lend-Lease bill hearings is written with a personal touch, beginning:[1]

> .... I was told two things of striking importance by some of the most reliable sources I know in Washington.

Robertson's story of January 23, "FDR Speeds Up Aid Bill

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1 PM, January 14, 1941, p. 7.

Fight; Dictatorship? ..... Here's Answer,"[1] is a news story with commentary of an informative, background nature, rather than opinion.[2] The last column is definitely authoritative in tone:

> I'm convinced from studying the bill and watching the opponents that all this shouting about dictatorial power is just window dressing .....

Hopkins confines himself to straight news coverage[3] but Lieberman's story, "Hitler Took Paris in 35 Days .... Lend-Lease, to Date: 55 Days,"[4] is decidedly impregnated with comment.

Penn Kimball's story of March 7 is a notable example of PM's technique of mixing commentary with news.

The first half-column is a personal narrative.[5] He begins:

> What goes on in this Senate of ours where the Lend-Lease bill hangs on a limb while democracy chews its finger nails?

On the same page, Bernstein confines his writing to straight news until the last paragraph:[6]

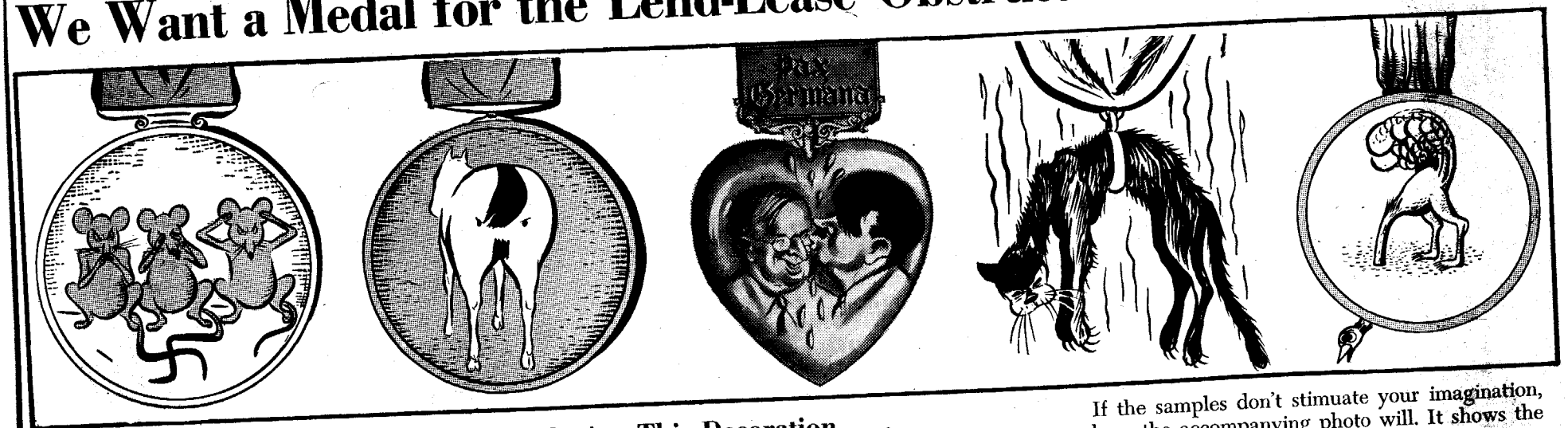
> ..... it sometimes takes a long time for ideas to climb Capitol Hill, just as it took a long time for ideas to reach Downing Street and the Quai D'Orsay.

Other Lend-Lease stories include a report on the radio forums in which Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Herbert Agar of the Louisville Courier-Journal and Ralph Ingersoll took part,[7] as well as routine news stories emanating from PM's Washington bureau.

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1 PM, January 23, 1941, p. 9.
2 Ibid.
3 PM, January 30, 1941, p. 11.
4 PM, March 6, 1941, p. 8.
5 PM, March 7, 1941, p. 8.
6 Ibid.
7 PM, January 13, 1941, p. 15.

We Want a Medal for the Lend-Lease Obstructionists



PM Readers Are Hereby Invited to Help Design This Decoration . . . Samples Appear Above . . . We'll Print the Best Contributions

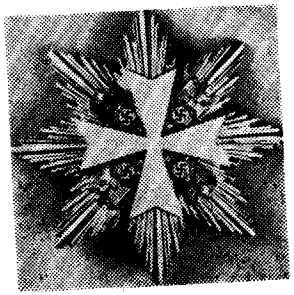
PM proposes a medal for the appeasers, the irreconcilables and the others who are delaying passage of the lend-lease bill. We think some suitable token should be hung around the neck, or pinned on some other part of the anatomy of the Wheelers, the Nyes and the others who are preventing the enactment of Bill No. 1776 with a campaign of talk, fear and lies.

We think PM readers would like to design such a medal—and we invite them to do so.

Two of our artists, John Pierotti and Charles Martin, have made a few sample sketches. They're just to give you the idea. You don't have to draw sketches like these. Send in the rough outlines and we'll touch them up.

We'll print the best ones. We'll pay $1 for each one we use. Furthermore, we'll have the best design executed in appropriate material and presented to Senator Wheeler. Presentation will be made in the name of the designer and of PM — and we're hoping for a design that will put us both down in political history.

If the samples don't stimuate your imagination, perhaps the accompanying photo will. It shows the medal of the German Order of the Eagle—the one that was presented to Charles A. Lindbergh.



No drawings will be returned. We may bale the entries later and ship them to the obstructionists.

So get a sheet of white paper or the back of a penny postcard and mail a design to The Editor, PM, 27 Sixth Ave., Brooklyn.

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The Lend-Lease bill coverage is interesting because it included so many degrees of commentary from the slight slant of a news story to pure opinion. No space was devoted to anti-lend-lease opinion, except for a few printed testimonies, subject to editorial attack from PM.

Exposing Subversiveness

PM's sensational expose of the Fifth Column in America began in August, 1940, and continued into January, 1941. Although some of them might be criticized for exaggeration of detail, PM is to be commended for the efficient system of investigation which led to the uncovering of subversiveness and made PM's chief investigator, Henry Paynter, a valuable ally of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Paynter, an assistant managing editor of PM, has had a career as a crusading writer in investigational journalism. So skillful was Paynter's strategy in conducting the PM expose that he was able to describe Nazi plans to sabotage American munitions plants, a charge which later become a shuddering reality.[1]

In November, after the publication of the Dies' committee "White Paper",[2] PM conteded that its exposure of Nazi plots "inspired" the paper. This story indicated that the Dies' committee investigator and counsel cooperated with PM after Paynter outlined to them the nature of the evidence that he was uncovering.[3]

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1 PM, September 15, 1940, p. 2.
2 PM, November 22, 1940, p. 7.
3 Ibid.

PM's Exposure of Nazi Plots Inspires Dies' 'White Paper'

This Newspaper's Evidence Now Published By Committee ... Nazis May Break Diplomatic Relations

The sensational "White Paper" made public by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, of which Representative Dies (D., Tex.) is chairman, was the result of a two-month expose of Nazi espionage here, conducted by PM.

All the material in the report is based on evidence turned over to the Dies Committee by PM, or seized by Dies committee agents in raids conducted on information furnished by PM, or from examination of witnesses along lines laid out in detail by PM reporters.

The Dies committee work, which is not completed, followed an investigation by PM reporters, under the direction of Henry Paynter, assistant managing editor.

Letters and testimony in the "White Paper" confirm the charges that high German diplomatic and consular officials in the U. S. A., assisted by undercover German agents, naturalized German-Americans, and native American fascists, were participating in a widespread plot against the security of the U. S. A., directed by the German Government, and paid for in large part by German Government funds.



Rep. Dies

Although the Dies committee still has not disclosed some of the most sensational evidence brought to light as a result of PM's disclosures, high government officials in Washington informed this newspaper some time ago that they feared full disclosure would lead to a rupture of German-American diplomatic relations, already strained.

Every detail of evidence in the 413-page Dies "White Paper" resulted from information furnished to the Dies Committee by PM.

Summarized, the evidence shows, as PM has printed:

¶ The Gestapo and the Nazi party are illegally functioning in the U. S. A. through accredited representatives of the German Government here.

¶ Dr. Hans Thomsen, Counsellor of Embassy and Charge d'Affaires, highest German diplomatic representative in the U. S. A., aided Manfred Zapp, undercover Nazi party agent in New York, who spent tens of thousands of dollars of German Government money to undermine U. S. prestige and security in the Western Hemisphere, through Zapp's "Transocean News Service.



Thomsen

¶ Zapp plotted, on his government's instructions, with at least one undercover Japanese agent here in the effort to precipitate hostilities between the U. S. A. and Japan to lessen the likelihod of U. S. involvement in the European war.

¶ Dr. Herbert Blankenhorn, lately withdrawn as a First Secretary of the German Embassy at Washington, conspired with Zapp to finance a Canadian native Fascist plot.

¶ Dr. Ernst Schmitz, ostensibly head of the German Railroads "Tourist" Service here, was actually an intelligence agent of the German Government and plotted with Zapp and others.

¶ The German Consulate General in New York has financed a seditious German American Bund movement, including anti-democratic teaching of U. S. school children in Bund schools, through the German Library of Information.

¶ Dr. Ferdinand A. Kertess, naturalized German-American who employed James Edmonds, special writer for PM, as a Nazi spy, was preparing for the German Government a huge commercial-financial scheme for Western Hemisphere operation, in which the Board of Trade for German American Commerce, Inc., played a leading part. (Dr. Albert Degener, PM had shown, was active head. A director was James D. Mooney, recipient of a Hitler medal, now assistant to the president of General Motors Corp., in charge of defense liaison work. The Board of Trade sponsored Zapp and Dr. Colin Ross, the fugitive German spy.) The Kertess set-up called for a General Motors representative and also gave a prominent place to George F. Bauer, foreign trade expert, formerly overseas representative for the American Automobile Manufacturers Association.



Auhagen

The "White Paper" is replete with interesting details of Nazi activities here.

One report from Fred Kreutzenstein, a Washington agent for Zapp, told how he tried to sneak into a White House conference but was spotted by Michael J. McDermott, press chief of the State Department, and "scrammed." He also reported how he had used "undercover" work to obtain a report from the State Department.

Zapp in a report told how he was secretly editing a weekly magazine, which PM knows is *Die Neue Woche*, a picture magazine.

Mentioned in the report is John A. Zellers, vice-president in charge of Foreign Sales of Remington Rand Corp., who was interned in Germany during World War I.



Kertess

The true nature of the American Fellowship Forum, a Nazi "front" organization posing to be an independent group, is shown by documents and testimony, as published in PM. The Forum was devised by Lawrence Dennis, native Fascist, and Dr. Kertess paid its bills.

As PM published, Ralph Beaver Strassburger, a wealthy U. S. citizen and a Norristown, Pa., publisher, was a heavy financial contributor to Zapp's work.

Letters in the "White Book" confirm PM's published disclosure of the close relations between Zapp and Herr Heribert von Strempel, a first secretary of the German Embassy at Washington.

Edmonds's dramatic story of his employment by Kertess and Dr. Herbert Gross, head of Berlin Eildienst, as a Nazi spy, is given in detail.

George Sylvester Vierick, called "Hitler's Benedict Arnold No. 1," was shown, as PM published, to be in the pay of the German Government, and an active instrument in furthering the Hitler cause here, although a U. S. citizen.

The letters seized also showed an unusual interest on the part of Germany in the U. S. presidential election.

The "White Paper" omits publication of a number of documents seized, including some involving a U. S. congressman.

When PM began collecting information for its expose, early last August, it notified all appropriate governmental agencies of its intention—the State Department, the Department of Justice, the Secret Service, the Army and Navy intelligence services, and the Dies Committee.

George F. Hurley and Stephen Birmingham, New York counsel and investigator, respectively, for the Dies Committee, paid a call at the office of PM.

Paynter then outlined to them the scope of PM's investigation, and the nature of the evidence that was being uncovered.

At the suggestion of PM's editors, Hurley and Birmingham raided the German Railroads "Tourist" office, Zapp's Transocean News Service, the American Fellowship Forum, and the German library of information. Subsequently, also on information furnished to them by PM's editors, they, assisted by others, raided the offices of Dr. Kertess at the Chemical Marketing Co., 10 E. 40th St., and Dr. Gross's office of Berlin Eildienst, in the General Motors Building.

After the seizure of evidence, PM assisted in collation of evidence, and PM attorneys furnished the Dies Committee workers with lists of questions to ask the individuals subpenaed.

Deutsche Botschaft Washington, D.C., den 30.August 1938.

Lieber Zapp !

Vielen Dank für Deinen Brief vom 22.August. Ich war bereits darüber unterrichtet, daß Du die Vertretung von Transocean in den Vereinigten Staaten übernehmen würdest, und habe mich aufrichtig darüber gefreut.

Ich sehe Deinem Besuch Ende September entgegen und werde gern zu Deiner Verfügung stehen, um Dir das Einarbeiten zu erleichtern. Glücklicherweise kennst Du die Vereinigten Staaten ja aus früherer Erfahrung, und es wird Dir verhältnismäßig leicht fallen, Dich einzuarbeiten.

Die Aufgabe ist natürlich nicht ganz einfach; Dein Vorgänger hatte wenig Erfolg, was allerdings wohl auch auf persönliche Gründe zurückzuführen war. Wichtig ist allerdings auch, daß eine Überschneidung mit dem Dienst des D.N.B. in New York und Washington vermieden wird.

Mit herzlichen Grüßen

Dein

Herrn Dr.phil. Manfred Z a p p ,

B e r l i n W 15

Fasanenstrasse 32.

Letter of Dr. Hans Thomsen, highest Nazi diplomatic representative in U. S. A., to Manfred Zapp, praising the work of Zapp as a Nazi under-cover agent. The raid in which this letter was found was suggested to the Dies Committee by Henry Paynter of PM.

Dies Orders Raids in 8 Cities

WASHINGTON, Nov. 22.—The Dies committee today followed its disclosure of Nazi activities in the U. S. A. by seeking more records of organizations in eight cities—Baltimore, Buffalo, Boston, Denver, Milwaukee, New Orleans, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.

Chairman Dies, in St. Louis, telephoned his agents here to begin the series of raids. He said he believed the "White Paper" would "effectively smash" the plans of the Nazis in the U. S. Mr. Dies added that he had a list of persons he believed to be the American agents of the Gestapo, and planned to "move in upon them, place them under oath and take their testimony."

In New York, Transradio Press issued a statement accusing the Dies committee in its "White Paper" of "misrepresenting the legitimate connections" of its own and other American news services with German news organizations. It denied that the Arthur Quisenberry identified as an employe of Transocean in the Dies report was the same as W. G. Quisenberry, a director of Transradio Press, and said the two were in no way related.

How Hitler Wages His Undeclared War Against America

In Secret and Openly German Agents Wield Money and Words

By HENRY PAYNTER

Germany has launched a war against the United States.

This is a bold statement. But under diplomatic usage, international law and by historic precedent, acts by one power involving the political integrity of another, by propaganda or by other deed, or involving espionage of a nature dangerous to national defense, or involving sabotage, have been considered acts of war.

Germany has embarked upon such a series of acts in the United States.

The declaration in 1917 of the existence of a state of war between the U. S. A. and Germany was based in large part on a series of just such acts by Germany against the United States.

Surface Amenities

This war by Germany against the United States is an undeclared war. Not a bullet has been fired. Diplomatic surface amenities of a sort have been maintained.

But it is war to the death. By its nature either Germany or the United States will be crushed before it is ended.

It is a war fought furtively, behind the scenes. It is a war of corruption: corruption by money or its equivalent; and corruption by words.

It is waged by a secret army of Hitler troops, some operating under cover, at night and in disguise; some operating boldly, contemptuous of the defense power of democracy.

The Benedict Arnolds

It is waged also right out in the open by a German army corps of American citizens, brazenly recruited here right out in the open—The League of Benedict Arnolds.

The BA . . . . . s are everywhere: in the highest places in Washington; in every munitions factory in the land; in Army and Navy units; all waiting for the signal.

It is a strange collection, these Americans who espouse the policies of Hitler. Although the Catholic hierarchy in America is overwhelmingly anti-Nazi, pro-American, it includes Catholic priests; it includes Italian American publishers, although Americans of Italian blood are among the most able and patriotic citizens; thousands of U. S. Communists, who take the line from Hitler's present partner, Stalin; crackpots and bigots; some Protestant clergymen in the Bible belt; some intellectual bigots, such as Charles A. Lindbergh and his good friends; a few influential Jews who still fantastically cling to the appeasement theory; some industrial and financial leaders who trade with Germany.

Hitler Parroted

Whenever Hitler has some propaganda to feed us, these leaders of pro-Hitler thought speak out. So Lindbergh's address several days ago parroted what was officially put on on Berlin's short-wave radio.

(SEE PAGE 21 FOR STORY COMPARING LINDBERGH'S NAZI POLICY SPEECH WITH OFFICIAL NAZI RADIO OUTPUT.)

These are leaders. The non-commissioned officers and privates are marshalled in more than 100 effective organizations, twice that number of small detachments.

The recruiting is done through more than 50 publications, which, thanks to the democratic anti-Nazi theory of free speech, may carry the message of destruction of democracy and free speech to millions of gullible Americans. But the freedom of America's press guarantees that these acts shall be exposed.

The Fuehrer's Words

Listen to the words of Hitler, himself:

"America is permanently on the brink of revolution. It will be a simple matter for me to produce unrest and revolts in the United States, so that these gentry will have their hands full with their own affairs. We have no use for them in Europe. . . .

"The German component of the American people will be the source of its political and mental resurrection.

"The American people is not yet a nation in the ethnographic sense; it is a conglomerate of disparate elements. But it is the raw material of a nation. And the Yankees have failed to create a nation from it. They have instead kept their noses in their money bags.

"Today this is being avenged. Their difficulties will become insuperable. . . .

"I SHALL NEVER START A WAR WITHOUT THE CERTAINTY THAT A DEMORALIZED ENEMY WILL SUCCUMB TO THE FIRST STROKE OF A SINGLE GIGANTIC ATTACK. . . .

"We shall find such men (Benedict Arnolds), we shall find them in every country. We shall not need to bribe them. They will come of their own accord. Ambition and delusion, party squabbles and self-seeking arrogance will drive them. Peace will be negotiated before the war has begun. . . .

"We shall have enough volunteers, men like our S. A., trustworthy and ready for any sacrifice. We shall send them across the border in peace time. Gradually. No one shall see in them anything but peaceful travelers. . . .

"When the enemy is demoralized from within, when he stands on the brink of revolution, when social unrest threatens—that is the right moment.

"We shall be obliged to depopulate as part of our mission of preserving the German population. We shall have to develop a technique of depopulation . . . the removal of racial units. . . .

In South America

"If ever there was a place where democracy is senseless and suicidal, it is in South America. We must strengthen these peoples' clear conscience, so that they may be able to throw both their liberalism and their democracy overboard. . . .

"Let us wait a few years and in the meantime do what we can to help them. But we must send our people out to them. Our youth must learn to colonize. For this we have no need of formal officials and governors. Audacious youth is what we want. They need not go into the jungle, either, to clear the ground. *What we want are people in good society.* . . .

"The people need wholesome fear. They *want* to fear something. They want someone to frighten them and make them shudderingly submissive. . . .

"My Jews are a valuable hostage given me by the democracies. Anti-Semitic propaganda *in all countries is an almost indispensable medium for the extension of our political campaign.*"

Those are the words of Hitler himself, spoken over a period of years, recorded by his associate, Hermann Rauschning, in *The Voice of Destruction.*

How His Allies Are Used

To understand how Hitler is at this moment waging war aimed at the corruption and eventual destruction of U. S. democracy, it is necessary to understand how and why he uses Charles A. Lindbergh, Father Coughlin, and other Americans as his allies in his campaign to betray their country.

FIRST, it is a question of Germany's life or death to prevent, or at least to delay, U. S. assistance to England.

SECOND, the masses in the United States must be so confused that they will not resist Nazi domination; they must be like the spider's victim, first numbed by poison, then slowly devoured.

THIRD, Germany must have observers everywhere to gauge the results of its spider poisoning of the United States.

FOURTH, these observers must be prepared, if the poison doesn't work fast enough, to prevent co-operation with England by sabotage in factories, in the Army and Navy, and in high places in Washington, by political discord everywhere, and by actual revolt if necessary.

FIFTH, if Germany wins the war before the U. S. A. can effectively help England—as Hitler, with some reason, confidently expects—Germany, even a victorious Germany, cannot survive economically except by living off the fat of the U. S. A. We must give Germany our gold, our profits, our excess manufactured goods, our excess food supplies, and, in turn must buy, for cash, everything Germany wishes to sell us. Therefore our political and financial leaders must be persuaded to accept this belief, and our masses must be "educated" to acquiesce.

Carefully Planned Strategy

That is the present strategy of Hitler's warfare against the United States.

It has been carefully and coldly planned in advance according to a regular program.

Hitler himself plans the grand strategy for first corrupting and then subduing America.

Most of the present propaganda phase is carried out by Goebbels, head of the Propaganda Ministry. Westrick's mission was supervised by Walther Funk, head of the Economics Ministry. Goering, Himmler, the Army and Navy, all have their own divisions here.

But all functions of all these agencies in the U. S. A. are carried out largely by a special division of the Auslandsorganization der N.S.D.A.P., headed by Gauleiter E. W. Bohle. Every German here temporarily or permanently must under pain of German law, under threat of expropriation, torture or beheading for self or family, report to Germany's consular and diplomatic agents here for orders.

It is Gauleiter Bohle who is directly responsible for the operation of the plot to make America safe for the millions of German-speaking Americans, chiefly in the U. S. A. and Canada, who, Hitler promises, will some day be physically as well as ethically a part of the German nation, when the rest of us, presumably, have been depopulated.

Developing on Schedule

So far, the program appears to be developing right on schedule.

Gerhard Westrick, Hitler's special economic representative in the United States, has just successfully completed his mission of spreading the Hitler economic war among key U. S. industrialists.

Hitler has been the most potent enemy of the Roman Catholic church in its 2000 years of his existence. Not only has he made being a good Catholic legal cause for torture or beheading, not only has his regime abolished wherever possible the fundamental Catholic concept of the dignity of man, but he has substituted for Christianity an "Antichrist" religion of materialism, malevolence and bestiality.

Nevertheless, while Nazism has been condemned by the overwhelming part of the Catholic hierarchy, Hitler's cause is carried forward here by priests unrestrained by their bishops, Father Coughlin, for example.

So Lindbergh, once hero of America of our time, becomes mouthpiece for Hitler program sentiments.

So Germans get into key positions in the government, in the Army and Navy, in war defense factories.

Why doesn't the government do something about it?

Democracy's Strength

Hitler, Stalin, Mussolini, and the Japanese army generals think that because our government does not brutally suppress Nazi propaganda of the Lindbergh-Father Coughlin type, our democracy is weak and degenerate.

What's weakness in a dictatorship is strength in a democracy. The U. S. A., whatever people say, is still a democracy. Thus the government's tolerance is testimony not of weakness but of strength.

If the government had to resort to Nazi methods—that would be weakness.

It doesn't.

Our counter-espionage work is in the able hands of J. Edgar Hoover, famous and competent chief of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. We rest assured that when the time comes Mr. Hoover will draw in the net and none will escape. But he is strictly limited, thanks to the democratic principles he helps to defend, in the scope of his actions. If Lindbergh, Father Coughlin, the *Daily Worker*, the Ku Klux Klan, and the sinister Kyffenhauser Bund speak almost in unison in carrying out Hitler's policies for America, there is nothing Mr. Hoover can do to stop them, since Hitler isn't running the country yet.

But, thanks to its being a democracy, the press of this country is free; it is bound by no such restrictions.

This paper has been working, and will continue to work, to expose the operations of the Benedict Arnold Club in this country. It believes that this is the prime function of a free press—that it serve the public by seeking out the people's enemies and exposing them. Truth is the weapon with which free men fight.

About the German Officer on the Front Page:

Gauleiter E. W. Bohle, head of Hitler's Nazi Foreign Organization, whose picture appears on the front page, has the duty of carrying out Hitler's policies in America. The chief tools here are German diplomatic and consular officers and Nazi secret agents.

But every German in America, every German-American with relatives in Germany, is subject to his power, for German law gives him the right of expropriation, torture, or beheading against those who fail to carry out his orders, *and against their relatives.*

The Paynter stories cover all phases of Fifth Column activities in the United States and link the names of a number of "American appeasers" to foreign subversiveness. Whether or not this is justifiable could be debated. Certainly there is some connection at times, but more often the linking seems wholly without substantiation. Frequently the transfer technique is used to strengthen a loose and irrelevant connection.

Early in August, during the first days of the Paynter expose, PM devoted at least half of its front page to publicizing the revelations contained within. Blaring headlines declared "Hitler's Plan to Crush America,"[1] and "How Hitler Spreads His Net in U.S."[2] Pictures of Nazi officials in the United States frequently occupied part of the front page. On August 9, a ribbon-bedecked picture of James D. Mooney, for four years head of General Motors' foreign operations, was captioned:[3]

> This rich American's proud look is because of the medal around his neck Hitler has just bestowed. Read about him on page 9.

(The clumsiness of phraseology in the above caption led Lundberg to comment sarcastically on PM's "talent for words."[4])

Paynter's writings are most assuming. "First Point in Hitler's Program Against U.S.: Halt Aid to Britain,"[5] summarizes Hitler's present U.S. program in four main points, stated by Paynter without reference to source. At times his very definite

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1 PM, August 8, 1940, p. 1.
2 PM, August 9, 1940, p. 1.
3 Ibid.
4 Lundberg, Ferdinand, "PM, The Wall-Street-Popular-Front Tabloid," Harper's Magazine, October, 1940, p. 488.
5 PM, August 12, 1940, p. 8.

PM
5 cents
NEW YORK DAILY

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VOL. 1 No. 39
Friday, August 9, 1940

Partly cloudy, light winds.
Highest temperature, 85.

The Day's News by Radio—Page 22

CITY EDITION

British Troops Withdrawn from Shanghai

Page 2

War Office in London Says Armed Forces Being Taken From North China for Service Elsewhere



This rich American's proud look is because of the medal around his neck Hitler has just bestowed. Read about him on page 9.
Photo by European

THIS PAPER IS HONESTLY DATED

We do not follow the usual practice of predating today's paper to make you think it's tomorrow's.

We put this paper to press with our regular city edition, covering all last minute news, with the latest pictures available. It then is mailed on the earliest possible train.

Sunday radio programs are listed in this edition for your convenience.

This is a full New York paper, containing the complete United Press Report and our own Exclusive Features.

How Hitler Spreads His Net in U. S.

Page 9

His Vast Network attery...Against U. S.

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tion of all their forces is one of the most important tasks which calls for the joyous participation of all."

In 60 Countries

Disciplined Benedict Arnold Legions were created in strategic places. The number of actual foreign units under Bohle, actual subdivisions of the Nazi government, are considerable. Three years ago Dr. Heinz Toetter boasted that the Nazi party was established firmly in 60 countries.

Every agency of the Nazi government was used to tighten this international organization: the army, the navy, the diplomatic and consular agencies, traveling educators, scientists, teachers, commercial travelers.

When German Americans had been marshalled by threat or by propaganda into Nazi secret societies, their program was stated to them broadly in an official publication from Stuttgart:

"We want to bring the Germans in the United States, who in part have become alienated from the German fatherland and from the German nation back to the great community of blood and fate of all Germans. To this end, the spiritual regeneration of the Germans, after the model of the homeland, is necessary.

A Further Goal

"When we have attained this goal, we will organize the Germans in order to give them, after the completion of their spiritual regeneration, *economic reinforcements* and *political schooling*.

"German Americans, thus prepared, economically rejuvenated and politically active, shall then be used under our leadership in the coming struggle with Communism and Jewry *in the reconstruction of America*."

Thus were the broad outlines of Hitler's war strategy against the U. S. A. laid down.

The first stage was to organize the German Americans, and then use them to spread anti-Semitism and other Nazi doctrines. Hitler said anti-Semitism was his "almost indispensable medium for the extension of our political campaign," that "simply and purely by attacking Judaism" he would need "little time" to "upset the ideas and criteria of the whole world."

Every member of every Bund is encouraged to distribute the official Nazi newspapers, printed in German and in English. The chief Hitler organ in the U. S. A. is *The Free American*, combined with the *Deutcher Weckruf und Beobachter*, whose greatest hero is Charles A. Lindbergh.

But Hitler obviously would have little chance of destroying U. S. democracy by appealing only to German Americans of the lowest social levels. And, of course, plenty of them weren't taken in.

Enter Mussolini

So Hitler's partner, Mussolini, helped by organizing traitorous Italian-American secret societies—more than fifty all told—and they, too, had their foreign language and English organs working to destroy democracy.

Even this wasn't enough. It was necessary to broaden the activities. To be politically effective there would have to be enough respected leaders of high and low groups of non-Germanic, non-Italian Americans to make people believe that maybe there might be something to Hitler's ideas after all.

So the next phase of Hitler's war against America was to corrupt leaders, high and low.

Sometimes it was done crudely. The Rev. Gerald B. Winrod, a dust belt evangel, head of the Defenders of Christian Civilization, publisher of *The Defender*, was, according to his wife's sworn testimony, visited by two distinguished Germans, taken to Germany, and after his return:

"He would preach with the pastors as being a preacher of the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ when all the time there was propaganda for Hitler and against our own government, absolutely everything in Nazi propaganda."

And Father Coughlin

Father Coughlin, with a vast radio and publications following, buttressed by religious faith, began preaching the doctrines of Hitler. Large sections of his messages were identical with official German propaganda. In his anti-Semitic utterances and in many other things he parallels the Nazi war strategy against the U. S. A.

But while Winrod, Coughlin and their ilk were numbing hundreds of thousands of none too bright natives with Nazi poison, it was necessary to go higher.

So top men in German politics, industry, science, medicine were obliged to subvert their opposite numbers here. Nonsensical racial theories, surprisingly parallel to those Hitler uses to confuse the ignorant, began to be publicly espoused by such persons as Charles A. Lindbergh and Dr. Alexis Carrel, Nobel prize winner, former head of Rockefeller Institute, and Lindbergh's mentor.

But this wasn't enough. Unctuous flattery was used.

And Decorations

One of the most effective devices was bestowal of the Order of the German Eagle, created, according to official Nazi publication, "to honor distinguished foreigners who have deserved well of the Reich."

Lindbergh pleased the Nazis by his statements, by his interest in Nazi achievements, while he was visiting Carrel abroad, and chumming with England's appeasement set. So when Hitler bestowed the cross on Lindbergh, Goering himself made the presentation.

There were others, all influential, all rewarded with the medal because they "deserved well of the Reich," including:

Henry Ford, Professor Ralph Haswell Lutz, chairman of the board of the Herbert Hoover War Library; a number of influential educators; Thomas J. Watson, then American head of the International Chamber of Commerce, and James David Mooney, vice-president of General Motors Corp., then in charge of overseas operations.

Watson returned his medal in protest against Nazi brutality. Similarly William Guggenheim returned an Italian Fascist decoration in protest against Italy's conduct.

PM has not heard that any others have returned their Naiz honors.

He Worked Hard

Mooney, a chum of Gerhard Westrick, Hitler's mysterious representative sent here to corrupt opinion in Wall Street, has worked hard for his Nazi medal. He recently, after talking to Westrick, published and widely distributed a pamphlet, written by himself, paralleling current Nazi propaganda for the U. S. A. It magnifies, as Hitler does, the horrors of war, the ghastly things that would happen to us if we entered, urges us to keep out, and urges strongly that we be ready, at the proper moment, to intervene in peace negotiations. That is what Hitler asks us, too, strangely enough.

More strangely, Mooney's Nazi propaganda parallel utterances are read into the *Congressional Record*, and again widely distributed, franked at the taxpayers cost.

He has now been given a key job in U. S. national defense. No firm in the U. S. A. rearmament program is more important than General Motors. Its president, William Knudsen, is in actual charge of all production.

Mooney has just recently been made executive assistant to the president of General Motors, in full charge of all negotiations involving defense equipment and of such [illegible] activities as may be necessary [illegible] and production.

About the Rich American on the Front Page:

The picture on Page One is of James D. Mooney, a rich, influential U. S. industrialist, for years head of General Motors' huge foreign operations. He has been for some time a good friend of Gerhard Westrick, Hitler's mysterious economic emissary. Mooney got Hitler's Order of the German Eagle, bestowed on "distinguished foreigners *who have deserved well of the Reich.*" He puts out propaganda paralleling Hitler's and gets it in the *Congressional Record*. So now he has a key post in U. S. rearming, as General Motors' liaison man, and assistant president.

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So it is not surprising such persons as Charles A. Lindbergh and James D. Mooney publicly parrot the same propaganda message as Hitler's short-wave radio.

Moreover, everything they have done has been perfectly legal. Hitler boasts that he can spread his power everywhere because the democracies are too dumb to prevent his propagandists from conquering before a shot is fired.

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"On the day war is declared we can kiss democracy goodby and she won't be back during your lifetime or mine, or during the lifetime of our sons and daughters." . . .

"We have already done too much monkeying around in the European situation during the past two or three years, particularly in the direction of encouraging England and France to take Germany on for a fight.

Helping England

"Most military authorities agree that the chances of our helping England are very slight. The present course of sending over military equipment is not promising, because the quantities of such war materials that we can ship in a hurry are relatively small. Besides, much of the equipment is out of date. It is not the kind of equipment that can stand up against a blitzkrieg. . . .

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conjectures have failed to materialize, as in the article of September 2:[1]

> The first violence and bloodshed in Hitler's undeclared war against America is tentatively scheduled for next weekend.
>
> Hitler's fantastic plan, developed here and in Mexico by his official diplomatic and consular representatives, calls for simultaneous action along the following lines:
>
> 1. A revolution in Mexico
> 2. A Mexican border incident in which a number of U.S. soldiers might be murdered.
> 3. Destruction of U.S. Naval vessels at west coast bases by chemical bombs shipped from Germany by way of Japan.
> 4. Bombing of west coast arsenals, munitions plants, utilities and aircraft factories by German chemical bombs disguised as lead pencils.
> 5. Bombings of Panama Canal locks. This particular plot has already been quietly liquidated by U.S. agents, although Panama mas still be bombed from secret German-Japanese air bases.

Paynter is frequently repetitious. He consistently condemns appeasers for fitting in with Hitler's plans and summarizes the case against America's "Benedict Arnolds,"[2] by the repitition of many of his earlier claims. Another of his points in the contention that the appeasing philosophy is given publication space out of deference to big advertisers -- Ford and General Motors, for instance. The following, although involved, is typical of this method of reasoning:[3]

> The Saturday Evening Post claims the largest audience of any United States periodical. One of the Post's largest single sources of in-

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1 PM, September 2, 1940, p. 7.
2 PM, August 12, 1940, p. 8.
3 PM, August 13, 1940, p. 8.

George Viereck (Benedict Arnold) Is Germany's Paid Press Agent

Figure in World War Propaganda Is Still at Work in Present War

By HENRY PAYNTER

Hitler's No. 1 Benedict Arnold is George Sylvester Viereck.

Some other prominent Americans parrot Hitler's Nazi propaganda for America, over the radio and in leading publications, and receive no pay for it.

But Viereck is well paid.

Viereck has been playing Germany's game against the U. S. A.—for dough—since long before Hitler.

He was naturalized in 1901, but he still comes close to Hitler's definition of all 8,000,000 German-Americans—"part of the German nation."

He has as interesting a Nazi record as any U. S. citizen.

He received scores of thousands of dollars in World War I for activities which ended with the exposure of the notorious Dr. Heinrich Albert, then German commercial attache here. Dr. Albert is the partner of Gerhard Westrick, now German commercial attache here and Hitler's secret emissary to influence Wall Street leaders.

It was Viereck who wrote to the notorious Capt. Franz von Papen, German military attache ousted for spying:

"I am thoroughly ashamed of my country."

Lusitania Charge

It was Viereck who, Albert L. Becker, New York deputy attorney general charged, received $100,000 from German government agents, *after the U. S. entered the war.*

It was Viereck, according to sworn testimony of a newspaper man, who said in advance that the *Lusitania* would be torpedoed. He later denied he'd said it, although he thought it "justifiable."

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"I am a friend of Adolf Hitler's Germany."

In addition to special fees, Viereck now expects to earn $15,000 this year for his talents in fitting Hitler's propaganda to current U. S. needs.

In the last World War, German propaganda here was clumsy. Viereck was a good deal less experienced. It was probably at least equally as effective as British propaganda in getting us into war against Germany.

Hitler didn't want to make that mistake, so Viereck shades Hitler's Nazi propaganda to fit nuances in U. S. feeling.

Viereck is paid $500 a month by a Munich newspaper, *Munchner Noueste Nachrichten,* Sendlingerstrass 80, Munich; another $500 a month by the German Library of Information, Hitler's *official* Nazi propaganda agency in this country, 17 Battery Pl. He lives at 305 Riverside Dr. in a ten-room, $3500-a-year apartment.

Special Fee

During the critical period this spring, when Hitler planned his U. S. peace-intervention barrage, helped by Lindbergh, etc., Viereck got a special fee of $1200 for special consultation from the German Library of Information. He expects to get more.

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Paynter quotes Mooney at length and says of his philosophy:[1]

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In the story about "Henry Ford: Richest Anti-Semitic Propagandist in the U.S.,"[3] Paynter exposes himself to the possibility of libel charges by calling Ford "the outstanding fool of our time."[4] By dealing with the "Ford-Hitler"[5] propaganda point by point, he builds up a convincingly-written case against Ford.

Certainly Paynter is not cowardly in his accusations. Father Coughlin is "Nazi Propagandist Coughlin, Faithless to Church and Country";[6] the Ku Klux Klan is "Anti-War, Anti-Jew, Anti-Negro ... but Pro-Nazi, Pro-Lindbergh."[7]

After an interval, Paynter returned to carry on his expose later in August. His activities included stories on:

> "German Tourist Office: A Front for Nazi Spying" 8

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1 PM, August 13, 1940, p. 8.
2 Dr. Gerhardt Alois Westrick, according to PM, August 23, 1940, p. 18, was "Hitler's economic ambassador to Wall Street."
3 PM, August 14, 1940, p. 8.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
6 PM, August 15, 1940, p. 8.
7 PM, August 19, 1940, pp. 16-17.
8 PM, August 23, 1940, p. 7.

M, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 14, 1940 • NEWS OF THE NATION

Richest Anti-Semitic Propagandist in U. S.

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around nights in fancy nightgowns, muttering cryptic maledictions against the Jews.

By another strange coincidence, the same thing was happening in Germany. The bitter and the frustrated were being told that all their troubles were caused by the Jews, that if they would put their destiny in the hands of the Nazis, who told them that, all would be well.

Friendly With Hitlerism

In the U. S. A., the bitter and the frustrated still were less than 10 per cent of the population, but they were told the same thing.

By another strange coincidence, Henry Ford, from the beginning, maintained friendly relations with Hitlerism.

In the early stages, Hitler sent his personal emissary, Kurt G. W. Luedecke, to the U. S. A. to raise money to put him in power. Naturally, Luedecke went to Cameron, the Hitlerite Jew-baiter, and Cameron took Luedecke to Ford, but Luedecke reported he didn't get any money.

But Cameron's articles were printed in at least eight languages, circulated in book form throughout the world. The financing of this world-shaking propaganda job has never been disclosed. It must have taken millions.

The core of the Ford attack against "International Jewry" was *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, an imaginary document which purports to prove Jews in New York and elsewhere capture Christians and carve them up in back rooms to drink their blood in order to destroy their civilization.

It is estimated not less than 10,000,000 copies of this Ford-sponsored, Ford-financed Hitler propaganda have been distributed in the U. S. A.

Car Sales Dropped

It would be shocking to believe that out of our 130,000,000 people 10,000,000 would fall for the Ford-Hitler blood-drinking-Jew propaganda if you do not remember that there are 8,000,000 persons in the U. S. A. whom Hitler considers "part of the German nation." These people read what Hitler wants them to read, under pain of expropriation, torture and death to relatives in Hitler's broadening realm.

Apparently a lot of people out of the 130,000,000 didn't like Ford's financing of Hitler type anti-Semitism in the U. S. A. There are estimated to be not more than 3,000,000 Jews in the U. S. A., slightly more than 2 per cent of the population.

Presumably, therefore, 2 per cent of Ford's car sales were to Jews. But sales fell off vastly more than that. Ford had to scrimp and revolutionize plants to regain business. Then he was sued for libel. So he apologized.

He didn't say it was all a lot of baloney. He did say he had been "greatly shocked" by a careful reading of what he had put out. He asked forgiveness.

Ford suppressed the *Dearborn Independent*.

He then gave W. J. Cameron, author of the most effective Hitler propaganda spread in the U. S. A., a key post, interpreting the Ford company as a radio broadcaster.

Greatly encouraged by Ford's approval, Cameron, the Jew-baiter of the protocols, became head of a Hitlerite type anti-Semitic agency in the U. S. A., called the Anglo-Saxon Federation of America.



This is a poor boy who was able to accumulate one of the world's greatest fortunes in our American Democracy. He used his money and his influence to introduce Hitler's kind of propaganda to corrupt our Democracy.

Meanwhile, Ford employed in his factory key Nazis in Hitler's first anti-U. S. agency here, the Friends of New Germany, which later became the notorious, sexy, thieving, German-American Bund.

Heinz Spanknoebel, Hitler's first "Fuehrer" for the U. S. A., now a fugitive from U. S. justice, sheltered by Hitler, got his original propaganda money by working for Ford, as did Fritz Kuhn, now serving a Sing Sing term for stealing Hitler money.

Spanknoebel still is wanted by the U. S. as a German spy. Dr. I. T. Griebl, his pal, also skipped. Another pal, Fritz Gissibl, went back to get Hitler's detailed instructions, and ranted when the U. S. A. wouldn't let him re-enter the country for espionage.

Meantime, Ford's representatives were in close touch with highest Nazi leaders; Ford was in touch with prominent Nazis here. Ford's favored grandson, Benson Ford, toured Germany just before the war, getting the views of Hitler leaders.

Ford had a Nazi medal bestowed upon him by Hitler, with a special citation—the Grand Cross of the German Eagle, highest Nazi decoration a foreigner can get, presented to distinguished foreigners who "deserve well of the German Reich".

The same decoration was subsequently presented to Charles A. Lindbergh, but Ford was the first American to receive it.

Presented by Consul

The cross was presented by German Consul Karl Kapp, of Cleveland, assisted by Fritz Heiler, consular representative in Detroit, in special ceremonies July 30, 1938, in Detroit.

Speakers at the ceremony were W. J. Cameron and William S. Knudsen, president of General Motors, now in charge of all U. S. re-arming production.

It may be significant that every time Hitler's efforts bogged down in New York, Chicago, or other cities of substantial German-American population, men from Detroit, amply supplied with funds, revived them.

Father Coughlin revived and distributed Cameron's "protocols."

Cameron is now trying to corrupt Protestant ministers throughout the middle west to the Hitlerite type of anti-Jewish philosophy.

The Anglo-Saxon Federation, to remove opposition to its anti-Semitic Hitlerite propaganda, is trying to convince corn belt Protestant ministers that "Jesus was not a Jew" in order to remove one strong opposition group to Hitler propaganda. The propaganda is written and signed by Cameron, who is financed by Ford.

"Protocol" Articles

The Federation still is selling the "protocol" articles written by Cameron, under the title *The International Jew*, and under the title, more recently, of *The Jewish Question*. Both books carry indorsements from Ford, in which he paraphrases a mystic Hitler utterance that even if the "protocols" are false, they are probably true in essence.

Hitler's chief German source of Nazi propaganda in the U. S. A.—World-Service, Frankfurt au Main, now published in seven languages—lists as No. 3 on its propaganda catalogue *New Contributions to Jewry's War Guilt*, based on Cameron's writings, and as No. 4 *Henry Ford on the Originators of War*, also anti-Semitic.

Ford and Cameron are listed by name in propaganda publication price lists in many of the 800 pro-Hitler propaganda publications in the U. S. A.

There is no evidence that Ford had attempted to prevent the use of his name, or to discourage Cameron, his public spokesman, from continued anti-Semitic agitation.

Signs at Factories

In addition, Ford has adapted wholeheartedly the Nazi Gestapo methods. Ford workers, who are beaten and crippled by gangsters if they object to Ford's views, read going in and coming out of the Ford factories, signs like the following:

"Jews Teach Communism."
"Jews Teach Atheism."
"Jews Destroy Christianity."
"Jews Control the Press."
"Jews Produce Filthy Movies."
"Jews Control Money."

Identical posters and stickers preceded the conquest by Hitler of: 1. Germany; 2. Austria; 3. Czecho-Slovakia; 4. Poland; 5. Denmark; 6. Norway; 7. Holland; 8. Belgium; 9. France.

Ford's habitual use of brutal force is another Hitler tactic that preceded conquest in each of those countries.

Just as Father Coughlin's Hitlerite cause is actively espoused in New York by Fuehrer Joe McWilliams, Fritz Kuhn's pal, who had for "captains" thieves and rapists, so Ford took scores from the prisons of the middle west to build his "Gestapo."

His spies are in every department. There are literally scores of them. Their convictions are for robbery, rape, burglary, larceny, bank robbery, embezzlement, manslaughter, homicide.

Among his workers, the Ford-Hitler propaganda is distributed by the National Workers League, which in printed literature praises Ford for blaming Jews for the war.

This is the fifth of a series of articles.

"How a News Service Spreads Nazi Propaganda in the U.S.A." 1

"Japan's Spies and Propagandists: Inept and Comic" 2

"Ukranians Help Nazis Plot Here" 3

"Exposed: Hitler's Plot for War on U.S. Includes Bombing" 4

"Germany Goes to Bat for Its Spy in U.S.A.: Colin Ross" 5

"'Tarts and Blackguards' Do Hitler's Dirty Work in U.S." 6

"Plotter's of Black Tom Explosion Now Living in the U.S.A." 7

"Paymaster for the Black Tom Blast Lives a Charming Suburban Life" 8

"U.S. Investigates Plot to Blast Iona Arsenal Tomorrow." 9

"Jersey's Black Tom Probe Involves Nazi Ambassador" 10

"Dies Summons Witness to Tell How He Was Hired as Nazi Spy" 11

"U.S.A. Acts on PM Spy Tip, Opens Inquiry on Nazi News." 12

"Christmas Food for Germans is Hitler's Hooey to Raise Millions Here for Sabotage and Spies." 13

"Kertess Luncheon Explained at Bank" 14

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1 PM, August 25, 1940, p. 7.
2 PM, August 26, 1940, p. 7.
3 PM, September 1, 1940, p. 9.
4 PM, September 2, 1940, p. 7.
5 PM, September 3, 1940, p. 7.
6 PM, September 5, 1940, p. 7.
7 PM, September 23, 1940, p. 7.
8 PM, September 24, 1940, p. 8.
9 PM, September 25, 1940, p. 8.
10 PM, October 3, 1940, p. 7.
11 PM, October 14, 1940, p. 8.
12 PM, October 25, 1940, p. 6.
13 PM, December 3, 1940, p. 9.
14 PM, December 16, 1940, p. 9.

Paynter made good use of the technique of association in his Fifth Column series. The following paragraph, taken from the story on Ukranian activities, illustrates the use of association between subversiveness and the current political situation:[1]

> At the same Pittsburgh address is the Ukranian-American Educational Institute, managed by Edward Francis Sullivan, former Dies committee Investigator. ....
>
> Republican campaign expenses of 1936 list disbursements of $2040. to one E. F. Sullivan for salary and expenses.
>
> Edward Francis Sullivanwas associated with the ODWU (Organization for the Rebirth of the Ukraine) during the period covered.

There is no substantiation that Edward Francis Sullivan and E. F. Sullivan are the same person, but the assumption is obvious.

In the Colin Ross story, Paynter becomes almost fanatical in his Nazi-search. It would be interesting to know Ingersoll's justification for "Nazi-baiting", since Red-baiting is so abhorant to him and his staff.

The Black Tom blast stories, which recall the details of sabotage in the First World War and the deadly New Jersey blast, arouse a feeling of indignation within the reader for, according to Paynter:[2]

> The perpetrators of the Black Tom outrage have never been indicted or tried for murder or for the perjury that delayed disclosure of the identities of the murderers.

In late October, PM's expose of subversive activities led to action. On October 25, it was announced that:[3]

> Acting on information supplied by PM to

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1 PM, September 1, 1940, p. 9.
2 PM, September 23, 1940, p. 7.
3 PM, October 25, 1940, p. 6.

U. S. A. Acts on PM Spy Tip, Opens Inquiry on Nazi News

By HENRY PAYNTER

The United States Government today used its might to smite Nazi spies in the U. S. A.

Acting on information supplied by PM to the Dies committee and to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Attorney General Jackson began a criminal grand jury investigation directed against persons named in PM's exposés. Whiting Willaver is in immediate charge of the investigation.

Mr. Jackson's opening blow was directed against Manfried Zapp, U. S. chief of Transocean News Service, first brought to light Aug. 25 in PM.

Acting solely on information furnished by PM, the Dies Committee raided Transocean and examined Zapp.

As a consequence of this and independent investigation by J. Edgar Hoover's G-Men, Mr. Jackson's department has found:

¶Zapp, Ernest Schmitz, head of the German Railroads "Tourists" Service and other Nazis here exposed by PM have been engaging in conspiratorial meetings.

¶Under Zapp's direction, the German Embassy has financed a Canadian Fascist move-

Kertess, president of the Chemical Marketing Co., 10 E. 40th St., as a German spy.

Dr. Gross and Dr. Colin Ross, now sought by U. S. agents as a German spy, were sponsored by the German American Board of Trade in New York. Its executive head was Dr. Albert Degener, now under investigation. A director, previously mentioned in PM's series, was James D. Mooney, formerly vice president in charge of the General Motors ill-fated German investments, now assistant to the president in charge of U. S. defense liaison activities.

A principal financial contributor to Zapp's activities according to the evidence Mr. Jackson is presenting, was Ralph Beaver Strassburger, prominent Philadelphia Willkie supporter, who secretly paid for the widespread free distribution of the German White Paper, attacking the Roosevelt administration, as previously exposed by PM.

PM, SUNDAY, AUGUST 25, 1940 • NEWS OF THE NATION

NATIONAL COMMENTARY

How a News Service Spreads Nazi Propaganda in U. S. A.

Transocean Floods Western Hemisphere with Anti-Semitic and Pro-Hitler Dispatches

By HENRY PAYNTER

A good part of Hitler's spying and propaganda work in this country is handled by ostensibly private corporations which help Nazi diplomatic and consular agents in their program of corruption of the U. S. A.

Some of these, as will be shown, are engaged in outright espionage. Others are merely "collecting important economic and political information in the United States" for transmittance to Germany, while actively engaged in Nazi propaganda here in Hitler's undeclared war against the U. S. A.

Transocean News Service is one of the latter. It maintains radio contact with Berlin and close relations with the German Embassy in the U. S. A.

[illegible] thousands of words of "news" daily to Berlin; not a word of it printed in Germany.

During the last few days many prominent [illegible] United [illegible]tes marked by growing hatred of [illegible]

they could turn a penny by getting out a cheap edition here. They thought of it as an interesting historical document, not as Nazi propaganda.

So William Soskin asked the German Embassy at Washington if a copy were available.

One week later there appeared in Soskin's office a representative of Transocean News Service, of 341 Madison Ave., which said it had received a full cabled text—about 30,000 words—and that it had the only copy of the text in the U. S. A.

Howell, Soskin & Co. did not have to pay a penny in cash but did promise 10 per cent royalties on the book sales. Regular book store orders around the country have totaled, to date, about 9500 copies.

How a News Service Spreads Nazi Propaganda in U. S. A.

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The [illegible] scholar[illegible] study of [illegible] of Capt[illegible] Ethan [illegible] acquiesce[illegible] before [illegible]

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investigation by J. Edgar Hoover's G-Men, Mr. Jackson's department has found:

¶Zapp, Ernest Schmitz, head of the German Railroads "Tourists" Service and other Nazis here exposed by PM have been engaging in conspiratorial meetings.

¶Under Zapp's direction, the German Embassy has financed a Canadian Fascist movement under Adrian Arcand, fuehrer of the Christian Socialist Party of Canada, which has sent its scurrilous propaganda through U. S. mails.

¶Zapp wrote his mother, "I am now resigning myself to spend six to eight years in an American jail."

¶Zapp also wrote a boss, a German foreign office official:

"Thank God there are all these nosy American newspapermen running around in Berlin. That is our best protection. They are our best guarantee against anything happening to me here. As long as we have those American newspapermen in Berlin and can lay our hands on them at any time, I really don't have to worry over here. If that were not the case, I would probably have been expelled or arrested long ago."

¶Zapp was in communication with Kurt Benoit, his official Mexican representative, lavish entertainer of Hollywood movie stars and Dr. Max Paul Weber, Mexican representative of Berlin Eildienst.

The New York representative of Berlin Eildienst, Dr. Herbert Gross, already exposed by PM as a Nazi secret agent, is under investigation by the U. S. State Department for not registering with the department as required by law. His own signed statement, now in the hands of the Department of Justice, concedes that he is actually a German agent.

James Edmonds, an investigator temporarily employed by PM, has testified before the Dies committee that he was employed by Gross and Gross's friend, Dr. Ferdinand A. Gross to investigate the activities of Dr. Hans Thomsen, German chargé d'affaires in Washington, and to report on the free distribution of the German White Paper, attacking the Roosevelt administration, as previously exposed by PM.

5, 1940, p. 6.

> the Dies Committee, and to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Attorney General Jackson began a criminal grand jury investigation directed against persons named in PM's expose .....
>
> Acting solely on information furnished by PM, the Dies committee raided Transocean (German News Service) and examined Zapp, (chief.)

And after the publication of the Dies Committee White Paper, mentioned earlier in this chapter, PM claimed that:[1]

> After the seizure of evidence, PM assisted in collation of evidence, and PM attorneys furnished the Dies committee workers with lists of questions to ask the individuals supenaed.

Another series of articles on Fifth Column activities was the group of five written by Colonel William Donovan and Edgar Ansel Mowrer and published with a forward by Secretary of Navy Knox. An editorial note declared that Secretary Knox had released these articles "in an unprecedented action, in the interest of national defense." The series recalled the techniques used by Hitler to weaken the structures of one European country after another. The topics were:

> "How Nazi Fifth Columns Weakened Resistance to Blitzkrieg." 2
>
> "Hitler's Use of Radio Traitors to Weaken Foe." 3
>
> "French Debacle was "Fifth Column Masterpiece." 4
>
> "Hitler's Seven Secret Agencies Pour Millions into Propaganda." 5

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1 PM, November 22, 1940, p. 7.
2 PM, August 19, 1940, p. 7.
3 PM, August 20, 1940, p. 7.
4 PM, August 21, 1940, p. 7.
5 PM, August 22, 1940, p. 7.

NATIONAL COMMENTARY

Fifth Columns Weakened Resistance to Blitzkriegs

In an unprecedented action, in the interest of the national defense, Secretary of the Navy Knox has released five articles dealing with Hitler's use of the fifth column.

These articles were written by Col. William J. Donovan, leading New York attorney, Republican candidate for Governor in 1932, and war-time commander of the "Fighting 69th," collaborating with Edgar Ansel Mowrer, famous European correspondent.

PM has been bending every effort to expose both the facts and the seriousness of the Fascists' fifth column in this country. We commend the act of Secretary Knox in making this official attack on these sinister forces.

The space our own reporters customarily would use to tell their story of the fifth-column movement is here devoted to the first article by Col. Donovan and Mr. Mowrer. The remainder of their stories will be published in PM on successive days. Meanwhile additional articles in Henry Paynter's series on American "Benedict Arnolds" will be deferred.

without regard for his own immediate losses, Hitler gained an initiative he never lost.

Yet no amount of genius would have accomplished what the Germans accomplished in so short a time without two other elements. These were the Germans abroad and sympathizers in the victim countries.

Everyone understands the role played by the Sudetan Germans in the destruction of Czechoslovakia. While claiming to be loyal citizens of the new state, an active minority of the Germans was really working for its destruction.

As in Czechoslovakia, so in Poland. There a tiny minority, probably about a million in all, while claiming to be loyal to Warsaw, were preparing to stab Poland in the back. Directed by the German Gestapo, organized into political groups, the *Deutsch Vereininguing* and the Young German Party, the minority leaders found means of terrorizing or otherwise inducing practically all the Germans to become spies and agents. As industrialists, commercial travelers, waiters, barbers, taxi drivers, they wormed their way into Polish life. Some 10,000 were actually trained in special camps in Germany to be forerunners, agents and guides to the invading army columns. The Germans were informed of the Polish military movements more quickly than the Polish commanders.

Quarrel Pickers

On the eve of the war these specially coached Germans, acting under direct orders from Berlin, picked quarrels with Poles in order to create frontier and other "incidents." Other Germans disguised as Polish soldiers spread panic through the villages. Germans speaking Polish issued false instructions and orders to the people by wireless. Still others remained deep behind the lines and from there signaled objectives and instructions to German air men.

Germans have admitted that two weeks more of resistance by the Polish armies would have exhausted the German blitz units and made a long and exhaustive campaign necessary.

Practically no Germans lived in Norway. But if the Norwegians had been suspicious of all Germans, including German visitors, Norway might not be occupied today.

Trondheim, Bergen and Stavenger, with air fields whose possession later enabled the Germans to fight off the Allies, fell to attacks by German soldiers hidden in the holds of merchant ships anchored in the fjords or moored off the quayside.

. . . Rotten in Denmark

There is no evidence that the Germans in Denmark took any considerable part in the actual German conquest of that country. It is certain, however, that German agitators in Schlesvig, numerous German agents in Copenhagen disguised as newspaper men, business men and diplomats, by their constant threats and interference with the Danish government had produced a state of mind bordering on terror that contributed to drive any thought of real resistance from the Danish mind.

Germans hidden in barges seized the Moordyke Bridge in Holland, which enabled the German invaders to turn the Dutch defenses from the south. This was decisive. But 120,000 Germans resident in the little country occupied a considerable share of the Dutch armed forces and made conquest that much easier. The 120,000 occupied their leisure in propaganda and espionage for the Nazis. Two hundred and fifty enjoyed extra-territorial privileges as members of the German legation in The Hague alone, without counting the officials in the various consulates. Fifty or a hundred so-called newspaper men spent most of their time wandering the country bent on strategic and economic research. German servants nearly everywhere carefully amassed bits of conversation or copied private papers.

They Shot Them Down

When Hitler finally struck, the 120,000 turned on their placid hosts and, where they could, shot them down.

Practically all produced red identification cards which procured them the respect and cooperation of the German officers. In Rotterdam they utilized private wireless senders supplied by the Nazi party. Everywhere they served as guides and advisers for parachutists and it was no fault of theirs that the Queen of Holland, the members of the Dutch government and a selected list of patriotic Dutchmen were not all seized by air raiders and taken to Germany the first day of attack.

The 60,000 Germans living in Belgium do not seem to have taken any particular part in the treasonable failure to destroy the bridges over the Albert Canal, Belgium's first and chief line of defense, thanks to which both Belgium and Holland were doomed to easy conquest. There was no need for them. The thousands of dissatisfied Flemings of the Dinase (Dietsche Nationale Solidaristen) and the members of Leon Degrelle's Rexist Party saw to that. But the 60,000, reinforced by the usual diplomatic, newspaper, artistic and business propaganda and espionage corps from Germany, played a powerful part in building up and financing these treasonable Belgian organizations, and in influencing important persons in a sense favorable to Germany. The final astounding decision of King Albert to surrender in full battle cannot be ascribed to purely Belgian influences.

Nor, in France, would the decision of Petain, Weygand, Baudouin and Laval to lay down their arms and seek salvation in French submission to the Nazis have been possible without the long and tireless activity in that country of such German "intellectuals" as Frederich Sieburg and Otto Abetz, recent Nazi appointee to the German ambassadorship at Vichy.

There was no chance for the Germans in Great Britain to show their hand. In the first place, Britain's island situation saved it from any surprise attack. And secondly, the British Secret Service had, for a long time, been fully aware of the dangers. In the first 24 hours of the war, some 400 German Nazi agents were put out of the way. The whole number of Hitler-Germans were then either expelled or arrested and a great number of the anti-Hitlerian German refugees as well—some say up to 90 per cent.



Ansel Mowrer

"Tear the Veil from the Fifth Column"[1]

The last of these is a formally-written summary by Knox. The whole series is logically and dispassionately written without a trace of sensationalisms. It lacks the heat and emotion which characterizes most of PM's crusading series.

Other PM writers who contributed to the uncovering of subversive activity are John Kobler, "Nazi Warfare and Gang Warfare are Peas in a Pod"[2]; Leo Jay Margolin, "Nazis Print Stamps.. But U.S. Pays .. To Distribute Their Mail Propaganda"[3] Kenneth Crawford, "International Oil Promoter Figured in Hitler's Abortive Peace Effort,"[4] and Willard Wiener, "Portrait of a Native American ... Who Has No Use for Democracy."[5] All of these are capably written.

Appeasers

Lindbergh: PM's editorial battle waged against Lindbergh[6] was not confined to the "Opinion" page. It was fought blow by blow through news stories, photographs, and columns; it was spread from the front part of the paper to the back, in headline and news brief. It was perhaps the most intensive campaign PM waged to besmirch an individual for his beliefs.

The "putsch" against Lindbergh began directly after his radio speech on August 4 from Chicago. The appeasement prin-

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1 PM, August 23, 1940. p. 6.
2 PM, August 11, 1940, p. 11.
3 PM, August 21, 1940, p. 8.
4 PM, December 15, 1940, p. 9.
5 PM, January 5, 1941, pp. 10-11.
6 See Chapter IV.

ciples set forth in this speech led to immediate reaction in PM, from Ingersoll's vituperative editorial "Denouncing Lindbergh"[1] to pseudo-news stories such as Kenneth Crawford's "Col. Lindbergh, the Appeaser."[2]

Despite the journalistic requisite of timeliness, PM's indignation against Colonel Lindbergh made it possible for a narrative such as Crawford's to be prominently displayed. The story begins:[3]

> Col. Charles A. Lindbergh came back home in the spring of 1939, at President Roosevelt's call to serve as special adviser to the Army on aircraft production. .... After a quick survey of American aviation plants, he submitted his report to the President and returned to private life.

The confusing factor about this background story is the news date-line, "WASHINGTON, Aug. 6.", placed at its head. In the story, Crawford accuses Lindbergh of "anglophobia" and a "bold Nazi appeasement line."[4]

The following day, seven pictures of the destruction wreacked by Hitler's air raids on Poland, Norway, Holland, Belgium, France, England and at sea surround a large reproduction of the glittering, be-swastikaed medal given to Lindbergh by Hitler's air force. The double spread lay-out with its sub-caption, "Other Pictures Show What Else Hitler's Air Force Does,"[5] is strikingly effective.

Under news of "Radio"[6] on August 8, PM employs the technique

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1 PM, August 6, 1940, p. 1.
2 Ibid., p. 9.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 PM, August 7, 1940, pp. 16-17.
6 PM, August 8, 1940, p. 21.

Col. Lindbergh, The Appeaser

Record of Flier's Radio Campaign for Gestures to Nazis Surveyed

By KENNETH CRAWFORD
Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Aug. 6.—Col. Charles A. Lindbergh came back home in the spring of 1939, at President Roosevelt's call to serve as special adviser to the Army on aircraft production. He was a reserve officer and it was a matter of calling him into active service temporarily. After a quick survey of American aviation plants, he submitted his report to the President and returned to private life.

Just before completing his Army assignment, Col. Lindbergh had dinner one night at the home of his friend, William Castle, Assistant Secretary of State in the Hoover administration, now a Washington lawyer. Together they listened to a radio broadcast by Fulton Lewis, Jr., Mutual Broadcasting System commentator. The anti-administration tone of the comment pleased Lindbergh and he expressed a desire to meet Mr. Lewis. So the meeting took place over Scotch and soda (tomato juice for Lindbergh) a few weeks later at the Castle home.

Mr. Lewis was planning a vacation in August and was trying to arrange to have his spot filled in his absence by guest commentators. He suggested, half joking, that Col. Lindbergh help him out. To his amazement the publicity-dodging flyer liked the idea. After Mr. Lewis had gone on his vacation Lindbergh called him from New York and said he would like to arrange for a broadcast on national defense.

Networks Cut In

Arrangements were made for Col. Lindbergh to broadcast to Mutual's audience but

Lindy Flies Alone Again

WASHINGTON, Aug. 6.—Comment on Colonel Lindbergh's Sunday speech in Chicago was predominantly unfavorable here. Sample statements:

Senator Pepper (D., Fla.): Colonel Lindbergh is chief of the nation's fifth columnists.

Senator Lee (D., Okla.): Lindbergh clasped the hand of Hitler, which was slithering in blood.

Senator Lucas (D., Ill.): The American people should stop, look and listen before following this youthful man who has blossomed over night into an oracle. (See page 21.)

Major Truman Smith of G2, the Army Intelligence Division, and former military attache to the American Embassy in Berlin.

What accounts for Col. Lindbergh's bold Nazi appeasement line, as drawn in his Chicago speech, is a matter of speculation among his friends and acquaintances here. Most of them agree that his voluntary exile in Great Britain was a trying experience for him; that he came out of it with a severe case of anglaphobia; that his visit to Germany, his decoration by Field Marshal Goering and his admiration of Germany's achievements in the air bent his sympathies in the German direction.

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Mr. Lewis was planning a vacation in August and was trying to arrange to have his spot filled in his absence by guest commentators. He suggested, half joking, that Col. Lindbergh help him out. To his amazement the publicity-dodging flyer liked the idea. After Mr. Lewis had gone on his vacation Lindbergh called him from New York and said he would like to arrange for a broadcast on national defense.

Networks Cut In

Arrangements were made for Col. Lindbergh to broadcast to Mutual's audience but Columbia and National wanted the program, too, so they were cut in with the understanding that subsequent broadcasts would be rotated among the three. On the day of the broadcast Col. Lindbergh and his wife, the former Anne Morrow, lunched with Mr. Lewis and showed him the manuscript. Mr. Lewis's previous offers to help in its preparation had been turned down cold. Col. Lindbergh made it plain from the start that he would insist upon doing his own writing. His first effort attracted wide and overall favorable attention.

Subsequent broadcasts followed, each of them showing more clearly what Col. Lindbergh was driving at; he wanted the U. S. to keep aloof from European affairs; he was vaguely sympathetic with the cause of the Nazis and attracted by their mechanical efficiency; he shared some of their anti-Semitic bias; he was distrustful of President Roosevelt.

Mr. Lewis was disturbed by the tack Lindbergh was taking and told him so lunching with him once at the Army and Navy club and again at the Chevy Chase Country Club. Newspaper columnists had mentioned Lewis in connection with the Lindbergh broadcasts and he was feeling the back-lash. So far as Lewis knows, no one has seen manuscripts of Col. Lindbergh's most recent broadcasts in advance of their delivery.

Still Friendly

Mr. Castle still is friendly with Lindbergh but is probably not an active collaborator on the speeches. Others whom Col. Lindbergh frequently visits in Washington are Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia and Admiral Emery S. Land, chairman of the Maritime Commission, a relative of the Lindbergh family. Also

, 1940, p. 9.

The CBS Short-Wave Listening Post Checks Up On Lindbergh



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". . . The issue was one of the oldest and best-known among men. *It concerned the division of territory and wealth between nations.* It has caused conflict in Europe since European history began."

"In the past we have dealt with a Europe dominated by England and France. *In the future we may have to deal with a Europe dominated by Germany.* But, whether England or Germany wins this war, Western civilization will still depend upon two great centers, one in each hemisphere . . ."

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of paralleling statements from Lindbergh's Chicago speech with excerpts taken from comments made by German radio commentators. The supposedly parallel remarks are squared off, item for item, and printed in two columns, one headed "Lindbergh" and one "Goebbels."

Had the comments in the "Goebbels" column been his utterances, the treatment on this page would still have been unfair to Colonel Lindbergh, but in reality, the "Goebbels" column quoted E. D. Ward, Fred Kaltenbach, DXB broadcasts, and other scattered sources over a period from September 18, 1939, through August 6, 1940, the date of Lindbergh's speech.

A note of comment at the head of the paralleled quotations states:[1]

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This particular feature exemplifies a dangerous tendency to allow a definite and obvious misrepresentation to appear in PM without fully clarifying the meaning. It is scarcely worthy of a newspaper devoted to the "bringing of the truth to the people so that they may decide for themselves what to do about it."[2]

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1 PM, August 8, 1940, p. 21.
2 Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 11.

Within the next week, Crawford continued his dispatches of "news" stories from Washington with "War Department Ignores Lindbergh's Talk"[1] and "Lindbergh's Father Opposed War, Too ... With a Difference."[2] The latter story was an analogy considerably less complimentary to the son than to the father.

On August 24, PM printed prominently a report on Robert Sherwood's radio speech from England in which he termed Ford, "outside of his own factory, a profoundly stupid man,"[3] and said:[4]

> Lindbergh to me is a tragic example of mental aberration .... He is a man spiritually diseased.

The writer of this story (his initials are W.T.), made a grave error when he captioned a section "There Shall Be Light" and then termed Sherwood "the author of the vivid anti-Nazi play, "There Shall Be No Light."[5] (The play refered to is Robert Sherwood's "There Shall Be No Night.")

In February, PM printed the last verse of a "current Nazi night-club favorite"[6] beginning "Heil Lindbergh, Fuehrer of America."[7]

Also in February, reprints of Lindbergh's statement before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, in connection with the Lend-Lease Bill, were reprinted with accusations that Maine's Representative Oliver, by sending out the

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1 PM, August 9, 1940, p. 9.
2 PM, August 13, 1940, p. 11.
3 PM, August 24, 1940, p. 8.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
6 PM, February 6, 1941, p. 5.
7 Ibid.

Lindbergh-Ford Point of View Called Traitorous by Sherwood

U. S. Playwright, Broadcasting for British, Says No 'Bootlickers of Hitler' Can Speak

The true voice of America is not expressed by "Col. Lindbergh or any other bootlickers of Hitler," Robert Sherwood, American playwright who twice has won a Pulitzer prize, said last night in a transcribed radio address directed to the British Empire. (*Picture on page* 26)

"Lindbergh to me is a tragic example of mental aberration," said Mr. Sherwood. "Lindbergh was exposed to Nazism and infected by it. He is a man spiritually diseased. But I can assure you that his opinions are just as unpopular with real Americans as are the men from whom he got them—Hitler, Goering and Goebbels."

And Ford, Too

Henry Ford was described along with Lindbergh as an outstanding exponent "of what I and many other Americans consider a traitorous point of view."

"I don't need to say much about Ford," Mr. Sherwood continued. "A great industrialist, the genius of the assembly line, he has too often revealed that, outside of his own factories, he is a profoundly stupid man."

Both Col. Lindbergh and Mr. Ford were named by Mr. Sherwood as part of a group of Americans who he said attempted to sabotage the principles of freedom and equality and had succumbed to the "demoralizing, degenerative influence of Hitlerism."

Greed and Bigotry

"They have been animated chiefly by two

air to tell the British that "the vast majority of Americans know that the future of our free institutions and our democratic faith is at stake in the Battle of Britain."

"We Americans are rapidly awakening to the fact that we are already at war," he said. "For Hitler and his allies are at war with all men who believe in liberty and democracy and justice."

The author's remarks were addressed particularly to the Canadian soldiers with whom he served in the last war as a member of the famous Black Watch Regiment.

"We now realize that your Canadian men—all the gallant men who are offering heroic resistance to Hitler—are fighting to defend their homes as surely as our own," he said. "We say, may God give them strength—and may we give them reinforcements—now!"

He Wrote 'Stop Hitler'

Mr. Sherwood has been one of the most active members of William Allen White's Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. He wrote the "Stop Hitler Now" full-page advertisement which appeared in newspapers throughout the U. S. A.

He has been vigorously campaigning in lectures, writings and advertisements to have the neutrality law changed to enable FDR to send at least 70 of the over-age U. S. destroyers to England immediately.

His speech last night was not heard on American networks. It was sent by telephone to the entire network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. It will be rebroadcast later over the whole British

Empire. (*Picture on page 26*)

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Greed and Bigotry

"They have been animated chiefly by two of the most debased of mortal motives: personal greed and bigotry," he declared.

Speaking of Col. Lindbergh, Mr. Sherwood said:

"He might well have become a man of tremendous national and international value. A year ago he was working where he belonged, in Washington, using his considerable technical knowledge and skill in the furthering of our defense.

"But with the outbreak of war last September, what did Lindbergh do for his country? He quit the service. He quit so that he could devote himself to pleading Hitler's cause.

"What Lindbergh preaches is simply this: In order to avoid war with the totalitarian states we must make friends with them, we must flatter them, we must imitate them."

There Shall Be Light

Such "attempts to extinguish liberty," Mr. Sherwood said, would be frustrated by the overpowering will of the British and American people.

The author of the vivid anti-Nazi play, "There Shall Be No Light," went on the said. "For Hitler and his allies are at war with all men who believe in liberty and democracy and justice."

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—W. T.

1940, p. 8.

Parallels in Appeasement: Lindbergh et al.

By Hanson Baldwin

No foreign policy in history has been more swiftly discredited than the appeasement pattern out of which the Second World War emerged. But Col. Charles A. Lindbergh is a stubborn young man. In familiar accents he testified last week before the House Foreign Committee in opposition to the bill for aid to Britain. Note the parallels with the words of the late Neville Chamberlain who said: "I will be prepared to eat my hat if history does not prove the wisdom of our foreign policy," and of Edouard Daladier, who solemnly nodded assent, and of Lord Halifax:

LINDBERGH: "I prefer to see neither side win. I prefer to see a negotiated peace, and I believe a complete victory for either side would result in prostration such as we have never seen."

CHAMBERLAIN, March, 1938: "We know that in war there are no winners. . . . His Majesty's Government will at all times be ready to render any help in their power toward solution of questions likely to cause difficulties between German and Czechoslovakian Governments."

LINDBERGH: "We must co-operate with Europe in the future, regardless of who is dominant there."

CHAMBERLAIN, November, 1938: "Don't let us suppose that necessarily there must be economic warfare between Germany and ourselves. . . . In my view there is room for Germany and ourselves in the trade with these countries and neither of us ought to try to obtain an exclusive position there."

LINDBERGH: "I believe this nation is well able to take care of itself economically and militarily."

DALADIER, May, 1938: "France's will for peace is her first guarantee, her strength is her supreme guarantee. No matter what the circumstances, France is fully capable of assuring the inviolability of her frontiers and her empire by herself."

LINDBERGH: "I think one of the most advantageous things we could do is to create an attitude in Europe for peace. . . . I think we should encourage a negotiated peace."

CHAMBERLAIN, April, 1938: "I cannot imagine that any event would change the fundamental basis of British foreign policy, which is maintenance and preservation of peace and establishment of a sense of confidence that peace in fact will be maintained."

LINDBERGH: "We are not strong enough to impose our will on nations abroad and we ought not to enter a war that would be futile."

HALIFAX, March, 1938: "Great Britain cannot be the policeman of the world."

January 30, 1941, p. 11.

Lindbergh statement under his Congressional mailing frank, was "using taxpayers' money to spread propaganda."[1]

One of the most striking full page pictures to appear in PM was found on the back cover of a Sunday edition with the caption, "Memo to Colonel Lindbergh".[2] The picture was of a cheery British couple, both on crutches, limping together through bomb ruins.[3] The lines read:

> We see by the papers that you (Lindbergh) told Harold Nicolson before the war that the British were "getting soft"; and that Nicolson now sends you a postcard after every bad raid, reading: "Do you still think we're soft?" You can file this photograph with the postcards. It shows a Mr. and Mrs. Campbell of London. Both lost their right legs in bombings. They are standing in front of the bomb-shattered church, where they were married. They're smiling, Colonel.

Ford: Against Henry Ford, PM led a double campaign -- one condemning his labor policies, the other his activities as an "appeaser." The two are not always separate; Ford's privately organized "service squad" is given the characteristics of a Gestapo and he is condemned for an American brand of Fascism. His appeasing activities are linked with anti-Semitic movements and the Fascism charge is pressed.

Henry Paynter's expose of anti-Semitic literature would seemingly incriminate Ford. At least it involves W. J. Cameron, termed "Ford's official spokesman,"[4] for his "active connection with the Anglo-Saxon Federation of America,"[5] an organization

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1 PM, February 24, 1941, p. 12.
2 PM, March 16, 1941, p. 64.
3 Ibid.
4 PM, September 20, 1940, p. 15.
5 Ibid.

Marshall's No-War Group Hailed by Nazis

And He Dismisses Hitler's Anti-U. S. Threats, Confesses Not Even Reading Fuehrer's Speeches

By Leo Jay Margolin

Hitler likes Verne Marshall and the new No Foreign War Committee which Mr. Marshall organized recently to oppose William Allen White and his Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies.

Mr. Marshall, in turn, likes antiwar *Scribner's Commentator* and its editors, also Col. Charles A. Lindbergh and Henry Ford.

Germany's approval was disclosed indirectly by Harry W. Flannery, Berlin correspondent for CBS. In a routine broadcast to the U. S. A., he reported that the Nazi newspaper, *Deutsche Zeitung und Niederlunder,* was pleased to report that there was an anti-British trend in the U. S. A. and that many people "were said to be uniting behind the publicist whose name was given as Marshall."

A Changed Marshall

I saw the "publicist, Marshall" twice last week. The first time was Tuesday, when he announced formation of his organization. The second was at the end of the week, when he disclosed his sympathy and friendship for other leaders in the anti-Aid-to-Britain movement here.

On Tuesday the editor and co-owner of the Cedar Rapids (Ia.) *Gazette* was friendly and soft-spoken. Black-haired, heavy-browed, he was forceful and intent, punctuating his words with nervous little gestures. He wanted to make it clear that he was neither pacifist nor appeaser.

He bit off his words brusquely, tilting back in his chair:

"I don't think there's any military significance to Hitler's threats against the U. S."

He added that he didn't care what Der Fuehrer said, that he never bothered to read the man's speeches.

My second visit to him was a different story. In his headquarters at the Hotel Lexington—the $35-a-day Governor's Suite—he stamped on the floor and shook his finger under my nose.

He didn't like me and he didn't like PM.

decided between FDR and Wendell Willkie until he heard Mr. Willkie say that, if he were elected, the U. S. A. would not get into any foreign war until the people themselves wanted to enter such a war.

"I came to the conclusion that Mr. Willkie was a non-interventionist," he said. "It was a short time later that I came on east and conferred with George Eggleston and Douglas Stewart, editor and publisher, respectively, of *Scribner's Commentator.*

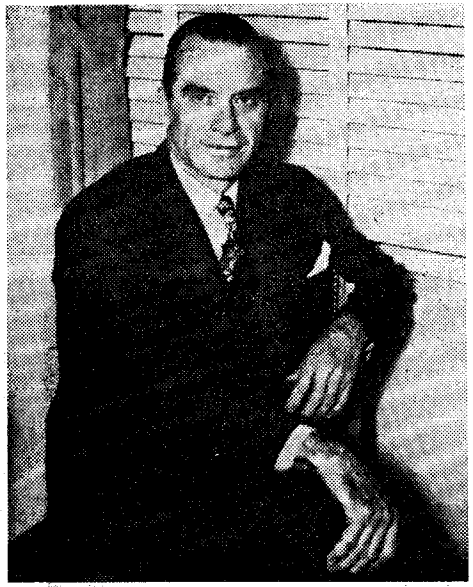
100% With Lindbergh

"I first had met these gentlemen last June, and in a lengthy conversation with them, found that they and I were in absolute agreement concerning the causes of this latest chapter of the same old European and economic and political war."

Mr. Marshall said he wrote an article for the magazine explaining that he was in complete agreement with Col. Lindbergh.

"In case there is any question at PM as to how I feel about Col. Lindbergh's fight for his country, please make it plain that I stand shoulder to shoulder with him, and am so proud of his permitting me to do so that no war-mongering interventionist can make me do anything but grin if he asks me for an explanation of my position."

(Ed. Note: *How PM feels about Col. Lindbergh was made clear Aug. 6 in a front-page editorial. "I denounce Col. Charles A. Lindbergh as the spokesman of the Fascist fifth column in America," Ralph Ingersoll wrote. PM considers Scribner's Commentator*



Verne Marshall, who pleases Nazis
Photo by Wide World

where the people still know the realities which are being so cleverly obscured by the William Allen White committee, PM and other publications whose news, editorials and feature columns would seem to indicate that they think first of some other country and next of our own."

(Ed. Note: *For Mr. Marshall's stenographic record: PM was founded on the conception of an editorial department dependent on its own judgment of facts. Hence no advertising influence to disconcert the editors. Hence independence from stockholder influence as well. Prospective stockholders who sought to alter this arrangement remained prospective.*

(PM's foundations are very much still intact.

(Verne Marshall's crack is presumably at Marshall Field, largest stockholder in The Newspaper, PM, Inc., and strongest and ties, and for his refusal to take war orders that might aid Britain.)

In Tuesday's interview Mr. Marshall expansively announced that, thus far, he was financing his organization himself. That includes other rooms on the 18th floor of the Lexington, a press agent and 12 other visible employes. This appears to be rather a large investment for a country editor from the corn belt.

The second was [illegible] when he disclosed his sympathy and friendship for other leaders in the anti-Aid-to-Britain movement here.

On Tuesday the editor and co-owner of the Cedar Rapids (Ia.) *Gazette* was friendly and soft-spoken. Black-haired, heavy-browed, he was forceful and intent, punctuating his words with nervous little gestures. He wanted to make it clear that he was neither pacifist nor appeaser.

He bit off his words brusquely, tilting back in his chair:

"I don't think there's any military significance to Hitler's threats against the U. S."

He added that he didn't care what Der Fuehrer said, that he never bothered to read the man's speeches.

My second visit to him was a different story. In his headquarters at the Hotel Lexington—the $35-a-day Governor's Suite—he stamped on the floor and shook his finger under my nose.

He didn't like me and he didn't like PM. He ranted:

"This is a plant! I know it! You're trying to scuttle me! Not me, you don't! You're planting something on me!

"God help PM if it scuttles me," he shouted.

"I came here to ask you a few more questions," I said. "You told me last Tuesday that you had nothing to hide."

Two Stenos and a Witness

"A plant, that's what it is," he answered. "All right, but what's your question? Wait a minute, wait till I get a witness. Oh, Mr. Lancaster, will you come in here? Oh, yes, and a stenographer. No, make it two stenographers."

Mr. Lancaster and two stenographers trooped in.

"Now, what's the question?"

He turned his back to me defiantly, while I asked:

"In an interview which I had with Mr. Eggleston, editor of *Scribner's Commentator*, he said that the great mass of American people who are against war had no medium through which they could make themselves articulate. He said that he intended that *Scribner's* be their voice and that an organization also was being planned to give this group a voice. Is yours the group which Mr. Eggleston had in mind?"

Measuring every word, Mr. Marshall spoke.

He said he had wanted to do something in the Presidential campaign to help keep the U. S. A. out of war and had been unable to find any publication which would print his views. Then he met Mr. Eggleston.

"I first had met these gentlemen last June, and in a lengthy conversation with them, found that they and I were in absolute agreement concerning the causes of this latest chapter of the same old European and economic and political war."

Mr. Marshall said he wrote an article for the magazine explaining that he was in complete agreement with Col. Lindbergh.

"In case there is any question at PM as to how I feel about Col. Lindbergh's fight for his country, please make it plain that I stand shoulder to shoulder with him, and am so proud of his permitting me to do so that no war-mongering interventionist can make me do anything but grin if he asks me for an explanation of my position."

(Ed. Note: *How PM feels about Col. Lindbergh was made clear Aug. 6 in a front-page editorial. "I denounce Col. Charles A. Lindbergh as the spokesman of the Fascist fifth column in America," Ralph Ingersoll wrote. PM considers* Scribner's Commentator *the official organ of the appeasers, although its editor, a friend and confidante of Col. Lindbergh, insists that appeasement is not its aim.)*

Free Hand for FDR?

Mr. Marshall then charged that William Allen White had a conference with FDR at which Mr. White got orders to create a trend "behind which, following the election, the Administration could take step after step to war."

"The next noon," Mr. Marshall said, "White told the Union League Club that it is time for this country to take sides in this war, and later he said that it was proposed now that the issue be taken to the people, by means of a joint resolution to be introduced in Congress which would give the Administration a free hand in dealing with tyrants, dictators and aggressors anywhere in the world."

It was at this point, when he "sensed the gravity of the situation," Mr. Marshall said, that he joined hands with *Scribner's Commentator*, Mr. Stewart and Mr. Eggleston.

"I know that *Scribner's Commentator* was fighting to preserve peace, security, honor and tranquillity of the U. S. A., Mr. Marshall continued.

"All I know about PM was and is that it is now being financed at a tremendous weekly loss by a man whose *time for the most part is spent abroad, and whose* **(Ed. Note: the foregoing italics were added by Mr. Marshall in the stenographic transcript)** fortune was made in the great Middle West, where the people still know the realities which are being so cleverly obscured by the William Allen White committee, PM and other publications whose news, editorials and feature columns would seem to indicate that they think first of some other country and next of our own."

(Ed. Note: *For Mr. Marshall's stenographic record: PM was founded on the conception of an editorial department dependent on its own judgment of facts. Hence no advertising influence to disconcert the editors. Hence independence from stockholder influence as well. Prospective stockholders who sought to alter this arrangement remained prospective.*

(PM's foundations are very much still intact.

(Verne Marshall's crack is presumably at Marshall Field, largest stockholder in The Newspaper, PM, Inc., and strongest and most consistent believer in the principle of editorial independence.

(PM's editor called Mr. Field to find if there was any truth in even the sentence which Verne Marshall underlined. There isn't. Mr. Field has not been out of this country in six years, has never lived abroad since he came of age. So Verne Marshall hasn't even that right.)

PM's Integrity Challenged

Mr. Marshall said here that his organization never would have been started if not for "the dogged determination and patriotic courage of *Scribner's Commentator*."

"It is unlikely," he predicted, "that any of this statement, made in response to a question by Mr. L. J. Margolin, PM's representative, will appear in the columns of PM."

Mr. Marshall wanted to close the interview at this point, but I insisted on one more question:

"Is Henry Ford a member of your committee?"

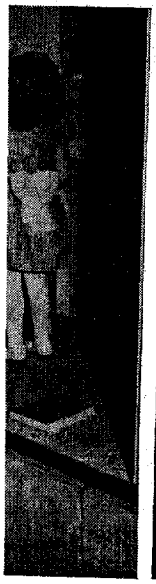
"Definitely not," he replied, "but I wish to heaven he were. If he will come in, I will put his name on the masthead if he will permit, **because he, too, is a damn good American.** We have nothing to conceal,

(Ed. Note: *PM has condemned Henry Ford, owner of $2,000,000,000 and employer of 117,000 men and women, for expressed anti-Semitism; for his loyalty to W. J. Cameron, anti-Semitic propagandist; for his failure to halt the use of his name on an anti-Semitic book; for his violations of the Wagner Act; for his anti-union activi-*

...Who Like Sodas, Popcorn and the U. S. A., Too



they liked ice cream sodas best of anything. ing possibilities. In the end both settled for vanilla ice cream sodas. They raced to finish them. Curious customers didn't perturb them.
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shop windows. she liked.



In Central Park, Barbara wanted toffee apples; decided Ian's popcorn was a fair substitute.



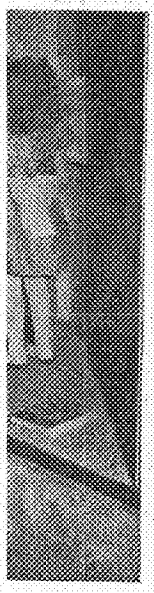
Barbara claimed she could skate until kids in Central Park loaned her a pair. Here's how.

Photos by David Eisendrath, Jr., PM Staff

. . . Who Like Sodas, Popcorn and the U. S. A., Too



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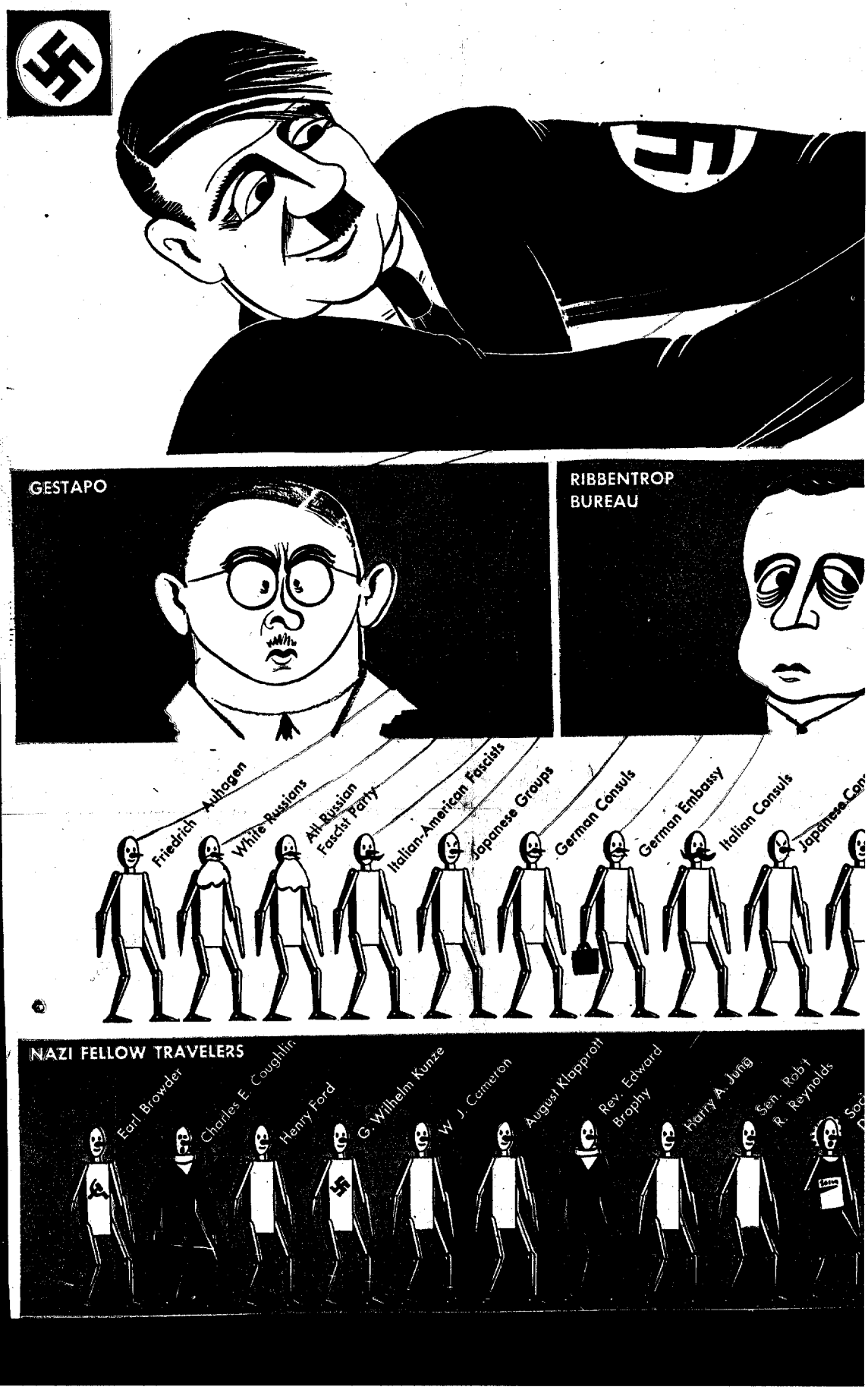


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Photos by David Eisendrath, Jr., PM Staff


GESTAPO
RIBBENTROP BUREAU
Friedrich Auhagen
White Russians
All Russian Fascist Party
Italian-American Fascists
Japanese Groups
German Consuls
German Embassy
Italian Consuls
NAZI FELLOW TRAVELERS
Earl Browder
Charles E. Coughlin
Henry Ford
G. Wilhelm Kunze
W. J. Cameron
August Klapprott
Rev. Edward Brophy
Harry A. Jung
Sen. Robt R. Reynolds

ı Column and Its Fellow-Travelers

The fifth column in the U. S. A. is as real as the nose on your face, but much less obvious to the unsuspecting eye.

There is really nothing complicated about the fifth column. Its organization and method appear devious. Its ultimate aim is not.

The fifth column, except for the fellow travelers, was sent here by Hitler and Mussolini, his Mediterranean office boy; Stalin, the Eurasian unknown quantity, and by cocky, arrogant army-controlled Japan.

All have one boss: Hitler. All have one purpose: destruction of American democracy and Nazification of America.

The chart on this page shows pretty well how the puppets of Nazism operate. But names alone do not disclose the full extent of their activities.

Any Communist would be horrified at the accusation that they connive with the Nazis. But in U. S. Government files are cases of information planted on Communists turning up in Berlin.

The Japanese have long been fed information by the Nazis who maintain a central spy feed station in Berlin. Here, all Nazi Axis partners and friends come to forage.

Chief puppeteer is Hitler. He pulls the strings and the puppets goose-step in unison.

Foreign propaganda, sabotage and spying orders all emanate from Germany.

Edmond Taylor writing about the fifth column in his fascinating, frightening book, *Strategy of Terror* states:

"Both the official propaganda in the Soviet press and the secret instructions of the Comintern to agents abroad revealed a complete synchronization in themes with German propaganda."

This same synchronization appears in the pro-Nazi German, Italian and Japanese press in the U. S. A. and abroad. It is reflected in domestic Communist publications.

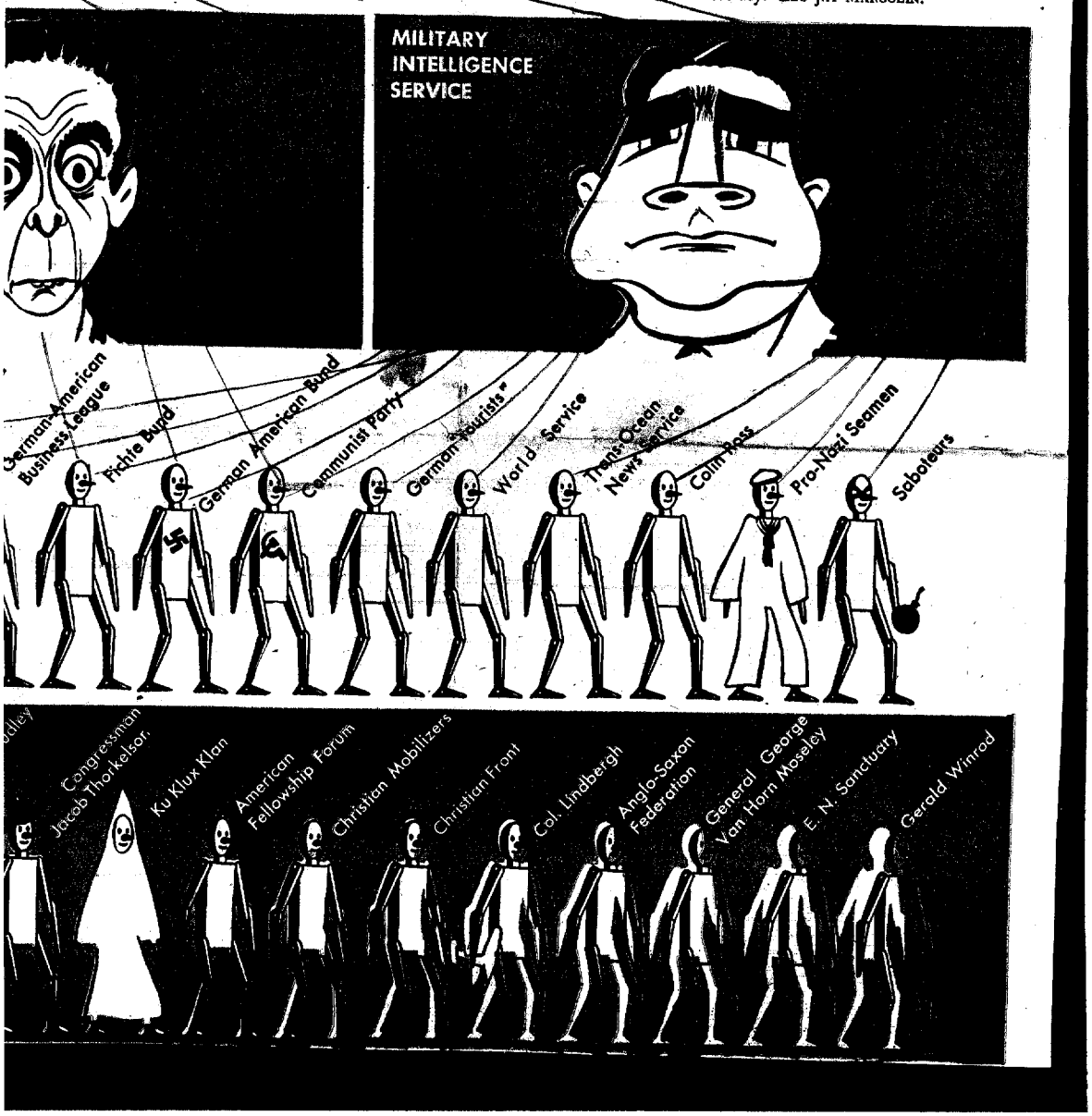
Several puppets have more than one string attached. These work for Hitler through more than one Nazi agency.

The fellow travelers marching across the bottom of the page do Hitler's work without pay. Unconsciously they spout his ideology.

They use Hitler tactics. They spread anti-Semitism, the first step in the Nazification of any country.

Fellow travelers are more dangerous because they are usually native or naturalized Americans within our gates preaching the very things Hitler would ask them to do if they were on his payroll.

The fifth column may yet defeat its own purpose. Americans, made acutely conscious by their free press of the danger in their midst, are fighting back by vitalizing democracy.—Leo Jay Margolin.



which "has funds enough to smother the Middle West with Hitlerite Anti-Semitic literature."[1]

In February, excitement over Ford's appeasing activities was stimulated once more by Leo Jay Margolin's story, "Ford Secretly Compiles Who's Who of Appeasers."[2] Margolin implies anti-Semitism and almost revolutionary intrigue. The steps taken to compile this "master list of appeasers with the names and addresses of thousands of anti-Semites, pro-Nazis, and Fascists,"[3] are relayed with careful detail. A follow-up story the next day claimed that "Ford and Fish Disown Scribner's Mailing List."[4] By February 14, PM was accusing Ford of implication in a new appeasement campaign, the "People's Campaign Against War."[5]

Verne Marshall: The No Foreign War committee, organized by Verne Marshall to oppose William Allen White and his Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, began to receive considerable attention from PM late in December when Leo Jay Margolin's "Marshall's No-War Group Hailed by Nazis"[6] appeared.

In this story the technique of associating names in order to create a desired effect was used to the best advantage. Mr. Margolin's story begins:[7]

> Hitler likes Verne Marshall and the new No Foreign War Committee ....
> Mr. Marshall, in turn, likes anti-war Scribner's Commentator and its editors.

---

1 PM, September 20, 1940, p. 15.
2 PM, February 9, 1941, pp. 16-17.
3 Ibid.
4 PM, February 10, 1941, p. 13.
5 PM, February 14, 1941, p. 13.
6 PM, January 2, 1941, p. 10.
7 Ibid.

> also Col. Charles A. Lindbergh and Henry Ford.
>
> Germany's approval was disclosed indirectly by Harry W. Flannery, Berlin correspondent for CBS. In a routine broadcast to the U.S.A., he reported that the Nazi newspaper, Deutsche Zeitung and Niederlunder, was pleased to report that there was an anti-British trend in the U.S.A. and that many people "were said to be uniting behind the publicist whose name was given as Marshall.

PM is drawn into the discussion by Mr. Marshall's comments on PM's role in battling Lindbergh and smearing Scribner's Commentator. Marshall's remarks about PM and its chief supporter, Marshall Field, are quoted copiously with numerous editorial interjections.

The confusing game of who likes whom and why -- or rather, for what subversive reason, continues in Margolin's reporting until it approaches the ridiculous. One-third of his story "Lindbergh and Marshall Agree, Or Do They?"[1] is devoted to the record:[2]

> Hitler likes Verne Marshall, the Cedar Rapids editor who says he is "the little squirt from Iowa."
>
> Hitler also likes Mr. Marshall's No Foreign War Committee.
>
> Mr. Marshall likes Col. Lindbergh and Henry Ford, America's super-appeasers.
>
> Col. Lindbergh likes Mr. Marshall and Scribner's Commentator, the new voice of appeasement in the U.S.A.
>
> Scribner's Commentator likes Mr. Marshall, Col. Lindbergh and Henry Ford.
>
> Henry Ford likes Col. Lindbergh.
>
> Whether or not Col. Lindbergh likes Hitler, he still hasn't returned the Nazi medal Hitler gave him some time ago.

---

1 PM, December 26, 1940, p. 10.
2 Ibid.

Lindbergh and Marshall Agree, Or Do They?... Here's the Record

Colonel and Iowa's 'Little Squirt' Look at William Allen White's War Policy ... See Things

By Leo Jay Margolin

Hitler likes Verne Marshall, the Cedar Rapids editor who says he is "the little squirt from Iowa."

Hitler also likes Mr. Marshall's No Foreign War Committee.

Mr. Marshall likes Col. Lindbergh and Henry Ford, America's super-appeasers.

Col. Lindbergh likes Mr. Marshall and *Scribner's Commentator,* the new voice of appeasement in the U. S. A.

Scribner's Commentator likes Mr. Marshall, Col. Lindbergh and Henry Ford.

Henry Ford likes Col. Lindbergh.

Whether or not Col. Lindbergh likes Hitler, he still hasn't returned the Nazi medal Hitler gave him some time ago.

Change of Heart for Colonel

Col. Lindbergh started liking William Allen White just the other day because the Kansas editor, head of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, said his group's only motive was "to keep this country out of war."

But the little squirt from Iowa doesn't like Mr. White and his committee nohow.

It's all very strange.

Mr. Marshall said last week he stood "shoulder to shoulder with Col. Lindbergh." Yesterday, however, Mr. Marshall's shoulder and Col. Lindbergh's shoulder were as far apart as New York and Cedar Rapids, Ia.

Col. Lindbergh said this of Mr. White's statement:

"He (White) has given us new hope for a united America at a time in our history when unity is essential."

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"He (White) has given us new hope for a united America at a time in our history when unity is essential."

On exactly the same subject, Mr. Marshall had this to say:

"Poor William Allen White has the temerity to say that his committee doesn't aim at taking the people of America to war."

Col. Lindbergh also said:

"Mr. White has rendered a great service to this country by clarifying his position, and the position of his committee."

Marshall Outraged

Then the little squirt from Iowa comes up with this:

"What in the world can Bill White mean today when he says his committee is not a committee with war aims, deliberately trying to bring about the intervention of the United States in the present chapter of Europe's never-ending war!"

Present plans are for Mr. Marshall and Col. Lindbergh to stand shoulder to shoulder in St. Louis on Jan. 7 when the Colonel delivers the principal address at the official organization meeting of the No Foreign War Committee.

Mr. Marshall said yesterday that he was looking forward to FDR's radio address Sunday night, "because," he said, "we will know exactly how to end this war" if the President "takes us wholly into his confidence." he added:

"Slimily, sneakingly, in dark corners, in sordid centers of un-Americanism, in certain places of great power there proceed at this moment the schemings of men who would wreck the No Foreign War Committee. Why? The answer is a deadly one, and it, too, has been proved in every known and necessary manner. It will be made public if I am forced to take that action."

, p. 10.

In a column of commentary along similar lines, Margolin succeeds in confusing issues and individuals in his attempt to paint everything black or white.

George Reedy's story about Marshall is thick with commentary, both in the italicized inserts and in the content. Here again PM is misleading through the sentence structure. In dealing with a proposed peace plan reputedly brought back from Europe by William Rhodes Davis in 1939, this paragraph appears:[1]

> The original document, "of which I have the only exclusive carbon copy," he (Marshall) said, bore the initialing of Goering and other high Nazi officials.

Due to the inserted brief quotation, the casual reader might easily gain the impression that Marshall is telling of the Goering initialing, when in fact, this statement is Reedy's addition to the sentence and no part of Marshall's story.

A later story entitled "How Verne Marshall Climbed as Appeaser"[2] gives some of the background for Marshall's activities. In this, Margolin repeats his earlier facts and comments, even to the use of certain adjectives. The following day, Margolin announced that "Backers Prepare to Drop Hot Spud Verne Marshall, Christian Fronters' Guest,"[3] and let his readers in on the difficulties of getting a story:[4]

> There were at least five men present. I was told their names, but after three hours of telephoning I was unable to verify their presence. I'll try to do it today.

---

1 PM, December 31, 1940, p. 7.
2 PM, January 12, 1941, p. 12.
3 PM, January 13, 1941, p. 10.
4 Ibid.

2,000,000 Domestics Work Long Hours For Low Wages and No Social Security

WASHINGTON, August 7.—President Roosevelt gets mail from domestic workers. So do Mrs. Roosevelt and Secretary of Labor Perkins. It reads this way:

"Mr. The President of the United States: Won't you please find some way to free domestic help from the tyranny of impossible employers who think they own us soul and body, who make us work an average of 12 and 15 hours a day until we drop from exhaustion. Please do something and you will have saved the many slaves like us from disaster."

From a group in a mining town:

"We work from 12 to 15 hours a day, for $6 and $7 a week. We were going to start a strike but thought you would think it best not to. . . . If you will help us we would appreciate it very much."

To Mrs. Roosevelt from "Fifteen weary housemaids:"

"We have read in history books about slavery of long ago, but the way housemaids work is too much for any human being."

So they go. Long hours are the first complaint; low wages next; then lack of protective legislation, such as social security, and lack of consideration on the part of the employer.

Law Passes Them By

More than 2,000,000 women in the country are domestics, not all of them as unhappy as Mr. Roosevelt's correspondents but most of them aware they are victims of economic injustice. They comprise the largest single occupational group of women, yet the wage-hour law passes them by. Only one state, Washington, sets a limit on their hours. Wisconsin alone has wage laws applying to them, and only California housewives must insure domestic employes under a workman's compensation act

Lack of standardization of their work is one difficulty. Policing of individual homes for violation of law is almost impossible. Besides, this group of workers doesn't have the time, the money or the leadership for union organization.

Despite these obstacles the women's bureau of the Labor Department, the YWCA and other interested groups are confident there is a solution. They plug away at a campaign that is undramatic, but steady. In the basement of the labor bureau this week, artists are putting the finishing touches on a traveling exhibit, a diorama and slides, for use by anyone who wants to foster the movement and will pay the cost of shipping.

The plan most widely quoted as the ideal was worked out in a three-year training and placement project by the Philadelphia Institute on Houshold Occupation. Candidates were first trained to make them worth these concessions:

A Proposal

For workers living in, a 54-hour week with a schedule to meet the worker's social demands; two hours "on call," sitting up at night with the children, for instance, to count as one of actual work; $8 for beginners, raised to $10, and 25 cents an hour overtime; meals on the house and the employer's time, but the worker to do her laundry on her own time.

For workers living out, a 48-hour week to allow for traveling; eight hours consecutively unless the worker lives near enough to make time in the middle of the day valuable; two meals daily on her own time; pay starting at $10, raised to $12, with 25 cents an hour overtime.

Since any Washington story these days must have a defense angle, here it is. When war industries open up wide, household slaves will find freedom in them. The housewife will have her choice of scrubbing her own cellar stairs—or making housework more alluring.—ALICE FOXX PITTS.

False Patriotism



Our national defense program carries with it "definite dangers" because it "unleashes anti-democratic forces in the name of patriotism," Edwin S. Smith, member of the NLRB, told delegates to the 37th Annual Convention of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in Denver. Mr. Smith condemned attempts to link unions with the fifth column, and spoke pessimistically of the future of the Wagner Act "because of the perilous temper of the times." John L. Lewis warned that the U. S. is headed for war and Fascism unless it betters "the condition of citizens rather than concentrating all its energies on preparations for war." (See Page 8.)

Photo by Harris and Ewing

SLRB Hears Defense By Metropolitan Life

Samuel Seabury, white hair, pince-nez, sat in the stuffy heat of Room 1126 of the State Labor Relations Board headquarters, 270 W. 57th St., and listened in the detached way of lawyers to Eugene Cotton, Board Counsel, question his witness before Paul M. Herzog, Trial Examiner.

On Monday the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., represented by Mr. Seabury, began its attempt to disprove with its own witnesses the Board's case that the Metropolitan had violated New York's Little Wagner Act.

Yesterday F. M. Smith, second vice-president, in charge of the company's industrial policy division, testified in the informal atmosphere maintained by the Board. At the request of Mr. Cotton he went into great detail on the procedures entailed in reviving lapsed policies and other mechanical aspects of the insurance business.

The purpose was to get into the case record, which already runs to 12,500 pages, the rules governing the company's agents. On the basis of this and other information the Board will later decide whether 45 agents were fired for union activity, as charged by Local 30 of the United Office and Professional Workers, CIO, or for violating the company rules.—L. G.

Ten Strikes Mediated

During June 10 strikes involving 800 employes were mediated through the State Labor Department. Sixty-two other disputes were settled by arbitration.

Rail Unions Join Anti-Draft Bloc

Heads of the five railroad brotherhoods are on record today in opposition to conscription. (Also see Page 8.)

Their stand aligned all important segments of organized labor against the draft bill. The CIO took the position a fortnight ago; William Green announced the AFL's opposition Monday.

The attitude of the railroad unions was expressed yesterday in letters to Senator Sheppard and Representative May, chairmen respectively of the Senate and House Military Affairs Committees.

Those who signed the letters were A. Johnson, chief engineer of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; D. B. Robertson, president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen; J. A. Phillips, president of the Order of Railway Conductors of America; A. F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and T. C. Cashen, president of the Switchmen's Union.

All of them urged "adequate defense measures" but contended that conscription wasn't necessary now.

Combined membership of the AFL, the CIO and the Railway brotherhoods exceeds 8,000,000.—J. A. W.



IN SHORT . . .

Thomas Re-elected

ST. LOUIS, Aug. 7.—R. J. Thomas was re-elected president and George F. Addes was re-named secretary-treasurer by acclamation by the United Auto Workers, CIO, which is winding up its fifth international convention. Thomas is 39 and a former welder; his colleague worked for Willys-Overland before winning union office in 1936. Eleven of 17 regional directors were re-elected.

Upholsterers Back FDR

Into the Democratic corner jumped the general executive board of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America, AFL, with a resolution in favor of Roosevelt and Wallace.

String Around Your Finger

The *United Mine Workers Journal*, monthly organ of John L. Lewis' union, publishes this editorial, entitled *This Great Union*, in its current issue: "Just to remind everyone and to keep the record straight, we would like to call your attention to the fact that the good old United Mine Workers of America is the largest, strongest and most influential labor union in the world."

Senate NLRB Hearings

WASHINGTON, Aug. 7.—The Senate Labor Committee yesterday decided to hold secret hearings Tuesday on the House-approved Wagner Act amendments. William Green, AFL president, and a representative of the National Association of Manufacturers will be heard in behalf of the amendments. John L. Lewis, CIO head, and NLRB chairman J. Warren Madden will testify in opposition.

Thus PM by the use of similar methods, attacked a number of articulate appeasers. Not all of them suffered from onslaughts as harsh as those on Colonel Lindbergh, Henry Ford, and Verne Marshall, but the war policy, with its active persecution of all dissenters, has been held to consistently by PM. As a fighting newspaper, PM has little compunction about waging bitter campaigns, nor little regard for the sensitivities of individuals whose opinions differ from those of the newspaper. Perhaps its editors can justify this stand, but in considering this problem, it is well to look once more at the declared "Editorial Purpose":[1]

> PM is in business to tell as much of the truth as it can find out -- because it believes journalism's function in a democracy is to seek truth in contemporary life and to print it without fear or favor.

Perhaps the prosecution of differing minorities can be rationalized against this statement. Then again, perhaps PM might do well to reconsider its earlier declarations and modify them in the light of subsequent reporting.

News of Housing

Although news of housing was originally intended to be printed under "News for Living," it soon became of such importance that housing articles were found under both "National" and "New York" headings. PM's objective in dealing with housing is this:[2]

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1 Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 10.
2 Ibid., p. 8.

> We feel that the Housing Problem in New York is one of trying to buy space, air, light, transportation, recreation facilities at prices the reader can afford. We will print all the useful news we can find on the subject.

One of the first of the housing stories was William P. Vogel's "$30,000,000. for Housing,"[1] a news story on an East Side New York project. Similar stories appeared from time to time in PM's news columns.

The first of the housing series was Nathan Robertson's group on housing for defense workers, which began January 15, 1941. In his first installment,[2] Robertson outlines the background for the group and mentions places where the situation is most critical. Another dealt with specific conditions in Quincy, Mass.,[3] and still another with the agencies set up to relieve conditions.[4] Herbert Klein's "No Housing in California for New Defense Migrants"[5] is on the same order, with the scene shifted to the West Coast.

Leane Zugsmith's series, "Park Avenue Tenement,"[6] is the finest contribution made by PM to the exposing of tenement conditions. In her three stories, Miss Zugsmith writes vividly and realistically of the horrible conditions in which families exist -- with a Park Avenue address, ironically enough.

With fifteen pictures and descriptive phraseology, Miss Zugsmith draws for the reader a portrait of the drab, cold,

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1 PM, July 26, 1940, p. 11.
2 PM, January 15, 1941, p. 8.
3 PM, January 17, 1941, p. 10.
4 PM, January 20, 1941, p. 11.
5 PM, March 26, 1941, p. 9.
6 PM, March 4, 5, and 6, 1941.

A Case History of Defense Housing Failure: Shipworkers Are Homeless in Quincy, Mass.

Real Estate Owners Block Public Hearing, But Won't Build Cheap Rentals

In previous articles, Nathan Robertson revealed how the government's program to house defense workers has been lagging far behind the need, and how the opposition of private building interests has been responsible for the delay. Today, he cites an example of that opposition.

By Nathan Robertson
Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Jan. 17.—It was obvious from the outset of the rearmament program that Quincy, Mass., would be one of the hot spots in the housing of defense workers. The Bethlehem Steel Corp.'s huge Fore River shipbuilding plant is situated there, and it was crowded with orders.

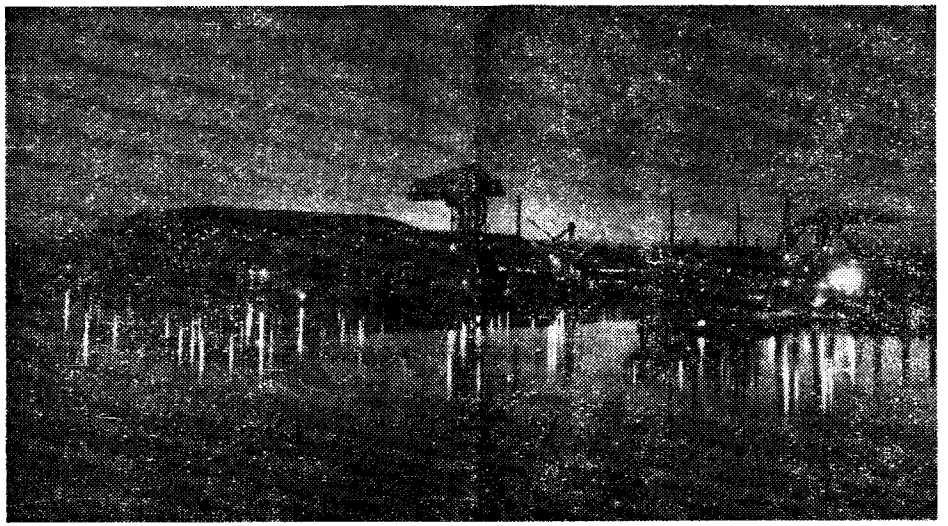
By Aug. 15 a confidential government memorandum showed the shipyard had 8700 workers on its payroll and would hire 10,000 more within nine months, almost all of whom would have to come from outside the city. Surveys showed there were only 100 dwellings in the area available at rentals they could afford to pay, and that, although most of the workers were commuting by car, parking space at the yard had been cut in half by plant expansion.

A week later another report said 1000 to 2000 housing units were needed and that private building could not meet the need.

A mass meeting of citizens called by the City Council, so big that it had to be moved into a larger meeting place, demanded a public housing program.

Council Busy

But Quincy real estate and commercial interests were on the ball. They had formed, to speak for them, what they called the Quincy Defense Council—a name impressive enough to carry weight in Washington. The working end of this so-called Defense Council was the housing committee, composed of nothing but three real estate operators and



Bethlehem Steel's huge Fore River shipbuilding plant at Quincy, Mass., works night and day on $500,000,000 worth of defense orders. Defense workers hired to man the extra shifts, coming in at the rate of 500 a month, charge that they can't find a decent place to live within commuting distance of the plant, that landlords are jacking up rents in whatever houses there are.

based upon positive assurance from private builders in Quincy that they would go ahead immediately with construction of 1000 homes within the rental range of the defense workers. He says the South Boston area, where the public housing was planned, is only 20 minutes by train from Quincy.

But workers in Quincy were not satisfied. They protested to Sidney Hillman, labor member of the Defense Commission, and filed with him dozens of notices from landlords in Quincy either raising rents or warning them to buy their homes or move out. Finally, Mr. Hillman put pressure on Mr. Palmer, insisting that he recommend 1000 units for the Quincy area.

At last, on Nov. 20, Mr. Palmer got approval from President Roosevelt for a housing project in the Boston-Quincy area.

Mr. Palmer then issued a report on the housing situation in the area, noting he had received demands for 500 to 2000 homes, and that the Fore River shipyards were add-

houses are being built in Quincy within the rental range of the ship workers.

So up to the present, no public housing has been started in the Boston-Quincy area, and the number of private homes put up to meet the urgent need is unknown by officials here. Quincy is not unrepresentative of the situation in many other defense areas.

This is the third of a series of stories on delays in defense housing. Another will appear soon.

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The Quincy Defense Council took the lead in keeping the Government out of Quincy. It deluged Housing Co-ordinator Palmer and other Washington officials with reports that there was no shortage of houses and that private industry could take care of the expansion that would be needed.

After the citizens' mass meeting, demanding government houses, spokesmen for the private Defense Council and Boston business interests hopped the train for Washington, where they buttonholed congressmen and defense officials for assurance that there would be no public housing in Quincy. They reported there were 7000 vacant houses and apartments and 7000 rooms in the area. The business men got what they wanted from Mr. Palmer. On Oct. 24, he issued an official statement, saying:

"Assurances were received from representatives of Quincy business interests that the rental housing need in that section can be met by private capital at fair and equitable rentals. Because of these assurances, personally expressed to the Co-ordinator last week in Washington, there will be no immediate construction of public housing in Quincy."

Mr. Palmer says this announcement was based upon positive assurance from private builders in Quincy that they would go ahead immediately with construction of 1000 homes within the rental range of the defense workers. He says the South Boston area, where the public housing was planned, is only 20 minutes by train from Quincy.

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Workers Dissatisfied

He therefore recommended that private enterprise be given the job of putting up 1000 units for the higher paid ship workers, and that the Boston Housing Authority put up 1000 units for the lower paid workers, which could be absorbed into the Boston low-rent housing program after the emergency.

But the workers in Quincy were not satisfied with this solution. They protested that placing the housing in Boston would only aggravate the transportation problem and that new units were needed both in Boston and Quincy. John Carmody, head of the Federal Works Agency, heard their protests and held up the new project for re-study.



John Carmody

Despite Mr. Palmer's sympathetic treatment, the Quincy real estate interests have failed to carry out their end of the bargain. One of the biggest operators on whom Mr. Palmer was relying has failed to raise the capital necessary to go ahead, and few houses are being built in Quincy within the rental range of the ship workers.

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Park Avenue Tenement: the Owners

By LEANE ZUGSMITH

Mean tenements and luxury apartment houses have two common denominators: both supply shelter for people and both are owned by people.

Yesterday, I told about the people in the blighted shelter at 1353 Park Ave., and what it means to live in rat-ravaged rooms, without steam heat or bathrooms.

The 12 families in this old-law tenement pay their $15 and $16-a-month rent to the Marlore Realty Co., 8 E. 116th St. But the taxes are paid by the B. Mayer Estates, Inc., 175 Lexington Ave. The Estates' books are kept by Gruenstein & Mayer, at that address. The Mayer in the partnership is a pleasant, 23-year-old Harvard man, Myron Mayer, who didn't know until yesterday that No. 1353 was still in the family.

He lives with his 27-year-old sister, Rosalie, and his mother, Mrs. Minnie Mayer, in an eight-room apartment at 21 E. 82d St. The house belongs to the J. H. Taylor Construction Co., Inc. Myron Mayer's uncle, Charles Mayer, is treasurer and a director of that firm.

At Harvard, Myron Mayer studied engineering. He was graduated in 1939, after having completed the usual four-year course in three. "I expected to go in engineering," he said, "but Dave, my brother, didn't want to go into the business. It was a fairly lucrative one, so I did."

When his father, Joseph L. B. Mayer, died in 1939, he was secretary and treasurer of Gruenstein & Mayer; president of 1040 Park Ave. Co., Inc., vice-president of 205 E. 69th St. Corp. and president of 875 Park Ave. Co.

After the son entered the business, about two years ago, he spent three months visiting properties, collecting rents. "There's nothing social tied up with the business," he said. "When I first went into it, I was full of ideas. Then I found a lot of the houses weren't so bad, after all."

His firm manages about 40 of the family-owned multiple dwellings. Uncles Charles and Albert Mayer manage the finer buildings. At first, Mr. Mayer was certain that No. 1353 was not among his grandfather's properties. After he saw my stories about the tenement, he said that, if it was, it was probably managed by B. J. and L. V. Weil, at 551 Fifth Ave.

The Weil office refused to verify Mr. Mayer's statement over the telephone, said such a query must be made in writing. The Weils are related to the Mayers and, Mr. Mayer said, are also probably part owners of No. 1353 Park Ave.

"There are about 30 owners," said Mr. Mayer. "You'd have to get them all together to take any major steps in improving one of our houses. The management is responsible for minor steps, like raising or lowering rents.

"I, too, think the conditions you described are deplorable. Yet, suppose you alter the place—spend, say, a minimum of $600. It is, after all, a business. You'd have to raise the rents.

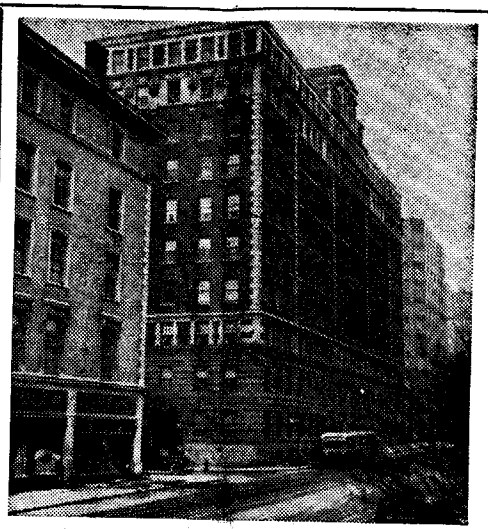
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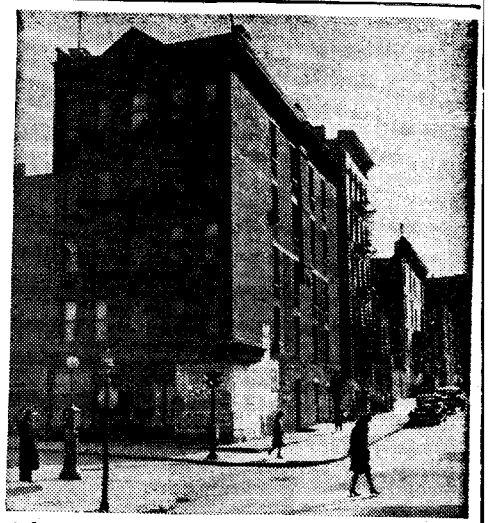
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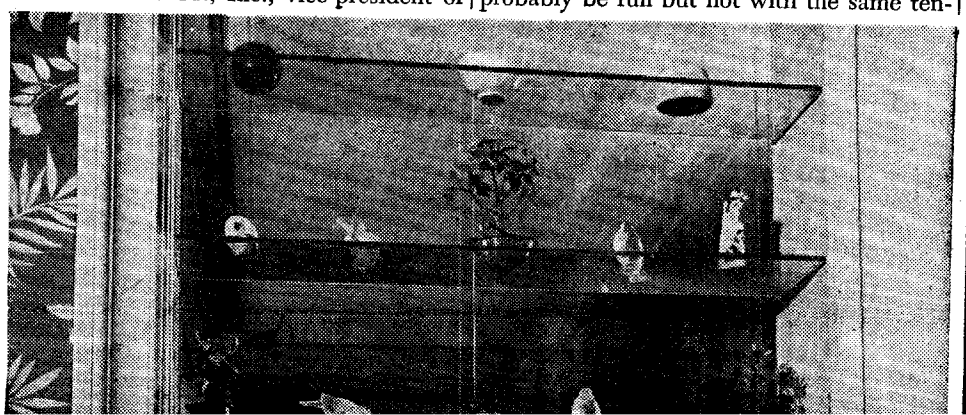
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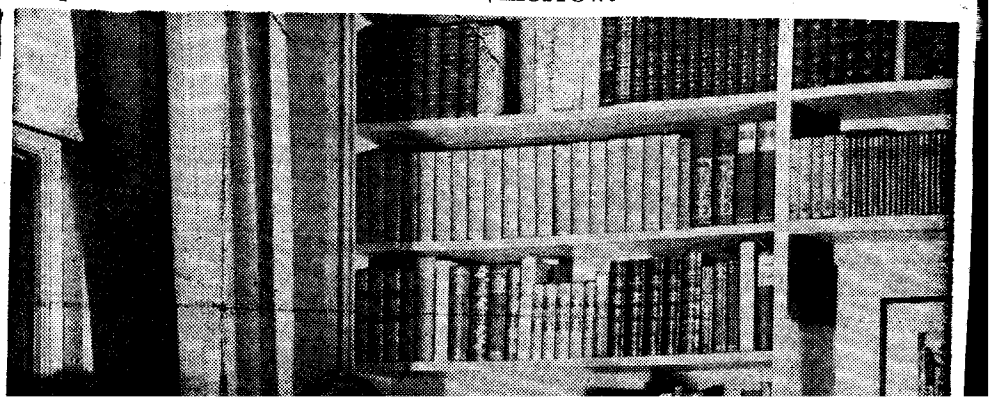


Myron Mayer lives in this warm house at 21 E. 82d St. He didn't know he was part-owner of No. 1353.



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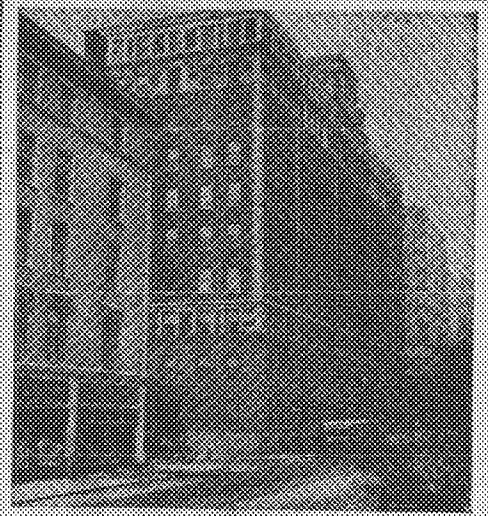
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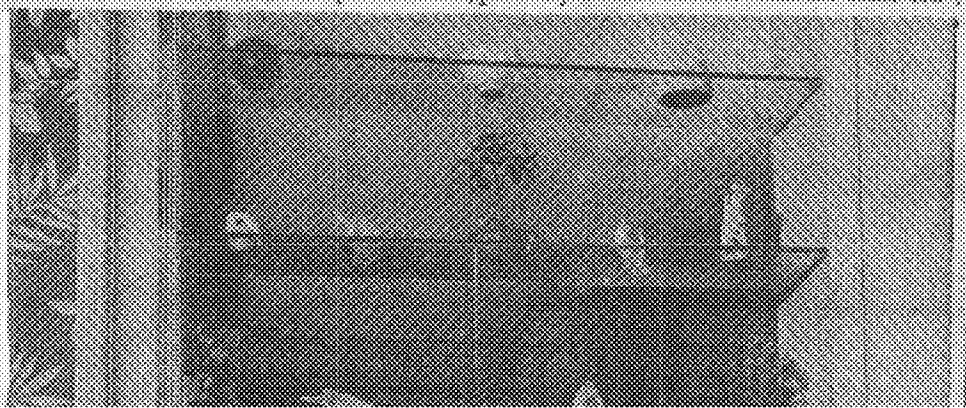
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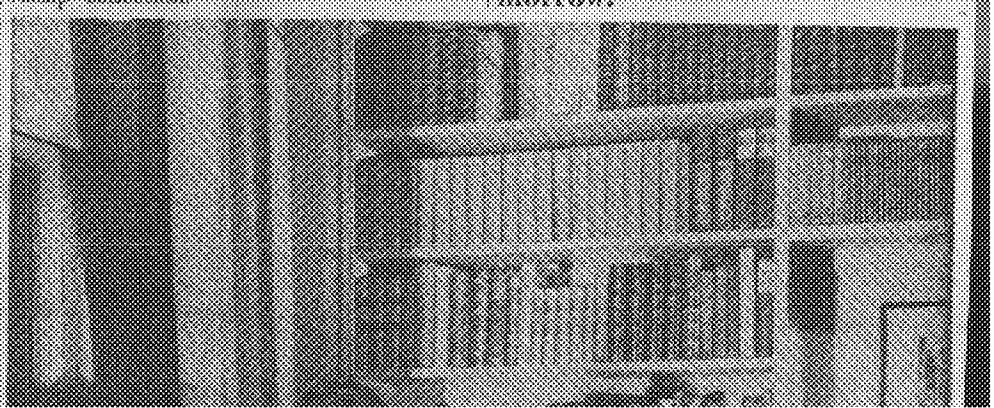


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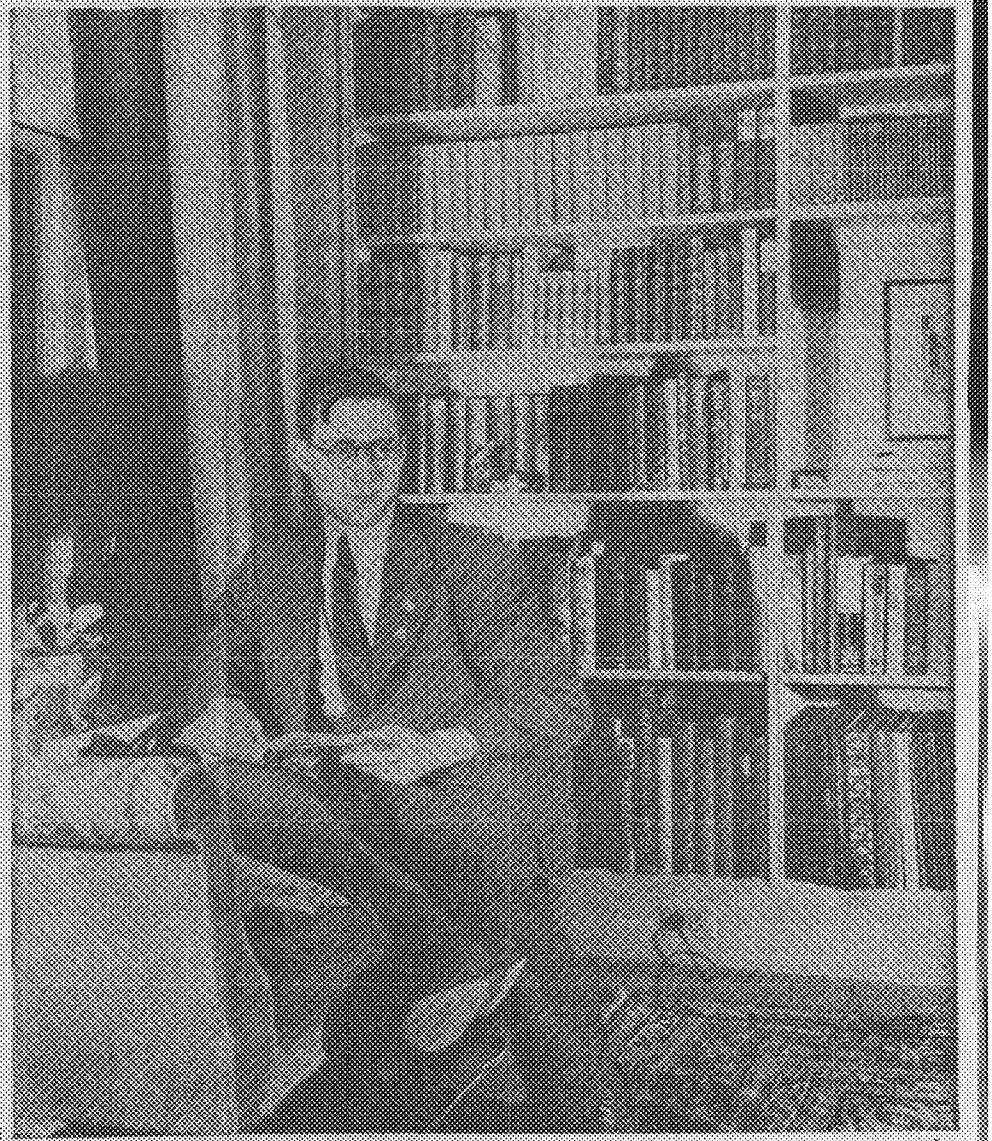
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Mr. Mayer's sister, who's studying architecture, threw two front rooms into one very large living room. A glass wall and shelves form an alcove and a decorative home for the art objects Mr. Mayer is inspecting. Apartments like this rent for $3500 a year in this block-long building.



His living room is furnished substantially, not pretentiously. It has a good phonograph, a grand piano, an air of calm and comfort. There are 83 families in this 16-floor house that stretches from 82d St. to 83d St. on Madison Ave.

Photos by Gene Badger, PM Staff

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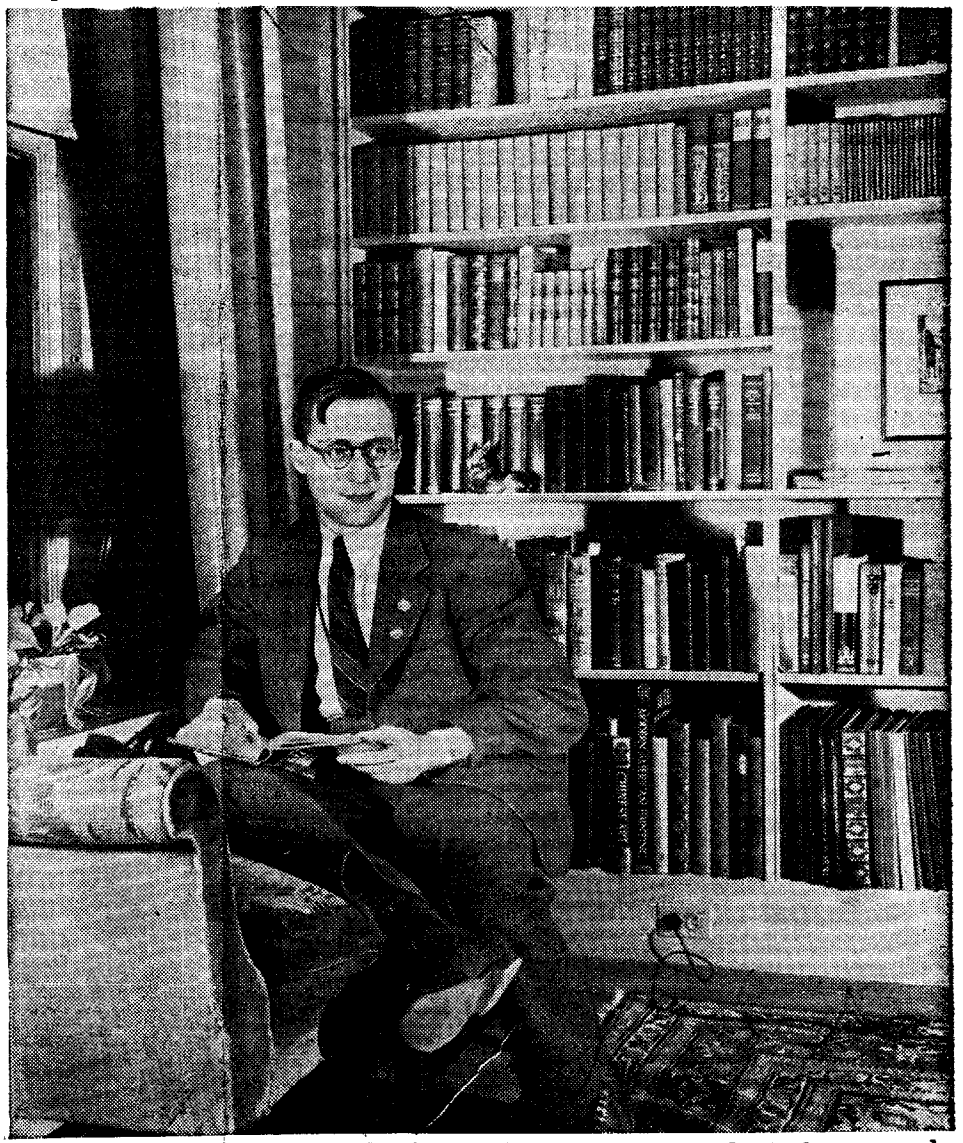
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Photos by Gene Badger, PM Staff

guantness of 1353 Park Avenue. Deplorable conditions are revealed with bold strokes in "Portrait of a Park Avenue Tenement."[1]

In her second story, Miss Zugsmith tells of "The People Who Live in It."[2] Her introduction indicates the spirit of the stories:[3]

> Yesterday, I told the story of the mean 12-family dwelling on the southeast corner of Park Avenue and 102d Street ... its bleary, dismal exterior and its demoralizing interior .... quarters without heat, rooms without light and air, bathtubs in the kitchen and one foul hall toilet for every three families.
>
> Today's article concerns the human beings in this old-law tenement: the effects of bad housing on the lives of good men and women and children. These are the people, by families and apartments.

The third and final article concerns "The Owners."[4] Although class-consciousness is written into the story, Miss Zugsmith is not unfair to the owner, a Harvard man "who didn't know until yesterday that No. 1353 was still in the family."[5] She writes of the owner:[6]

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Following the last of Miss Zugsmith's stories, Alan Mather, billed as "an expert on Manhattan tenements,"[7] took up with his stories of old-law tenements. His five articles are authorita-

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1 PM, March 4, 1941, pp. 14-18.
2 PM, March 5, 1941, pp. 14-19.
3 Ibid.
4 PM, March 6, 1941, p. 15.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid.
7 PM, March 7, 1941, p. 18.

Tenement Dweller Must Know Rules, Fight for Rights

Expert Lists the Simple Rules, Tells Where to File Complaints

Second of five articles on what can be done about New York's housing problem

By ALAN MATHER

All around the town you can see scenes like this as landlords install fire escapes on old-law tenements. ⮟



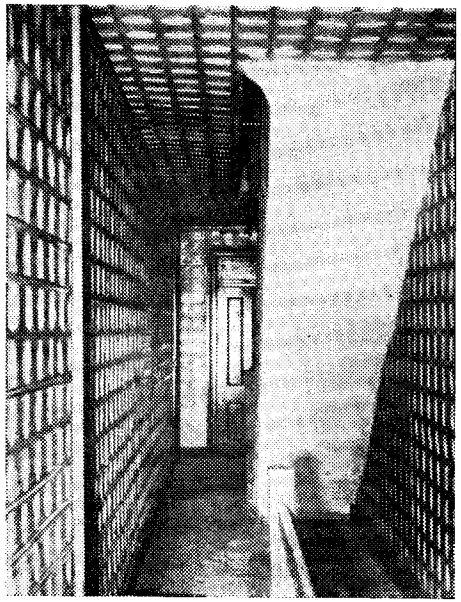
Many are just taking advantage of 4 per cent interest, 10-year installment loans being made under a scheme worked out between savings banks and the Mayor's Committee on Property Improvement, at 90 Park Avenue.

Others had read in the newspapers that on March 21, 1940, Isador Smith had been sentenced to the Tombs for six months for manslaughter following a fire in his tnement houses at 210 W. 103rd St. Four persons were killed in the fire. Mr. Smith had previously refused to comply with the fire-retarding rules of the Multiple Dwelling Law. The rules went into effect in 1936.

Prosecution in the Smith case came from the office of District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey. Violation of the Multiple Dwelling Law is a misdemeanor—but if a death results from the misdemeanor the charge is manslaughter. Hence the district attorney's interest. Hence the great fire escape installation activities.

Not so apparent in street scenes but showing up in the annual reports of the Department of Housing and Buildings, is the work

Here's how the same passageway looked after the renovating required by law was completed ⮟



At the end of 1937 there were 15,966 permanently occupied multiple dwellings which had no such fire-retarding in public halls and on stairs. There were small declines to 14,355 by the end of 1938 and to 12,883 at the end of 1939. But as the sun rose on October 31, 1940, only 4874 such violations of the law remained. Commissioner Wilson of the Department of Housing and Buildings foresees that by June of this year there will be none left.

All this would be more encouraging if removal of other violations of the law had maintained the same pace. The Community Service Society, one of the foremost social service organizations in the City remarks that: "The following 'minor' violations—an odorous toilet, a leaking water closet, a stopped-up washtub, defective plaster, cracked floors, a broken dumbwaiter, uncollected garbage, unlighted hall toilets,

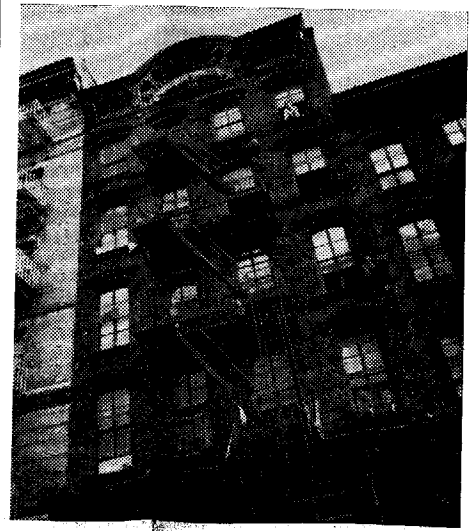
inadequate provision for light and air and improper sanitation as well as fire hazards. Fundamentally, it's a public health law. More than fire escapes are needed to keep the people healthy.

Perhaps the health provisions of the law would be observed if penalties for their violation were brought nearer to those imposed for breaking fire-retarding provisions. In the Brooklyn magistrate's court in 1939 the 2772 fines imposed for all violations totaled $6711—an average of $2.42 per fine, a mere slap on the wrist. So long as such conditions exist, owners will find it cheaper to pay the fine than obey the law.

One judge—Magistrate Edgar Bromberger,—has broken with this tradition of ineffectual penalties. He imposes many one-hundred dollar fines, never grants more than one adjournment except for proper legal cause and shows real understanding of the complex Multiple Dwelling Law. It's to be hoped that other magistrates will follow his example.

Proper enforcement of the law depends also upon tenants. On this page are listed some of its requirements. If you live in an old-law tenement look these rules over. They may affect your house.

This is an old-law tenement house ⮟



If you live in such a place, check it against the rules below. The Di

rooms, interconnected, when only the first opens onto the outer air, the third room is an illegal interior room. The second room is legal.

3. Vertical *ladder* fire escapes are unlawful and should be replaced by new slanting *stair* fire escapes.

4. Walls of stair halls and the underside of stairs must be fire-retarded. Stair railings should be metal.

5. If there is not enough light to read in the public hall the owner is required to install an electric light at every floor and keep it burning continuously. As an alternative, he may put wire glass panels in the apartment doors.

6. Air shafts must be whitewashed or painted a light color. Interior walls and ceilings are to be kept in a sanitary condition by cleaning, or by painting and kalsomining if necessary. The building must be kept free of vermin and garbage.

7. The owner must keep the door bells at the ground floor entrance and at the entrance to each apartment in good working order. This is important, for, in case of fire, the bells in the ground floor vestibule may be used as alarms.

8. If there are no radiators in your apartment and you are compelled to burn coal or wood, the landlord must provide an open fireplace or a place for a stove with means of connection to a flue. If there *are* radiators and a boiler in the building, a temperature of 68 degrees must be maintained between the hours of 6 a.m. and 10 p.m. whenever the outside temperature falls below 55 degrees.

This regulation is actively enforced by the Department of Health only. If you live in Manhattan, phone the Department of Health, WOrth 2-6900. If you live in Brooklyn, phone TRiangle 5-9400. Ask for the Complaint Clerk.

The Minkoff Rent Control Law says that where there is a violation of any of the requirements 1 to 4 in the above list, the tenant does not have to pay more than the rent paid for the apartment between September 30, 1937 and March 1, 1938. That is, the landlord cannot raise the rent unless he obeys the law. Of course, the tenant must take certain steps before he

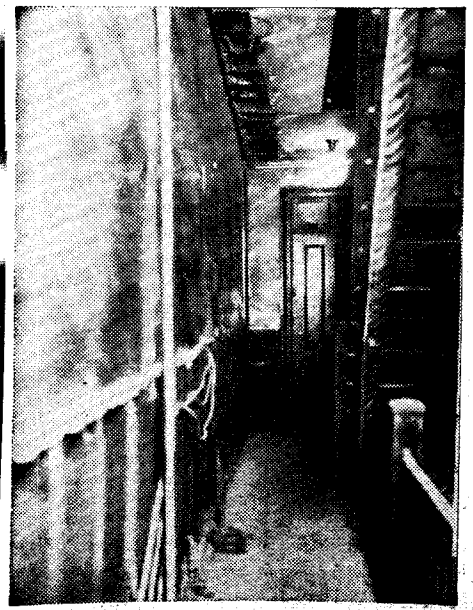
...ually are just taking advantage of 4 per cent interest, 10-year installment loans being made under a scheme worked out between savings banks and the Mayor's Committee on Property Improvement, at 90 Park Avenue.

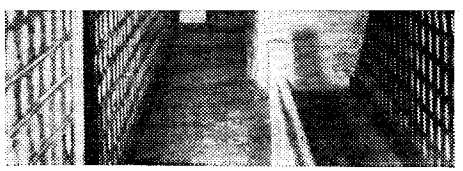
Others had read in the newspapers that on March 21, 1940, Isador Smith had been sentenced to the Tombs for six months for manslaughter following a fire in his tnement houses at 210 W. 103rd St. Four persons were killed in the fire. Mr. Smith had previously refused to comply with the fire-retarding rules of the Multiple Dwelling Law. The rules went into effect in 1936.

Prosecution in the Smith case came from the office of District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey. Violation of the Multiple Dwelling Law is a misdemeanor—but if a death results from the misdemeanor the charge is manslaughter. Hence the district attorney's interest. Hence the great fire escape installation activities.

Not so apparent in strect scenes but showing up in the annual reports of the Department of Housing and Buildings, is the work of fire-retarding public halls and stairs. Sheet metal on the walls, wire lath and cement plaster on the underside of the stair give tenants more time to escape in event of fire.

A typical tenement house corridor before fire retarding work was done ⮟

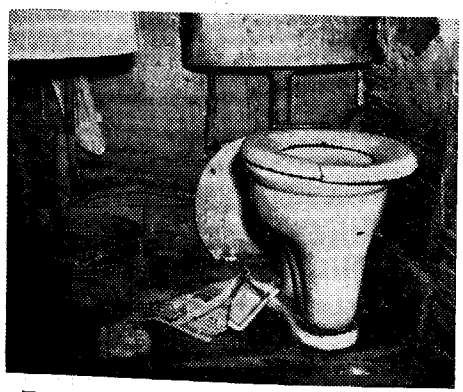




At the end of 1937 there were 15,966 permanently occupied multiple dwellings which had no such fire-retarding in public halls and on stairs. There were small declines to 14,355 by the end of 1938 and to 12,883 at the end of 1939. But as the sun rose on October 31, 1940, only 4874 such violations of the law remained. Commissioner Wilson of the Department of Housing and Buildings foresees that by June of this year there will be none left.

All this would be more encouraging if removal of other violations of the law had maintained the same pace. The Community Service Society, one of the foremost social service organizations in the City remarks that: "The following 'minor' violations—an odorous toilet, a leaking water closet, a stopped-up washtub, defective plaster, cracked floors, a broken dumbwaiter, uncollected garbage, unlighted hall toilets, dark halls, a shared toilet, cockroach infestation—do not possess the dramatic values of dangerous fire hazards, but they are far-reaching in their social effects and leave their sordid marks on the families exposed to them."

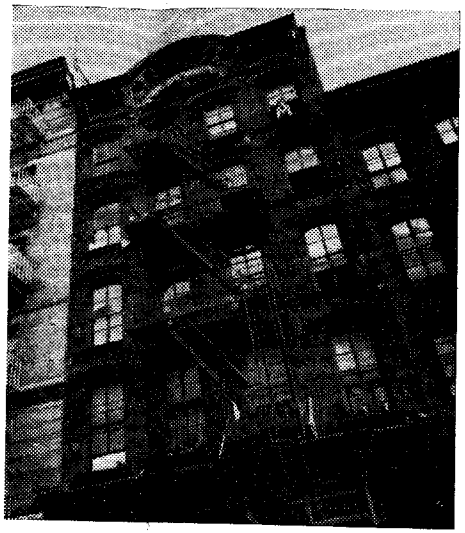
This is a "minor" violation ⮟



Figures from the annual reports of the Department of Housing and Buildings show that the number of houses in which the legal requirement of one toilet for each family had not been met rose from 50,945 at the end of 1937 to 51,481 at the end of 1939. Enforcement of the law seems to be lopsided.

The New York State Multiple Dwelling Law isn't just a law about fire-retarding. It's meant to be directed against overcrowding, ...some of its requirements. If you live in an old-law tenement look these rules over. They may affect your house.

This is an old-law tenement house ⮟



If you live in such a place, check it against the rules below. The Division of Housing of the Department of Housing and Buildings enforces them—they're in the Multiple Dwelling Law. For action on them, telephone the Division of Housing at WOrth 2-5600 if you live in Manhattan; Call TRiangle 5-7100 if you live in Brooklyn. Ask for the Chief Inspector.

Definition: An old-law tenement house is a building built before 1901 and occupied by three or more families living independently of each other.

THE RULES

1. Each family is entiled to its own private toilet. The law does not say that it has to be in the apartment, but it must be in a separate compartment on the same floor. If it is outside the apartment the landlord must put a lock on the door and give you the key. The compartment should be ventilated by a window, ventilating skylight or duct leading to the roof.

2. An interior room, that is, one that hasn't a window opening to the outer air, must open into a room that *has*. The law requires that a sash window or an alcove opening (a doorway without the door) shall be put in the partition between the two rooms. *Illegal interior rooms* have no openings to the outer air but merely open on to rooms which in turn have no opening except into a room which does open into the outer air. In other words, in a series of three ...order. This is important, for, in case of fire, the bells in the ground floor vestibule may be used as alarms.

8. If there are no radiators in your apartment and you are compelled to burn coal or wood, the landlord must provide an open fireplace or a place for a stove with means of connection to a flue. If there *are* radiators and a boiler in the building, a temperature of 68 degrees must be maintained between the hours of 6 a.m. and 10 p.m. whenever the outside temperature falls below 55 degrees.

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First check with the Department of Housing and Buildings to find out:

1. Is the house an old-law tenement or converted dwelling?

2. Are any of the violations 1 to 4 recorded?

3. If these violations are not recorded, ask for immediate inspection.

The tenant should offer the landlord the old rent. The landlord will probably refuse to accept it and will send the tenant a dispossess. The case will have to be answered, the old rent deposited with the clerk of the court, and a trial date set. For the court trial, it will be necessary to subpoena the records of the house from the Department of Housing and Buildings. The cost of this is $1.00.

The Minkoff Law does not prohibit the landlord from issuing a thirty-day notice for the tenant to vacate. This is often attempted as retaliation for the tenant's refusal to pay increased rent and is one of the weaknesses of the law. A bill to correct this weakness has been introduced in the State Legislature and is now in committee.

TOMORROW: Renovation raises rents. What to do about the low-income tenant.

tive, competently written, and simple enough that the tenement dwellers, in whose behalf they were written, might understand their rights and make justifiable demands. Pictures and sketches showed illegal housing details

"The Rules" were set forth clearly.[1] These examples are typical of the housing news in PM and indicate the newspaper's interest in better living conditions.

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1 PM, March 9, 1941, p. 13.

Other National News

The news of national importance in PM is largely political in nature. One does not discover as much sectional news as in the ordinary daily newspaper, unless it is a regional story with some definite tie-up to the national defense program.

The coverage of important issues such as the presidential election, the draft and the lend-lease bill, to name a few, has been dealt with separately; this section will attempt to correlate the remaining types of national news found in PM.

The largest proportion of news of national import emanates from the nation's capital and is usually signed with the name of some member of the staff of PM's Washington bureau. There is no set rule about this, however, and it is not surprising to find stories headed only "Staff Correspondence" or "PM's Bureau," and accompanied by a Washington date-line.

Kenneth Crawford, ace Washington reporter for PM, is the writer of the majority of important stories from Washington. His work is strong, energetic freely written. His daily news stories often take the form of round-ups of what is new in Washington.

Crawford's "The 55th Column" is his channel for the expression of opinion, although he is not averse to expressing opinions in his news stories. PM frequently appends an italicized editorial note to Mr. Crawford's column, to the effect that:[1]

Mr. Crawford's opinions are his own. More

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1 PM, February 18, 1941, p. 12.

THE 5TH COLUMN

Why Not Abolish the Senate Debating Club? . . . Talk, Talk, Talk Won't Change Policy Already Decided by Informed Public

Mr. Crawford's opinions are his own. More often than not we agree with them. (See footnote at end of today's column.)

By KENNETH G. CRAWFORD

WASHINGTON, Feb. 18.—Why not abolish the U. S. Senate in the interests of economy, efficiency and democracy? The question is rhetorical. The time has come when we can ill afford the luxury of a plushy debating society superimposed on our legislative system. A unicameral legislature could be more expeditious and more responsible. The Senate has worn out its usefulness both as a forum and as a law-giving agency.

It has become a place where successful lawyers, politicians and business men top off their careers by acquiring a title. These citizens could be honored some other way. We could pass out ribbons, titles or both; we could establish an academy or a peerage.

We are engaged, I take it, in the business of trying to make democracy work in competition with Fascism. It is a serious business. We must adopt drastic measures to hasten our decision-making processes. We must find some way of making up our collective mind about crucial policies with something approaching the quick resolution of single-minded dictators.

Experience with the aid-to-Britain bill provides a perfect example of the Senate's less-than-usefulness. The fate of Great Britain and, indeed, the fate of the world's democracies may depend upon the speed with which this legislation is enacted. Debate started in the Senate yesterday and no man can tell when it will end. It may be two weeks; it may be a month; it may be six weeks. It may be just a week too long.

And to what end? All the arguments were in weeks ago. Citizens who had something to contribute, or thought they had—the Lindberghs, Marshalls, as well as the Whites and Thompsons—spoke their pieces [illegible] where they could get the biggest audience. Their arguments were retold in the newspapers. The debate was made official when they appeared before the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Members of the House then distilled from the mash all that had previously been said and passed the bill.

To call the same witnesses before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee after they had said their say for the radio and the House was sheer, time-serving democratic swank. For 96 Senators, not one of whom will have anything to add to the argument, now to kick the same old gong around for another month is nonsense.

* * *

The rules of the Senate are so loose that any one of the 96 men, if he so chooses out of stubborn conviction or mere vanity, can prevent final enactment indefinitely. The Senate's rules are a hang-over from the days of frontier individualism. They had their usefulness when the Senate was populated with giants—with Clays and Calhouns and Websters. They have no justification in these days when 96 almost as distinguished, as well informed and as bright men could be picked at random from the leadership of any city in the U. S. A. with a population of 10,000 or more. Few men in the Senate have as much public prestige as, say, the president of a large university. Why should these 96 be allowed to hold up vital legislation while they worry a lot of worn-out bones of contention?

Among them, to be sure, are some men of wisdom, influence and industry—Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, Senator Robert M. LaFollette of Wisconsin and Senator George Norris of Nebraska, for example. But they would be the last to set themselves up as oracles. For every hour these men and others like them consume in discussion of the pending bill, 20 hours will be taken up by nonentities repeating what they have heard from Charles A. Lindbergh or Dorothy Thompson.

* * *

Moreover, their talk will not, in all probability, change a single vote—neither the good talk nor the bad. The votes are as good as counted right now. The opposition will get no more than one third of the 96, and most of the dissenting one third already have committed themselves publicly and irrevocably. Some of them may wish they had not been so impetuous, but that doesn't change the count.

The reason few votes can be changed is that the Institute of Public Opinion, more popularly called the Gallup Poll, has spoken. Because he has not been conspicuously wrong in forecasting the outcome of any recent election, Dr. George Gallup has convinced members of Congress, by and large, that he can tell them in advance how their constituents stand on issues of public concern due to come up for official consideration. Between elections, most members of Congress are content to follow the Gallup returns. They have decided that this is a safe way of winning re-election the next time around.

The workings of democracy have been vitally changed in the last few years by two things: the radio, which keeps the average citizen infinitely better informed than he used to be about questions of government; the Gallup Poll and similar gauges of public opinion, which keep legislators informed of their constituents' reactions to the political discussions they hear on the radio.

The resulting alterations in the mechanics of democracy are all to the good. How any believer in democracy can find fault with government by Gallup, assuming that Gallup is reasonably accurate, I don't know. Instead of guessing at the wishes of his constitutents, as he used to, the legislator knows with some certainty how they stand. He then has the choice of deliberately defying their wishes or conforming. Most conform. Thus Congressional votes more truly reflect public opinion than they used to. If that is not democratic, what is? By the same token, if radio dissemination of political speeches is not democratic, what is?

But instead of taking advantage of these changes in the substance of democratic process to hurry things along, we continue to cling to all the old time-serving forms of democracy. One of these is the U. S. Senate. At least, we think of the Senate as a democratic body. Actually, it is no such thing.

* * *

The Founding Fathers did not mean that

THE 5TH COLUMN

Stringing Along With Norris, Who Voted Against War in 1917 But Now Says British Victory Is Our Best Chance for Peace

By KENNETH G. CRAWFORD

WASHINGTON, Feb. 27.—It was in the winter of 1927-28, as I remember, that William Randolph Hearst decided to vary the prosperity news with an expose of international intrigue. Almost everyone owned a few shares of stock in those days and turned first to the financial page to find out how much richer he had become in the last 24 hours. The front page was merely a wrapper for the stock quotations. I myself owned 10 shares of Cities Service, bought on the installment plan, and therefore had my claims staked out in the New Era.

But the day the Hearst documents turned up on page one of the Washington *Herald*, I didn't bother to find out whether Cities Service was 62½ or 63. Here it was in black and white, supported by reproductions of the originals: Senators Borah, LaFollette, Norris and Heflin were in the pay of the Mexican Government. Payments to one or all of them had amounted to between $15,000 and $500,000. The Calles Regime had set up a fund of $1,200,000 to buy support in the U. S. A. and these Senators were listed as sellers.

The Senate started an investigation immediately. Senator Hiram Johnson of California, although a political ally of Hearst, was one of the first to declare the whole thing a hoax. He was a member of the investigating committee.

Senator George Norris of Nebraska, then the leader of the Liberal members derisively called sons of-the-wild-jackass because they were skeptical about the deity of Calvin Coolidge, was laid up with a cold. Since he was unable to come to the committee, the committee sent a representative to Senator Norris to him. Senator Johnson



Senator Norris

son marched solemnly across the Capitol grounds to the Methodist Building, where Senator and Mrs. Norris lived in a small apartment. The press trailed along to find out what Mr. Norris would have to say about publisher Hearst. I have forgotten the Senator's words. They were not complimentary, but on the other hand neither were they epigrammatical.

On the return trip to the Capitol, I well remember there was head-shaking. The old man had lost his fire. He was sick and discouraged. This George Norris, who didn't seem to care very much what Hearst said about him, was not the George Norris who had braved persecution and ostracism to oppose U. S. entry into the World War, who had fought for public power when any kind of public ownership was sacrilege, who dared to suggest that all was not well in this best of all possible worlds. Truly, there was no place in the new era for his brand of dissent.

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Hearst's Mexican documents turned out to be crude forgeries, which surprised nobody familiar with the methods of the Hearst press and character of the Senators involved. The headshaking about Senator Norris's impending death or retirement from public life turned out to be premature, to the amazement of his enemies and the delight of his friends.

He has since been re-elected twice by the people of Nebraska. Once thoughtful fellow Republicans tried to get rid of him by the trick of running another George Norris, an unknown grocer, against him. For years, almost single-handed, he kept Muscle Shoals out of the grasp of private utility interests befriended by President Hoover. Finally Muscle Shoals became the nucleus around which the Tennessee Valley experiment grew.

Senator Norris's career came to fruition in ground fertilized by the Hearst Mexican documents and President Hoover's prosperity-around-the-corner statements. The Senator from Nebraska is one of the few men in Congress who deserves to be called great. His devotion to the cause of progressive government, his wisdom and his simple sincerity give him a unique status in the Capitol.

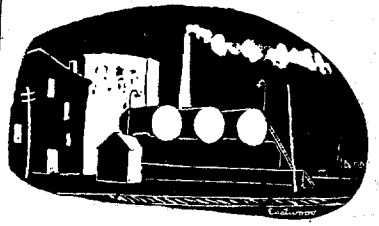
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When he says he would not vote today to "put our country into war," he means that, too. When he says he has concluded that the fate of the lend-lease bill has nothing to do with the choice between peace and war, that Adolf Hitler alone will make the peace or war decision for the U. S. A. and that Hitler cannot be appeased, his conclusion was compounded of wisdom, courage and long experience in statecraft.

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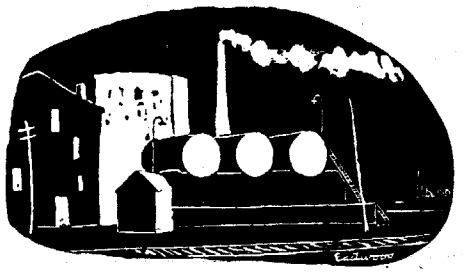
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At the end of this diatribe, another editorial note declared:[2]

> Today is one of the days we don't go all the way with Kenneth Crawford. We'd keep the Senate open just to be sure George Norris stayed on the public payroll and had a forum from which to fight for things like the Tennessee Valley project.

Crawford is not an objective critic of the government, nor an impartial commentator on national affairs. His sympathies and support are very obviously completely on the side of the New Deal and its leaders. This is typical of PM's Washington bureau as a whole but particularly noticeable in the writing of the volatile Crawford.

I. F. Stone, head of the Nation's Washington bureau, wrote editorial articles for PM beginning in February, 1940. These were also freely written and expressed his political philosophy without any attempt at objectivity. Included among them were articles such as "His Majesty -- Martin Dies"[3] and "Five Feet of Sedition."[4]

Portraits of national leaders are common feature material for PM. Notable among these is the group concerning new names in

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1 PM, February 18, 1941, p. 12.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 PM, February 24, 1941, p. 13.

To Wire-Tap or Not to Wire-Tap

An editorial article contributed from Washington by I. F. Stone, head of *The Nation's* bureau there.

By I. F. STONE

A House Judiciary subcommittee in Washington is holding hearings on HR 2266. HR 2266 is a bill to permit the head of any Government department to authorize agents in his employ to tap telephone wires.

The department head need not ask the permission of a court. He need only consult his conscience. If he feels that he has "reasonable ground for believing" that anyone has committed, is engaged in committing or may be about to commit a felony, he can order the suspect's wires tapped. There could hardly be a broader grant of power.

* * *

The sponsor of this bill is a Representative from Alabama named Sam Hobbs. Mr. Hobbs came to public attention last year as the author of a bill to establish concentration camps for non-deportable aliens. The bill didn't pass.



Rep. Hobbs

The concentration camp is an institution highly praised in certain foreign countries. So is wire-tapping.

* * *

Few practices have been as universally condemned in this country. "Dirty business" was the term Mr. Justice Holmes applied to it in a famous dissent. "As a means of espionage," Mr. Justice Brandeis said, "writs of assistance and general warrants are but puny instruments of tyranny and oppression when compared with wire-tapping."

When Congress in the last war took over the telephones and telegraphs, it forbade wire-tapping. The ban expired with the end of government operation but Congress re-enacted it in 1934. Mr. Justice Roberts, in the Supreme Court decision upholding the action of Congress, said wire-tapping was "inconsistent with ethical standards and destructive of personal liberty."

The AFL, the CIO and the Railroad Brotherhoods have all condemned any attempt to legalize wire-tapping. And although the FBI did not give up the practice until six years after Congress forbade it, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover wrote the *Harvard Law Review* last year that wire-tapping was "archaic and inefficient" and had "proved a definite handicap or barrier in the development of ethical, scientific and sound investigative technique."

Nevertheless Alexander Holtzoff, legal adviser of the FBI and a Special Assistant Attorney General, is actively supporting the Hobbs bill.

* * *

I should like to call attention in this connection to a passage from a book published here last fall on the collapse of France.

The book is called *J'Accuse: The Men Who Betrayed France* and it is by a French newspaperman named André Simone. It shows him to be a very well informed man and it carries an introduction by Carleton Beals, a well known and responsible American journalist.

In a passage on the riots which nearly overthrew the Republic in 1934, Simone writes:

> As Georges Mandel later revealed, the startling material for the anti-democratic and anti-parliamentarian conspiracy was furnished to the fascists by Jean Chiappe, the Prefect of Police. His sympathies were blatantly right wing. Through his position as boss of the Paris Police, he was able to collect a mass of incriminating data about many of the prominent leftist politicians. He had no scruples about having these people shadowed. *Their telephone wires were tapped.*

Chiappe did not confine himself to an attempt to detect felonies. He was in search of information that would give him the power to blackmail.

"Sarraut's intimate relations with women of doubtful character, Bonnet's financial jugglery and speculations, Chautemps' private secrets—these," Simone reports, "were among the treasures of Chiappe's confidential files."

Part of this information may have gone, by devious channels, to the Nazi archives in Berlin.

"A former Minister confided to me," Simone says, "that the willingness of Bonnet and Chautemps to come to an understanding with Hitler was partially explained by the fact that the German Chancellor knew too much about them. Nazi agents, my informant added, constantly held the threat of making public these revelations, like a Damocles sword, over the two politicians' heads."

* * *

I think it might be well for the gentlemen of the House Judiciary subcommittee to consider this evidence from France before they approve a bill that would legalize the same kind of "dirty business" in America.

February 18, 1941, p. 12.

Winant All Set as Ambassador to

London, U.S. Sources Agree GOP Liberal Is FDR's Certain Choice

By WELDON JAMES

John Gilbert Winant, 51, liberal Republican and former Governor of New Hampshire, will be President Roosevelt's next Ambassador to Great Britain.

PM made this prediction last Dec. 4 on the basis of exclusive advices from London. Today correspondents of both the United Press and the New York *Times*, in dispatches from Washington and London, say it seems certain. We agree.

Announcement of the nomination by FDR is expected today or tomorrow.

The story broke in London early today, the United Press quoting "usually well-informed sources" for its announcement. The *Times* carried essentially the same report, from London, in its late city edition.

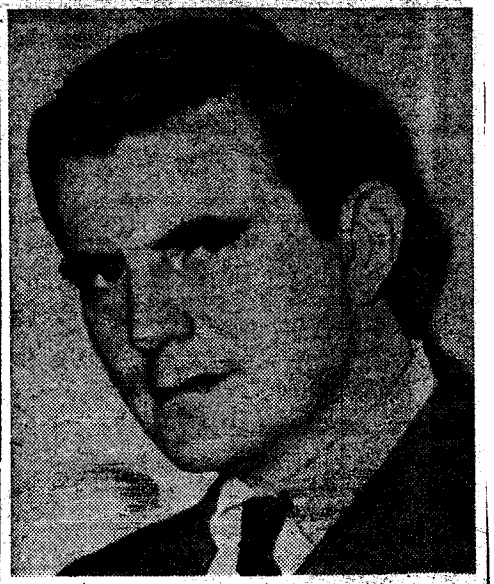
Choice Made a Week Ago

Later, from Washington, the United Press tied its story to "an excellent authority" there. It added that the White House would not confirm the report and that Mr. Winant, in the capital for FDR's inauguration yesterday, said that he had heard reports of his impending nomination but that "I don't want to make any statement on them."

President Roosevelt told a press conference about a week ago that he had picked the man for job and said he would soon send to the Senate his nomination for a successor to Joseph P. Kennedy, who presented his resignation immediately after FDR's election to a third term.

Winant: His Background

Governor of New Hampshire in 1925 and 1936 and from 1931 to 1934, Mr. Winant long has been interested in labor problems and social legislation. He was first chairman of the Social Security Board, headed the Textile Labor Board of 1934, and since



John G. Winant

rank of Minister, to assist in co-ordinating U. S. defense production efforts with Britain's.

Born in New York City 51 years ago, Mr. Winant transplanted himself back to New England after graduation from St. Paul's School. He took a master's degree at Princeton, enlisted as a private in Paris in 1917, became captain commanding the Eighth Aero Squadron. His career in New Hampshire politics and his interest in social problems prepared him for his early association with the New Deal and his ultimate status as a confidant and adviser of President Roosevelt, whom he supported for re-election in 1940.

He is Episcopalian, married, has a daughter and two sons, lives in Concord, N. H. Because of his stature and his manner of speaking, friends often compare him to Abraham Lincoln.

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He first entered the European scene in 1935, when he became assistant director of the ILO, stepping up to the directorship two years later.

Tall, angular, a careless dresser with tousled black hair and slow, deliberate speech, Mr. Winant made many friends during his stay in Europe, including several present members of the British Cabinet. Among them is Ernest Bevin, Labor Minister, whom he knew as result of his work for the ILO.

British Believed Cordial

Though the Foreign Office would not discuss the Ambassadorship until the appointment has been made, dispatches from London indicated that Mr. Winant would get a cordial welcome there. The United Press reported that the British generally would approve the appointment and that "with the British Labor Party rising to preeminence in the War Cabinet, and with all indications pointing to social changes in post-war Britain, he was considered by White House advisers to be the prominent American who could best strike the common denominator among the labor and other classes of Britain."

Both Washington and London reports indicated that Mr. Winant might be accompanied by a business man aide holding the

[illegible] New England after graduation from St. Paul's School. He took a master's degree at Princeton, enlisted as a private in Paris in 1917, became captain commanding the Eighth Aero Squadron. His career in New Hampshire politics and his interest in social problems prepared him for his early association with the New Deal and his ultimate status as a confidant and adviser of President Roosevelt, whom he supported for reelection in 1940.

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21, 1941, p. 8.

the government's defense program, of which the story of "Leon Henderson, Defense Commission's Price Expert"[1] is typical. David Lindsay wrote this one, but the group is not the work of any one reporter.

Another of PM's very active Washington men is Nathan Robertson whose government stories are diverse but whose special interest has been the trust-breaking activities of Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold, prominent liberal leader. Robertson's work includes such representative stories as "Behind the Scenes of the Profits Tax,"[2] a discussion of the legislative machinations to forward the tax, and "Army Projects Uproot Farmers, Enrich Realty Men,"[3] a criticism of inefficiency in the national defense program.

Robertson's major contribution in the period studies was his series on the Department of Justice's investigations conducted by Thurman Arnold. Many phases of industry were attacked on price-fixing charges. The third in the series, for instance, was headed: "Why Plumbing Costs 40 per cent Too Much,"[4] and three large companies were named as the cause of high prices. Another in the group, "U.S. Says 10-Cent Stores Could Sell You Eyeglasses If..."[5] quotes Arnold's book, Bottlenecks of Business, and attacks the two largest optical supply companies as trusts.

On February 13, PM quotes Arnold's citation of information printed in PM, in "Arnold Says 31 War Industries Fix Prices and Curtail Output."[6] Several days later he reports that "TNEC[7] Will

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1 PM, December 3, 1940, pp. 22-23.
2 PM, September 1, 1940, p. 9.
3 PM, February 16, 1941, p. 10.
4 PM, December 22, 1940, p. 8.
5 Ibid.
6 PM, February 13, 1940, p. 13.
7 Temporary National Economic Commission.

Why Plumbing Costs 40 Pct. Too Much

Department of Justice Sees Factories, Jobbers, Workers In Price-Hoisting Conspiracy

This is the third in a series of articles on the anti-trust law enforcement drive of the Department of Justice. The drive is headed by Thurman Arnold, assistant Attorney-General, who holds that price reductions would result from restoring free competition in business. None of the cases mentioned below has proceeded to legal decision. Some of the charges have been denied and others probably will be.

By NATHAN ROBERTSON,
Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Dec. 21.—A notoriously expensive item in the cost of constructing and maintaining a home is plumbing. One-fifth of all *city* homes have no bathtub or shower. Five per cent don't have even running water. The reason is high cost of plumbing and plumbing services.

The Justice Department says from 15 to 40 per cent of that high cost is caused by illicit restraints in the plumbing industry.

It has indicted 12 plumbing manufacturers, a manufacturers' clearing house, seven wholesale plumbing associations, 11 jobbers, the National Association of Master Plumbers, seven city and county associations of plumbers, the International Plumbing Union and nine of its local branches, and 53 individuals in the industry.

The "big three" in plumbing—the American Radiator and Standard Sanitary Corp., Crane Co., and Kohler Co.—produce 70 per cent of the cast-iron enamelware and vitreous chinaware and more than 50 per cent of the sanitary brass goods for the entire industry. They and the other companies named as defendants make 80 per cent of all plumbing equipment except pipe. Associations named in the indictment play an important part in sales and installations throughout the country.

The indictment charges conspiracy by boycotts and threats of boycotts. It charges also that manufacturers have refused to sell to mail order houses, co-operatives and other short-cut distributors.

How It Works

This is how the conspiracy works, according to the indictment:

¶ Manufacturers agree to confine their sales to jobbers and distributors, who in turn sell only to master plumbers.

¶ Jobbers, in turn, confine their sales to master plumbers, and refuse to sell to mail order houses, co-operatives and other short-cut distributors.

¶ Master plumbers refuse to install fixtures unless they buy them from jobbers, and refuse to buy from mail order houses, co-operatives and other short-cut distributors.

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wholesale plumbing associations, 11 jobbers, the National Association of Master Plumbers, seven city and county associations of plumbers, the International Plumbing Union and nine of its local branches, and 53 individuals in the industry.

The "big three" in plumbing—the American Radiator and Standard Sanitary Corp., Crane Co., and Kohler Co.—produce 70 per cent of the cast-iron enamelware and vitreous chinaware and more than 50 per cent of the sanitary brass goods for the entire industry. They and the other companies named as defendants make 80 per cent of all plumbing equipment except pipe. Associations named in the indictment play an important part in sales and installations throughout the country.

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How It Works

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¶ Jobbers, in turn, confine their sales to master plumbers, or, if they sell to consumers, pay a commission to the master plumber even though he doesn't figure in the deal, and add it to the price.

¶ Jobbers refuse to buy from manufacturers who do not join the conspiracy.

¶ Master plumbers agree to buy only from the conspiring jobbers, and employ only members of the unions; refuse to install plumbing supplies bought more directly; and agree with the unions on the amount of time and the number of plumbers per job.

¶ Finally, the indictment charges, union plumbers agree to accept jobs only for the master plumbers in the conspiracy and refuse to install supplies bought outside the combination.

All of which still remains to be proved in court, or admitted by consent. Success in this case, the Justice Department says, would mean three things: (1) greater competition for installation contracts, with a probable reduction in costs; (2) a lower price on plumbing equipment, because the master plumber will be forced into price competition with the mail order houses; and (3) a more rapid introduction of improved plumbing equipment now assertedly is kept off the market by some manufacturers be-

partment of Justice official, "to protect manufacturers, jobbers and master plumbers in their right to seek customers where they can find them, without being harassed by commercial boycotts.

"It is equally the Government's duty to protect direct-selling houses and mail order houses in exactly the same right.

"If the jobber performs an essential service more economically than it can be done by direct selling, he need not fear being dislodged. If the master plumber's charge for retailing a piece of plumbing equipment is no more than a reasonable retail mark-up, he need not fear that the retail store of a mail order house can afford to sell more cheaply.

Union Cites Standards

"The buyer of a plumbing fixture has the same right to obtain it from a mail order house as the master plumber has to get his groceries from a farmer's roadside stand, a super-market, or a chain store."

This is a case in which the union charges the anti-trust division with invading its legal rights.

George Masterton, president of the United Association of Journeyman Plumbers and Steam Fitters, denied the union had engaged in any conspiracy with master plumbers, distributors or manufacturers. He said the union was engaged only in protecting labor standards.

Mr. Masterton said the union negotiates with the master plumbers' association, but that in most cities it would work for an independent master plumber. The union head conceded, however, that his men would not work for an individual who bought from a mail order house, or for a housing contractor, unless the deal was handled through a master plumber.

'None of Our Business'

Asked if this did not operate to channel all plumbing distribution through master plumbers, Mr. Masterton said:

"We don't question where the supplies come from, or what price was paid for them—that's none of our business. But we feel we are best protected by working only for *bona fide* master plumbers. I don't know why we were included in this suit unless it was part of Mr. Arnold's program for messing up the labor movement."

The issue between the Department and the union seems to be whether a union, in addition to determining on what conditions it will work, has the right to say whether it

difficulty getting plumbing supplies through mail order houses without going to a master plumber for installation.

Mr. Robertson's fourth article, describing the Government's charges of price-fixing in the gypsum industry, will appear soon.

Ask Legislation to Curb Price-Fixing and Growing Monopoly"[1] and gives the testimony of the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission.

As a result of the findings of the Temporary National Economic Commission, a report was made on insurance firms, tying in closely with some articles PM was running on New York state legislation and insurance practices.

The insurance report was given six pages on the first day it appeared,[2] with James T. Howard, Penn Kimball and Lowell. Leake sharing in the writing of the individual stories. The bulk, however, was Robertson's work, and except for the confusion of the alphabetical bureaucracy[3], the report was an attempt to explain the intricacies of the insurance empire and to warn the consumer of his possible losses.

The insurance stories ran from late February to mid-March and were followed by a group of other TNEC stories dealing with the restriction on natural gas[4] and the movies[5], and a final round-up "Concentrated Wealth Called Democracies Challenge."[6]

One of the most important series of articles on the national defense program was George H. Lyon's "Report on National Defense" which began on February 26. This group of stories was informally written with the inclusion of a great deal of rather unnecessary personal references.[7] From the lead of the first story forward, Lyon puts himself into his report, even to the inclusion of such

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1 PM, February 17, 1941, p. 9.
2 PM, February 27, 1941, pp. 7-12.
3 A certain amount of confusion naturally exists in dealing with reports of the "Securities and Exchange Commission" reporting to the "Temporary National Economic Commission."
4 PM, March 14, 1941, p. 9.
5 PM, March 21, 1941, p. 7.
6 PM, March 31, 1941, pp. 11-14.
7 PM, February 26, 1941, pp. 8-9.

SEC Lays Bare Huge Life Insurance Profits . . . Public High-Pressured Into Policies It Doesn't Need

By Nathan Robertson

A new and strange best seller is out today. Without it you can't know the facts of life—at least the economic facts of the nation's life. It's the long and anxiously awaited report on life insurance companies by the staff of the Securities and Exchange Commission to the Temporary National Economic Committee.

Although it's a government report, it's exciting reading. And it is important. Whether you have insurance (one-half the population does), or want insurance, or are merely a citizen of the U. S. A., it affects you. It was made as part of a survey started three years ago at President Roosevelt's suggestion to find out what's wrong with American economic life. The TNEC is now framing recommendations for the President and Congress on medicine for the economic system.

Here are the highlights of the report to the TNEC:

Life insurance companies have an annual income of more than $5,000,000,000—as much as the government had until a year or two ago. **They are growing so fast—absorbing better than $1,000,000,000 a year more than they pay out—that the assets of the 26 largest companies are expected to reach $37,000,000,000 to $40,000,000,000 by 1950.** That's as much as the public debt before the defense emergency came along.

A comparatively few men—serving as self perpetuating officers and directors of the big companies—control not only these huge reservoirs of economic power, but also, through interlocking directorates, have a substantial voice in determining the policies of the nation's biggest banks and industries. Sometimes they have used these dual connections to fatten their own pockets—at the expense of policy holders—even though some of them don't bother to attend meetings very often to discharge their duties. **Almost without exception this vast banking fund serves big business and leaves small business starving.**

While the insiders have profited with fat salaries and special economic benefits, the supposedly competing companies have got together over a period of years to agree on what they will charge the public for insurance, and what benefits they will offer. **And they have organized powerful lobbies to prevent adequate state or federal regulation, or legislation that might protect the policy holders.**

As a result, the public is not well served by the insurance system. Terrific pressure is exerted on insurance agents to sell us insurance we don't need, or kinds that are not best suited to us. During the 10 years ending in January, 1937, they increased the amount of individual life insurance outstanding by $16,000,000,000 by selling us $146,000,000,000 worth, most of which lapsed or was surrendered. Almost 80 per cent of the insurance terminated during that period was lapsed or surrendered, instead of maturing the way we expected when we bought it.

There is no estimate of how much this has cost us. But the insurance companies "gained from lapses and surrenders" $1,328,443,189, or $66,000,000 a year from 1918 to 1937.

The story of industrial insurance, usually sold in small amounts to small-wage earners, is even worse. The companies have put on unbelievable pressure to sell us this kind of insurance because of huge profits, and that's primarily because most of it lapses or is surrendered.

One batch of 44 small companies with total paid-in capital of $4,000,000 has distributed cash and stock dividends of almost $100,000,000. Meanwhile, during the 10 years ended in 1937, only 4½ per cent of these industrial insurance policies were terminated by death; less than 1 per cent by maturity. **More than 91 per cent were dropped through lapse or surrender.**

Even if we were able to hold on to it, this industrial insurance would often be a bad buy. **Although it is sold primarily to low income families, it is the most costly form of life insurance sold.**

This book's a tragedy, not a comedy. But there are a few bright spots. In Massachusetts and New York, laws have been passed permitting banks to sell life insurance without the high pressure methods used by the insurance companies. Results have been phenomenal. **Net cost to the consumer is less than half of the cost of company insurance.**

Even the insurance companies have inadvertently given us a break on two kinds of insurance—annuities and disability insurance. They miscalculated their percentages and have lost money. But they have found out their mistake and are now charging more.

There's a lot more to this insurance story. So much more that we are devoting this and the next six pages to it, and will give you more in future issues. The report has been broken down into separate stories for your convenience. We suggest you keep this paper for future reference.

Companies With Billions to Lend Let Little Business Starve

By Nathan Robertson

Most of the SEC's life insurance report to the TNEC is of interest to policyholders as consumers. That part will be told in following stories. This story deals with the effect of the life insurance business and its methods on the American citizen as a citizen. It is the part which Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney, chairman of the TNEC, told newspapermen was the most important.

The report showed that with total assets of $28,000,000,000, the 365 life insurance companies were rapidly becoming the dominant factor in the economic structure of the nation. Every American, whether he realizes it or not, is subject to the influence of this economic power and the men who wield it. Here is the way the report puts it:

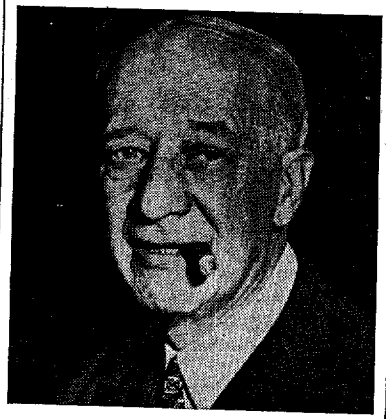
Long-Time Credit

"The situation may be summarized in these terms. **An ever increasing amount of the country's savings are flowing to life insurance companies, which are in effect sterilizing the savings funds received and preventing them from flowing into new enterprises or undertakings where the element of venture or risk is present.** Thus the small businessman or average industrialist is denied access to this more important capital [illegible]."

The report said it was the character of [illegible] "which gives the life insurance [illegible] their particular influence in the [illegible] and business community." Pointing [illegible] the money was long-time credit, available for development of business enterprises, it added:

"The bulk of the life insurance funds are handled by a group of eastern companies located in or neighboring on New York City. These eastern companies draw in funds from throughout the nation and return them to distant cities and counties. Through their hands passes much of the country's wealth. The power to invest the tremendous sums involved under circumstances which permit the companies to exert the rights of creditors in exercising a continued control over their investments brings to them influence and prestige far beyond the borders of their immediate communities.

"Indeed their decisions made in handling free cash balances, in foreclosing or scaling down farm and urban mortgages, in selecting the types and sizes of bonds or properties for investment, in fixing the areas within which they shall operate and the entire procedure followed in the acquisition and disposal of scurities are matters of such great moment that they often influence the actions of the whole business community in these matters."



Alfred E. Smith was cited in the SEC life insurance report for getting business for his oil company from the New York Life Insurance Co., while he was a director. He has been fighting federal regulation of insurance companies.

Small Loans Unpopular

Emphasizing the insurance company's grip on new savings, the report said the insurance firms accounted for 94.7 per cent of the increased assets during the 10 years prior to 1938 of all savings institutions.

"Life insurance," it added, "has been the outstanding and most dynamic savings institution and this development has brought the companies such a tremendous proportion of the country's savings that the continued direction of these funds into channels where no assistance can be given to the small businessman or new enterprise is certain to result in cutting out from under the economic structure the business foundation upon which the prime trustee securities rest."

Life insurance executives were quoted to the effect that loans of less than $100,000 were not wanted; that long experience in successful operation was a prerequisite to insurance loans; and that one of the big

MORE



John W. Davis got to only two out of 60 meetings of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. during the five years he was director. But Frederick H. Ecker, then president, asked him to stay on.

completely extraneous material as where to eat good lobster in the city of Washington![1]

In order to report on the progress of national defense, Lyon interviewed a number of key men in the program, beginning with the president,[2] then William Knudson,[3] Sidney Hillman,[4] Leon Henderson,[5] Edward Stettinius,[6] and Morris L. Cooke.[7] These were followed with an exposition on "FDR's Toughest Fight: The Aid-to-Britain Bill;"[8] an interview with Wheeler,[9] a report of "How Well Prepared Are the Army and Navy,"[10] and a story on British activity, "The British Work Hard and Long in Washington."[11]

Another fairly regular feature from the Washington bureau is Helen Lombard's column of "inside dope" entitled "A Woman in Washington." Under a veneer of Washington diplomatic and state society life, Miss Lombard frequently packs a good deal of political commentary.

PM's treatment of news of the nation is consistent with the tone of the whole newspaper; what appears is good, well-written and reflects the use of research techniques and background material. But here, as in other fields, one has the feeling that ground may not have been covered, that what has interested PM's editors is

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1 PM, February 26, 1941, p. 9.
2 "FDR's Job ... He Just Has to Be Good," PM, February 27, 1941, pp. 14-15.
3 "Knudson's Own Story of Defense Program," PM, March 2, 1941, p. 11.
4 "Hillman Says: Labor Is Holding Its Gains Under New Deal Laws," PM, March 3, 1941, p. 9.
5 "Dollar-a-Year Men are Running the Big Show," PM, March 4, 1941, pp. 10-11.
6 Ibid.
7 "U.S. Expert Developed 'Bits and Pieces' System," PM, March 5, 1941, pp. 9-10.
8 PM, March 6, 1941, p. 10.
9 "Leaders of the Forces Against Bill 1776," PM, March 7, 1941, pp. 12-13.
10 PM, March 9, 1941, pp. 10-11.
11 PM, March 10, 1941, pp. 8-9.

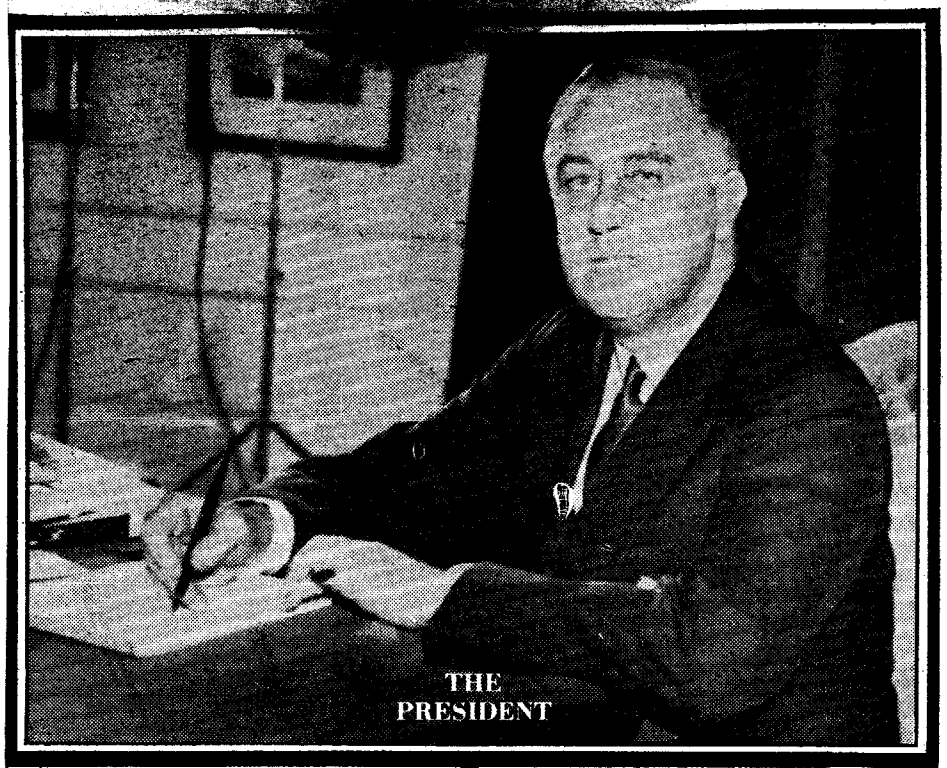
REPORT ON NATIONAL DEFENSE

Knudsen's Role in the Arsenal of Democracy

Staff of 1200 Helps Former General Motors Chief and Sidney Hillman Carry Out Mandate of Rearming the Country

Third of a series.

By GEORGE H. LYON

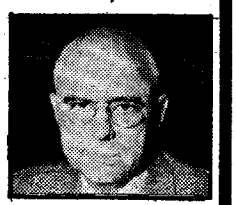


THE PRESIDENT

NATIONAL DEFENSE ADVISORY COMMISSION



Ralph Budd, Transportation



Chester Davis, Agriculture



OFFICE OF PRODUCTION MANAGEMENT



Wm. S. Knudsen, Director General



Sidney Hillman, Associate Director General



PM Exclusive

How quickly and efficiently are we building the "arsenal of democracy" and factories for powder and guns and airplanes and tanks—which President Roosevelt promised the world in his fireside talk of Dec. 29?

This was one of the first questions I wanted to answer during my stay in Washington. How long would it take us to do the job? Could we get enough of it done to give material aid to England before hell came in the spring? Could we build planes and ships and tanks and guns fast enough to convince Hitler that an invasion of the Western Hemisphere would prove bad medicine?

To get the answers I spent about a week talking with the people who are running the defense program—such people as the co-directors of the Office of Production Management, William S. Knudsen, former president of General Motors, and Sidney Hillman, leader of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and going all the way down the line to secretaries and junior clerks.

This is what I found:

¶ We are beginning to realize what a stupendous job we have on our hands.

¶ We will have in a few months enough plants and tools, raw materials and men to begin to make a real dent in the program.

¶ From now on the speed of production will be greatly accelerated; American genius for mass production will begin to make itself evident.

¶ Production will hit its real stride late this year or early in 1942. By the middle of 1942 the arsenal should be pretty well filled.

Slow Start

The simple fact of the matter is that we were slow getting started. The President saw trouble ahead but had to wait for sentiment throughout the country to catch up with him. For him to have gotten too far ahead of the country in his efforts to build defense might have proved disastrous. It is doubtful if he could have found the needed support in Congress. As it was, Congress did not

It had to find the answers to three questions:

¶ What do we need?

¶ Where is it?

¶ How do we get it?

The Commission originally went to work with these major figures in the lineup:

¶ INDUSTRIAL MATERIALS: Youngish Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., former board chairman of U. S. Steel.

¶ INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION: William S. Knudsen, from immigrant-boy-to president head of General Motors.

¶ TRANSPORTATION: Ralph Budd, successful president of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad.

¶ LABOR: Sidney Hillman, resourceful president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

¶ AGRICULTURE: Chester Davis, a governor of the Federal Reserve System.

¶ PRICE STABILIZATION: Commissioner Leon Henderson of the Securities and Exchange Commission.

¶ CONSUMER PROTECTION: Miss Harriet Elliott of the Women's College of the University of North Carolina.

This commission for the greater part still functions but it has been overshadowed by the new Office of Production Management, a super-board created by an executive order of the President in January. The OPM has two directors-general with co-equal powers, Mr. Knudsen and Mr. Hillman. The other two members of the board are Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, a lawyer, and Secretary of Navy Frank Knox, the Chicago publisher. Responsible to and a part of the OPM



Organization set-up of the defense program.

line to secretaries and junior clerks.

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Let me tell the story this way.

We'll say that we have taken a young lumberjack out of a camp in the northwest, brought him east and begun a campaign to build him into a heavyweight fighter—one who can beat Joe Louis. First he will need a plant, a gymnasium in which he can train and roads on which he can run. Later he will need a training camp and all the paraphernalia that goes with it. He will have to have a four-squared ring, gloves, weights, rubbing table and the right kind of food and drink. A retinue of trainers, strategists and managers must be assembled and drilled into a team, made to work together without dissension. And all the while this lumbering giant must be taught the art of fighting, of co-ordinating his nerves and muscles to get the most out of every punch. He must learn perfect timing. Many factors will enter into the making of this budding contender.

Same Problem

It was just about this same kind of a champion-making job which faced the Advisory Commission to the Council on National Defense when it was appointed by the President on May 28, 1940. Its function was to "co-ordinate and organize the nation's resources of men and materials for defense."

president head of General Motors.

¶ TRANSPORTATION: Ralph Budd, successful president of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad.

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Staff of 1200

It is important for you to know these people and what jobs they hold because they're the people directly responsible for building and filling the arsenal. What kind of a world you and I and our children continue to live in may depend in a large measure on how well they do their jobs.

The OPM and the Defense Commission together have a staff of about 1200, ranging all the way from the $1-a-year men who have resigned or taken leave from important, high-salaried jobs in industry down through the Civil Service stenographers earning from $1600 to $1800. There are now about 100 $1-a-year men in the defense show. I was surprised when I first started to dig into the defense story to find that the offices of the OPM and the advisory commission were not consolidated but scattered through seven buildings in various parts of Washington. The two directors-general, Mr. Hillman and Mr. Knudsen and their immediate subordinates, I found in spacious modern offices on the top floor of the new Social Securities

MORE

LABOR NEWS IN PM

In its famous prospectus, PM indicated that it would include labor under "unorthodox news" and print:[1]

> A daily department on news of LABOR, including news of the unemployed and those who work outside the regular economic system in various governmental projects.

This it did, faithfully, throughout the summer, but with the approach of fall and the nation-wide increase in employment, news of the unemployed became less and less obvious. Labor, with its increasingly complex role in the defense program, dominated from two to five pages daily.

Labor figured prominently in PM's exposition of policy. Among the last paragraphs of explanation in PM's prospectus is this one:[2]

> PM believes in the institution of the trade union. Set against the paternalism in industry of the last century there is not a shadow of doubt but that trade unionism is a more democratic, more effective way of life than paternalism -- and that honestly practical, collective bargaining is in the interest of the whole country. Would PM refrain from exposing a corrupt trade union? Of course not! But what PM would be against would be the corruption, not the fact that the men were gathered together in a trade union to bargain with their employer.

To this statement of purpose, PM has clung with a marked degree of consistency. Criticism of the labor coverage in PM cannot be made on the score of policy, but rather on the means of writing the labor "news" -- the technique of intermingling

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1 Ralph Ingersoll, "Confidential Memorandum," May 14, 1940, p.6.

2 Ibid., p.11.

biased comment with factual news in such a way that the two are inseparable and an unfair and not altogether truthful impression is created on the mind of the casual reader. News treated in this manner is an instrument of propaganda, although it may only incite a general feeling of class consciousness.

Leo Huberman was PM's first labor editor and under him the labor department became strong and greatly admired, as Ingersoll reported to his stockholders.[1] Due to a difference over the support of John L. Lewis, however, the labor editor and the publisher of PM fell out, and Huberman was notified on December 2, 1940, of his discharge on the grounds of incompetence.[2]

James Arthur Wechsler was appointed acting editor to take Huberman's place. Wechsler had been an active assistant in the "Labor Department" since its formation. Others whose names appeared in the Labor masthead from the very beginning were Amos Landman, Leon Goodelman and Maxine Sweezy. Mr. Landman and Mr. Goodelman were still receiving prominent by-lines in late March, but Miss Sweezy's name was not found after the first few weeks.

Other writers whose names are signed to Labor stories from time to time are Nathan Robertson and Marion Bachrach of PM's Washington bureau, Sutherland Denlinger, Duncan Aikman, who covered the AFL convention in New Orleans; Leo Jay Margolin,

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1 As quoted in "Two Sides to a Labor Case," PM, January 17, 1941, p.15.
2 See Chapter II, Staff Relations.

AFL, CIO Open Annual Conventions... Outlook for Unity Dark

Federation's Chiefs See Rival Fading ... Back Aid to Britain

By DUNCAN AIKMAN
Staff Correspondent

NEW ORLEANS, La., Nov. 18.—Five thousand-odd delegates, strategists, advisers and camp-followers who compose an American Federation of Labor Convention are rallying here today for the 60th annual meeting of their organization, full of confidence that labor's future is returning to their hands.

Sleek, well groomed, portly men, for the most part, they look a good deal like a convention of small town bankers or merchants. They have lounged about the corridors of the Roosevelt Hotel during the week end, spending a good deal of their time boasting of the future.

After classifying their on and off record conversations during a day and an evening of fairly constant circulation among them, it can be reportorially stated that their confidence simmers down to three boasts.

¶ There will be no need of extravagant concessions to the CIO in arranging a peace between the two 5-year-old major divisions on the labor front. The CIO may not entirely crack up at its current Atlantic City Convention, the AFL labor statesmen admit, but they expect that several unions will



either split off from or cease to cooperate with the CIO leadership as a result of disagreements over John L. Lewis' recent pro-Willkie declaration. In any event, they expect these unions either to return to AFL membership soon on AFL terms—or to remain in limbo for a few months or a year or two as independents. In either case, the AFL prognosticators insist the CIO will be reduced to second-rate strength as a labor organization, and the Federation, after this make it easier for the AFL to force a virtual surrender of many CIO unions.

These three factors are affecting the AFL delegate body's attitude toward various major issues that will confront it.

The convention, according to the Executive Council's recommendations today, is strongly for helping the British and, by implication pro-war if necessary. The greater the Federation's defense effort, as its leaders see it, the higher and the handsomer the AFL will ride in popular and Administration favor as compared with the CIO.

Confidence also affects the AFL strategies on peace negotiations with the CIO. They grow "together" every minute. William Green, in a press conference yesterday afternoon for instance, intimated that Mr. Lewis's resignation as CIO president would not help peace prospects at all. Philip Murray of the steel workers, mentioned as a successor, might be more "reasonable," Mr. Green admitted, but he added that "the United Mine Workers are paying the CIO's freight, and Phil Murray will be helpless if John Lewis's shadow hangs over him as president of the United Mine Workers."

The general feeling expressed was that Mr. Lewis would have to resign from the Mine Workers' presidency, too, before peace could be seriously considered, and Mr. Green is scheduled for unopposed re-election there Dec. 12.

Finally, Mr. Green took occasion yester-

ILG Wins Concessions

Staff Correspondence

NEW ORLEANS, Nov. 18.—Two recommendations made by the AFL executive council in its report to delegates are interpreted as fulfillment of pledges to the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

The Council agreed to give up its power to suspend international unions except where "dual organizations are formed"; otherwise the annual convention will have to act. It also recommended revocation of the special assessment of one-cent a month levied since 1937.

Lewis Denounces 'War Economy', Attacks FDR Policies

By LEO HUBERMAN
Staff Correspondent

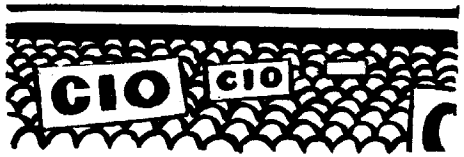
ATLANTIC CITY, Nov. 18.—In the same hall, in the same city where five years ago the founders of the CIO formulated the program on which the CIO was born, about 500 delegates assembled today for the opening of the third annual convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

They represented 34 national and international unions, 8 organizing committees, 225 State, city, county and district industrial union councils and 419 local industrial unions. They had before them, for their consideration, the 74-page report of John L. Lewis.

The words "national defense" occur frequently in the report. The term is broadened to include "not only the defense of our shores from invaders but also the defense of our living standards and our liberties from the attacks of reactionary interests which would take advantage for their own selfish purpose of the country's emergency."

Economic Insecurity

It is the latter conception of the term that gets special emphasis. The warning note is frequently sounded that "under the



guise of national defense," attacks on labor organizations, on labor standards, on civil liberties have been, and will continue to be made.

Mr. Lewis reiterates again and again the thought that "economic insecurity of our people is a menace to our international well being, which is indispensable to real national defense." He holds that the impact

New York CIO Still Split

Staff Correspondence

ATLANTIC CITY, Nov. 18.—Any story that suggested peace had been made between the anti-Lewis and the pro-Lewis forces at the CIO was wide of the mark.

To iron out the New York CIO battle, a special sub-committee here proposed a new convention presided over by Thomas Kennedy of the UMWA, with Mr. Kennedy, Hugh Thompson and Gustave A. Strebel meanwhile acting as joint administrators of the state CIO. This plan, accepted by the Quill-Lewis group, was turned down by the Strebel-Amalgamated bloc. However, action was deferred until tonight in the hope the refusal would be reconsidered.

ment of Mr. Hillman to the Labor Division of the Defense Advisory Commission is at all adequate. He points out that there are "no representatives of labor attached in any way to the divisions dealing with production, industrial materials, price stabilization, agriculture or consumers."

Hillman's Activities

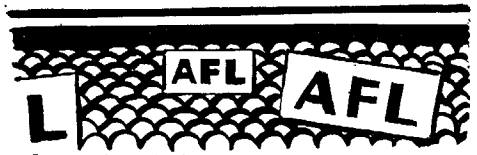
The appointment of Sidney Hillman is not only inadequate representation, Mr. Lewis charges, but Mr. Hillman's activities were far from satisfactory. That's not said in so many words but the implication is unmistakable.

He pointed out that Mr. Hillman appointed seven CIO representatives to the Labor Advisory Committee, but "the CIO was not requested to designate representatives on this committee nor were these CIO union officials called upon to represent CIO policy or the view of the CIO as such."

Even stronger is his implied condemnation of Mr. Hillman's role on the award of Government contracts to violators of the Wagner Act. Mr. Lewis recounts in great detail assurances by Mr. Roosevelt, Administration officials and Mr. Hillman that it was their policy not to make such awards. Then he points to the reversal of that policy by Government representatives who ap-

It can be reportorially stated that their confidence simmers down to three boasts.

¶ There will be no need of extravagant concessions to the CIO in arranging a peace between the two 5-year-old major divisions on the labor front. The CIO may not entirely crack up at its current Atlantic City Convention, the AFL labor statesmen admit, but they expect that several unions will



either split off from or cease to cooperate with the CIO leadership as a result of disagreements over John L. Lewis' recent pro-Willkie declaration. In any event, they expect these unions either to return to AFL membership soon on AFL terms—or to remain in limbo for a few months or a year or two as independents. In either case, the AFL prognosticators insist the CIO will be reduced to second-rate strength as a labor organization, and the Federation, after this month, will no longer have to treat with it as an equal contender.

¶ The AFL observers are confident that the ense and war situation is playing into ir hands. Their unions, they say, know ough experience how to get along with nployers and with government better than unger organizations. If not exactly less ilitant, they say the AFL unions are less necessarily contentious. Every one wants nions that can "get along" during a war near-war emergency, so the AFL expects ore favors to be tossed to it by govern- ent.

The AFL lookouts insist that the Roosevelt administration is turning rapidly in their direction. The Mills appointment to the National Labor Relations Board, they contend, clinches the point. Some of them openly expect some AFL elder statesman, like Daniel J. Tobin, president of the Teamsters Union, to be made Secretary of Labor in Frances Perkins room as a testimonial of the White House's rising regard for their usefulness. Others expect Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold's anti-trust prosecutions of AFL unions for alleged collusion to be soft-peddled soon.

Some of the leaders think Mr. Lewis's pro-Willkie declarations and general bossiness are responsible for the Roosevelt Administration's more friendly attitude; others credit it mainly to the war emergency. But all are confident of it, and think it will the Federation's defense effort, as its leaders see it, the higher and the handsomer the AFL will ride in popular and Administration favor as compared with the CIO.

Confidence also affects the AFL strategies on peace negotiations with the CIO. They grow "together" every minute. William Green, in a press conference yesterday afternoon for instance, intimated that Mr. Lewis's resignation as CIO president would not help peace prospects at all. Philip Murray of the steel workers, mentioned as a successor, might be more "reasonable," Mr. Green admitted, but he added that "the United Mine Workers are paying the CIO's freight, and Phil Murray will be helpless if John Lewis's shadow hangs over him as president of the United Mine Workers."

The general feeling expressed was that Mr. Lewis would have to resign from the Mine Workers' presidency, too, before peace could be seriously considered, and Mr. Green is scheduled for unopposed re-election there Dec. 12.

Finally, Mr. Green took occasion yesterday to re-emphasize his helplessness, under the AFL constitution, to deal with racketeers and collusionists in individual unions.

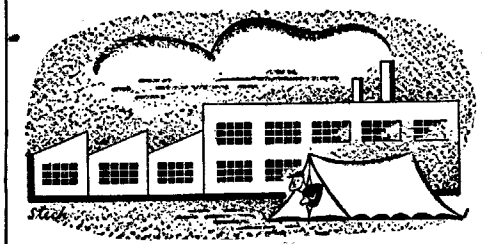
"I have no more authority than you have in dealing with a national union," he turned on a questioner. "I can beg and plead with the members, but that's all I can do.

"Why any of these unions could withdraw from the AFL and set themselves up as independents, and that's what would happen if I attempted to interfere with their jurisdictions."

IN SHORT . . .

Tenting Tonight

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill.: Employes on strike against the Aluminum Ore Co. have

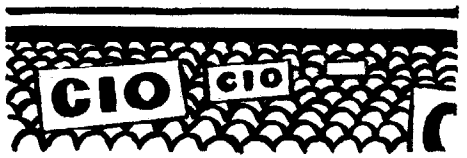


pitched seven tents around the plant while waiting for a wage boost. The firm is a subsidiary of the Aluminum Co. of America.

fense of our living standards and our liberties from the attacks of reactionary interests which would take advantage for their own selfish purpose of the country's emergency."

Economic Insecurity

It is the latter conception of the term that gets special emphasis. The warning note is frequently sounded that "under the



guise of national defense," attacks on labor organizations, on labor standards, on civil liberties have been, and will continue to be made.

Mr. Lewis reiterates again and again the thought that "economic insecurity of our people is a menace to our international well being, which is indispensable to real national defense." He holds that the impact of the European war has not altered the nature of the problems facing us; it has merely given them new forms, "but it has also made them more urg[illegible] than ever before."

Mr. Lewis is [illegible] expansion that results from the [illegible] a peace economy to a war economy, which he terms an "unhealthy economy." Not through diversion of a large part of our productive work (military supplies) is national well being attained, he contends, but rather through the greater production of goods the people need.

Some Criticisms

The Administration is attacked directly and indirectly for sins of omission and commission: WPA appropriations and relief grants were too low; "provision for young people continues to be woefully inadequate;" the Federal Government continues to fail to provide any official figures on unemployment. . . . "The lack of such a figure has made much more difficult the promotion of sound federal policy for meeting the problems of the unemployment." Mr. Lewis further charged a marked tendency by the Government to draw its taxes from low income groups, asserted that no effective measures to keep prices down have been instituted and warned that civil liberties are threatened particularly in the activities of the FBI.

Mr. Lewis does not think the appointment of Sidney Hillman to the NDAC will help agriculture or consumers."

Hillman's Activities

The appointment of Sidney Hillman is not only inadequate representation, Mr. Lewis charges, but Mr. Hillman's activities were far from satisfactory. That's not said in so many words but the implication is unmistakable.

He pointed out that Mr. Hillman appointed seven CIO representatives to the Labor Advisory Committee, but "the CIO was not requested to designate representatives on this committee nor were these CIO union officials called upon to represent CIO policy or the view of the CIO as such."

Even stronger is his implied condemnation of Mr. Hillman's role on the award of Government contracts to violators of the Wagner Act. Mr. Lewis recounts in great detail assurances by Mr. Roosevelt, Administration officials and Mr. Hillman that it was their policy not to make such awards. Then he points to the reversal of that policy by Government representatives who appeared at the hearings of the Smith Commission. Mr. Hillman is here spoken of not as labor's representative but as a Government representative.

In a press interview yesterday Mr. Hillman admitted that he had not asked either AFL or CIO to designate the men to serve on his committee. He said he wanted to have the freedom to choose people who would be of most help to him.

He confirmed the report that the Amalgamated would not leave the CIO, even if its proposals met defeat, by stating that it had never been the intention on the part of responsible officers of the Amalgamated to withdraw.

It looks as though any opposition to Lewis at this convention will be routed. If, as seems likely, the anti-Lewis Amalgamated forces had counted on support from those unions that had supported Roosevelt, they have received a severe setback.

John L. Lewis has dominated the preliminaries to date. He will have things his own way during the convention. The officers to be chosen, the program to be mapped out, the resolutions to be adopted —all the business of the convention—will be influenced by and represent the will of John L. Lewis.

Since his report urges that the CIO continue its drive to organize the unorganized, to win better conditions and higher wages, that will be this convention's planned program for next year.

NLRB Orders Ford to Negotiate With CIO

Board Also Demands Company Sign an Agreement With Union on Any Understanding Reached at California Plant

By NATHAN ROBERTSON
PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Feb. 21.—The National Labor Relations Board today ordered Henry Ford to do something he has said he would never do—negotiate with the CIO's United Automobile Workers and sign an agreement covering any understanding reached.

The Board's order involves only one Ford plant—at Richmond, Cal.—but it may force the nation's leading opponent of union recognition to back down.

The company also was ordered to reinstate immediately with back pay 142 employes and to stop circulating anti-union propaganda to its workers.

The sweeping nature of the Board's order against Ford, concurred in by the whole Board except on the reinstatement of 14 employes, was brought about by an unusual set of circumstances. The Board found that the Ford management had settled a strike in 1937 by actually negotiating with the union through a back-door procedure, but had withheld recognition and refused to sign the agreement reached.

'Wave of Hostility'

Late in 1936, the Board found, the UAW began to organize the Richmond plant. Early in January, 1937, a "wave of hostility to the UAW swept through the ranks of the supervisory employes and manifested itself in a campaign of intimidatory statements designed to discourage membership in the UAW."

Gives Viewpoint on Labor—Cautions Workers on Organization, were distributed by service employes.

In May the workers struck again, charging violation of the first settlement.

Another Settlement

Again Mr. Adams negotiated a settlement. The union demanded this time that it be put into writing. Mr. Adams refused, saying:

"The contract was a fine agreement, but if any agreements are signed with Ford they must be signed nationally and not by one local plant."

The union capitulated and the workers returned. Throughout the rest of the year the management frequently met with the union's grievance committee, in accord with the agreement, but in December union discrimination appeared again and in January, 1938, the company refused to meet the union committee.

Meanwhile, the Board found, the company by discriminations in layoffs and reinstatements had cut union membership down from 943 in the fall of 1937 to 375 in January, 1938.

In the Labor Board hearings, the Ford company contended that Mr. Adams, who had negotiated with the union and in effect had recognized it, was not authorized to represent the company. But the Board in its ruling today held that Mr. Adams was an authorized representative of the company, and had acted as such in the presence of other company representatives without challenge.

'Mind Sealed'

The Board held that the company had entered into negotiations with the UAW with its "mind hermetically sealed against even the thought of entering into an agreement."

An evidence of company duplicity in dealing with the union in

Board Also Demands Company Sign an Agreement With Union on Any Understanding Reached at California Plant

By NATHAN ROBERTSON
PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Feb. 21.—The National Labor Relations Board today ordered Henry Ford to do something he has said he would never do—negotiate with the CIO's United Automobile Workers and sign an agreement covering any understanding reached.

The Board's order involves only one Ford plant—at Richmond, Cal.—but it may force the nation's leading opponent of union recognition to back down.

The company also was ordered to reinstate immediately with back pay 142 employes and to stop circulating anti-union propaganda to its workers.

The sweeping nature of the Board's order against Ford, concurred in by the whole Board except on the reinstatement of 14 employes, was brought about by an unusual set of circumstances. The Board found that the Ford management had settled a strike in 1937 by actually negotiating with the union through a back-door procedure, but had withheld recognition and refused to sign the agreement reached.

'Wave of Hostility'

Late in 1936, the Board found, the UAW began to organize the Richmond plant. Early in January, 1937, a "wave of hostility to the UAW swept through the ranks of the supervisory employes and manifested itself in a campaign of intimidatory statements designed to discourage membership in the UAW."

The union struck in April, 1937, protesting company discriminations against union members. Two days later the strike was settled in negotiations with a man named John Adams, who identified himself as the "Labor Relations man and personal representative of Harry Bennett (Ford service manager)."

But union discrimination continued, the Board found. Copies of the *Ford Almanac*, ridiculing labor organizations, and a pamphlet, *Ford Gives Viewpoint on Labor—Cautions Workers on Organization*, were distributed by service employes.

In May the workers struck again, charging violation of the first settlement.

Another Settlement

Again Mr. Adams negotiated a settlement. The union demanded this time that it be put into writing. Mr. Adams refused, saying:

"The contract was a fine agreement, but if any agreements are signed with Ford they must be signed nationally and not by one local plant."

The union capitulated and the workers returned. Throughout the rest of the year the management frequently met with the union's grievance committee, in accord with the agreement, but in December union discrimination appeared again and in January, 1938, the company refused to meet the union committee.

Meanwhile, the Board found, the company by discriminations in layoffs and reinstatements had cut union membership down from 943 in the fall of 1937 to 375 in January, 1938.

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'Mind Sealed'

The Board held that the company had entered into negotiations with the UAW with its "mind hermetically sealed against even the thought of entering into an agreement."

An evidence of company duplicity in dealing with the union in this case was a remark attributed to Mr. Adams, the company spokesman, during negotiations with the union. Mr. Adams told the union representatives:

"After we make this agreement you give out your press release and, of course, a day or two after you'll see a statement from Ford officials—Bennett will most likely give it out—denying everything that we agreed on."

John Kobler and Lou Wedemar. In connection with the intensive publicity given the New York bus strike in March, John Hennessey Walker, Penn Kimball, Leane Zugsmith and Charlotte Adams were also pressed into service in the Labor Department.

PM's Concern for the Working Man

PM is concerned about the working man from many different aspects. It is worried about his living and working conditions -- the Preview edition of PM[1] carried a six-picture review of "Valley Town," a documentary film of the steel worker's dilemma in New Castle, Pa. It is concerned over his chances of surviving occupational dangers, and his family's security when such dangers exist, as is manifest in Tom O'Connor's mine series.[2]

PM is also interested in the progress of labor organizations, both AFL and CIO. It does not evade union politics, not hesitate to expose union corruption when it exists. Nor is it loath to relate the role of labor in the national defense program, and to keep its readers informed of legislative action which might in any way effect the present status which labor has gained for itself in this country.

As an ardent supporter of the New Deal labor ideology, PM is consecrated to the preservation of labor's hard-fought gains, and does not hesitate to roast labor-baiters such as Georgia's

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1 PM, June 14, 1940, p.14.
2 See pp. 448-454.

Factions Clash At CIO Parley

Battle Starts Early as Hillman and Lewis Wings Fight for Control

By LEO HUBERMAN
Staff Correspondent

ROCHESTER, Sept. 20.—A resolution calling for the re-election of President Roosevelt precipitated the only real battle of the New York State AFL convention in Niagara Falls a month ago. A similar resolution is likely to cause even greater fireworks today at the third annual convention of the New York State Industrial Council, CIO. About 650 delegates will participate. They represent a claimed membership of 950,000 in 600 locals of 32 international unions.

Sidney Hillman's Amalgamated Clothing Workers will sponsor the Roosevelt resolution. Opposing it are those unions that support the program of John L. Lewis. Behind the battle on the resolution is the determination of the pro-Hillman forces to keep control of the state body and of the pro-Lewis forces to capture control.

The Amalgamated has close to 200 delegates and can count on about 100 more votes, largely from the United Retail and Wholesale Employes and the Textile Workers Union. The Lewis forces claim an equal number. The other 40 odd are being wooed by both groups. (*Also see Page* 7.)

Credentials Fight

Every vote counts and both sides know it. The credentials committee was in session all day yesterday, with Daniel Allen of the State, County and Municipal workers battling the other seven members present. It was learned that between 50 and 75 delegates from some 50 [illegible] officials [illegible]

Red Caps Charge A Purge Is On

Grand Central Officials Say They Know Nothing of Layoffs

By LEON GOODELMAN

Beneath Grand Central's rush a fever of fear and protest is spreading. Twenty-one red caps have been fired and more than 180 of the total 400 are "on the list," officials of the United Transport Service Employes Union (who tote bags and parcels themselves) said today.

The furor may soon land in the lap of the Railway Mediation Board.

For more than a week hearings have been quietly taking place in the office of Station Master W. A. Cramer. There, union leaders assert, red caps have been told they were "deficient," that they weren't covering their salaries.

Veterans Go

Men who have worked in the station from 10 to 20 years are being dismissed, it is said.

It began, the red caps lament, when the wage-hour law decreed that they must be paid $2.40 for an eight-hour day. After this ruling Grand Central—on June 1—instituted a 10-cent charge for each article carried. The tipping system was eliminated.

The red caps' wages were to be made up of the dimes they brought in. In this way, the red caps charge, New York Central hoped to run the red cap system at no cost to itself. Then, to pay the cost of the bookkeeping staff needed for the new system, red caps were told that they had to turn in $2.90 each day to justify their $2.40 wage, it is alleged.

'You Can Quote Me'

[illegible] nothing, was leaving for Washington, would be back Monday.

J. H. Hustis, terminal manager at Grand Central, had heard something.

"There is no rule," he said emphatically, "of firing anyone because he doesn't earn his minimum wage. If a man is fired it's because he wasn't working on the job."

Then Mr. Hustis was shown the transcript of the Edgecombe hearing, which included this paragraph:

"Mr. Edgecombe, we called you into the office in August and told you about a deficiency of not selling checks enough to cover your salary. At that time we told you in the month of July you were $10.83 short of making your salary."

Mr. Hustis commented:
"Unfortunate phrasing."

Movie on Gompers' Life, With Muni, Is Announced

Plans for a movie, *The Life of Sam Gompers,* with Paul Muni in the role of the AFL founder, were revealed last night at the monthly Central Trades and Labor Council meeting, at Beethoven Hall.

Sixty delegates from 28 International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union locals, representing 140,000 workers, were welcomed back to the council, which the union left in 1935.

Bert Kirkman, president of Local 3, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, protested alleged police brutality in the Leviton strike. The only paper that "gave the strikers a break," he said, was PM.

$100,000 War-Chest Voted for Ford Drive

Staff Correspondence

DETROIT, Sept. 20.—The Ford organizing committee, established by the United

A Boston Strike Gets a Bad Press

It Was a Department Store and It Wasn't News

Dear Editor:

. . . We appreciate also, the fact that PM is able to print strike news—here in Boston for example, the local paper carries not a word about a local strike because the store is a large advertiser—as a result both the store and the strikers suffer as wild rumors fly around as to the justification or lack of it on each side. R. B. LANGLEY.

West Somerville, Mass.

(*From Tuesday's PM*)

Special Correspondence

BOSTON, Sept. 20.—There was a strike in the Jordan Marsh Co. in this city. It lasted five weeks. Jordan Marsh is one of Boston's biggest department stores—and one of the biggest accounts for Boston newspapers.

So if you lived in this city and didn't happen to see the pickets at Jordan Marsh you might never have known that the strike occurred. Boston's newspapers saw to that.

The store's publicity department told this correspondent that it knew of no newspaper coverage of the strike in Boston's nine newspapers except for two stories which the *Christian Science Monitor,* an international daily, ran in its Boston edition. As far as this correspondent could learn, the store's publicity department wasn't boasting; the strike was overlooked by everybody else.

To Boston publishers it apparently wasn't news that 150 truck drivers, warehousemen, shippers and packers, members of two AFL unions, walked out at Jordan Marsh. Or that there were daily picket lines at Boston's busiest intersection. Or that the Massachusetts Department of Labor stepped into the dispute. Or that the strikers went back to work eventually with the unions recognized

hind the battle on the resolution is the determination of the pro-Hillman forces to keep control of the state body and of the pro-Lewis forces to capture control.

The Amalgamated has close to 200 delegates and can count on about 100 more votes, largely from the United Retail and Wholesale Employes and the Textile Workers Union. The Lewis forces claim an equal number. The other 40 odd are being wooed by both groups. (*Also see Page 7.*)

Credentials Fight

Every vote counts and both sides know it. The credentials committee was in session all day yesterday, with Daniel Allen of the State, County and Municipal workers battling the other seven members present. It was learned that between 50 and 75 delegates from some 50 newly affiliated locals were in dispute.

The pro-Hillman majority said they had a right to be seated. Anti-Hillman Allen said they hadn't. He pointed to Article 8, Section 3, of the constitution, which reads:

"Local unions, city and county industrial councils, district councils and joint boards shall have been affiliated with the New York State Industrial Union Council for a period of three months prior to the convention unless otherwise recommended by the executive board and accepted by the convention."

Packing Charged

The anti-Hillman forces charge that both the Amalgamated and the Retail Union have tried to pack the convention by sending delegates from locals not affiliated within the stipulated period.

The pro-Hillman forces argue that these late locals have paid their per capita dues back to June and are therefore eligible. In addition, they say that last year no objection was made to representation by locals affiliated within a week of the convention.

It is expected that a hot debate from the floor will follow the reading of the credential committee's report today. A minority report will probably be submitted.

Louis Hollander, Amalgamated vice-president, said last night that he would introduce a resolution condemning Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin. This, too, is expected to provoke a lively discussion.



Veterans Go

Men who have worked in the station from 10 to 20 years are being dismissed, it is said.

It began, the red caps lament, when the wage-hour law decreed that they must be paid $2.40 for an eight-hour day. After this ruling Grand Central—on June 1—instituted a 10-cent charge for each article carried. The tipping system was eliminated.

The red caps' wages were to be made up of the dimes they brought in. In this way, the red caps charge, New York Central hoped to run the red cap system at no cost to itself. Then, to pay the cost of the bookkeeping staff needed for the new system, red caps were told that they had to turn in $2.90 each day to justify their $2.40 wage, it is alleged.

'You Can Quote Me'

Station Master Cramer, questioned about the firings, said: "You can quote me as saying I wouldn't comment."

C. W. Y. Currie, New York Central's publicity agent, said he hadn't heard of the dismissals. He passed the ball to C. R. Dugan, public relations manager. Mr. Dugan said it was news to him, too, and questioned the validity of the story.

"You know the way these darkies are," he said amiably.

He became more credulous when he was shown a part of the official transcript of the station master's hearing in the case of Cuebel Edgecombe, dismissed after 17 years' service and left with a family to support. Mr. Dugan phoned C. C. Handy, general attorney for New York Central. Mr. Handy had heard he wasn't working on the job."

Then Mr. Hustis was shown the transcript of the Edgecombe hearing, which included this paragraph:

"Mr. Edgecombe, we called you into the office in August and told you about a deficiency of not selling checks enough to cover your salary. At that time we told you in the month of July you were $10.83 short of making your salary."

Mr. Hustis commented:

"Unfortunate phrasing."

$100,000 War-Chest Voted for Ford Drive

Staff Correspondence

DETROIT, Sept. 20.—The Ford organizing committee, established by the United Auto Workers Union, CIO, today has a $100,000 war-chest and a commander in chief.

At a meeting of the UAW's executive board in Buffalo it was announced that:

1. The national office of the CIO will contribute $50,000 to the drive on Ford. So will the UAW.

2. Michael Widman, national CIO organizer, has been told to pitch his tent in Detroit and stay there.



might never have known that the strike occurred. Boston's newspapers saw to that.

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To Boston publishers it apparently wasn't news that 150 truck drivers, warehousemen, shippers and packers, members of two AFL unions, walked out at Jordan Marsh. Or that there were daily picket lines at Boston's busiest intersection. Or that the Massachusetts Department of Labor stepped into the dispute. Or that the strikers went back to work eventually with the unions recognized as collective bargaining agencies for their members.

Maybe a press notice slipped in somewhere (outside the *Monitor*) when nobody was looking. But so far this correspondent hasn't found one.

No Comment . . . Yet

The *New Republic* today published the replies of a group of "distinguished liberals" to the query: for whom are you voting in November?

Most cryptic comment was by John L. Lewis. He wrote:

"At the moment, I am refraining from public expression on the subject mentioned." (*See page 7.*)

Mr. Seabury Pleads Mr. Petrillo's Case . . . Decision Reserved

By Amos Landman

It was a vexing day for Samuel Seabury, dignified barrister.

First, his breakfast orange juice was bittered by a *Herald Tribune* editorial yesterday criticizing him for coming to the aid of James Caesar Petrillo, president of the American Federation of Musicians. Mr. Petrillo is defending a suit for a temporary injunction sought by the American Guild of Musical Artists, which would restrain him from taking over solo instrumentalists in the Guild.

Next, Mr. Seabury perspired in the sticky courtroom of Supreme Court Justice Aron Steuer for five hours listening to lawyers in other cases making short stories long.

When l'affaire Petrillo was reached, 67-year-old Mr. Seabury, former judge of the Court of Appeals, strode to the bench, laid his cane (it looked like a shillelagh) on the counsel table and listened respectfully as Louis Boudin, representing AGMA, told why the injunction should be granted.

Finally, it was his turn. Mr. Seabury may not be an opera singer, as are some of the seekers of the injunction but he has a resonant baritone.

For 30 minutes, Mr. Seabury explained that Mr. Petrillo's vices had been exaggerated as much as Mr. Tibbett's virtue.

Then he placed his old-fashioned gold watch on the table, and sympathetically remarked that he knew Justice Steuer had had a hard day.

Justice Steuer wearily raised his chin from his palms and murmured:

"Really, I'm reaching the point where I can't listen much longer."

Fifteen minutes later the hearing ended as Justice Steuer cut short Mr. Boudin, who, he said, was repeating himself. He reserved decision.

By oral argument and affidavit, the Guild said the injunction should be granted to protect the "common law right" of its members to form their own union, and because in its 44-year history, AFM had never bothered about the soloists.

Mr. Seabury replied that the Guild was trespassing on the exclusive jurisdiction of AFM, as set forth in its AFL charter. He asked the court not to grant the injunction because AGMA had not exhausted its remedies within the AFL. As for the nasty things AGMA has been saying about his client, the complaint, he declared, is "literally honeycombed with tirades of abuse" of Mr. Petrillo.

Gene Cox.[1] It is determined that labor shall not suffer through the national emergency; that the working man shall not be forced to sacrifice a step in the progress he has been making during the past nine years.

PM is interested in strikes -- not purely as news of what is going on, but rather as the inevitable outcome of unfair labor practices. For this reason, it crusades for the strikers by exploring the causes for the strike, delving into the history of the labor relations in the particular company involved, its financial background, and above all, into the lives of its employes. Since PM is a paper "for the People" and "against people who push other people around,"[2] it is not surprising to discover page after page of pictures of strikers and lengthy stories about their family life. This device was used in both Leviton (electrical supplies company) and the New York bus strike, and is certainly of value in arousing sympathy for the strikers. It is also fascinating reading, with all the allure of the type of journalism first developed on a large scale by Life magazine.

As the analysis of labor treatment in PM proceeds, it is well to bear in mind the class-consciousness which is a natural outcome of decidedly pro-labor sentiments. It is on this score that PM has received much criticism for "Communist" tendencies.

It is the purpose of this analysis of labor news to attempt to discriminate between "news" of labor and opinionated comment-

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1 "PM Acquires an Enemy," PM, December 23, 1940, p. 13.
2 Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 11.

ary. The results, although not conclusive, may indicate an interesting trend in journalism.

Labor Editorials

Since the editorial is the orthodox means of presenting editorial opinion, any analysis of a newspaper's labor policy will be based upon a study of its labor editorials. Sixteen expressions of editorial opinion appeared on PM's Labor pages between November 19, 1940, and March 20, 1941.

Prior to November 19, comments on labor were confined to the "Opinion" page. After this date, signed editorials by Ralph Ingersoll, James Arthur Wechsler, Tom O'Connor and Leon Goodelman appeared frequently. Leo Huberman wrote only one editorial, "How Many More Deaths?"[1] This condemned Congress for delaying passage of the coal mine safety bill and was a forerunner of Tom O'Connor's mine series, which began late in February.

Wechsler is responsible for seven of the labor editorials, beginning with his concern over "The Strike at Vultee."[2] This is an accusation of those who would stop the aircraft strike. It is written with strength in a straightforward manner, simple, but unflinching.

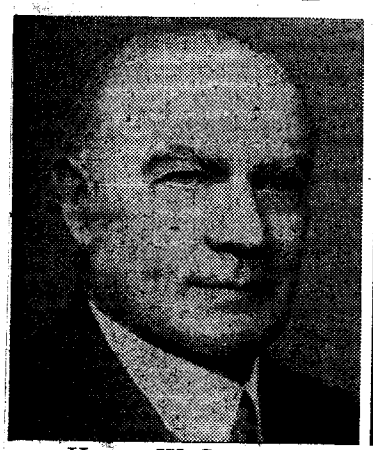
In his "Postscript on the Labor Baiters in Congress,"[3] Wechsler's lead, beneath the pictures of four Congressmen, is: "These men are dangerous."[4] Written in the first person, this

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1 PM, December 3, 1940, p. 12.
2 PM, November 19, 1940, p. 9.
3 PM, December 16, 1940, p. 12.
4 Ibid.

AN EDITORIAL

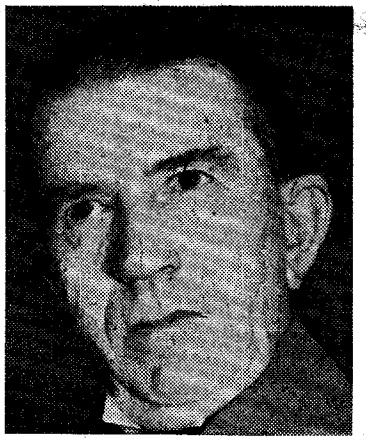
Postscript on the Labor Baiters in Congress



Hatton W. Sumners



E. E. Cox



Howard W. Smith



Clare E. Hoffman

These Congressmen are dangerous.

In PM last week I described my interviews with them in Washington. I concluded that they (and a lot of others in the same House) are trying to shatter the hard won rights of Americans who work for a living: outlaw strikes, destroy unions. They want to "put labor in its place." They are doing it all under the fake cry of "national defense."

But some people say:

"They can't be that bad. They look like average, well intentioned, law-abiding, baby-loving, amiable Americans. And damn few Americans are Fascists."

There is a lot of accuracy in this description. That is why these men are dangerous.

For they *are* "average citizens," they don't flaunt swastikas, they are kind to people they know and they are—honestly—outraged when told that they behave like miniature Fascists.

But that isn't the whole truth.

The members of this anti-labor coalition are also, by and large, substantial citizens who reflect the thinking of the "better people" of their communities. Those who come from poll-tax territory were elected by only a fragment of the community. Many of them are successful lawyers or business men or merchants or local politicos, and others are trying to be.

In the last decade we have had a social upheaval here. The poor have inherited at least a little part of our earth. Workers have acquired a new dignity and hope. It's a pretty incomplete, faltering revolution—but it has happened.

In the same era Fascism has had some very able promotion men.

Fascism is a brutal thing—but its sponsors have been able to advertise a "brighter side of it" by playing with the prejudices of men of property. They have shown that Fascism permits no bona fide unions, no pickets, no strikes (except illegal ones).

Many men of property here have genuinely hated and denounced Fascism (because it offended their best instincts), but also envied it a little (because it gratified their worst instincts). Because they yearn for a cessation of "labor trouble" meaning inroads on profit), they have become half-consciously receptive to "the best features" of Fascism.

The anti-democrats in Congress borrow the thoughts of their own environment—but primarily of its influential people. They learn to live by their stereotypes: a union organizer is a "red," a union leader is an "agitator," strikes are "subversive."

These stereotypes are deeply rooted in our culture. They explain why affable men may behave like thugs when talking about "strikers" or "organizers" or "unions." The anti-laborites got to Congress by being "safe"—by evidencing that they respected the cliches, which they probably did.

They threaten democracy today not because they are "paid agents" of conservative business men, but because, in subtler ways, they have volunteered to serve the interests. Because they have no real link with the aspirations of common men. Because they have no roots in the upsurge inexactly called the New Deal. Because they are frightened by hunger and sorrow and discontent; and in their fright they cling to simple, safe ideas.

That is how average, well intentioned, baby-loving Congressmen become dangerous.

These men are.—JAMES A. WECHSLER.

December 16, 1940, p. 12.

editorial accuses Congressmen Sumners, Cox, Hoffman and Howard W. Smith of labor baiting and of American Fascism, since they are members of an "anti-labor coalition."[1] Wechsler's writing here is filled with conviction.

"About Truth in Labor Reporting,"[2] the third of Wechsler's editorials, appeared in connection with Macy's rebuttal to an accusation made by PM.[3] This editorial is printed:

> ....first, in fairness to Macy's; second, because we'd like our readers to understand us better.

The editorial is accompanied by an outline concerning "The Facts About Salesgirls at Macy's."[4] Point by point, it stacks up PM's statements about Macy's[5] with Vice-President Delos Walker's letter of protest[6] and PM's conclusions.[7] The editorial continues:[8]

> The summary above doesn't prove that we were dead wrong or Macy's completely innocent; it shows that we were wrong on one count and obscure -- to the point of being misleading -- on another. It also shows, we think, that we had a case.
>
> But the important, long-range point is that PM intends to respect facts in its labor coverage. There are a lot of newspapers that use the word "fairness" to cover a multitude of anti-labor sins. On the other side there are journals so prejudiced -- albeit in a good cause -- that they commonly use rumor instead of fact in building their theses.

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1 PM, December 16, 1940, p. 12.
2 PM, January 6, 1941, p. 12.
3 PM, January 6, 1941, p. 13.
4 Ibid.
5 December 20, 1940.
6 December 26, 1940.
7 PM, January 6, 1941, p. 12.
8. Ibid.

> PM went into business on the theory that an aggressive, pro-labor paper could be fair and honest, that there was no need for a paper, which lied to save labor's face, but one which tells the truth -- because the truth, in an awful lot of cases, is on labor's side. And this truth is the truth not generally aired.
>
> .....Our failure to get Macy's side before going into print was our error, so we proposed to rectify it.
>
> But when we have the facts and have heard both sides we reserve the right to get mad all over again and try to do something about them. As in the case of Henry Ford, where the facts have been a matter of record for a good many months.

This, then, is PM's stand on labor at the beginning of the new year, as laid down by PM's 25-year-old acting labor editor.

In late January, Wechsler writes on the "Ford Deal, Senseless and Dangerous;"[1] and in February, he is once more aroused by the labor-baiters. His usual strong writing is apparent in "If Labor-Baiters 'Get' Harry Bridges, No Union Leader Is Safe,"[2] but one senses here a confusion of thought. For instance, in the third paragraph Wechsler writes:[3]

> The Communist party has made Harry Bridges difficult to defend because it has embraced him as its own. And when the Communists preach humanitarianism, a lot of people get stomach-trouble. If alien Harry Bridges had deviated sharply from its line, if he had said: "Let alien Leon Trotsky into the U.S. because he is a fugitive from totalitarian justice" -- the Communists would have pitched Bridges into the San Francisco Bay. They would have said:

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1 PM, January 24, 1941, p. 13.
2 PM, February 17, 1941, p. 20.
3 Ibid.

AN EDITORIAL

Harry Bridges, No Union Leader Is Safe

M. Landis of Harvard Law he was an "energetic radi- Party. He didn't investigate ld, in the Strecker case, that

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Harry Bridges

"Bridges isn't worth saving."

But what the Communists say isn't important now. Too many other people let Moscow run their minds: whatever it says, they're against. What is serious is what Bridges's enemies say: the people who cry "Communist" at the drop of a decent union demand, who would rejoice at Bridges's deportation not because he has followed any party line (which may be true) but because he has stubbornly battled the shipowners in behalf of the maritime workers.

When Harry Bridges supported John L. Lewis in his Willkie boom, he was hopelessly wrong. He helped labor's enemies. He may do other things like that. Yet none of them will be as dangerous as the labor-baiting, flag-waving, witch-hunting parade that the West Coast shipowners have launched.

The pro-Bridges National Maritime Union organ has attacked PM as "anti-labor," and that will happen again; we rejected the party line. But we won't be stampeded into lynching a man who is being persecuted for militant union leadership.

There will be another hearing now, because the Red-baiters will give Attorney General Jackson no peace until he holds one. We hope he will choose a man of Dean Landis's caliber to conduct it. Because the future of Harry Bridges isn't unrelated to the fate of the New Deal; because if the people clamoring for Harry Bridges's head win today, they will be demanding Robert H. Jackson's scalp tomorrow.—JAMES A. WECHSLER.

AN EDITORIAL

If Labor-Baiters 'Get' Harry Bridges, No Union Leader

Now they are out to get Harry Bridges again.

Two years ago at hearings before Dean James M. Landis of Harvard Law School, Bridges was investigated. Dean Landis found he was an "energetic radical." He found he wasn't a member of the Communist Party. He didn't investigate whether he ever had been; and the Supreme Court held, in the Strecker case, that past membership was irrelevant anyway. Which it is.

This should have closed the Bridges matter for a long time. But some Congressmen weren't happy. They detested Bridges because he was an aggressive union leader. They wouldn't leave him alone. They pushed through a new bill altering the Supreme Court ruling and specifically making past membership in the Communist Party grounds for deportation. Now J. Edgar Hoover has compiled a new report which has impelled Attorney General Jackson to reopen the issue.



Harry Bridges

The Communist Party has made Harry Bridges difficult to defend because it has embraced him as its own. And when the Communists preach humanitarianism, a lot of people get stomach-trouble. If alien Harry Bridges had deviated sharply from its line, if he had said: "Let alien Leon Trotsky into the U. S. because he is fugitive from totalitarian justice"—the Communists would have pitched Bridges into San Francisco Bay. They would have said:

"Bridges isn't worth saving."

But what the Communists say isn't important let Moscow run their minds: whatever it says, the what Bridges's enemies say: the people who cry decent union demand, who would rejoice at Bri he has followed any party line (which may be t bornly battled the shipowners in behalf of the ma

When Harry Bridges supported John L. Lew hopelessly wrong. He helped labor's enemies. He Yet none of them will be as dangerous as the la hunting parade that the West Coast shipowners h

The pro-Bridges National Maritime Union o labor," and that will happen again; we rejected t stampeded into lynching a man who is being perse ship.

There will be another hearing now, because th General Jackson no peace until he holds one. We Dean Landis's caliber to conduct it. Because th unrelated to the fate of the New Deal; because if Bridges's head win today, they will be demand tomorrow.—JAMES A. WECHSLER.

"Bridges isn't worth saving."

*****

> When Harry Bridges supported John L. Lewis in his Willkie boom, he was hopelessly wrong. He helped labor's enemies. He may do other things like that. Yet none of them will be as dangerous as the labor-baiting, flag-waving, witch-hunting parade that the West Coast ship-owners have launched.

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> ..... the future of Harry Bridges isn't unrelated to the fate of the New Deal; because if the people clamoring for Harry Bridge's head will win today, they will be demanding Robert H. Jackson's scalp tomorrow.

Wechsler contributed his part to the bus strike in "Our Cops Must Be Neutral."[1]

The last of the six Wechsler editorials concerns "The Wright Field Fight."[2] In it, the youthful labor champion flays the press, particularly the New York Sun, "which damns all strikes",[3] for its attitude toward an involved labor situation in Dayton.

Tom O'Connor's three labor editorials are written with brief, snappy sentences. "Wherein Lies Treason"[4] condemns Representative Cox for terming the Vultee strike as treasonous.

In "Tooling Up ... and the Purple Joys,"[5] O'Connor strikes an informal note. He makes a definite attempt to achieve a just-one-of-the-boys tone. This is more emotional than most of the labor editorials, and is not without a marked nastiness.

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1 PM, March 19, 1941, p. 12.
2 PM, March 20, 1941, p. 20.
3 PM, March 20, 1941, p. 20.
4 PM, November 29, 1940, p. 9.
5 PM, December 20, 1940, p. 12.

AN EDITORIAL

The following editorial was set in type last Saturday for publication in Sunday's PM. Shortly before the paper was to go to press, Attorney General Jackson issued a statement declaring the FBI had informed him the Vultee strike was "Communist-caused and Communist-prolonged." A decision was made not to publish the editorial, pending further information. It is now plain that Mr. Jackson (and Mr. Dies, who spoke similarly) had little or no justification for their attack on the strikers (see Kenneth Crawford's story on page 6). PM stands by the view expressed below.

Where Lies the Treason?

Representative Cox of Georgia thinks it's treason.

Representative Cox of Georgia—Georgia is one of those states down south where poor people can't vote—shouted "treason" in Congress Friday. He was shouting about the several thousand young Americans who are on strike at the Vultee Aircraft plant in Southern California.

Most of those young Americans have been getting about 50 cents an hour for building airplanes to defend the U. S. A. The union asked 65 cents an hour. The U. S. Department of Labor says a bare subsistence budget for a family of four is $1360 a year. If a man works 40 hours a week, 52 weeks a year, he can make $1352—if he makes 65 cents an hour. If he isn't off sick. If he doesn't lose his job. If there are no deductions from his paycheck for anything.

Mr. Cox said the $16,000,000,000 the Government has committed itself to spend for defense is "all imperiled" if labor is permitted to "strike against the Government" now.

Mr. Cox said "such strikes are just as much sabotage as to seek to break down operations in times of emergency."

Mr. Cox considers himself a patriot.

So—oddly enough, to the minds of men like Mr. Cox—do the boys at Vultee consider themselves patriots.

The Vultee boys would say they were not striking against the Government. They might say the plane manufacturers who refused to build planes until fat profits were assured struck against the Government.

The Vultee boys would say their action did not imperil the $16,000,000,000 to be spent for national defense. They might say it will be imperiled if this nation's planes and guns and tanks are to be built by men who don't even make a bare subsistence wage.

The Vultee boys would say their strike wasn't sabotage of the airpline building program. They might say the program would be sabotaged if the government was to tell labor it had lost the right to strike.

The Vultee boys, in fact, would say that if they win their strike, they've done a lot to insure the rapid building of more and better airplanes.

Who is the greater patriot? Where lies the treason?

Well, national defense is for the defense of democracy. Democracy means letting people vote on things.

Out in Southern California, the Vultee boys got a chance to vote whether they wanted to strike. They voted, 2557 for, 57 against.

Down in Georgia, almost nobody gets a chance to vote whether he wants Mr. Cox in Congress. In 1938 Mr. Cox was elected by 5137 people—exactly 3.8 per cent of the adult citizens in his district. The poll tax, which Mr. Cox, the patriot, defends, disfranchised the others.

We'll string along with the Vultee boys. And the plain people like them all over the country, who believe in voting on things, who believe every man has a right to a living wage, who believe the majority should rule, who believe profiteering is evil. In short, who believe in democracy, and believe in defending it.

—TOM O'CONNOR

November 29, 1940, p. 9.

His lead is chatty, personal, with a kind of "old-timer" touch:[1]

> Well, they're saying now that labor ought to have a seven-day week. They're saying that defense will go to pot unless hours are lengthened, because there aren't enough skilled tool and die makers to go 'round.

The thesis of this editorial is that the above contention is "phoney", and:[2]

> It's phoney because 200 of the most highly skilled workmen in the country are laboring in the Philco plant in Philadelphia -- in this historic crisis -- turning out the tools and dies needed to manufacture the new Westinghouse violet ray toilet seat ... Hitler? Pooh! We'll bomb him with violet ray toilet seats!

"Domestic Tragedy: the Way Out"[3] followed O'Connor's series on the living and working conditions of domestic workers in New York City. He suggests a course for employer, domestic worker, organized labor and legislator. This comprises a good summary and is well written.

Leon Goodelman's contributions among labor page editorials were "The NAM's Total War,"[4] which outlined the record of the National Association of Manufacturers, and "Race Discrimination in Fascism,"[5] an editorial below the level of the majority in development, logic and writing.

Ralph Ingersoll's three labor page editorials bring the zest and raciness of his abilities to the labor page. In "PM Acquires an Enemy,"[6] Ingersoll returns once more to the subject

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1 PM, December 20, 1940, p. 12.
2 Ibid.
3 PM, January 23, 1941, p. 15.
4 PM, December 6, 1940, p. 11.
5 PM, January 20, 1941, p. 14.
6 PM, December 23, 1940, p. 13.

An Editorial

Tooling Up . . . and the Purple Joys

Well, they're saying now that labor ought to have a seven-day week. They're saying that defense will go to pot unless hours are lengthened, because there aren't enough skilled tool and die makers to go 'round.

Ford R. Lamb and Chester Cahn, who represent the manufacturers in the tool and die industry, said all that yesterday. They made quite a plea for the seven-day week. They shed sad tears because the unions wouldn't allow it. They hinted that government ought to step in and do some fast pushing around of the unions, else we'd have no nothing to fight Hitler with.

H-m-m-m. Sounds pretty convincing. Sounds as if those unions were doing dirt to all the little people who figure we've got to get strong enough to lick Hitler, or there won't be much in the world worth sticking around to see.

But it's phoney.

It's phoney because there are plenty of tool and die makers to go 'round. It's phoney because a third of all the skilled toolmakers in wonderful Detroit are either unemployed or coasting along on the kind of routine machine-tending jobs a boy off the farm could handle with his eyes shut and his mouth open.

It's phoney because 200 of the most highly skilled workmen in the country are laboring at the Philco plant in Philadelphia—in this historic crisis—turning out the tools and dies needed to manufacture the new Westinghouse violet ray toilet seat. It's phoney because the biggest tool and die shop in the country, Fisher Body No. 23, could have 4800 men at work but only has 400, and only enough work to keep them busy 32 hours a week.

It's phoney because American industry, or a large part of it, is spending all its time shouting about the unions, shouting they can't strike, shouting they can't have overtime, shouting they can't rob the till, shouting they must give all for defense or we'll have to wipe them out; but still doing nothing for defense themselves, unless they see a chance to make a real killing.

"Business as usual," they say, Stick to the patterns of 1929; hang on to the profits, as in the dear dead days gone by. Hitler? Pooh! We'll bomb him with violet ray toilet seats!

It would seem logical at this time to put all the men of America to work. And then if there are still tanks and guns and airplanes to be built, to forego the purple joys of violet ray toilet seats for a little while, and put those men to work making killing machines.

Then, we submit, it will be time enough to talk about the seven-day week.

—TOM O'CONNOR.

December 20, 1940, p. 12.

AN EDITORIAL

Race Discrimination Is Fascism

Col. Philip B. Fleming, Wage-Hour Administrator, last week dared any employer who talks of a labor shortage to sign his name to a want ad.

We think this is a reasonable challenge.

We also think that while the colonel was on the subject he might have made another dare. He might have dared industry's spokesmen to explain why **"employers are generally adhering to their former specifications of race, religion, union status and other personal characteristics."**

He might have asked why on the Pacific Coast **"in common with the rest of the country . . . a preference is being shown for white workers."**

These statements of fact are from the monthly report on labor market conditions contained in the December issue of the *Employment Security Review*, a government publication. The statements were made on the basis of information supplied by 51 state employment agencies in each of the 48 states, Hawaii, Alaska, and the District of Columbia.

Industry has faithfully recited the slogans of national defense—Democracy, Civil Liberties, Anti-Fascism. But no aspect of Fascism is more repulsive than racial and religious discrimination in employment.

What is true of the country generally is true of New York. We called the State Employment Service to check. We read an official these quotes from the Employment Security Review. He said:

"Yes. That describes the general situation here in New York State."

—LEON GOODELMAN.

January 20, 1940, p. 14.

AN EDITORIAL

Domestic Tragedy: The Way Out

The following editorial is written by the author of the series on the jobs and lives of domestic workers in New York City, which concluded in yesterday's PM. The end of the series doesn't mean the subject is dead. We will continue to print news of domestic workers and their problems.

The problems of domestic workers are legion, and they obviously cannot all be solved overnight. Just as obviously, they must be solved; not merely because it is a shame and a disgrace that any group of human beings should be so exploited, but also because the American economy cannot afford to have any such vast pool of underpaid, overworked citizens within it. Their depressed standards exert a depressing effect on the standards of all labor.

I should like to pass out some advice:

To the person who employs domestic help: Examine carefully the employer-employe relationship in your home. Make sure that in your own mind and conscience you can call it equitable. Draw up and sign a written agreement defining duties, hours of work, wages, etc. Then stick to it.

To the domestic worker: Try to improve your skills in what should be a skilled occupation, so that you can conscientiously demand a fair reward for value received. Then organize to get it. Join the union.

To organized labor: Quit neglecting—or only slightly assisting—this great group of unorganized and exploited workers. Organize them, for their sake—and for your own.

To the legislators in Albany and Washington: Give domestic workers the break from the government they deserve. Give them social security. Give them workmen's compensation. Give them minimum wage protection. Give them maximum hour protection—even though the limit be 60 hours a week. These things are their right.

That's the advice. If enough people take it, the *Domestic Tragedy* will cease to exist.—TOM O'CONNOR

January 23, 1941, p. 15.

of Red baiting:[1]

> The Hon. Mr. Cox's speech, ladies and gentlemen, is what is technically known as "Red baiting." If you're caught out, your critic is "a Red" -- if you're caught way out, " a dirty Red." If you want to attack an individual or an institution but have no legitimate excuse; just holler "Red," and let fly. If you know you're wrong and no decent American man or woman will sympathize with your position -- sing out "Red" and maybe that will change the subject.
>
> It won't change the subject in this paper.
>
> *****
>
> So the Hon. Mr. Cox is mad at PM and all he can think to do about it is call PM Red?
>
> Well, PM can think of lots of things to do about anti-democratic Mr. Cox. Such as calmly and consistently calling his stupidities and his viciousness to the attention of the public. The dishonorable E. E. Cox of Georgia is precisely the kind of man PM has been warning the American people about ever since it's been in business. After what happened in France they're not funny anymore.

Ingersoll's other two offerings to the labor page were in connection with the bus strike. The first was addressed "To the People Who Have to Walk,"[2] and commends New York's citizens for being good sports. Once again he is talking with the people and addressing them in a personal, reminiscing tone. "Bargaining vs. the Showdown"[3] urges mediation of the strike.

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Although the Labor page editorials lack the finesse of front cover or "Opinion" page editorials, they are peppy, com-

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1 PM, December 23, 1940, p. 13.
2 PM, March 13, 1941, p. 12.
3 PM, December 12, 1940, p. 14.

AN EDITORIAL

ıe People Who Have to Walk:

s of wandering around a busless
ou have been good sports about
knew the men who drove you
g your neck trying to get on and
es or made a funny crack that
d told someone at dinner. That's
ing up in this town. Or perhaps
ve everything you read in the
said, "What about this syphilis?
Tribune's against, I'm for." But
knew the men—which is worth
involving men you don't know,
fighting, the way you are, for a
out of sheer orneriness.

country. One of the things you
ized country in which men and
And that it is a land in which a
come from heaven. There is a
etitive democratic world based on free enterprise. And part of that price is occasional conflict between men and between groups of men.

The bus workers saw no way to resolve their disagreement with a rich and powerful company but to strike. They were wholly within their rights as Americans—moral, traditional and legal. Yet you were inconvenienced—you are still inconvenienced—as the result of this conflict. That inconvenience is part of the legitimate price that you and I as citizens pay for the freedom we demand and enjoy.

It is a legitimate price that mustn't be grudged as we walk a few blocks to the subway or to the store. The daily walks are an investment that you will be glad you have made when you get the dividends. The dividends will come to you when the buses are again running and you can exchange smiles with the man who collects your fare or drives your bus—with that warming feeling in your heart that you are looking into the eyes of a free man whom you have helped to keep from being pushed around—pushed around by other men, whose interest is neither the state nor your comfort but purely and simply increased earnings per share.

Considering what good sports you are being, it's highly probable that—even if you haven't thought out the details—you already understand.—R. I.

AN EDITORIAL

To the People Who Have to Wal

As far as I can find out, after three days of wandering around a busless Manhattan—a busless *midtown* Manhattan—you have been good sports about the bus strike. Perhaps that is because you knew the men who drove you around town, who stopped you from breaking your neck trying to get on and off too fast—or helped you with your bundles or made a funny crack that cheered you up, a crack you remembered and told someone at dinner. That's as I knew them years ago, when I was growing up in this town. Or perhaps you were tolerant because you don't believe everything you read in the papers—like the young man in Chicago who said, "What about this syphilis? I see the *Tribune's* against it. Whatever the *Tribune's* against, I'm for." But mostly I go back to thinking it is because you knew the men—which is worth remembering the next time there is a strike involving men you don't know, and the bosses try to tell you the men are not fighting, the way you are, for a decent break in this world but are picketing out of sheer orneriness.

You live in a great city in a great and free country. One of the things you are proudest of is that it is a highly industrialized country in which men and machines can make and do wonderful things. And that it is a land in which a man can get ahead. But these things do not come from heaven. There is a price to be paid for the enjoyment of a competitive democratic world based on free enterprise. And part of that price i and between groups of men.

The bus workers saw no way to resol and powerful company but to strike. They Americans—moral, traditional and legal. Y are still inconvenienced—as the result of th part of the legitimate price that you and I a demand and enjoy.

It is a legitimate price that mustn't be gru the subway or to the store. The daily walks a glad you have made when you get the divid you when the buses are again running and man who collects your fare or drives your b your heart that you are looking into the eye helped to keep from being pushed around whose interest is neither the state nor your increased earnings per share.

Considering what good sports you are even if you haven't thought out the details

petent, and forthright. The issues are put forth simply and directly, so that the layman has no trouble in grasping the argument. The policy of allowing staff members to write their own editorials in connection with a particular story or series is adhered to.

Labor Crusades

Due to the scope of this study, it would be impossible to analyze completely every minor crusade and every sympathetic treatment of a labor issue made by the newspaper PM. For this reason, six different crusades, several of them of major importance, have been chosen. Each will be dealt with carefully and at length. A thorough understanding of the techniques employed in the editing of PM's Labor pages can be gained from these six major projects.

1. Ford Crusade

Ingersoll and his Labor staff have been pursuing Henry Ford's anti-labor policy consistently and unrelentingly since PM began doing business. During August, 1940, the tempo of the "putsch" on Ford increased, with Marion Bachrach[1] reporting from Washington on the National Labor Relations Board decision against Ford in Dallas and Amos Landman[2] reporting that thirty-seven pattern makers were fired by Ford for attending a meeting of the United Auto Workers.

Between August and December, when the fight against Ford

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1 PM, August 9, 1940, p. 15.
2 PM, August 23, 1940, p. 10.

went into full swing, there were occasional barbed stories but not on the scale of later activities. In early December, a streamer headline over a Nathan Robertson story from Washington declared that "Hillman Demands that U.S. Cancel New Ford Contract."[1] In the sub-headline to this story appears the first evidence of comment inserted as news, for Ford is here termed "Labor's Arch-Enemy."[2]

After two paragraphs of straight news, Robertson writes:[3]

> The incident clearly reveals, however, that the confusion over contract awards disclosed in PM's series has not been eliminated. It seems to be increasing.

From this point on, Robertson cites examples of this "confusion" not remotely connected with Ford. This portion of the story should have been separately headlined in order to have meaning.

A few days later,[4] the content of the above story was rehashed without any new information.

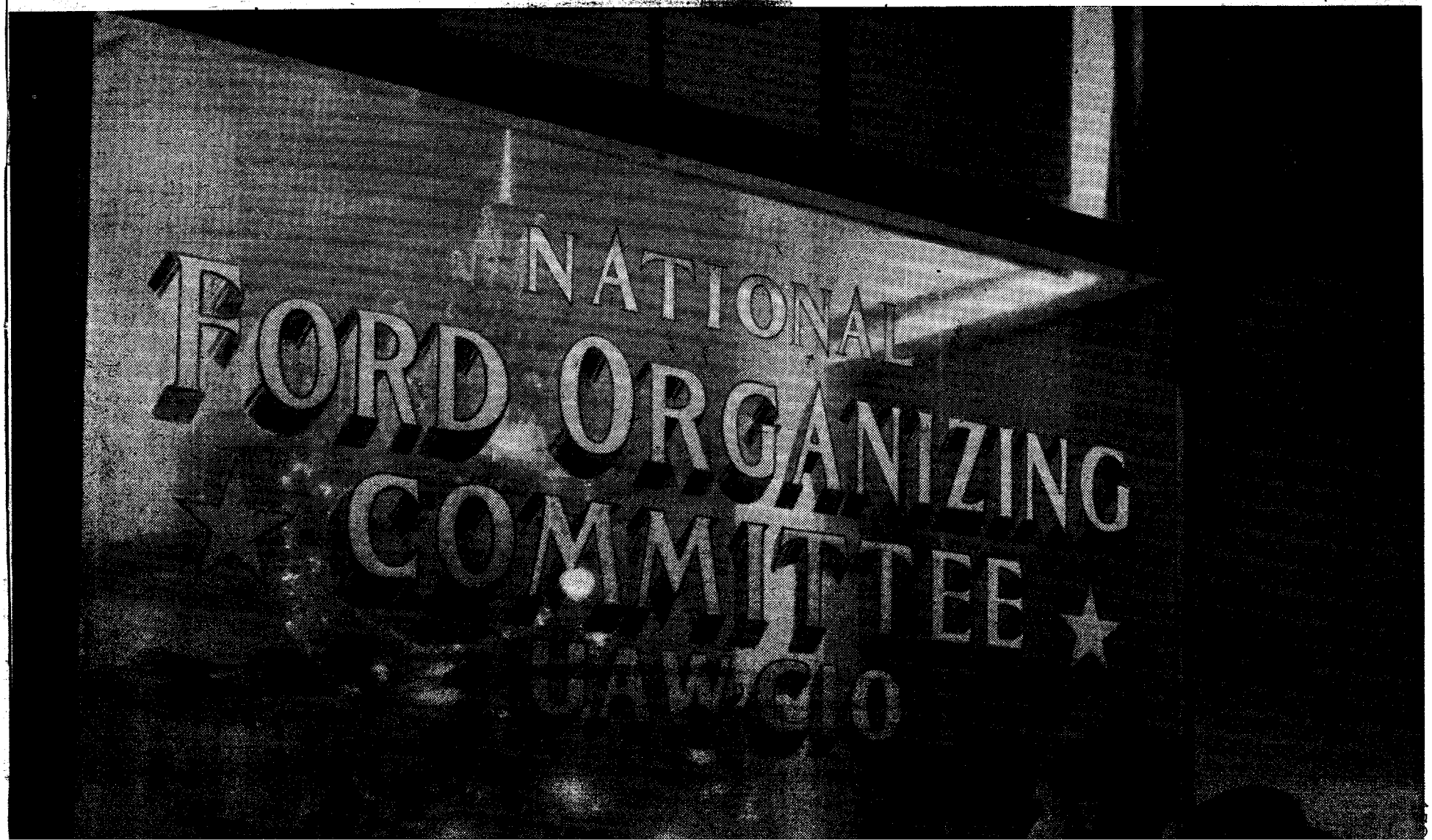
The next story of any significance was Wechsler's Detroit dispatch, "UAW Says Ford Fired 100 Men and Asks Help of Roosevelt."[5] This is fairly straight news, although written with a decided pro-union bias. Commentary appears only in the frequent quotations of labor representatives. The story implies on impending strike.

On December 24th, a full-page picture of the CIO head-

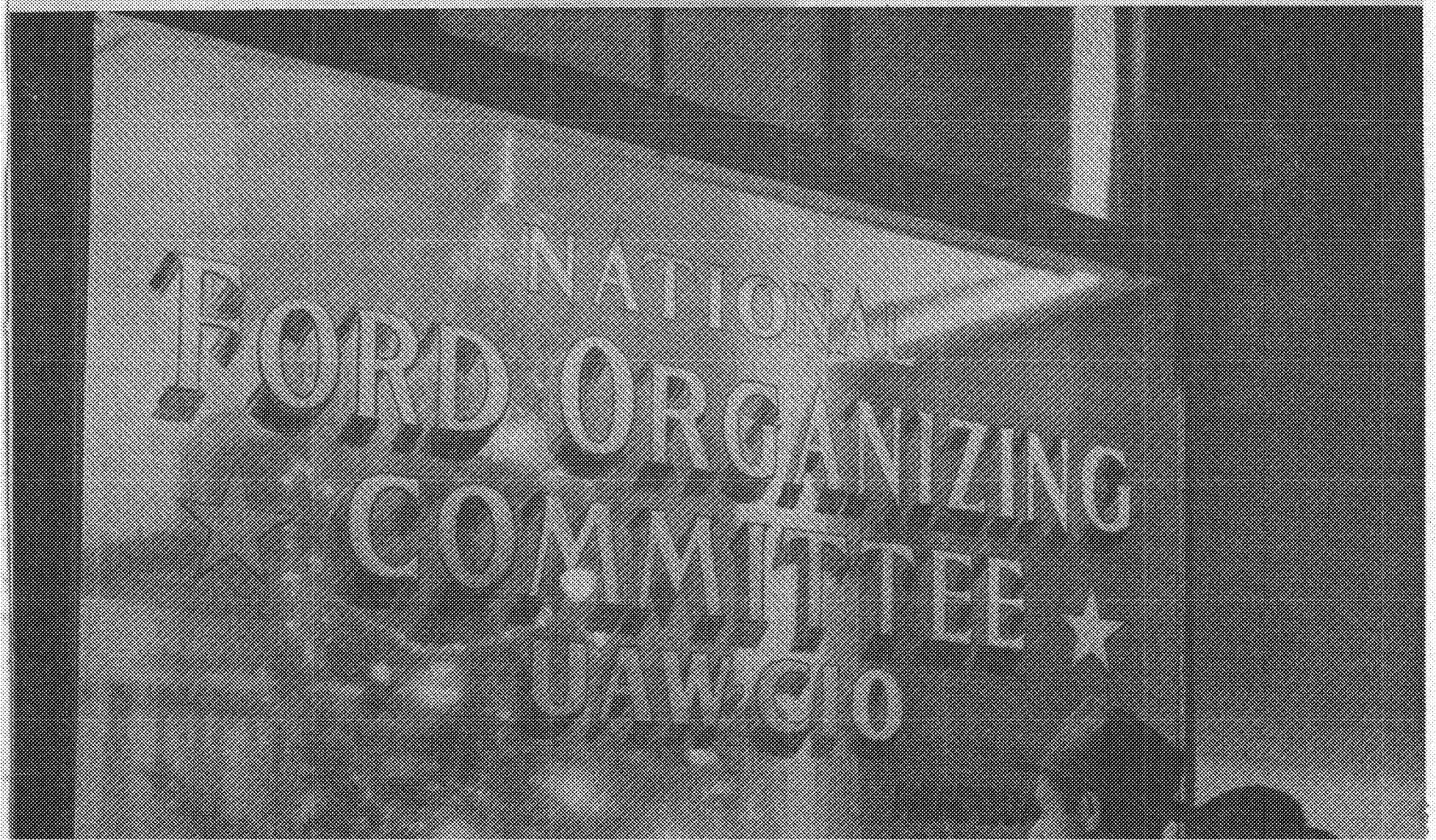
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1 PM, December 8, 1940, p. 12.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 PM, December 15, 1940, p. 13.
5 PM, December 19, 1940, p. 13.

There's No Christmas Truce in Labor's War with Ford



There's No Christmas Truce in Labor's War with Ford



Welcome to
Pleasant Valley
Middle School



The CIO's campaign to organize Henry Ford's fortress at Dearborn, Mich. (and related forts in other areas) doesn't pause for holiday harmony. On the rim of Detroit, just across the Dearborn line, is the headquarters of the CIO's general staff and key lieutenants. This picture was taken at midnight yesterday by Alan Fisher, PM photographer, who is in Detroit with James A. Wechsler to prepare the inside story—in words and pictures—of labor's war with Ford. (Their story will start in PM Sunday.) The attempt to organize Ford is labor's biggest current story, although no scare headlines have appeared yet. Repeatedly cited for violations of the Wagner Act, Ford has shown no sign of yielding; and this CIO office, housing a staff of 53, stays open 24 hours a day to plan the strategy of battle. PM will explain why organizing Ford is labor's biggest battle.

quarters announces "There's No Christmas Truce in Labor's War with Ford."[1] The caption below serves to announce the forthcoming series, "Revolt in Henry Ford's Auto Empire."

There are seven installments to this series, ranging from one to four pages. In it, Wechsler is at his best, writing dramatically, picturesquely, and competently. The first installment[2] is inmilitary phraseology, for it concerns the battle with Ford. The background material and commentary are excitingly written.

The second installment is a personality sketch of "Widman, Leader of the CIO's Siege."[3] This traces the history of the labor army's development. It is complete in detail, even to the expenditures made by the CIO.

On the same day the second installment was printed, "The Nation"[4] page of PM is devoted to three stories concerning Ford. I. F. Stone's "Ford Still Gets the Breaks, Even if It Does Jam Defense," reveals the details of Ford contracts. Another story concerns Ford's being dropped from the America First Committee.

The third installment is dramatically headed, "Ford's Purges Haunt Homes ...'Do I Go Next?'"[5] Here begins a group of case stories -- of Bill Hishok who wanted security, and found none, and of six "Victims of Henry Ford's 'Firing Squad.'"[6]

The fourth installment is a detailed report on Wechsler's

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1 PM, December 24, 1940, p. 18.
2 PM, December 29, 1940, pp. 13, 14, 15, 16.
3 PM, December 30, 1940 pp. 16, 17.
4 PM, December 30, 1940, p. 7.
5 PM, December 31, 1940, pp. 14, 15.
6 Ibid.

REVOLT IN HENRY FORD'S EMPIRE

Ford's 'Purges' Haunt Homes... 'Do I Go Next?'

PM sent James A. Wechsler and Alan Fisher, photographer, to Detroit to report the CIO's campaign to organize Ford—and Mr. Ford's counter-attack. This is the third of a series.

By JAMES A. WECHSLER

PM Exclusive

This is the saga of William Hishok who labored in Henry Ford's empire for a decade and was exiled at 11:30 p.m. on a raw night last month, 15 days before the birth of his fifth child.

Today there are seven people living on a $16 weekly relief check and Bill Hishok, a squat, sad-faced little man can buy no newspaper space to recite his plight. So when the Ford Motor Co. lauds its "fair labor treatment" in full-page newspaper ads from Detroit to Washington and New York (the blurbs appeared in eight New York newspapers Sunday and yesterday), Bill Hishok can only protest to bewildered kids and an ailing wife and inattentive walls.

Bill Hishok has told his tale to the Labor Board and maybe it will find, as he claims, he was penalized for belonging to the CIO. There were three other men bounced that night of Nov. 15 in Department 532 of the Motor Building, and all were union men.

Perhaps Bill Hishok was just "laid off," the way scores of Ford workers are at unpredictable, unexpected moments, regardless of years of service or weeping wives.

(*CIO asks U. S. action over Ford firings, page* 11.)



These are the victims of a Ford purge: William Hishok; at his right, Viola, 10; Billy, Jr., 12; then Mrs. Hishok, with one-month-old Joyce Lee on her lap; Clyde, 8; Fay, 14. William Hishok began working for Henry Ford in 1931. He was dismissed on Nov. 15, 1940. There have been more than 400 dismissals at the Rouge and Lincoln plants since mid-November. Union activity or "seasonal lay-offs"? The distinction isn't vital to hungry kids.

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Bill Hishok has told his tale to the Labor Board and maybe it will find a job for him. He was penalized for belonging to the CIO. There were three other men bounced that night of Nov. 15 in Department 502 of the Motor Building, and all were union men.

Perhaps Bill Hishok was not "laid off," the pink slips of Ford workers are of unpredictable, unexpected moments regardless of years of service or seniority rights.

(CIO asks U. S. action over Ford firings. See page 15.)



These are the victims of a Ford purge: William Hishoke at his right, Viola, 10, Billy, Jr., 12, then Mrs. Hishok with one-month-old Joyce Lee on her lap; Clyde, 8; Fay, 14. William Hishok began working for Henry Ford in 1931. He was dismissed on Nov. 15, 1940. There have been more than 400 dismissals at the Rouge and Lincoln plants since mid-November. Union activity or "seasonal lay-offs"? The distinction isn't vital to hungry kids.

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(*CIO asks U. S. action over Ford firings, page* 11.)

The point of this story is not that Bill Hishok is one of nature's noblemen; he is a gray character who roots for the Tigers, reads the funny papers, votes for FDR "hundred per cent"; and thousands of Bill Hishoks have done the tricks that went into the 28,000,000 cars that the Ford empire has produced.

Insecurity

And whatever the reason for his dismissal (which he says he wasn't told), his career explains why, when revolt began in the Ford empire, it spread so fast. **For the basic fact in this tale is the hopeless, interminable insecurity that shadows the homes of Ford workers.**

There are more prosaic facts: Bill Hishok, who worked in the block test where motors are tested for leaks and piston-knocks, got $7.20 a day; **and men doing the same thing in unionized Buick and Chrysler get $8 a day.** Discrepancies like these may explain why the Ford ads boast of Ford wages, but don't get too specific. (*PM, which sells no advertising, will reproduce this ad tomorrow with a detailed commentary.*)

"But it wasn't the work you minded so much, even when your hands swelled up. It was just never knowing whether you'd be next to go," Bill Hishok said.

And this time he was next. It had happened before.

In print it looks simple: Bill Hishok was fired. But this is the dirge that echoes through Dearborn.

Forty-two now, Hishok was the son of a Pennsylvania miner. At 13 he quit school and went to work. He ranched, farmed and mined. In February, 1918, he volunteered to fight for democracy because he was too young to be drafted. And when he got back from France he roamed to Butte, Mont., and went to work for Anaconda Copper—"I guess they ran things the way Ford does"—and nine months later he skipped to Pittsburgh.



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Their Marriage

There was a girl in Pittsburgh who was 17 and 23-year-old Bill Hishok married her. She had been working since she was 13, too, so they guessed they could get along.

Then, he told me undramatically in the crowded living room of the little house on Daniels Street:

"We heard Detroit was booming—so we just came here."

Mr. and Mrs. William Hishok arrived one spring morning in 1925. Soon afterward he was working for Graham-Paige. A little girl was born the next year, Billy, Jr. in 1928. Bill Hishok had settled down and life was looking better.

He walked voluntarily into the Ford empire in 1931, getting $6 a day in the block-test job. Then the little vision of certainty collapsed.

"You never knew when you were on, when you were off."

The first couple of years he was laid off, rehired, bounced again—and in between times there were the relief rolls. But that was the bottom of the crisis. As things improved, Bill Hishok got hopeful again. There were two more kids.

In 1938 there was an 11-month-lay-off—"that was terrible"—but back he went on Dec. 18, 1938. (He remembers the dates like great days in history). Now he was earning $7.20 a day. Sometimes he worked from 3:30 in the afternoon to midnight, sometimes he went to work before dawn.

Hard Work

It was hard work—**"my hands used to swell up, you couldn't smoke in the whole plant, you couldn't find any place to eat—but it was work."** Last April Mrs. Hishok got appendicitis while pregnant and Bill got scared as hell. She's still not better, but she came through, which was what counted.

Then on Nov. 15, Bill said his foreman came over and told him: "This is no kidding, I've got to lay off some of my best men. I wasn't told why."

It was all over again.

He went to the Ford post of the Legion, because he was a war veteran, and scurried around seeking aid. But he was asked, he says, whether he was a union man and couldn't say no. He didn't get anywhere.

Now whatever the NLRB decides, this is the key fact:

In a union plant Bill Hishok had enough seniority to escape any but a wholesale lay-off—if lay-off it was; and if it was outright dismissal the union could challenge the case. But Henry Ford deals with no "outside unions." Perhaps this is why. So at Ford's they tell you it's a "seasonal lay-off" or they may tell you nothing, and you can protest to the employment director—or fight City Hall.

They Always Survive

The Hishoks will survive, because they always do, and perhaps one day Bill Hishok will be rehired. But the interim won't be sweet and simple.

"The doctor said the baby should be fed milk every three hours; we can't seem to afford it," says Mrs. Hishok.

Now Bill Hishok claims that "there are all new men in my department—more than ever"—and when he went into the building seeking work he was pushed around by a service-man from Ford's private army. His memories of work aren't nostalgic—"the service men are always watching you"—but the rent is $30 a month, and it needs paying.

Out of these indignities and thwarted hopes and crisis-filled lifetimes the revolt at Ford emerged. These are not just disgruntled ex-employes, for the tales of the men now working are full of the same notes and the stories of the men on the next page are all fragments of Bill Hishok's.

"Once you want to go to sleep at night feeling the next day is sure," said William Hishok.

This is the poetry of the CIO drive.

MORE

Next Installment: Harry Bennett, commander of Henry Ford's anti-CIO army, a close-up and an interview.

interview with Harry Burnett, head of Ford's "service men" (reputed to be a company police squad.) Wechsler does not hesitate to record all the bald facts of the interview -- Burnett's shiftiness, his evasions, his intolerant attitudes. The third page[1] devoted to Ford in this issue contains a reprint of the company advertising to defend Ford's labor policies. PM's comments attack each statement.

The activities of Ford's Service Squad are further developed in the fifth installment,[2] in which a page is also devoted to a personality sketch of Norman Smith, publicity director of the automobile workers.

A criticism of all of Wechsler's series might be that he invariably starts off with a bang and does some really remarkable writing in the first two or three installments. Then instead of closing while he is still effective, he is likely to string out his remaining material, much of it rather weak and trivial, in an attempt to sustain his stories. This detracts from the value of the whole series.

Such is the case in the sixth installment, entitled "The Ford Success Story Still Stirs Youth ... But Not the Boys on the Assembly Line,"[4] the record of a conversation Wechsler had with a Ford chauffeur. It has little snap or value.

The summary in the seventh installment contrasts the Ford of today with the Ford of another day, and as such, is a very moving and effective conclusion.

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1 PM, January 1, 1941, p. 15.
2 PM, January 2, 1941, p. 14.
3 Ibid, p. 15.
4 PM, January 3, 1941, p. 12.

UAW Chief Warns Strike at Ford Plants Is Near

Thomas, in Nation-Wide Broadcast, Tells Case Against Motor Co.

In a nation-wide broadcast over the CBS network, R. J. Thomas, president of the United Auto Workers Union, charged that the labor policies of the Ford Motor Co. had compelled the union to serve a strike notice.

Under Michigan law this notice is required so that mediation machinery may be invoked. So far the mediators have reported no progress.

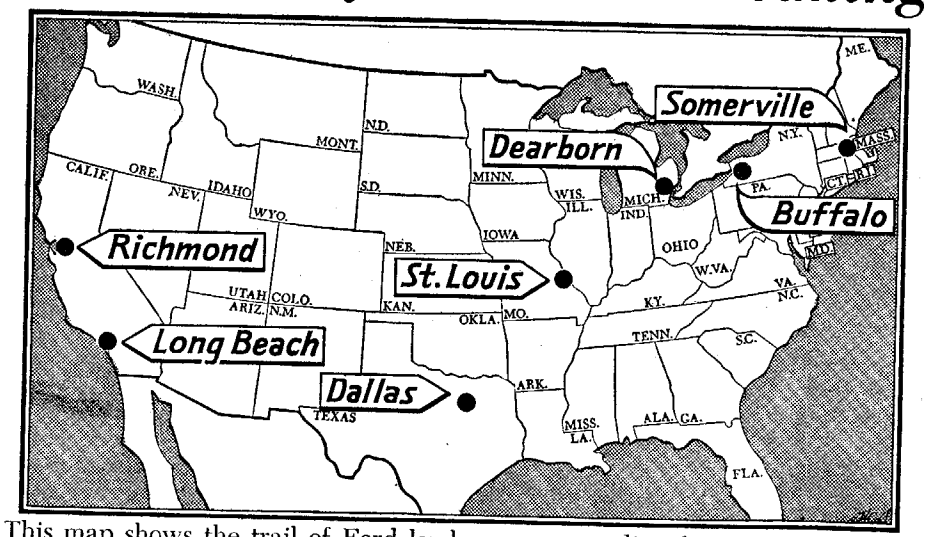
Mr. Thomas's speech was delivered Friday night. Saturday editions of the New York Times *and* Herald Tribune *contained no reference to it although the United Press released the story on Friday. Below are highlights of Mr. Thomas's address:*

"Twenty years ago Henry Ford was hailed—and not by his press agents alone—as the ideal American employer. Yet no large-scale employer of labor is today beset with as many labor difficulties as confront the Ford Motor Co. Virtually the entire automobile industry, including General Motors and Chrysler, are operating under collective agreements with a labor union, the organization of which I am president. But the Ford Motor Co. once hailed as our most enlightened employer, is a hold-out.

Back in 1914

"It is true that back in 1914, the Ford Motor Co. set wage standards at $5 a day. **Ford today pays lower wages than any major automobile** [illegible]

The Scenes of Ford Law-Breaking



This map shows the trail of Ford lawlessness, extending from coast to coast. In each of the seven cities indicated by the arrows, agents of the Ford Motor Co. have violated the Wagner Act and been convicted by the National Labor Relations Board.

Map by Harold Detje, PM Staff

ren A. Worley, who had been sent to Dalla from Dearborn, Mich., the squad kidnape and tarred and feathered Herbert Harris, a organizer for the Textile Workers Organiz ing Committee. The squad beat up Baro DeLouis, an organizer for the auto worker union. It pulled George W. Chandler, CIO organizer, out of a car and then pro ceeded to kick and beat him into a state o semi-insensibility."

"The squad prevailed on one anti-CIO employe to invite some CIO sympathizers to his home and then beat up the invited

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Back in 1914

"It is true that back in 1914, the Ford Motor Co. set wage standards at $5 a day. **Ford today pays lower wages than any major automobile corporation.** In January 1939, Ford Motor Co., through paid advertisements . . . stated then that its average wage was $7.25 a day, or 90 cents an hour. There has been no change in the wage structure at Ford's since January, 1939. Ford still pays an average of 90 cents an hour.

"By contrast, according to the official records of the U. S. Department of Labor, the average hourly wage in the entire automotive industry is a little over 95 cents an hour—five cents better than Ford. General Motors and Chrysler, direct competitors of the Ford Motor Co., today pay their workers an average of over $1 an hour. **Ford pays at least 10 cents an hour less than GM and Chrysler.**

"There is no seniority system at Ford's. The years a man may work is no guarantee that he will be called back after a lay-off period. There is no recognized, democratic grievance machinery by which a Ford worker may lodge a kick with the company and, if his complaint is justified, win redress.

Strong-Arm Squad

"The Ford workers make the charge that there is no American freedom in a Ford plant, that they must work continually under the surveillance of service men and company spies whose tactics range all the way from intimidation to violence and discharge. These charges have been substantiated a hundred-fold by the mass of evidence which the National Labor Relations Board has taken from men under oath. In the Ford plant at Dallas these were findings of the Government's examiner:

"The 'strong-arm' squad, comprising some 15 or 16 Ford employes went through the highways of Dallas, into its homes and taverns on the hunt for CIO organizers or sympathizers. Captained by 'Fats' Perry, who has since confessed his role, and Warren A. Worley, who had been sent to Dalla from Dearborn, Mich., the squad kidnape and tarred and feathered Herbert Harris, a organizer for the Textile Workers Organiz ing Committee. The squad beat up Baro DeLouis, an organizer for the auto worker union. It pulled George W. Chandler, CIO organizer, out of a car and then pro ceeded to kick and beat him into a state of semi-insensibility."

"The squad prevailed on one anti-CIO employe to invite some CIO sympathizers to his home and then beat up the invited guests. The squad attacked and beat up W. J. Houston, Dallas attorney for the CIO. It kidnaped and beat up George Baer, organizer for the hatters union, so that he lost several teeth and the sight of one eye.

"The decisions of the Labor Board and its examiners in Dallas are not isolated instances. In Dearborn, at the Ford Rouge plant, the company was held responsible for a violent attack on CIO organizers and members. It was found to have unfairly discharged 23 CIO members and to have carried on a widespread campaign of intimidation to deprive the 80,000 Rouge workers of their right to join a union.

"The Labor Board found that in St. Louis the Ford company had campaigned to crush the CIO and had fired 94 employes who had joined the union. Espionage and discriminatory discharge were found to be the case in the Ford Buffalo plant. In two California cases, the company was found to have unfairly discharged more than 1000 CIO members.

"We propose simply that the Ford Motor Co. give complete and immediate compliance to the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act. We propose that all violence and firings because of union activities cease. We propose that the labor board conduct a secret election to determine whether the Ford workers desire to be represented by the CIO. And we propose, if our organization receives a majority of the votes, that the Ford company sit down and negotiate a fair and equitable agreement on wage rates and working conditions.

"More than 700 automobile companies employing better than 450,000 workers are today doing these things under contract with the UAW-CIO.

"We ask simply that the Ford Motor Co. obey the law.

The end of the series did not mean a dying out of interest in Henry Ford's labor policies, however. A full-page, color map of the "Battleground of Ford' War with the CIO"[1] followed a news story concerning "Unionists Beaten up at Ford."[2] One of the unionists, incidentally, was a worker whose name was made known to PM's readers through Wechsler's stories.

Commentary appears again in the story, "Ford Condemned for Anti-Union Acts in the New NLRB Report."[3] A parenthetical footnote states: "But the U.S. Army still tries to please Henry Ford, see page 8."[4]

In box-format, the National Labor Relations Board decisions against Ford are listed with accompanying facts in "Here's the Labor Record on Ford."[5]

Robertson again reports from Washington in "NLRB Orders Ford to Negotiate with CIO."[6] In tracing the root of the trouble, the reporter gives way to commentary in his reference to "An evidence of company duplicity."[7]

On March 9, the full text of Thomas'[8] speech on the Ford situation is printed by PM. A number of remarks are made about the press in this story. Regular news stories concerning Ford during the last month of the study are "Will Ford Talk Peace with

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1 PM, January 13, 1941, p. 14.
2 PM, January 10, 1941, p. 19.
3 PM, January 19, 1941, p. 15.
4 Ibid.
5 PM, January 22, 1941, p. 15.
6 PM, February 21, 1941, p. 7.
7 Ibid.
8 PM, March 9, 1941, p. 19.

Ford's Policies On Labor Aren't What Ads Claim

Is the Ford Motor Co. telling the truth in its nation-wide self-promotion campaign?

The Ford advertisement reproduced on this page has appeared in newspapers throughout the U. S. A. It was published in all New York dailies (except PM). It was apparently inspired by growing clamor

WE SELL NO ADVERTISING

against Ford's labor policies. The same ad was broadcast in Detroit, Chicago, Philadelphia, Washington and other cities.

Efforts to ascertain the exact number of places in which the ad appeared proved unavailable. Two wires were sent to the Detroit office of the McCann-Erickson advertising agency, which placed the ad, requesting these figures. There was no answer.

There are a lot of answers to the ad.

Part of the answer has already been supplied in earlier articles in this series: the evidence of insecurity and fear which prevail in Ford's empire. The rest of this commentary is obtained from government records and union sources.

1 Does Ford pay good wages?

The real facts about Ford wages—were tactlessly announced by the company in an earlier advertisement in the New York Times, Jan. 28, 1940. That advertisement gave Ford's average daily wage rate—rather than an annual average wage, which cannot be checked by outside sources. In that earlier ad the company said its average daily rate was $7.25, or 90.6 cents an hour. This statement has never been retracted by the company and there have been no general wage increases in the interim.

The average hourly rate of the unionized General Motors and Chrysler plants is slightly above $1 an hour.

The average hourly rate of the whole automobile industry, according to the U. S. Department of Labor, is 95½ cents an hour. So Ford pays 10 cents an hour less than General Motors and Chrysler, 5 cents an hour

DOES FORD PAY GOOD WAGES?

1—

HERE ARE SOME FACTS about Ford Labor. They cover wages, hours, and conditions of employment which have been in effect for more than 25 years.

2— During the year ended November 30th, 1940, the Ford Payroll throughout the United States averaged 113,628 hourly wage earners, not including office employes, students, or executives. They were paid $185,105,639.12. On this basis, the average annual wage was $1,629.05.

In the entire United States there are employed approximately 45,000,000 workers. According to the latest available government figures, the annual average wage of all workers in employment covered by old age insurance law was $841.00.

If these employes received the same average wage as Ford employes, the workers of the United States would have had additional wages of more than $35,000,000,000, thus increasing the national income about 50%. Think what such an increase would mean to the workers of this country and to the American farmer, whose prices are based on the national income.

3— Wage scales in the Ford Motor Company Rouge plants are divided into three classifications:

Unskilled . . . both male and female, without experience, classified as non-productive. Minimum hiring wage . 75c per hour

Semi-skilled . Men with limited experience, classified both as non-productive and productive. Minimum hiring wage . 80c per hour

Skilled . . . . . Men with years of experience, classified as productive employes. Minimum hiring wage . 90c per hour

Wages paid above these minimums are in consideration of ability and years of service.

Minimum wage scales for unskilled labor at the Rouge plant are the highest in the industry. Top wages for skilled labor compare favorably with, or are higher than, in other automobile companies.

So much for wages. Now some facts on labor conditions in Ford plants:

4— Not only are sanitation and other health conditions the best is found in the following Compensation Insurance figures for Ford in comparison with other plants;

Out of its vast experience, the National Association of Underwriters has computed a national average rate in automotive manufacturing plants that is in excess of $1.50 premium on each $100 payroll.

The Ford Motor Company's working conditions are so far superior that the Ford cost of workmen's compensation is less than 50c on each $100 payroll.

This indicates that the chance of injury in a Ford plant is much less than in the average automobile plant.

5— The Ford Motor Company has no age limit for labor, and in fact deliberately attempts to keep older workers working. The average age of Ford workers at the Rouge and nearby plants is 38.7. The youngest worker is 18. The oldest, a railroad car inspector, is 87. We have a crane operator who is 86, and a die maker who is 83.

A recent check-up shows that nearly one-half the workers at these Ford plants were 40 or over, falling into age groups as follows:

25,819 are between the ages of 40 and 50
14,731 are between the ages of 50 and 60
3,377 are between the ages of 60 and 70
417 are between the ages of 70 and 80
12 are between the ages of 80 and 90

In addition to the so-called regular employes, the Ford Motor Company has hired, at the same regular hourly wage, thousands of workers who are blind, crippled or otherwise incapacitated for normal productive work. At the present time, there are more than ten thousand such workers on the Ford payroll. They are not selected for their ability to build cars or to maintain the plant. They are on the payroll because of Henry Ford's belief that the responsibility of a large company to labor goes beyond the point at which the unfortunate worker can no longer produce profitably.

6— The above are facts. They have been and still are open to anyone who really wants to deal in facts. Anyone who

vail in Ford's empire. The rest of this commentary is obtained from government records and union sources.

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The average hourly rate of the whole automobile industry, according to the U. S. Department of Labor, is 95½ cents an hour. So Ford pays 10 cents an hour less than General Motors and Chrysler, 5 cents an hour less on the average for the whole industry.

2 Accepting Ford's computation of its average annual wage rate, the average annual wage of General Motors and Chrysler workers is over $1900.

To glorify its wage rates the Ford company singles out a depression year—1938—when the average annual wage of all workers covered by Social Security was $841. But in that year, the index of factory pay rolls, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, stood at 77.9. In 1940 that figure was 99.7. The national average of $841 cited by Ford also included minimum wages paid to part time, temporary and seasonal employes.

3 Ford's statement of minimum wage scales is not the whole story either, although some aspects cannot be satisfactorily checked. The CIO asserts that the vast majority of Ford employes get the minimum or only a fraction more; at General Motors and Chrysler a large proportion of workers must receive higher wages than the minimum in order to average $1 an hour. And the basic fact remains: Ford's daily rate is lower than his competitors.

The CIO also asserts that Ford wages for skilled labor are so far below union scales that Ford finds difficulty keeping tool and die makers in its employ; they get better wages in union shops.

4 Ford's statement on compensation insurance does not prove that the rate of accidents is low. There are a good many areas of doubt.

For one thing, Ford is self-insured. Moreover, I encountered widespread evidence that in the terror-ridden Ford empire many injured workers are afraid to report the extent of their injuries or to press claims for compensation against the company. Many of them are given jobs they can perform in the plant despite their ailments. **And instead of receiving compensation, the cost of medical care is deducted from their wages.**

A typical case cited by the CIO is the chronicle of a Ford worker who broke his wrist in the plant. He was placed on another job. After eight weeks the company physician pronounced him cured and he was subsequently discharged after his right to compensation had expired. Later examination revealed that the wrist-bones were not quite united and that he was still unable to work at his normal employment. I have the name of this man.

5 Ford's statistics on the age of his workers are not subject to detailed check by outside sources. There was a study made, however, by Hamtramck, Mich., relief authorities who investigated the status of former Ford workers on their relief rolls. This inquiry showed that 45 out of every 100 fired men were discharged when they were between the ages of 41 to 50, and 31 out of every 100 were discharged between the ages of 51 and 60.

6 The Ford company's advertisements reached thousands of newspaper readers. They were part of the violent propaganda war that envelops the CIO's attempts to organize Ford. The CIO case against Ford doesn't prove that the Ford enterprise is a private hell on earth or that all Ford claims are false. It does prove that there is another side of the story rarely told to "people who want to buy a car or place a national defense order."

I have already described the wretched record of the Ford service department. The Ford ads are significant not for what they say but because they prove the major point of this series: **Henry Ford for the first time in his career is on the defensive, forced to rationalize in public the labor policies of America's leading industrial tyranny.**

increase would mean to the workers of this country and to the American farmer, whose prices are based on the national income.

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4— Not only are sanitation and other health conditions the best in the industry, but Ford also leads in the equipment of safety devices for the protection of employes. Proof of this is 86, and a die maker who is 83.

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6— The above are facts. They have been and still are open to anyone who really wants to deal in facts. Anyone who wants to get a job . . . buy a car . . . or place a national defense contract on the basis of fair labor treatment must place the Ford Motor Company at the top of his eligible list.

Ford

FORD MOTOR COMPANY

CIO?"[1] and "Ford Yields Points to CIO So He Can Stay Off Stand."[2]

BETHLEHEM STEEL

This series has been chosen for analysis first of all because it is another example of the PM method of exploring a city for all the angles bearing on a labor struggle, and secondly, because the writer is thoroughly acquainted with the city under scrutiny and with a number of the citizens interviewed by Wechsler. Therefore, it is possible to discover discrepancies and evidence of unfairness in this series which one might never uncover in a less familiar situation.

Regular news stories had been appearing in PM so that the readers were aware of the Bethlehem struggle when Wechsler's stories began. As is his custom, the youthful labor writer opened "The Labor Story of the Bethlehem Steel"[3] with a thorough exposition of background. The steel company's labor history was presented and the attitudes of various leading citizens and public officials toward the CIO were given. Thus far, Wechsler does an excellent job and presents his material fairly, except for a definite class consciousness which permeates his work.

The second story, "Bethlehem Faces Housing Crisis after Refusing U. S. Aid,"[4] tells the story of Bethlehem's indifference to a government housing project. It is an ironic tale, written with bitterness, and not without false impressions.

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1 PM, March 6, 1941, p. 20.
2 PM, March 26, 1941, p. 19.
3 PM, February 10, 1941, pp. 19-21.
4 PM, February 11, 1941, pp. 18 - 20.

An instance of this unfairness is the claim:[1]

> In a Chamber of Commerce blurb for Bethlehem, this paragraph appears:
>
> "Many of the early buildings of 18th century architecture are still here..."
>
> The author apparently didn't grasp any irony in the passage. The steel-workers do.

The implication here is that many of the steel-workers shanties are remnants of the 18th century. This is as absurd as if someone condemned the slums of Boston because some structures of the city are of late 17th century. For the architecture referred to in Bethlehem is the historically-priceless Moravian settlement, and far removed from the steel side of town.

"John Ramsay is a Buchmanite Preaching CIO to Bethlehem,"[2] the third story, is a warm, human tale of a family man whose religious convictions led him to fight for labor. It is in the same category with the Widman story[3] in the Ford series and some of Tom O'Connor's mine tales. Stories such as that of John Ramsay find Wechsler at his best; he is a master of the art of drawing public figures, particularly those which might conceivably be branded as radical, as human, lovable, ordinary men and women.

The next installment takes Bethlehem's single newspaper over the coals in the roughest manner. "Bethlehem's Only Daily Never Criticizes the Steel Company,"[4] concerns "hulking baldhead" Harold Bogert Farquahar, the local press lord, and relates

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1 PM, February 11, 1941, op. cit., p. 20.
2 PM, February 12, 1941, pp. 18-19.
3 PM, December 30, 1940, pp. 16-17. See page 433.
4 PM, February 13, 1941, p. 18.

his influence over all news emanating from Bethlehem.

PM's Wechsler grew unnecessarily arrogant and superior in writing of the Bethlehem Globe-Times.[1] He tells his readers:

> When you visit the city room on a Saturday afternoon you say to yourself:
> "There but for the grace of God..."

Perhaps no other story in the labor crusades has more implications of class-consciousness than the second half of this installment, "And at Eugene Grace's Lehigh Students Shun Labor Issues."[2] Says PM of Lehigh:[3]

> You ride up a long, winding hill to Lehigh, leaving the steel works in the valley below. On the Lehigh Campus there is a "lookout" that offers a panoramic view of the city on bright days ....It is a long view from there to the steel workers' shacks; the details are obscured. Girls who came to proms look down at the city and say: "Gee, that's pretty."
>
> Lehigh students lead a sheltered, slightly Joe-college life, and the university's spiritual guides do not preach dissent.

Wechsler continues to flay Lehigh for being removed from issues of the world.[4] Further on he says:

> And at Lehigh students are clamoring for a "frank and sincere marriage course," planning pat futures in industry. They are vigorously anti-Hitler -- as are the faculty members now -- but they glimpse no link between the Fascist threat and issues stirring in the steel works; and their sense of total crisis is confined to the imminence of draft calls. They are taught by men, who, in 1936, voted 7 out of 10 for Alfred M. Landon.

The February 14 installment[5] of the Bethlehem series is con-

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1 PM, op. cit., February 13, 1941, p. 18.
2 Ibid, p. 19.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 PM, February 14, 1941, pp. 12-19.

Bethlehem Continued

And at Eugene Grace's Lehigh Students Shun Labor Issues

The steel workers of Bethlehem and the students of Lehigh University don't play games together or hold joint bull-sessions. They live in the same city (at least during the school year) but they are separated by a world. And neither group seems curious to find out how the other half lives.

Apart from the accident of geopraphy, there is only one bond that unites them. The president of Bethlehem Steel is Eugene Gifford Grace. The president of Lehigh's Board of Trustees is the same character.

You ride up a long, winding hill to Lehigh, leaving the steel works in the valley below. On the Lehigh campus there is a "lookout" that offers a panoramic view of the city on bright days (it was snowing when we arrived). It is a long view from there to the steel workers' shacks; the details are obscured. Girls who came to proms look down at the city and say: "Gee, that's pretty."

Neil Carothersism

Lehigh students lead a sheltered, slightly Joe-college life, and the university's spiritual guides do not encourage dissent. They encourage the teachings of Neil Carothers, one of the few survivors of the Hoover-economics collapse; he still clings to the faith, laments the growth of popular power, yearns for government by the elite.

It costs about $1200 a year to live and learn at Lehigh; so the steeltown sons among the student body don't overrun the campus. Of more than 1300 students, only 280 live within commuting distance of the college. There are scholarships available, but they don't change the picture drastically. Lehigh is a university for the upper and middle classes. And most of its students are studying to be engineers, which means that they work harder at studies than most collegiate contemporaries.

Interview With an Editor

fairly good attendances for outside speakers. A debate between Bertrand Russell and George Sokolsky drew several hundred; "but when Elissa Landi came they were hanging from the rafters."

¶ The student body is generally unaware of any major labor issues at the steel works:

"I've never heard any talk about that. We do notice the boom, because at night you can see the smoke coming out of the plant. And food prices are going up. But I haven't heard much about the CIO or anything like that."

Food for Thought

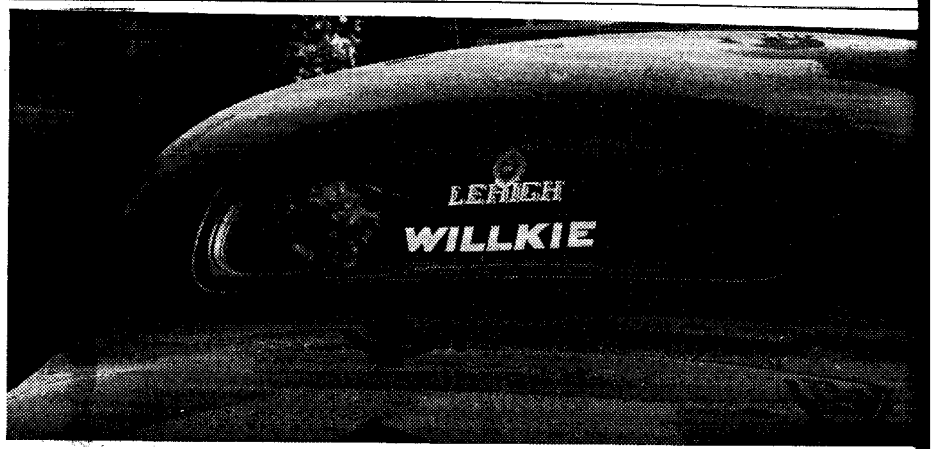
The editorial columns of the student journal are usually devoted to campus crises, such as bad lighting in the library; and when the paper came out in support of conscription the editorial began:

"Once in a great while the *Brown-and-White* has an editorial on a national topic . . ."

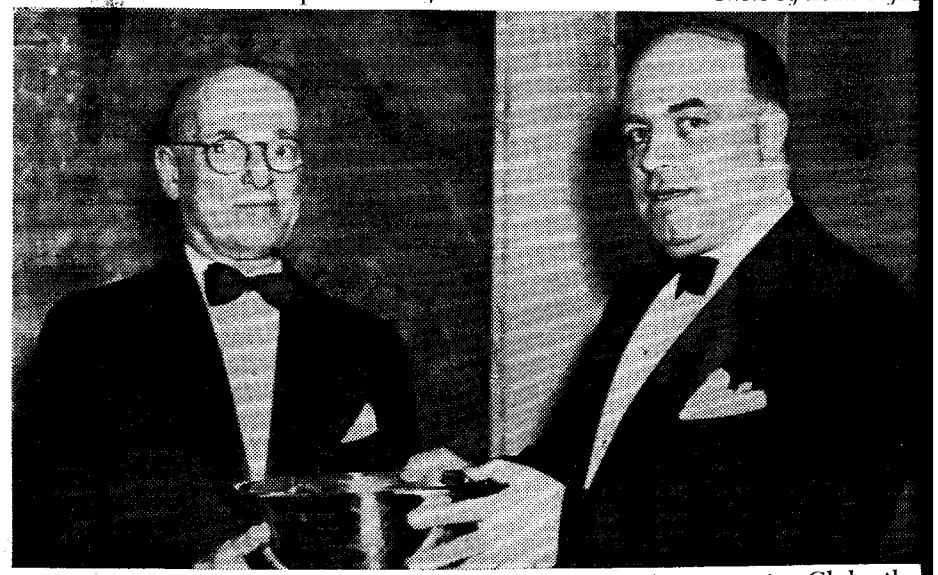
There have been heretics on Lehigh's placid walks, but they were few and swiftly subdued. Back in 1937 a reporter on the college paper was assigned to do a story on the CIO drive which had just begun. He talked to the CIO organizers, steel workers and Bethlehem Steel publicists; the publicists said they didn't believe the story was "necessary."

But he wrote the story anyway, then checked it before publication with the Steel Company. Several factual corrections were suggested and accepted, but he was again urged to drop the subject. He stubbornly turned the story in, read proof on it the night before publication. When he picked up the paper the next day the story was missing.

Overnight, he learned later, the Bethlehem publicists had communicated with Clement C. Williams, Lehigh's president; he called the faculty adviser and the adviser, unwilling to act as censor (according



Lehigh students, like their fathers and their teachers, are predominantly Republican. This picture was made during last election campaign when Willkie-sentiment swept the campus. *Photo by Louis Clyde*



Last April Tom Girdler (left) was honored by Lehigh University Club; the university's alumni agreed he had won his "L" in life. That was three years after the "Chicago Massacre" of Republic steel workers, which

Bethlehem Continued

And at Eugene Grace's Lehigh Students Shun Labor Issues

The steel workers of Bethlehem and the students of Lehigh University don't play games together or hold joint ball-sessions. They live in the same city (at least during the school year) but they are separated by a world. And neither group seems curious to find out how the other half lives.

Apart from the accident of geography, there is only one bond that unites them. The president of Bethlehem Steel is Eugene Gifford Grace. The president of Lehigh's Board of Trustees is the same character.

You ride up a long, winding hill to Lehigh, leaving the steel works in the valley below. On the Lehigh campus there is a "lookout" that offers a panoramic view of the city on bright days (it was snowing when we arrived). It is a long view from there to the steel workers' shacks; the details are obscured. Girls who come to proms look down at the city and say: "Gee, that's pretty."

Neil Carothersism

Lehigh students lead a sheltered, slightly Joe-college life, and the university's spiritual guides do not encourage dissent. They encourage the teachings of Neil Carothers, one of the few survivors of the Hoover-economics collapse, he still clings to the faith, laments the growth of popular power, yearns for government by the elite.

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Interview With an Editor

Lehigh's campus is not a hotbed of radicalism. Its student publications are not militant. Its student body is not militant. Its faculty is not militant. Its trustees are not militant. Its president is not militant.

Lehigh's president, Clement C. Williams, is a mild-mannered man who has been in office for 15 years. He is a graduate of Lehigh, class of 1904. He is a member of the Presbyterian Church, the Masons, the Rotary Club, the Pi Kappa Alpha fraternity, the Bethlehem Chamber of Commerce, the Bethlehem Community Chest, the Bethlehem Hospital Association, the Bethlehem Y.M.C.A., the Bethlehem Y.W.C.A., the Bethlehem Boy Scouts, the Bethlehem Girl Scouts, the Bethlehem Visiting Nurse Association, the Bethlehem Public Library, the Bethlehem Historical Society, the Bethlehem Art Association, the Bethlehem Music Association, the Bethlehem Civic Club, the Bethlehem Kiwanis Club, the Bethlehem Lions Club, the Bethlehem Rotary Club, the Bethlehem Exchange Club, the Bethlehem Junior Chamber of Commerce, the Bethlehem Women's Club, the Bethlehem Business Men's Association, the Bethlehem Golf Club, the Bethlehem Country Club, the Bethlehem Polo Club, the Bethlehem Tennis Club, the Bethlehem Swimming Club, the Bethlehem Rowing Club, the Bethlehem Sailing Club, the Bethlehem Yacht Club, the Bethlehem Fishing Club, the Bethlehem Hunting Club, the 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Overnight, he learned later, the Bethlehem publicists had communicated with Clement C. Williams, Lehigh's president; he called the faculty adviser and the adviser, unwilling to act as censor (according to the story that later became common Campus knowledge), summoned the student editorial board. There was unanimous protest but, when the vote came, the story was killed by a majority of one.

Bethlehem Steel's watchmen also succeeded in preventing a debate on "CIO Versus Communism" that the debating club had planned. The debate wasn't forbidden, it was suggested to the instructor in charge that the idea was unsound. He dropped it.

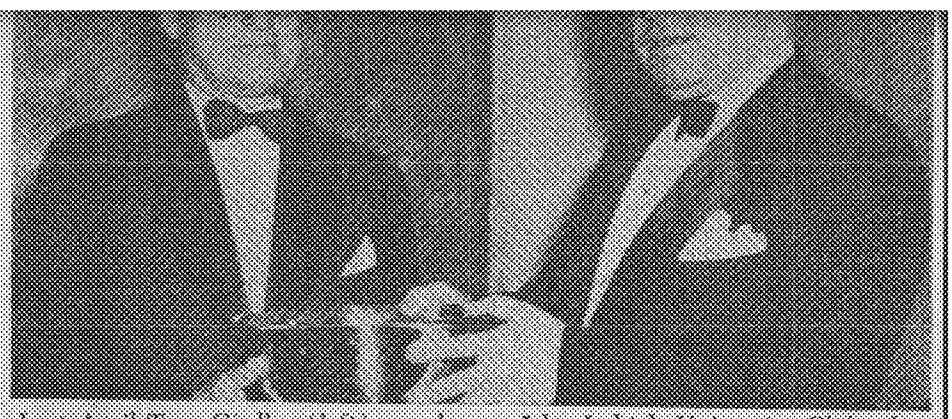
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And at Lehigh students are clamoring for a "frank and sincere marriage course," planning pat futures in industry. They are vigorously anti-Hitler—as are the faculty members now—but they glimpse no link between the Fascist threat and the issues stirring in the steel works; and their sense of total crisis is confined to the imminence of draft calls. They are taught by men who, in 1936, voted 7 out of 10 for Alf M. Landon.

This gap between the steel workers and the students is a significant thing, because it is a reflection of the social pattern in the city. The *Globe-Times* office is down the hill, but its editor pries no deeper into steel workers' lives than do the cheerful, convivial Lehigh boys.

After we had talked to the college editor for an hour, I asked him how Lehigh students would react if a strike took place at Bethlehem Steel; whether they would be interested then. He answered quickly:

"Oh yes, they'd all go down and watch, if that happened."—I. A. W.



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Photo by Wide World



Charles F. Kalmbach, editor of the Lehigh student newspaper, comes from Lansdowne, Pa. He says he notices boom at the steel works because "there's a rush on the bridge when I go to soccer practice."

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fined to the labor history of the steel company and its relations with the National Labor Relations Board. The sixth installment, "Bethlehem Faces Strike Possibility as Plant Grievances Mount,"[1] is more newsy, less of a feature story in content.

Eleven news stories of major importance, most of them concerned with the strike, appear between February 27 and March 28. On March 25,[2] when the strike began, a very factual story appeared, followed by another "mood" story,[3] and the next day by the personal experiences of Wechsler, then in the thick of things.

Bus Strike

The New York bus strike lasted ten days, from March 10 to 21, and in that period, 57 stories and articles and 84 pictures concerned with the strike appeared in PM.

Since the strike coverage is analyzed in Chart IX,[4] only the stories upon which comment is to be made will be mentioned here. One of these is Wechsler's news story, "Campaign Pushed to Break the Bus Strike,"[5] in which the writer indicated "the press" and "the red scare" as elements. He also contends that Representative Martin Dies "baited belligerently."[6] A boxed comment in the same issue is headed "Press Gangs Up on the Bus Strike"[7] and consists of quotations from other New York

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1 PM, February 16, 1941, p. 18.
2 PM, March 25, 1941, p. 18.
3 Ibid, p. 11.
4 See page 444.
5 PM, March 12, 1941, p. 11.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.

TOTAL COVERAGE OF THE NEW YORK BUS STRIKE

(March 20-21, 1941)

CHART

Date	News Stories	Back-Ground Stories	Box	Editor-ials	Testi-mony	Inter-view	Human Interest	Maps, Charts	Flaying Press	Totals	Pictures
March 10	1		1					1		3	8
March 12	1		1	1	8		2		2	15	15
March 13	1	1		1		1	4	1	2	11	3
March 14	2	1					1			4	9
March 16	1	2		1					1	5	3
March 17	2						1			3	11
March 18	1	1					2			4	13
March 19	1			1			2		1	5	8
March 20	1	1					1			3	6
March 21	2			1			1			4	8
TOTAL	13	6	2	5	8	1	14	2	6	57	84

CHART IX

BUS STRIKE

'We'll Fight Till We Win,' Say the McGroarys From Donegal

By Tom O'Connor

Lillian McGroary, who was just afther washin' her hair, thought it was the queerest thing, comin' around like that in the middle o' the night, disthurbin' honest people an' wakin' the baby, askin' a lot of fool questions, takin' pitchers an' all. Oh, for the union? A paper that was for the union and against the bosses? Well, thin—just please to be takin' no pitchers o' the windows, with the curtains come down for cleanin' an' the house all a mess.

So the baby was waked and the boy was sent out for a pint of beer and some ice cream, and we sat and talked till midnight. There in the five-room flat on W. 102d St., $32 a month, were Lillian McGroary from Frosses in County Donegal, housewife; Connell McGroary from Killamard six miles away, bus driver on strike; the boy Cornelius, who is 10, and the blonde little girl Margaret Alice, who will soon be 3. The brogue was thick, and strange to the ears of one whose father left Dublin a boy. But the McGroarys were patient, and spelled out the words I couldn't get.

Seven Years on the Job

Connell McGroary is 36, a black-haired, heavy-set Irishman who has been driving a bus for the New York Omnibus Co. for seven and one-half years. He's a shade under 200 pounds, a great one for the potatoes and buttermilk. His wife, two years younger, is as husky for her height. She was up to 179 before she cut out the sweets. Now, dieting hard, she's down to 168. Cornelius, the boy, is in the 5-B at Ascension parochial school on 107th St., and doing well—"show the man your scholaristic paper, sonny." Margaret Alice is as pretty as her picture.

"Why am I on strike, you want to know?" said Connell McGroary. "Well, if you mean did I favor it, or was I misled by the union officers, like the papers said, I can tell you quick.

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"It does seem," said Mrs. McCreary, "they criticize the union a deal in a way that's unfair."

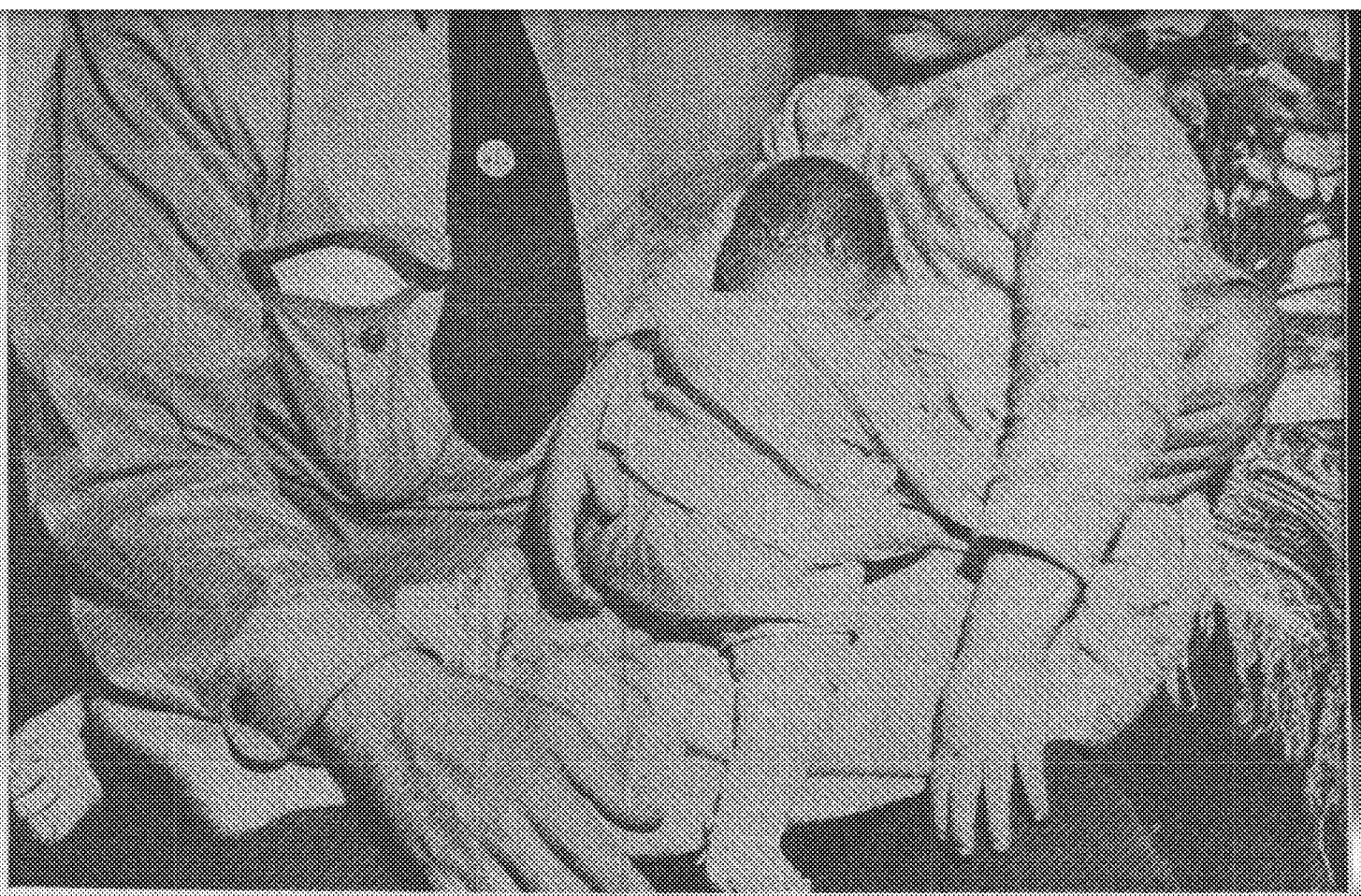
"I came to this country for one reason," said Connell McCreary, "and that was to better my condition. And I learned quick enough that the bosses won't let you better your condition unless you fight for it. Driving a bus is the kind of a job that a man's no good after 10 years or so, but the bosses never seem to think of that."

"At the church on Friday the priest tells us to pray for the people in Europe," said the boy Cornelius, fingering the silver crucifix which hung around his neck. "Maybe they'll tell us this week to pray for the bus drivers on account of their not having work now."

"My dolly says pa-pa," said the little girl Margaret, and turned the doll upside down to demonstrate.

"Wanna see my suit for the entertainment at the church tomorrow night?" asked Cornelius. "I'm a marine, and wear a white cap."

"I don't know much about unions," said Mrs. McCreary. "They didn't have unions when I was working, when I sold cosmetics door to door for two and a half years and kept my home together when he was out of work. But from what I know I think they're very good organizations—very good for poor people."



On the lap of Connell McCreary, striking bus driver, are Margaret Alice, 2½, and a doll that goes 'pa-pa'.
Photo by Morris Engel, FM Staff

"Now look at the man with the camera," said Connell McCreary to the baby, "and Daddy'll buy you a big pail of ice cream tomorrow. And we'll go take pictures of the monkeys in the park."

"It's very exciting," said Mrs. McCreary, "all the men being out and demanding their rights. It was an exciting time when I left Ireland, with the Black and Tans, and them burning the houses of people no matter were they innocent of anything. We had a store in Fresses, and I had two brothers in the I.R.A. They raided us twice, and cleaned everything out of the store the last time."

"We were six miles apart in County Donegal and I knew her people," said Connell McCreary, "but I didn't know her. We met at a dance here, at the Erin's Isle. That's an Irish ballroom. That's our wedding picture there on the wall. That's Sonny's confirmation picture over there, and that's my nephew when he graduated."

"Mind the broken spring in that chair," warned Mrs. McCreary. "We were going to get new furniture, but Lord o' God, you know how it is if you get new furniture with a kid like this, always jumping on it with his shoes on."

"We'll get it when we win the strike," said Connell McCreary. "And we'll win the strike in a week. But just in case it takes longer, I'm going out and get a big bag of potatoes tomorrow. With potatoes and buttermilk, and milk for the small one, we can hold out as long as Mr. Ritchie can, and longer, I guess."

"We'll get along," said Mrs. McCreary. "They needn't worry about us."

"That's just the way the reporters do it in the movies," said the boy Cornelius. "Writing down everything you say, and then it comes out in the paper."

"It was terrible the way they abused us in the Mirror today," said Connell McCreary. "But I guess it's not the reporter's fault for that. I don't know much about reporters, but I guess they're just like all the working people, a hundred per cent for labor only they have to write what the bosses say. I guess this is the way it always is, when anybody starts demanding higher wages, they begin to holler 'Red.'"

"They keep saying 'Communist,'" said Mrs. McCreary. "I don't call it Communist. I call it common sense. A man ought to make enough to keep his family decent, and have a little time to rest himself once in a while."

"Button me, Daddy," said the little girl, whose pajamas had come undone at the seat.

NEXT PAGE: Why the drivers struck

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"The men on my line had a meeting and we talked over what our demands should be. We voted on them, and sent the union officers in to get them. They told us the company wouldn't give them, and we voted 100 per cent to strike. It wasn't Mike Quill and Austin Hogan and the other officers telling us what to do. It was us telling them."

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"I came to this country for one reason," said Connell McGroary, "and that was to better my condition. And I learned quick enough that the bosses won't let you better your condition unless you fight for it. Driving a bus is the kind of a job that a man's no good after 10 years or so, but the bosses never seem to think of that."

"At the church on Friday the priest tells us to pray for the people in Europe," said the boy Cornelius, fingering the silver crucifix which hung around his neck. "Maybe they'll tell us this week to pray for the bus drivers on account of their not having work now."

"My dolly says pa-pa," said the little girl Margaret, and turned the doll upside down to demonstrate.

"Wanna see my suit for the entertainment at the church tomorrow night?" asked Cornelius. "I'm a marine, and wear a white cap."

"I don't know much about unions," said Mrs. McGroary. "They didn't have unions when I was working, when I sold cosmetics door to door for two and a half years and kept my home together when he was out of work. But from what I know I think they're very good organizations—very good for poor people."



On the lap of Connell McGroary, striking bus driver, are Margaret Alice, 2½, and a doll that goes 'pa-pa'.
Photo by Morris Engel, PM Staff

"Now look at the man with the camera," said Connell McGroary to the baby, "and Daddy'll buy you a big pail of ice cream tomorrow. And we'll go take pictures of the monkeys in the park."

"It's very exciting," said Mrs. McGroary, "all the men being out and demanding their rights. It was an exciting time when I left Ireland, with the Black and Tans, and them burning the houses of people no matter were they innocent of anything. We had a store in Frosses, and I had two brothers in the I.R.A. They raided us twice, and cleaned everything out of the store the last time."

"We were six miles apart in County Donegal and I knew her people," said Connell McCroary, "but I didn't know her. We met at a dance here, at the Erin's Isle. That's an Irish ballroom. That's our wedding picture there on the wall. That's Sonny's confirmation picture over there, and that's my nephew when he graduated."

"Mind the broken spring in that chair," warned Mrs. McGroary. "We were going to get new furniture, but Lord o' God, you know how it is if you get new furniture with a kid like this, always jumping on it with his shoes on."

"We'll get it when we win the strike," said Connell McGroary. "And we'll win the strike in a week. But just in case it takes longer, I'm going out and get a big bag of potatoes tomorrow. With potatoes and buttermilk, and milk for the small one, we can hold out as long as Mr. Ritchie can, and longer, I guess."

"We'll get along," said Mrs. McGroary. "They needn't worry about us."

"That's just the way the reporters do it in the movies," said the boy Cornelius. "Writing down everything you say, and then it comes out in the paper."

"It was terrible the way they abused us in the *Mirror* today," said Connell McGroary. "But I guess it's not the reporter's fault for that. I don't know much about reporters, but I guess they're just like all the working people, a hundred per cent for labor only they have to write what the bosses say. I guess this is the way it always is, when anybody starts demanding higher wages, they begin to holler 'Red.'"

"They keep saying 'Communist,'" said Mrs. McGroary. "I don't call it Communist. I call it common sense. A man ought to make enough to keep his family decent, and have a little time to rest himself once in a while."

"Button me, Daddy," said the little girl, whose pajamas had come undone at the seat.

NEXT PAGE: Why the drivers struck

Bus Baron Ritchie: $65,000 a Year . . . Conductor Sweeney: $1900

Bus Companies Pay Big Dividends But Plead Poverty on Wage Boosts

By Amos Landman

If you're inclined to skip this when you see it's a financial story, don't. You can't decide where justice lies in the bus strike without understanding the financial condition of the companies concerned.

These companies, the New York City Omnibus Corp. and the Fifth Avenue Coach Co., are subsidiaries of the Omnibus Corp., which is a holding company.

Since all three are closely related through stock ownership and have almost identical boards of directors, they may be considered as one corporate enterprise.

The enterprise is doing fine.

This statement is based on dope from Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., which studies and evaluates the financial position of large corporations, and from *Moody's Manual of Investments*, which compiles statistical data on these organizations.

'Strong Financial Position'

Of the Fifth Avenue Coach Co., Dun & Bradstreet says:

¶ "Comparative statements have regularly disclosed a strong financial condition, characterized by a high level of liquidity."

Of the New York City Omnibus Corp., Dun & Bradstreet reports:

¶ "Net income throughout has been of substantial proportions, being close to $2,000,000 each year."

Data in *Moody's*, based on the companies' own statements, show that a large part of the subsidiaries' profits went to Omnibus Corp., the parent company. In 1939 (the most recent year on which figures are available) Omnibus Corp. received about $1,500,000 from these subsidiaries and $600,000 from its other subsidiaries.

Moody's also reveals that almost $500,000 of this income was paid to the preferred stockholders, whose holdings pay the fat rate of 8 per cent; common stockholders came out with about $750,000.

To put it another way, each $100 par value share of preferred stock earned $25.36, and each $6 par value share of common stock earned $1.72.

Officers on Fat Pay

Meanwhile, the officers of the companies were drawing nifty salaries.

John A. Ritchie, 250-pound, florid chairman of the board of all the units in the omnibus system, made $65,000 in 1939, according to the company's report to the SEC. Benjamin Weintraub, president of the Omnibus Corp., took $22,000. Three directors got $47,000, $44,000 and $40,000 each. (Mike Quill, president of the striking union, gets $50 a week.)

Against this background, consider the counter proposal of the companies to the Transport Workers Union's demand for a 25 per cent wage boost, three-week instead of two-week vacations, and the 48-hour instead of the 54-hour week. Fifth Avenue Coach Co. demanded retrenchments of $167,696 in sick leave, paid vacations, and either wage reductions or the elimination of two-man operation on the Queens lines and after 7 p.m. on other lines. The New York City Omnibus Corp. proposed elimination of its sick benefit fund and paid holi-

Who Is Ritchie?



Here is the Sweeney family: left to right, John, Buddy, Katie and Catherine. On the wall above Catherine is a photo of Michael J. Quill, union president. On the cabinet at right are a crucifix and the picture of a priest, a relative.

John Sweeney Is Just an Extra Driver

By Leon Goodelman

When John A. Ritchie, chairman of the board of the Fifth Avenue Coach Co., proposed that some of the conductors on the Fifth Avenue buses be eliminated, John Sweeney voted to strike.

"No Mr. Ritchie will be takin' the job from this man an' puttin' him on the breadline. He's half a million t' give t' stockholders, but none t' give this man."

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As an extra, John Sweeney may be called to work a night shift or a day shift. His weekly earnings may vary from $21 to $39, his best for last year. His yearly income for 1940 was about $1900. It was lower before the union organized the men.

John and Katie Sweeney, 19 years in the U. S. A., have two children, Catherine, 18,

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Who Is Ritchie?



The $65,000-a-year bus tycoon John A. Ritchie is nearly blind in his left eye. He wears a patch over it much of the time. Highly sensitive about his infirmity, he never lets himself be photographed with the patch.

Despite his bluster, Mr. Ritchie is affable, and people like him. He laughs heartily (especially at dirty jokes), he eats heartily and, before he went on the wagon, he used to drink heartily.

A Midwesterner, he's primarily a traction man, rather than a Wall Street manipulator. He was the boy wonder on the Illinois Central Railroad. He went to the IRT, then in 1918 joined Fifth Avenue Coach, the oldest bus line in the U. S. A.

If you write a complaint to the company, Mr. Ritchie answers. More than likely he'll send you annual reports each year ever after.

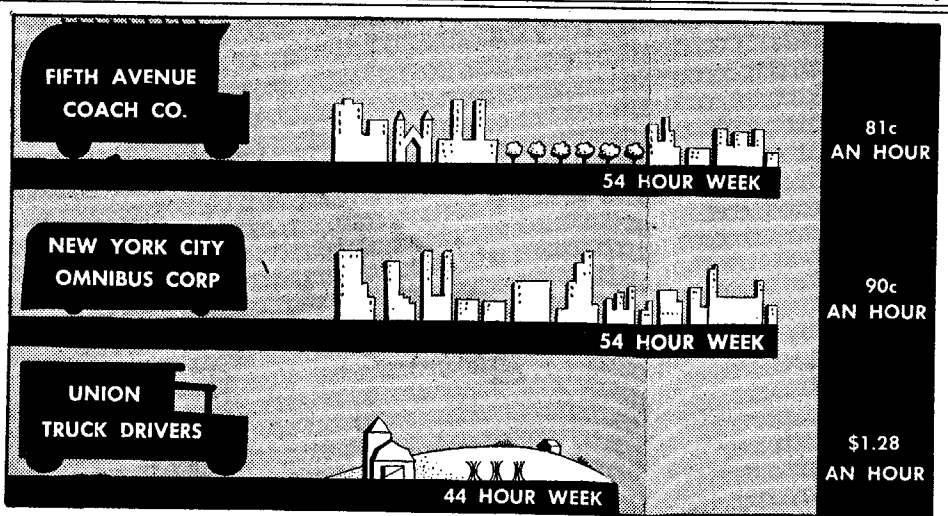
He used to live at the Hampshire House, on Central Park South, about the most costly apartment hotel in the city; now he's at 875 Park Ave., not so bad either.

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An unusually large amount of the income of Fifth Avenue Coach and New York City Omnibus goes as dividends to the bondholders, a fact which Dun & Bradstreet notes with a good deal of satisfaction; Fifth Avenue Coach pays off $480,000; its contemporary pays off nearly $2,000,000.

If some of these dividends were used to reduce the bonded indebtedness, the interest saved on the bonds could be turned over to the employes. But bondholders insist on their dividends. That's one reason the bus drivers went on strike.



This chart shows that union truck drivers, members of Local 807, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, AFL, earn far more than union bus drivers. The busmen also work ten hours more a week than the truckmen. Their work is comparable, with this difference: bus operators are responsible for the safety of 50 or 100 passengers. We don't say the teamsters' wages should be cut. We say the busmen's should be jacked up. *Chart by Charles Martin, PM Staff*



Here is the Sweeney family: left to right, John, Buddy, Katie and Catherine. On the wall above Catherine is a photo of Michael J. Quill, union president. On the cabinet at right are a crucifix and the picture of a priest, a relative.

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Nineteen years ago John Sweeney and Katie, his bride of two years, embarked for America.

"Sure, 'twas a land o' riches an' great opportunity. A land o' the free and a home o' the brave." That's why John and Katie sailed.

In 1929 he became a conductor for the Fifth Avenue Coach Co. He went to work as an extra. That meant he worked only when the regulars had a day off, were sick or went on vacation. Today, after 12 years' work with the company, John Sweeney is still an extra.

He is 28th on the seniority list. "Twenty-eight men have t' die—or I have t' shoot 'em—before I get on as a regular."

As an extra, John Sweeney may be called to work a night shift or a day shift. His weekly earnings may vary from $21 to $39, his best for last year. His yearly income for 1940 was about $1900. It was lower before the union organized the men.

John and Katie Sweeney, 19 years in the U. S. A., have two children, Catherine, 18, and Buddy, 16. Catherine is looking for a clerical job but hasn't had any luck. Buddy goes to Power Memorial Academy, a parochial school.

The Sweeneys live in a drab five-room railroad flat on the second floor of an old tenement on 142d St. east of Broadway.

Here is where the Sweeneys' income goes:

¶ Rent: $38 a month, $456 a year.

¶ Food; $17 a week, $884 a year.

¶ Gas and electricity; $6.50 a week, $338 a year.

¶ A movie a week for Catherine and Buddy at 33 cents each: $34.32 a year.

¶ John Sweeney's endowment policy; $48 a year.

¶ Catherine's insurance policy; $24 a year.

¶ Katie Sweeney's insurance policy; $1.30 a week, $67.60 a year.

¶ Buddy's school; $120 a year.

Clothes for the family; minimum of $250 a year.

¶ Cigarets; a pack a day at 15 cents, $54.60 a year.

Add it all up and the Sweeneys spend $2276.52 a year—$376.52 more than John Sweeney earned. This figure doesn't include the occasional beer and movie that John and Katie Sweeney may indulge in, the unpredictable doctor bill, the church contributions, the Christmas gifts, all the rest of the incidentals.

To get along, the Sweeney have had to take in a boarder. He's a busman too.

"I do me own wash. I can't afford t' send it out," said Katie. She does the wash for the boarder, too.

"I'm going t' have t' sell some o' the insurance. Right now I owe $108 I can't pay. I've paid in $324 an' all I'll get out of it is $80."

Wives in Strike: Without Savings, Without Crying

By Charlotte Adams

I've just spent a day talking with wives of striking busmen in their homes. Most of them were Irish. All of them were attractive. Some of them were fighting mad, others rather subdued. But one characteristic applies to all of them and it's not a word to be used lightly—gallantry. Their chins are up, and certainly none of them would admit fear. Anybody who's a parent, though, knows that there must be a hollow feeling in the pits of their stomachs when they consider the question I put to them:

"What are you planning to do about cutting your food budget while the pay checks aren't coming in?"

Very interesting was the almost universal answer. Already they have their food budgets so closely pared that further cutting looks impossible to them. Of the four strikers' wives whose pictures appear on this page, only Mrs. Goldfarb, who has the smallest family, had given thought to the matter and actually begun cutting her food budget.

Financial Reserves

With one exception—again Mrs. Goldfarb, who had a good job herself for eleven years and saved a little money—these families had no financial reserves of any kind. It's almost impossible to save on the salaries these men get when you're bringing up large families. The women seldom do outside work to supplement income. There's too much to do at home. Many of them make their own and the children's clothes. All of them cook and clean and wash and tend sick children.

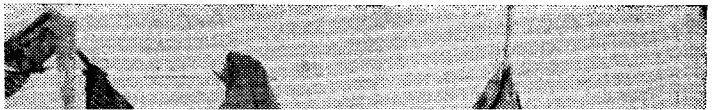
Most of them haven't the faintest chance of even temporary help from family or



Mrs. Michael O'Donohue of 502 W. 135th St., with one of her nine children, Kathleen, 18. Two of the nine are working and give their mother $10 a week each. Another son is out in this strike. Their ordinary food budget is $30 a week for the eleven, now she's got to try to feed them on the $20.



Mrs. Harry Goldfarb of 1012 E. 172d St. has a son 21 months old who is just recovering from a long illness. Her mother lives with the family. The average food budget is $14 a week, but already she has cut it down $3 and hopes to do better. "We've cut down on food, now we have to worry about doctor bills."





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Most of them haven't the faintest chance of even temporary help from family or friends, because they're just as tightly strapped as the strikers themselves.

I asked these women whether they would consider cutting down on meat in an attempt to reduce the food budget. Most of them said, oh, no, they couldn't cut down on meat. They must have it every day. I asked some whether they'd ever thought of substituting margerine for butter and they said they didn't think their families would eat it.

What Do They Eat?

I asked what each of these four was planning for dinner last night. Here's what they told me.

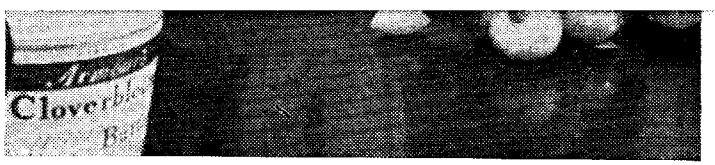
Mrs. Fitzgerald: A stew of lamb, beef, carrots, potatoes, onions, a little celery and parsley and a pound of peas (10 cents, and as she said cheaper and tastier than a can would be), and for dessert a custard pie from a "day-old" bakery (21 cents).

Mrs. O'Donohue: Meat loaf of beef, pork, bread and onions, cooked with a couple of cans of tomatoes poured over it. With this would be served mashed potatoes and carrots. No dessert—even fruit is too expensive.

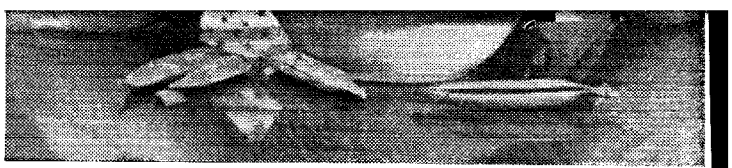
Mrs. Canavan hadn't decided yet.

Mrs. Goldfarb said her husband wasn't coming home, so she and her mother would have cream of tomato soup, a mushroom omelet, green salad and apple sauce. If he were there it would have to be heavier.

Except for the last, there's a certain sameness to them all, do you see? And it's likely to stick with them as they plan to buy the cheapest food they can. There will be strike benefits to help out—nobody knows how much. They have a hard row to hoe, but they're brave women. I believe they'll hoe it well.



Mrs. Michael O'Donohue of 502 W. 135th St., with one of her nine children, Kathleen, 18. Two of the nine are working and give their mother $10 a week each. Another son is out in this strike. Their ordinary food budget is $30 a week for the eleven, now she's got to try to feed them on the $20.



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Mrs. Martin Canavan of 520 W. 151st St. has five children, 11 months to 9 years. All have just barely recovered from the measles. Her minimum food budget is $20 a week for the seven. "What can you cut down on for children? Especially little ones. For yourself you can go without, but children have to eat."



Mrs. David Fitzgerald of 430 W. 124th St. has five children, 15 to 24. One girl is married, one boy working and helping a little. The Fitzgerald food budget is about $22 a week. "I don't know how I'll manage if I have to cut. I guess it'll just be a little harder. It's hard anyway."

Photos by Alan Fisher, PM Staff

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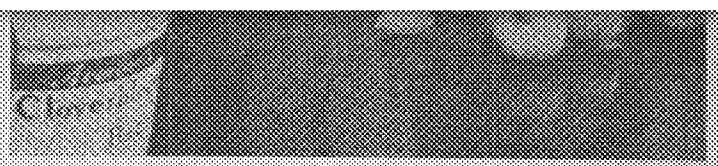
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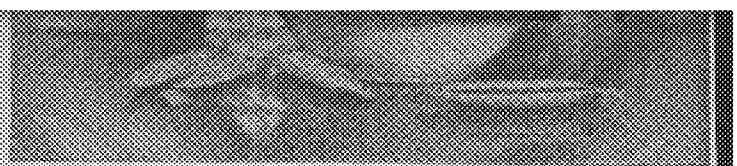
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Photos by Alan Fisher, PM Staff

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Human interest stories include Leane Zugsmith's on the Grogan family,[1] Tom O'Connor's "The McGroarys of Donegal"[2] and "Busman's Holiday,"[3] and Amos Landman's "Conductor Sweeney: $1900."[4] John Hennessey Walker's "How One Bus Driver and His Family Spent Sunday"[5] is homey and detailed, even to the breakfast menu. All of these stories are enlivened with excellent pictures. A somewhat unique feature was Charlotte Adams' "Wives in a Strike,"[6] in which the food page editor discovered with what economy menus striking wives are managing.

On the day of the settlement, four different articles appeared -- Wechsler's news story with comment, Landman and Goodelman cooperating on a "behind-the-scenes" story, pictures of the "Labor Story with a Happy Ending,"[7] and a human interest story by Penn Kimball.

Nine of PM's best writers cooperated in the "all out" aid to the bus strikers. Beginning with Ingersoll, they included Wechsler, O'Connor, Landman and Goodelman of the Labor department, as well as Leane Zugsmith, John Hennessey Walker and Penn Kimball, feature writers, and Charlotte Adams, Food page editor. The result was impressive; it was perhaps the most wholehearted support ever given to a striking union by a newspaper.

Mine Series

Tom O'Connor's mine series was occasioned by the lengthy

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1 PM, March 12, 1941, p. 12.
2 Ibid., p. 13.
3 PM, March 13, 1941, p. 13.
4 Ibid., p. 15.
5 PM, March 17, 1941, p. 19.
6 PM, March 19, 1941, p. 13.
7 PM, March 21, 1941, p. 19.

delay of the Neely-Keller mine safety bill, sponsored by the United Mine Workers of America. This bill, which would give the safety experts of the U. S. Bureau of Mines the right to go into coal mines for inspections, regardless of the operators' desires, passed the Senate unanimously but was pigeon-holed in the House Committee on Mines and Mining for months, while the coal operators lobby, the American Mining Congress, has been active.[1]

Meanwhile, more than 1500 men were killed last year in coal mines in this country.

It is not difficult to understand that Tom O'Connor has just means to become indignant and angry over mine disasters. His righteous anger has been so great that six stories of disaster victims and their families, printed between February 20 and 26, won for him the Heywood Braun Memorial award granted by the American Newspaper Guild.[2]

O'Connor's series began with a dramatic and brutally-written story, "I Talked to a Miner ... Who Was Dead."[3] His minute description of the burns and scars covering Mike Polocy have an atrocity story air; O'Connor's writing is frank, hard and realistic, yet throbbingly human. For instance, his second story, "You May Not Want Your Miner Husband to Die,"[4] begins:

> If you are married to a coal miner and bear him children, cook for him and skimp with him and plan with him, laugh with him and quarrel with him and comfort him, it may be that you'll not want him to die.

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1 "Mine Safety Bill Still 'Pending'," PM, February 20, 1941, p. 10.
2 New York Times, June 25, 1941, p. 11.
3 PM, February 20, 1941, p. 10.
4 PM, February 21, 1941, p. 16.

'I Talked to a Miner . . . Who Was Dead'

Tom O'Connor Tells the Story of Mike Polocy, Seared and Broken in a Coal Mine Blast

By Tom O'Connor

PM Exclusive

Mike Polocy was killed with 72 other miners in the explosion at the Willow Grove mine of the Hanna Coal Co. near Neffs, Ohio, on March 16, 1940. I saw him and talked to him last week in a hospital room at Martins Ferry, Ohio. I hope he never sees this newspaper, because he doesn't know he was killed last March, and it will be easier if he never knows.

When I went into the hospital room I saw a fat-faced young man on a bed, reaching for a glass of water on the stand by his head, and I started to go up and ask him if he was Mike Polocy. Then someone tugged my arm and I turned around, and I saw there was another bed, and something that had arms and legs and a body and a head in it. Someone whispered, "That's him."

I looked at the face, and then I looked at the hands. I was there for half an hour after that, standing by Mike Polocy's bed, listening to his whisper that was like a scream. I tried to look at his face and look at his eyes; but I couldn't keep my eyes away from those hands.

What Fire Can Do to a Man

They were white. They were white, not in the way of the sheets on his bed, fresh and laundered and clean-looking, but white in the way of paste made of flour and water; in the way of maggots and grubs which never feel the sun.

"New skin," someone explained, matter-of-factly. "Mike was pretty badly burned, you know. Took all the skin off his hands and a lot of the rest of him. New skin grew back in the hospital. Not much blood under it, either. The flame hit him and burned him all out, inside and outside, and then the afterdamp got him. Carbon monoxide, you know. Eats up your blood right in your veins. Guess he bled a lot, too. Six ribs were caved in, and he got three bad holes in his head.

"That scar you see between his eyes, and two holes in the back. Chunks of coal. He lay about four hours before they got him to a hospital. Then he was out of his mind for 17 days. Thought he was still in the mine. Now he thinks he's going to get well."

No, He Couldn't Hear It

I was afraid Mike would hear that last sentence. There was no danger. The eardrum had been broken by the force of the explosion. "Talk loud if you want to ask him anything," I was told.

His eyes were closed. I started to speak and suddenly realized I couldn't think of anything to say. I wanted to say "Who did this to you? Who killed you?" Instead I said, inanely, "How do you feel, Mike?"

His eyes opened. The outline of his fleshless bones—he had weighed 187, and was under 100 now—shifted a little under the bedclothes. His thin lips parted. One dead-white hand moved slowly until its fingers rested on his chest.

"Bad," he whispered, gasping a new breath between each word. "In here."

His wife, a squat, plain-faced woman with eyes red from weeping, was with us. She put her hand on Mike's brow and smoothed his sparse hair back, and spoke to him for a long minute in Czech. Then she turned to us and said:

"I told him to tell you about the explosion. He strong for union. He want to help. So others no die."

The Dead Man Speaks

Mike told us. His chest heaved and shal-

blue sky and there was clean fresh snow on the ground, we walked silently to our car. The Willow Grove miner who was my guide said:

"Poor old Mike. It's only a question of time. He may hang on a while longer, but you don't come through something like that and then get well."

"Whose fault was it?" I asked. "Who killed him, and the other 72, and all the others killed in these mine explosions?"

Mine Safety Bill Still 'Pending'

More than 1500 men were killed in U. S. coal mines last year. There were a series of major disasters—gas and dust explosions—snuffing out the lives of 30, 60, 70, 90 miners at a time. And there were dozens of lesser tragedies, taking one life here, a few lives there, which seldom found their way into the nation's press.

During all this period, there was pending in Congress the Neely-Keller mine safety bill. It would have given the safety experts of the U. S. Bureau of Mines the right to go into these coal mines, whether the operators liked it or not; to inspect them and to make public their findings. At present, Federal inspectors may go into mines only at the request of the mine owners.

The bill was sponsored by the United Mine Workers of America, one of the nation's biggest, oldest and strongest unions. UMWA officials clamored for its passage, to save the lives of members. The bill passed the Senate unanimously.

Then the coal operators lobby, the American Mining Congress, got busy. The bill was pigeonholed in the House Committee on Mines and Mining. Month after month it lay there . . . while explosion after explosion made headlines. The UMWA mustered all its strength to get the necessary 218 signatures to a petition to discharge the committee and bring the bill out for debate; it failed by a narrow margin. President Roosevelt indorsed the bill and urged its passage. Secretary Ickes took every opportunity to make a public statement in its favor. But the mine owners' lobby triumphed, and the bill died in committee when the session of Congress ended.

The bill, substantially the same, has been re-introduced at this session. Whether the same fate awaits it remains to be seen.

To investigate and report on safety conditions in the coal mines, to weigh the need for the Federal mine inspection bill, and to translate into human terms the cold statistical tabulations of deaths and injuries among the men who mine our coal, Tom O'Connor, reporter, and Morris Engel, photographer, were sent to the coal fields of eastern Ohio. Their report begins on this page today.

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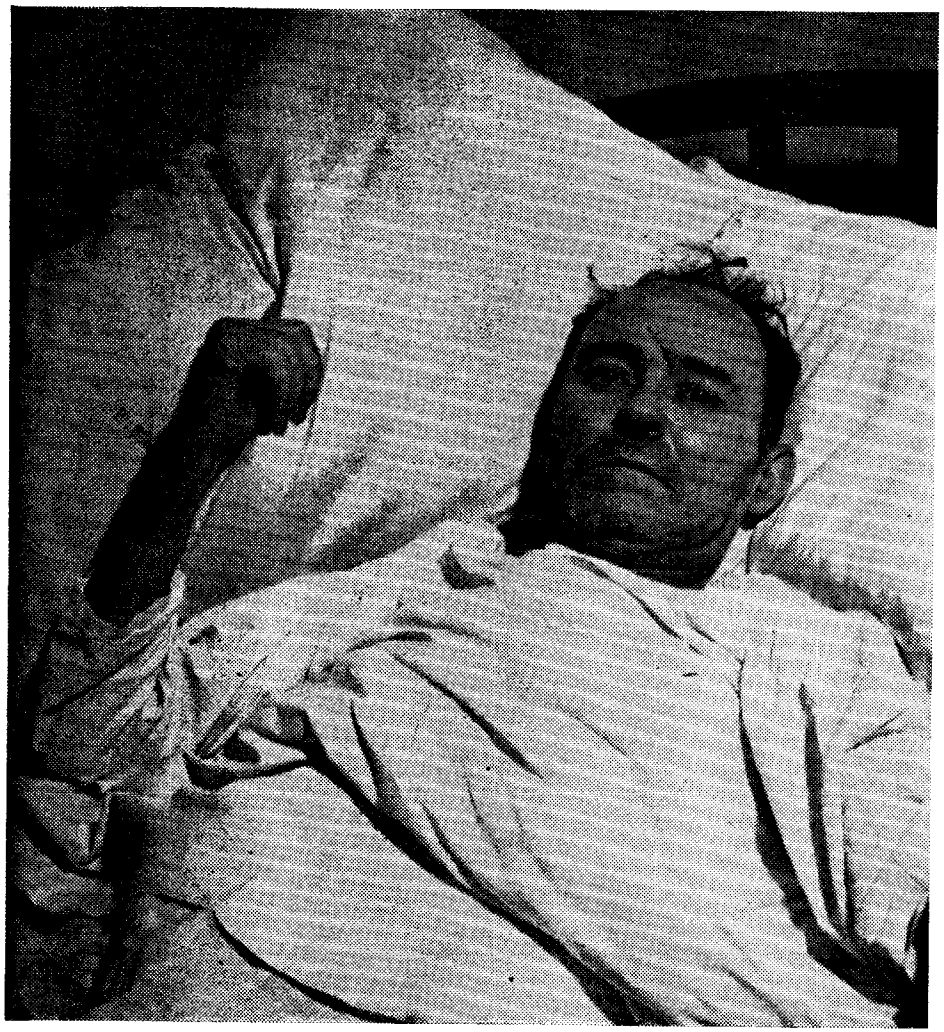
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This is Mike Polocy. *Photo by Morris Engel, PM Staff*

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Mike told us. His chest heaved and shallowed out as he sucked air into his burned lungs and drove it out again. His fists clenched and shook. He cried, and his wife wiped the tears away, and she cried.

His English was broken, and his voice, despite all his effort, was only a hoarse whisper. I had to lean down close to his ear; and still I didn't catch all he said. But I heard this much:

"Big ball of flame. She come both ways. I know nothing. Then they come. They no to me, I all burn up. I tell them. They say, Mike, move you leg.' I move leg. They say, Mike, move you other leg.' I move other leg. They say, 'No leg broken.' They no know my side smash' in. I lie long time. Then I know nothing . . .

"I tol' boss something gon' happen. I raise hell with big boss all time. I bratticeman, I know mine. He tol' me I crazy. He say, 'You min' you business, I min' mine.' He say, 'You get coal, we take care of gas.'

"Boss always raise hell. 'You step on gas.' Always 'Hurry up, hurry up.' I scared. Have one little explosion, two little explosion, 'bout month before. I know something gon' happen. Night before it come, I go home, I no eat supper, I so scared. I cry, no eat. I no want go in mine . . ."

"I no feel so good now. I get well, then I tell. I tell. I tell everybody. I know. I know! I tell!"

The Death Sentence

Wild sobs shook Mike Polocy, and when it was over he sank back limp, could talk no more. His wife was sobbing and smoothing his brow and talking to him as though he were a baby. The doctor came into the room. We left.

Outside, where the sun was bright in a blue sky and there was clean fresh snow on the ground, we walked silently to our car. The Willow Grove miner who was my guide said:

"Poor old Mike. It's only a question of time. He may hang on a while longer, but you don't come through something like that and then get well."

"Whose fault was it?" I asked. "Who killed him, and the other 72, and all the others killed in these mine explosions?"

The miner scratched his chin and frowned, and then he said in his slow West Virginia drawl:

"We-l-l, I dunno. You might say it wasn't nobody. You might say it was just 'production,' just gettin' the coal and gettin' it fast. Or you might say it was politics, and what politics does to the state mine inspection set-up. But I guess if you had to really pick out a villain, it'd be them Congressmen who voted against the Federal mine safety bill. I guess they'd come as near to bein' the murderers as anybody you'd find."

The Answers of All Answers

I spent a week in the coal fields of Eastern Ohio. Almost every waking minute I was talking with someone in the industry—miner, or miner's widow, or coal operator, or mine union official, or state mine inspector, or merchant who made his living selling to miners. I went down into two mines in which there have been frightful catastrophes during the last year, and talked to the men at work.

I pored over books and charts and tables of statistics, and leafed through hundreds of pages of courtroom testimony. Everywhere, always, I asked that question: "Who is responsible? Who murders these men who die in the mines?"

I didn't hear a better answer than the one I heard from that slow-talking Willow Grove miner as we left Mike Polocy's hospital room.

TOMORROW: The Survivors — Women and Children.

'You May Not Want Your Miner Husband to Die'

Tom O'Connor Tells the Story of Martha Mazeroske, Who Got $200 to Bury Her Son

Second of a Series

By Tom O'Connor

PM Exclusive

If you are married to a coal miner and bear him children, cook for him and skimp with him and plan with him, laugh with him and quarrel with him and comfort him, it may be that you'll not want him to die.

It may be that you'll worry when you see him go off in the morning to earn his living and the kids', deep down in the earth for eight hours or nine, breathing black dust into his lungs and grinding it into his pores, wrestling with huge machines in a tunnel so low he can't stand up, four miles or five miles or six from sight of the sun and the sky. It may be that you'll worry for fear he won't come back that night, for fear that stone will fall and crush him, or gas explode and suffocate him, or dust explode and blow him into little chunks of grimy flesh. You know it has happened before to the husbands of other wives. You know it may happen again, to yours.

$200 for Burial

But you really needn't worry. If it does happen, the state will take care of you.

You'll get $200 to bury him with, and $6500 to live on, divided into monthly payments over eight years. That's from the workmen's compensation fund. Then you'll get maybe $18 a month from social security for being a widow, and perhaps $12 a month for each of the kids until they're 18. If you have enough youngsters, you may get almost as much a month as you had when he was alive. And there'll be one less mouth to feed. You really needn't worry. You can buy him a nice tombstone, and comfort yourself, for the emptiness in your bed, at your table, in your heart, with the knowledge that your economic future is secured.

Out in the coal lands of eastern Ohio, where there were two big mine explosions within 25 miles of each other in 1940, I talked to a great many of these economically secure widows. Some of them were young, some middle-aged, some elderly. Some were Scotch, some were German, some were Irish, some were Polish, one was Negro. Some were pretty, some were plain. Some were reticent, some were garrulous. Some were quick-witted, some were slow. Some had whole broods of children, some had none. Some had lost husbands who drank overmuch, and some had lost husbands who read Scripture every day. Some lived in pleasant homes, and some lived in desolate shacks. They were as miscellaneous as is humanity, but they all had one thing in common. After I had seen them, I knew that grief is a word too often lightly used.



The first one I talked to was a slender girl named Martha Mazeroske. She was 23, had been married almost five years, had two beautiful brown-eyed children, Eddie, 10 months, and called Honey Boy, and Ben, 3, and called Bennie Boy. She lived in a small, comfortable and neatly furnished flat on a side street in Cadiz, O., where her parents had lived and where she had been born.

Died With 30 Others

She was of English and German descent. Her husband, Ben T. Mazeroske, 25, of Polish parentage, had been a trackman in the Nelms mine of the Ohio & Pennsylvania Coal Co., four miles from Cadiz. He died with 30 others on Nov. 29, 1940, 450 feet beneath the earth and miles back under it, when a spark which need never have occurred ignited explosive gas which need never have accumulated. Mercifully, they never let her see his body.

While Bennie Boy played on the floor with a toy car, and Honey Boy slept on her lap, she talked slowly and painfully, crying softly when the hurt was too much and then drying her eyes and going on. She talked of her husband, six foot, 200-pound Ben, dark-haired and handsome, the love of her youth and her life.

"Ben was quiet," she said. "He was real quiet and serious. He worked hard. He left school in the eighth grade and went to work. His father was a miner and his brothers were miners, and eventually he went into the mine, when he was 19. He was the kind of man that when they closed the mine down in 1938 to mechanize it, and he was off seven months, he was up every morning at 6 and out looking for work, every morning.

"He was afraid of the mine. He didn't talk much, but I knew he was afraid. Everybody knew it was a gassy mine, and danger-

House Committee O.K.'s Mine Bill

WASHINGTON, Feb. 21.—The federal mine safety bill—a measure calculated to diminish the long annual death list in coal mine accidents—was nearer final passage today than ever before.

The House Committee on Mines and Mining yesterday voted to report the bill out. At the last session of Congress, the measure languished in the same committee for months—although the Senate had unanimously passed it—and finally expired when the session ended.

The bill now to be debated and voted on in the House was introduced by Representative J. Harold Flannery (D., Pa.). It is substantially the same as the Neely-Keller bill of the previous session.

It would give the experts of the U. S. Bureau of Mines the right to inspect coal mines and to publicize their findings.

curious circumstance—that the Nelms mine was inspected two days before it blew up, that explosive gas was found on Wednesday in the section where 31 men died on Friday, that the company was told ventilation was bad, air velocity at certain points nil, the danger of explosion great. And that after the explosion, after the 31 bodies had been dug out, the company installed a new and powerful ventilating fan to replace equipment more than 10 years old.

All that I learned led right back to the same conclusion: that as long as the inspection of coal mines is left solely to the states, there will always be explosions, always be miners like handsome young Ben Mazeroske killed, always be wives like slender Martha Mazeroske left with broken homes and fatherless children.

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"He was afraid of the mine. He didn't talk much, but I knew he was afraid. Everybody knew it was a gassy mine, and dangerous. I know the union had asked the federal mine inspectors to come inspect it last April, after Willow Grove blew up. But the state inspectors wouldn't let them come in.

"Ben worked outside, on the tipple, for quite a while. He only got $4.40 a day there, though, and as soon as he got a chance he went down inside, where he could make $6.

Gas Found Before Blast

"That was two and a half months before the explosion. About six weeks after, he had to be hauled out on the motor. He'd hit his head on a timber while riding on a coal car, and gashed it. But he wasn't out long.

"The last day before he went out and didn't come back, he told me he wished he had a job on the outside. He said the inspectors had found a lot of gas and bad ventilation, and he was afraid something would happen."

She talked then of the day of the explosion, how she had heard from neighbors that the mine had blown up, how she had tried to find out whether Ben was in it, how no one who knew had the courage to tell her. Finally I asked her:

"Whose fault do you think it was? Whom do you blame for taking your husband?"

"Well," she said, after a moment's hesitation, "there was state mine inspectors in there two days before the explosion. They found gas in there, and not enough ventilation. They knew the air was bad, but they sent the men in. I guess you've got to blame it on the state mining department."

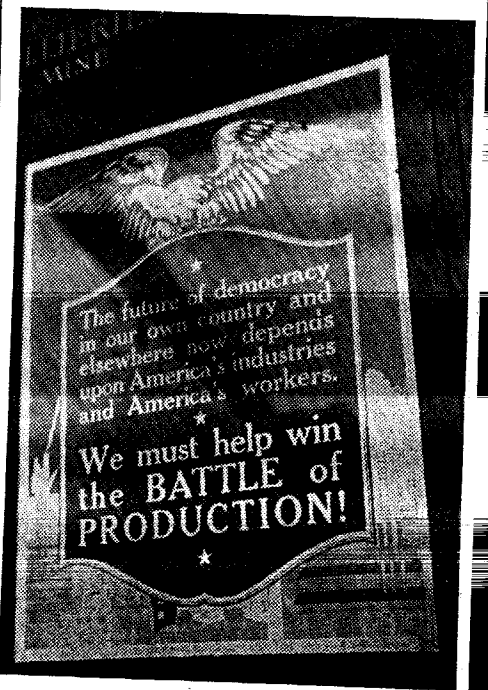
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SUNDAY: An Irishman and a Scotsman, and the families they left.



Signs like this one, photographed at the tipple of the Wolf Run mine in eastern Ohio, have their own grim irony. The operators urge the miners to speed up for patriotism's sake; at the same time they fight the mine safety bill which might save the lives of hundreds of their own workers.

hands of other men. You know it may happen again to some.

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But you really needn't worry. If it does happen, the state will take care of you.

You'll get $200 to bury him with, and $6300 to live on, divided into monthly payments over eight years. That's from the workmen's compensation fund. Then you'll



This is Martha Mazeroske, with Bennie Boy and Honey Boy.

come under the mothers' pension fund, and you'll get $18 a month for each child.

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common—they had all been widowed by coal mine explosions.

I had come to Cadiz, Ohio, to see Martha Mazeroske, whose husband, Ben, had been killed in the Powhatan No. 3 mine explosion on March 9, 1930. I had come to see her because I had heard that she was a woman who had been left with two children and a mortgage on her hands, who had refused to sell her home to the coal company, who had refused to move away from the scene of her tragedy, who had refused to remarry, who had refused to take charity, who had refused to do anything but stay right there and make a living for herself and her children.





These Coal Miners' Kids Are Not Orphans . . . Yet

These children live and go to school at Piney Fork, O. They are here lined up after afternoon recess, waiting to go back into the weathered wooden building where they learn the three R's. Most of them have just run through ankle-deep mud 50 yards to and from the wooden outhouse. The outhouse was built to accommodate three people, but at least 15 boys had shoved their way in at once.

Most of these children live in company houses of the Hanna Coal Co. Their fathers work in Hanna Coal's Piney Fork mine, spend their pay in Hanna Coal's company store, buy their fuel from Hanna Coal. Their mothers breathe all day the stench from Hanna Coal's smoldering "gob pile" (slate and other refuse from the mine, ignited by spontaneous combustion), hang their clothes on washday in the soft-coal smoke that hovers over Piney Fork.

When we were there in early February, the Piney Fork mine was a hand-loading mine employing about 1000 men. The men had just learned that the company was going to install loading machines in a week or two, put the mine on a steady three-shift basis, vastly increase production—and get along with 300 to 500 fewer miners. We asked James Hyslop, general manager of Hanna Coal, what would happen to the men laid off and their families.

"Same thing that happens to any other unemployed," he said

And he added that the "social problem" would really be lessened, since the men who remained would have steady instead of intermittent work, and would "make enough to live like Americans."

Hanna Coal owns three other mines nearby. One of them is Willow Grove—fully mechanized—where 72 miners died in an explosion last March. Miners fear mechanization not only because it creates unemployment but because it liberates explosive gas faster and puts more explosive coal dust into the air.

Photos by Morris Engel, PM Staff



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Photos by Morris Engel, PM Staff



Mike Finn, killed Nov. 29, 1940.

Here Are Two Family Portraits . . .

Third of a Series
By Tom O'Connor

PM

John Bernard was a bratticeman in the Nelms mine near Cadiz, Ohio, and Mickey Finn was a motorman. Bernard was 42 and Finn was 36. Bernard was as Scotch as Sandy MacNab, and Finn was as Irish as Paddy's pig. Both died in the needless, wholly preventable, wholly unforgivable explosion which killed 31 Nelms miners last Nov. 29.

I talked to their widows on successive evenings a week ago.

"John was a religious man," said Mrs. Bernard. "All he cared for was church. He lived his religion. The first night he ever spent away from home, he lay out there in the mine."

"Mike drank some," said Mrs. Finn. "The day before the explosion was Thanksgiving. I asked him not to drink that day. He didn't. We had the best Thanksgiving we ever had. Next day he was gone."

Two men, wholly unlike, down in the earth grubbing away at the coal. Two women, wholly unlike, making homes, bearing children, loving their men for their virtues or their faults. One grief.

Mrs. Bernard is a big, husky woman, brown-haired, be-spectacled, competent-looking. Her children, Pauline, 14, and tow-headed David, 8, are husky and healthy-looking too. They live in a made-over garage on a small farm near Cadiz. It was tidy and warm and cheery inside.

"I was just going out to water the chickens that afternoon," said Mrs. Bernard, "when my sister-in-law came and told me there had been an explosion at the mine. That was about 2:30. It wasn't until 11 o'clock that I found out John was down inside. About 1 in the morning my father—he's the safety boss at the mine—came and told me they never knew what hit them."

Mrs. Bernard cried a little. I asked her if her son David was going to be a miner.

"Not if I can help it, he won't," she almost snapped back. Then the tears came into her eyes again and she said, resignedly:

"But John's father was killed in a mine, and his mother said John would never go in, and he did. A man has to have a job."

Mrs. Finn—thin, horny Mrs. Finn, aged by childbirth and overwork until she looked more like 50 than her proper 33—said almost the same thing.

She sat in a rocking chair in her big, unshackle house on the outskirts of Bergholz, a village near Cadiz. Her children clustered around her, wide-eyed at the strange maneuvering of the man with the camera. There was Jackie, 2; Mickey, 4; Imogene, 8; Eileen, 13; Danny, 16; and Evelyn, 18, married, with a 15-month-old baby of her own. And there was a baby in Mrs. Finn's womb, to be born this April.



'Cadiz Will Be Next'

"Last spring," said Mrs. Finn, "we heard on the radio about the Willow Grove mine blowing up. Mike said, 'Turn it off.' He didn't want to listen. I said, 'That just shows you should get out of Cadiz mine.' I said, 'Cadiz will be next.'

"He was a little sore. He said, 'Well, when a man's got a family, he's got to work somewhere, hasn't he?'"

Little Jackie was falling asleep on Mrs. Finn's lap, and Mickey, the 4-year-old, was bouncing up and down in a toy-size modernistic chromium-and-leather chair.



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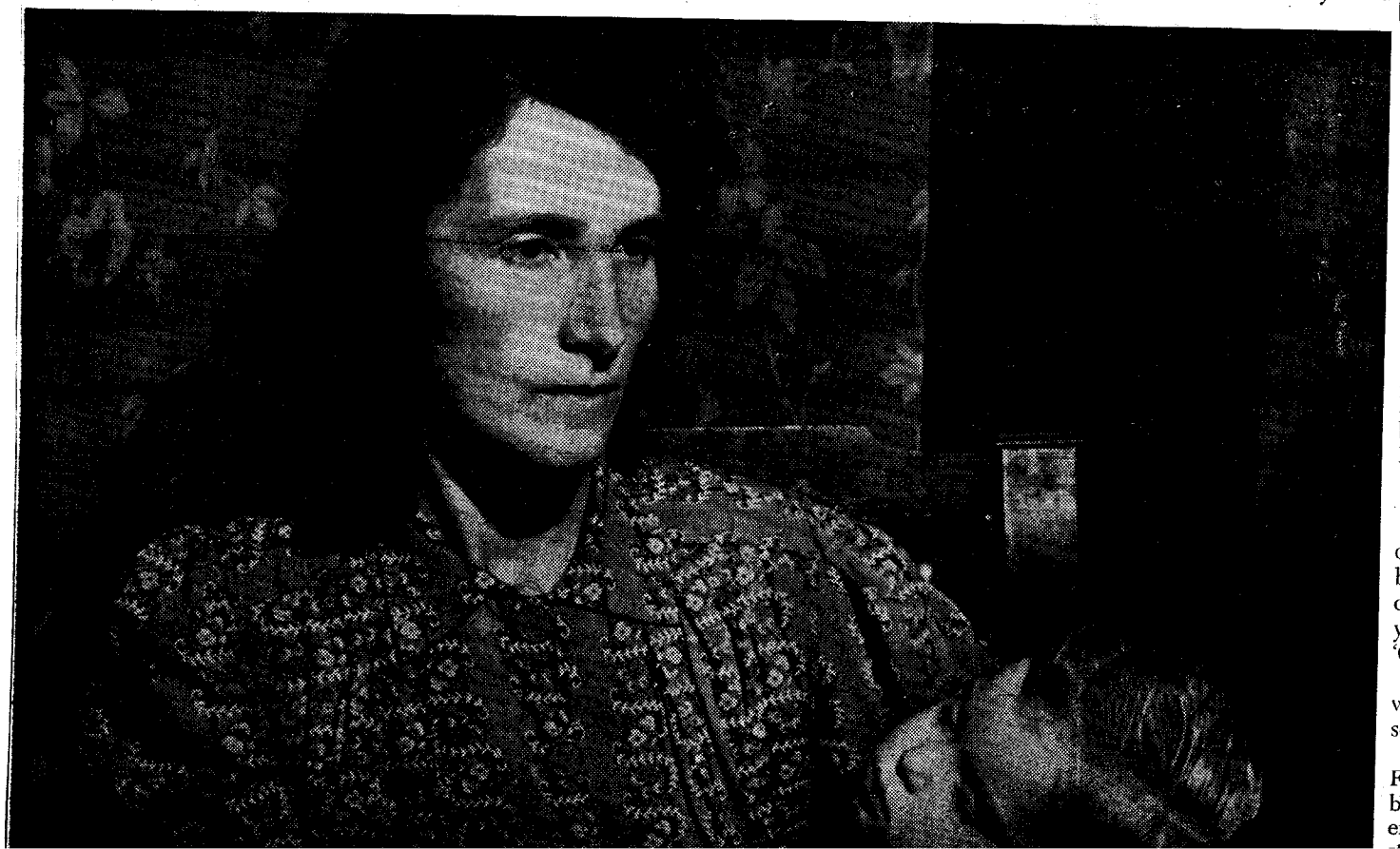
Mrs. Bernard cried a little. I asked her if her son David was going to be a miner.

"Not if I can help it, he won't," she almost snapped back. Then the tears came into her eyes again and she said, resignedly:

"But John's father was killed in a mine, and his mother said John would never go in, and he did. A man has to have a job."

Mrs. Finn—thin, bony Mrs. Finn, aged by childbirth and overwork until she looked more like 50 than her proper 33—said almost the same thing.

She sat in a rocking chair in her big, ramshackle house on the outskirts of Bergholz, a village near Cadiz. Her children clustered around her, wide-eyed at the strange maneuvering of the man with the camera. There was Jackie, 2; Mickey, 4; Imogene, 8; Eileen, 13; Danny, 16; and Evelyn, 18, married, with a 13-month-old baby of her own. And there was a baby in Mrs. Finn's womb, to be born this April.

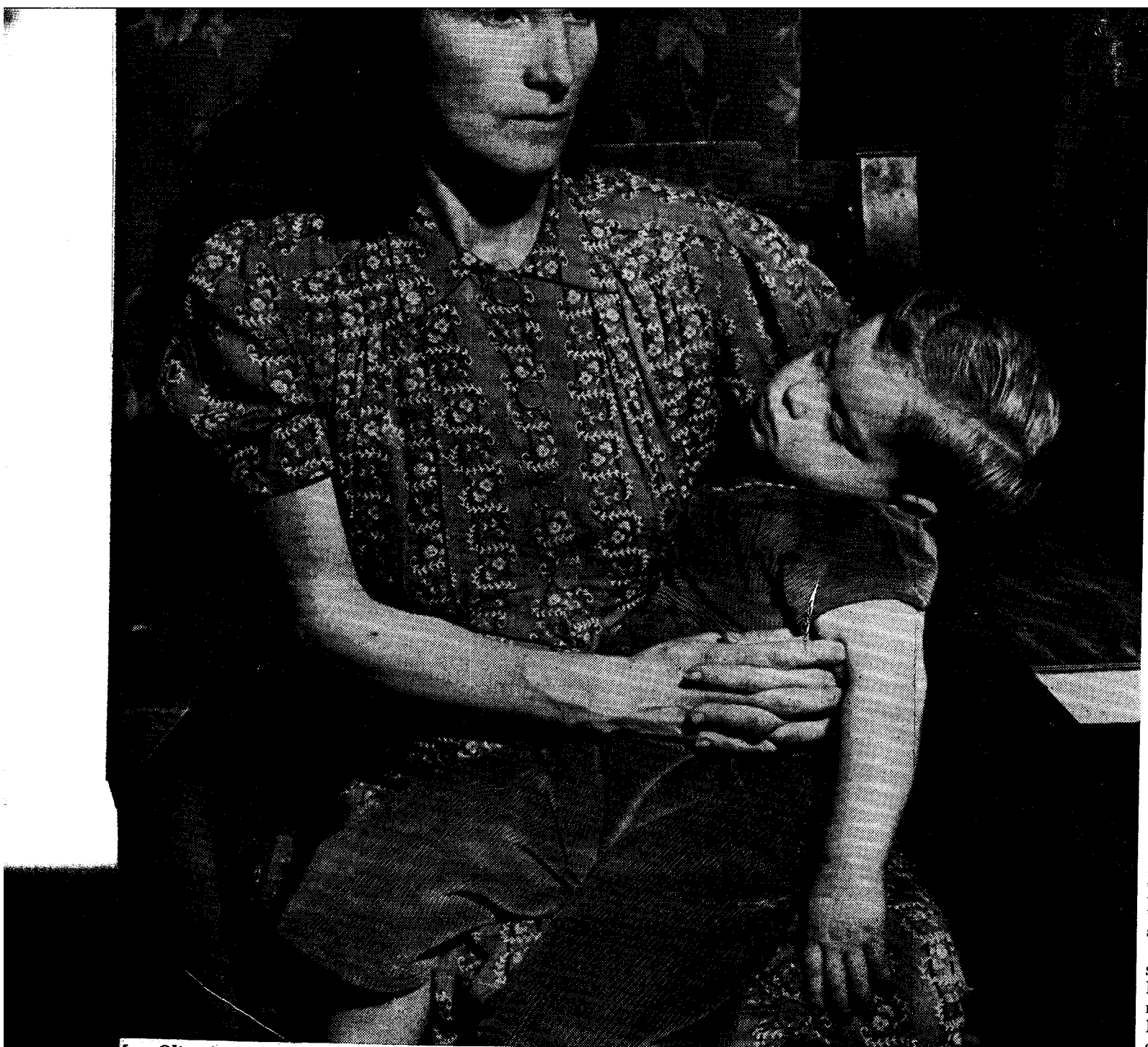


'Cadiz Will Be Next'

"Last spring," said Mrs. Finn, "we heard on the radio about the Willow Grove mine blowing up. Mike said, 'Turn it off.' He didn't want to listen. I said, 'That just shows you should get out of Cadiz mine.' I said, 'Cadiz will be next.'

"He was a little sore. He said, 'Well, when a man's got a family, he's got to work somewhere, hasn't he?' "

Little Jackie was falling asleep on Mrs. Finn's lap, and Mickey, the 4-year-old, was bouncing up and down in a toy-size modernistic chromium - and - leather chair,



Mrs. Olive Finn, widow of Mike, here holds on her lap the youngest of her six children—save for a new one she's expecting in April. Her husband, whose picture above was copied from an old holiday snapshot, died with 30 other miners in the explosion at the Nelms mine, near Cadiz, Ohio, last November. Mrs. Finn is 33, her oldest child 18. When she heard that the mine exploded, she had been working all day. She went on working all night, to keep from thinking. "I cleaned every room in this house like it had never been cleaned before," she said.

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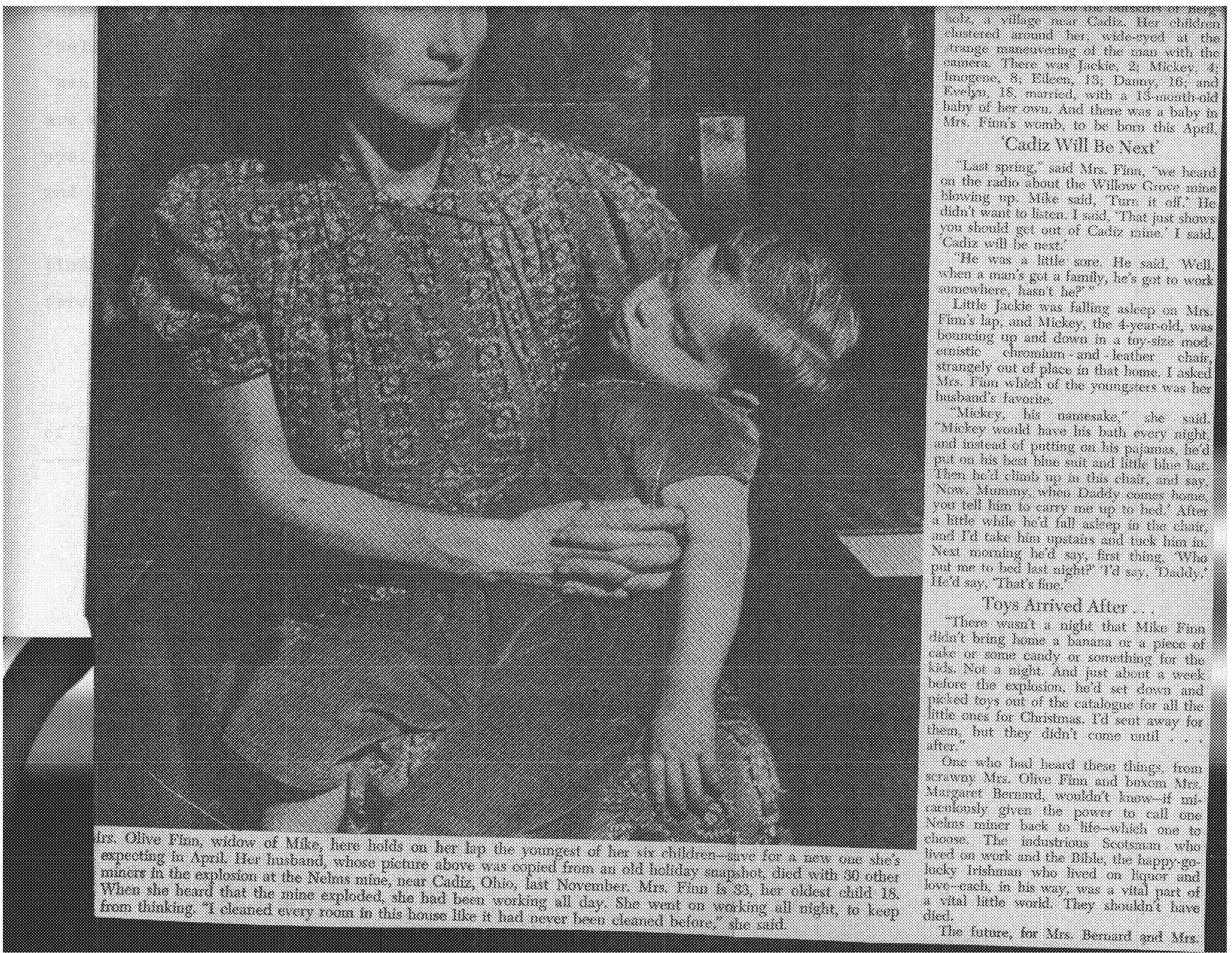
"Mickey, his namesake," she said. "Mickey would have his bath every night, and instead of putting on his pajamas, he'd put on his best blue suit and little blue hat. Then he'd climb up in this chair, and say, 'Now, Mummy, when Daddy comes home, you tell him to carry me up to bed.' After a little while he'd fall asleep in the chair, and I'd take him upstairs and tuck him in. Next morning he'd say, first thing, 'Who put me to bed last night?' I'd say, 'Daddy.' He'd say, 'That's fine.'

Toys Arrived After . . .

"There wasn't a night that Mike Finn didn't bring home a banana or a piece of cake or some candy or something for the kids. Not a night. And just about a week before the explosion, he'd set down and picked toys out of the catalogue for all the little ones for Christmas. I'd sent away for them, but they didn't come until . . . after."

One who had heard these things, from scrawny Mrs. Olive Finn and buxom Mrs. Margaret Bernard, wouldn't know—if miraculously given the power to call one Nelms miner back to life—which one to choose. The industrious Scotsman who lived on work and the Bible, the happy-go-lucky Irishman who lived on liquor and love—each, in his way, was a vital part of a vital little world. They shouldn't have died.

The future, for Mrs. Bernard and Mrs.



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> It may be that you'll worry when you see him go off in the morning to earn his living and the kids', deep down in the earth for eight hours or nine, breathing black dust into his lungs and grinding it into his pores, wrestling with huge machines in a tunnel so low he can't stand up, four miles or five miles or six from sight of the sun and the sky. It may be that you'll worry for fear that stone will fall and crush him, or gas explode and suffocate him, or dust explode and blow him into little chunks of grimy flesh. You know it has happened before to the husbands of other wives. You know it may happen again, to yours.

This story of mine widows, young and old, who share in common the pain of grief, is a beautifully written and intensely moving piece of writing.

Accompanied by excellent pictures, the remainder of the stories, "These Coal Miner's Kids Are Not Orphans ... Yet;"[1] "Here Are Two Family Portraits ... And Two Men Dead in a Mine;"[2] "Nelms Mine, Where 31 Died, Still Uses Unsafe Methods,"[3] and "Men Killed in Mines? Why? That Was the Law of Averages,"[4] are written with an insight into human nature and an observing eye. The last two stories are concerned with mine practices and facts.

O'Connor does not hesitate to print the complete conversations of interviews with mine operators, revealing their indifference and carelessness to mine safety.

"Case History of a Sick City"

PM was not very old when James Wechsler's seven-page story of Hoboken was featured. By word and picture, the youthful cru-

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1 PM, February 21, 1941, p. 16.
2 PM, February 23, 1941, pp. 16-17.
3 PM, February 25, 1941, pp. 18-19.
4 PM, February 26, 1941, p. 18.

sador exposed conditions in McFeely-dominated Hoboken, the city where "nearly everybody is poor."[1] Accompanied by fifteen Margaret Bourke-White photographs, this expose of unbelievable poverty and civil injustice created comment, particularly among social workers who had been hoping for social interpretation of this sort.

Under the heading, "Hoboken's Drama: The Breadline,"[2] is found writing of the expose type which made PM famous during its first months:[3]

> Back in 1936, a baby named Donald Hastie died of starvation in Hoboken.
>
> Two years later a little dark man begged the Overseer of the Poor for relief. There was a row; the little man swore later that the Overseer told him to make his wife become a prostitute. The Overseer was killed. Joseph Scutellero, the little dark man, got out of jail last week.
>
> On September 15, 1938, Herman Matson, who has fought almost single-handed for better relief standards in Hoboken, held a mass meeting. His pregnant wife was beaten up, the meeting dispersed.

A later note[4] on Hoboken is the story of the man who filed suit to get relief in an attempt to thwart the McFeely machine. PM displays faithfulness in following through on its crusading stories.

"Domestic Tragedy"

Tom O'Connor's series about the maltreatment of servants in New York is another crusade for civil justice treated through a

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1 "Case History of a Sick City," PM, August 12, 1941, p. 13.
2 Ibid., p. 16.
3 Ibid., p. 16.
4 PM, October 20, 1940, p. 11.

series of humanly recorded case stories. In a series of seven articles he discusses the "slave markets", corner markets in New York where negro women gather to sell their labor by the day or half-day.

In the opening paragraphs, O'Connor sets forth the origin of his series:[1]

> PM had a pretty strong hunch that household workers, as a group, were subject to cruel exploitation -- none the less cruel for being in large measure unconscious. It turned me loose to explore the field, and report on what I found. In this and following articles I'll make that report, and some observations on what I think can be done about the conditions reported. It should be understood that my impartiality extends only two facts: I proceed with the basic assumption that household workers deserve a decent sort of life, even if it means some slight inconvenience to those for whom they work; and I am only incidentally concerned with the "servant problem" as milady sees it.

O'Connor went to the slave market in the Bronx and talked with the women waiting for work -- with young, well-educated negresses and aged, tired mammies. One of them -- "too ol' to remember when I was born,"[2] was from the West Indies. All day long she waited for work, for she wouldn't go on relief:[3]

> I'm the messenger of the Lard, an' ever since I received the Lard's message he's taken care of me, an' you cawn't hol' water in one hand an' fire in the other, so I won't lie to get on home relief, because I know the Lard will take care of me, because he always has an' he always will.

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1 PM, January 14, 1941, p. 12.
2 PM, January 16, 1941, p. 14.
3 Ibid.

Domestic Tragedy:

Negro Domestics Earn Pittance in 'Slave Markets'

Housewives Buy Household Help Like Steak or Cabbage . . . Workers Are Bitter

This is the third in a series on the jobs and lives of domestic workers in New York City.

By Tom O'Connor

PM Exclusive

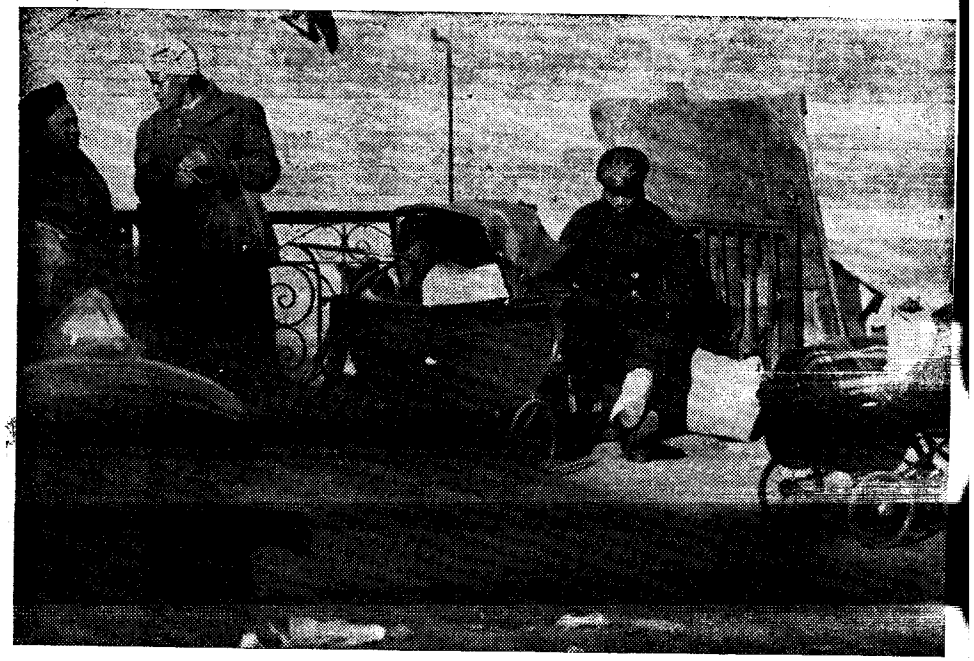
There are some nice people who object to using the term *slave markets* for those spots in the Bronx where Negro women stand or sit around on the curbstones waiting for housework jobs. They think it's indelicate at best, and sensational or even hysterical at worst. They prefer to call them *street corner labor marts* or *curbstone employment centers,* and thus make them nicer-seeming by giving them a nicer name.

Well, they aren't nice. They're there. They exist. They've been going for a number of years and they don't get any nicer. They have their roots in rotten poverty and they have their fruits in rotten lives. And they'll bear their fruits as long as their roots are nurtured.

Not Only in the Bronx

The Bronx slave markets (there are some in Brooklyn too, in Brighton Beach and Brownsville, but they aren't so big nor so well known) are merely street corners where women—with rare exceptions, Negro women—gather and wait for someone to come along and hire their labor for temporary and casual housework.

Those who have their labor to sell begin to make their appearance about 7 o'clock in the morning, at the busy corners in the Bronx. Their badge is a dark skin, and a brown paper parcel under the arm containing work clothes. They stand around, huddling in doorways or vestibules when it's cold or snowing or raining, until some housewife comes along and offers work. They may get work right away, they may wait half a day, they may wait all day and get no work. If the job is only a couple of hours, they



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PM Photo by Paten-Davis

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"Sure ain't no fun getting work this way. Next month I'm going to get me a real job through an agency, so I won't have to be bothered with this ———."

"It's awful to stand on the street and beg for a job, like you was a vagrant or somethin'."

"I ain't gonna stand here much longer. Got two sweaters on and I still feel cold."

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"These people don't give you nothin' but what you work for, and they hate even to give you that."

"They come down here to get help because they're too stingy to go anywhere else."

"I don't believe in stealin', but some of the people up here are so cheap and mean they make you want to."

Who Are These Women?

What sort of women are these, who go to the slave markets for work, and why do they go?

There are three general types: the elderly woman who has never done anything but

children until they died. Now she was alone, save for some distant relatives with whom she lived. She tried to get enough work to pay for her food and keep up a small insurance policy; but she had been to the market every day the week before without getting a job, had had only one cleaning job—which paid her a dollar—this week.

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But the slave markets aren't "on'y for ol' folks," by any means. A tour of them reveals plenty of the other two types—plenty of neat capable looking, matronly women in early middle age, plenty of spruce young women to whom offers of other tasks besides housework are not rare.

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She wouldn't go on relief. Her voice rose and she got almost hysterical when she spoke of it.

"No, I ain't askin to home relief, because you can't eat fire in one hand and water in the other. I'm willin to work, but there's folks that's broken down an' can't get no work no place else."

But the slave markets aren't only for "folks," by any means. A tour of them reveals plenty of the other two types—plenty of neat capable looking, matronly women in early middle age, plenty of spruce young women to whom offers of other tasks besides housework are not rare.

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MORE PICTURES

PM Exclusive

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Well, what's bad about that? Here are certain women who want a little work done, and certain other women who want to make a little money and are willing to work for it. So they get together, in a rather primitive but effective way, strike a bargain, trade work for money, and everybody's happy. What's wrong with that?

Nothing Wrong

Nothing—**if you're willing to see women exposed to all kinds of inclement weather, rain, cold, snow, broiling heat, in order to get the chance to work.** Nothing—if you're willing to see women paid a pittance for arduous toil. Nothing—if you're willing to see girls fresh from the backwoods South standing around on street corners day after day receiving what are euphemistically called *immoral advances.* Nothing—if you're willing to see women in whom constant humiliation hardens into a corrosive core of bitter resentment, against their employers,

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There are three general types: the elderly woman who has never done anything but domestic work and is too old and worn out to get a regular job; the younger married woman who has a home and perhaps children to take care of, but not enough money to take care of them unless she supplements her income with odd jobs at the slave markets; and the young, unattached girl, often a newcomer to New York City, who hasn't found any other way to meet immediate necessities or likes a haphazard, Bohemian sort of life and doesn't want to be tied down to a regular job.

It's the old ones who are the most pitiful. There are a few of them to be seen around almost every one of the 30 or so slave markets in the Bronx. They lean against a wall or sit on an old crate, poorly dressed, tired, discouraged and dejected looking. They're the last ones chosen, and forced to work for the lowest rates.

There was the woman they called Nettie, sitting on a rickety box in the Jennings St. market. It was well below freezing, and there was little protection from the wind. She was bundled in shabby and untidy clothing. She was gray haired, wrinkled-faced, tall and gaunt. When she took her



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She wouldn't go on relief. Her voice rose and she got almost hysterical when she spoke of it:

"No, I ain't askin' no home relief, because you cawn't hol' fire in one hand and water in the other, an' ef you goes on home relief you has to lie, an' I ain't goin' to lose my soul by lyin'.

"I'm the messenger of the Lard, an' ever since I received the Lard's message he's taken care of me, an' you cawn't hol' water in one hand an' fire in the other, so I won't lie to get on home relief, because I know the Lard will take care of me, because He always has an' He always will."

Once, said Nettie, she had been able to get four or five days' work a week at the markets, but her work had by now dwindled to almost nothing.

"These people aroun' here is poor and got no money to pay nobody nothin'. Some of them is on home relief theyself. When you get a job, they wants to give you that food they get in cans from the relief for your lunch. This place is on'y for ol' folks, ol' folks that's broken down an' cawn't fin' no work no place else."

But the slave markets aren't "on'y for ol' folks," by any means. A tour of them reveals plenty of the other two types—plenty of neat capable looking, matronly women in early middle age, plenty of spruce young women to whom offers of other tasks besides housework are not rare.

It would be grossly unfair to say that prostitution is common among the slave market women. They are, with few exceptions, serious people seriously looking for work. But it would be grossly inaccurate to say that some few don't utilize the slave markets as convenient points for solicitation, and that some men don't try to lure the women to their apartments, under pretense of offering housework, but in the expectation of obtaining much more for their money. It is this undercurrent of vice which has given most serious pause to many civic and religious groups now trying to work out means of abolishing the slave markets without depriving the workers of their means of making a living.

Description of the slave markets and the people in them will be continued tomorrow, together with an account of remedial measures suggested.

MORE PICTURES

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Those are very strong words. I write them after having camped out in the Bronx a good many hours, learning about the slave markets and the people in them, and after having borrowed the eyes and ears of an intelligent, well-educated Negro girl who posed as a job seeker in the Bronx slave markets to gain the confidence of the other job seekers and get their stories. I write them after having heard such comments as these from the women waiting for work:

"That dame (referring to a heavy-hipped, sloppily dressed housewife who had offered $1.25 for six hours' work) is just too fat and

"I never take no job from a man. They don't want only one thing."

"These people don't give you nothin' but what you work for, and they hate even to give you that."

"They come down here to get help because they're too stingy to go anywhere else."

"I don't believe in stealin', but some of the people up here are so cheap and mean they make you want to."

Who Are These Women?

What sort of women are these, who go to the slave markets for work, and why do they go?

There are three general types: the elderly woman who has never done anything but domestic work and is too old and worn out to get a regular job; the younger married woman who has a home and perhaps children to take care of, but not enough money to take care of them unless she supplements her income with odd jobs at the slave markets; and the young, unattached girl, often a newcomer to New York City, who hasn't found any other way to meet immediate necessities or likes a haphazard, Bohemian sort of life and doesn't want to be tied down to a regular job.

It's the old ones who are the most pitiful. There are a few of them to be seen around almost every one of the 30 or so slave markets in the Bronx. They lean against a wall or sit on an old crate, poorly dressed, tired, discouraged and dejected looking. They're the last ones chosen, and forced to work for the lowest rates.

There was the woman they called Nettie, sitting on a rickety box in the Jennings St. market. It was well below freezing, and there was little protection from the wind. She was bundled in shabby and untidy clothing. She was gray haired, wrinkled-faced, tall and gaunt. When she took her hands out of a ratty muff, you could see they were gnarled and swollen at the joints.

Too Old to Remember

She said she was "too ol' to remember when I was born," but she remembered that she came to New York from the West Indies with her husband and children in 1903. She had been a cook for a planter in the West Indies, but "I couldn't get no work like that—they cooks different over here." So she had done day work as a domestic, quit when her husband "began to make good money downtown," started again when he died in 1920. She lived with her married

Charlotte Sts. in the Bronx, one of the places where Negro domestics wait for casual jobs. These women have apparently waited all day without success. They look it.

PM Photo by Paten-Davis

children until they died. Now she was alone, save for some distant relatives with whom she lived. She tried to get enough work to pay for her food and keep up a small insurance policy; but she had been to the market every day the week before without getting a job, had had only one cleaning job—which paid her a dollar—this week.

She wouldn't go on relief. Her voice rose and she got almost hysterical when she spoke of it:

"No, I ain't askin' no home relief, because you cawn't hol' fire in one hand and water in the other, an' ef you goes on home relief you has to lie, an' I ain't goin' to lose my soul by lyin'.

"I'm the messenger of the Lard, an' ever since I received the Lard's message he's taken care of me, an' you cawn't hol' water in one hand an' fire in the other, so I won't lie to get on home relief, because I know the Lard will take care of me, because He always has an' He always will."

Once, said Nettie, she had been able to get four or five days' work a week at the markets, but her work had by now dwindled to almost nothing.

"These people aroun' here is poor and got no money to pay nobody nothin'. Some of them is on home relief theyself. When you get a job, they wants to give you that food they get in cans from the relief for your lunch. This place is on'y for ol' folks, ol' folks that's broken down an' cawn't fin' no work no place else."

But the slave markets aren't "on'y for ol' folks," by any means. A tour of them reveals plenty of the other two types—plenty of neat capable looking, matronly women in early middle age, plenty of spruce young women to whom offers of other tasks besides housework are not rare.

It would be grossly unfair to say that prostitution is common among the slave market women. They are, with few exceptions, serious people seriously looking for work. But it would be grossly inaccurate to say that some few don't utilize the slave markets as convenient points for solicitation, and that some men don't try to lure the women to their apartments, under pretense of offering housework, but in the expectation of obtaining much more for their money. It is this undercurrent of vice which has given most serious pause to many civic and religious groups now trying to work out means of abolishing the slave markets without depriving the workers of their means of making a living.

Description of the slave markets and the people in them will be continued tomorrow, together with an account of remedial measures suggested.

MORE PICTURES

In this pungent style, O'Connor carries through his series on domestic labor, complete with pictures, sketches and reprints. He deals with the Domestic Workers Union and the protective legislation desired by the organized domestics. At the conclusion of his series he wrote the editorial discussed earlier in this chapter, with its suggested course for employer, domestic worker, organized labor, and legislator.[1] The series aroused considerable comment and resulted in a number of letters to the editor.

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Other samples of PM's coverage of labor and the unemployed is the concern for the "Jersey Joads,"[2] migrant workers in the New Jersey fruit area. PM's publicity on the plight of these workers may have been a contributing factor leading to the Congressional investigation of conditions. Following the investigation, PM printed six pictures with the caption "Congressional Committee Gets Jersey Run-Around."[3] The newspaper contended that the investigators saw only what Jersey officials wanted them to see. In August, a single story concerning some "Mexican Joads"[4] who were imported to Michigan and then refused relief carried on the Joad tradition.

Other stories of note include Huberman's series on John L. Lewis, beginning July 16; O'Connor's periodical stories on negroes who are barred from jobs,[5] the coverage of the ASCAP-BMI

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1 PM, July 23, 1941, p. 15.
2 PM, July 18, 1940, p. 14.
3 PM, July 29, 1940, p. 14.
4 PM, August 26, 1940, p. 10.
5 PM, December 26, 1940, p. 12, and March 25, 1941, p. 20.

Supporters of John L. Lewis Ask: Where Do We Go From Here?

He Led Industrial Unionism, Fought for Labor in Government . . . Will He Back FDR?

(This is the last of a series on John L. Lewis.)

By Leo Huberman.

At a small private dinner party in Washington several years ago, a prominent Englishman asked John L. Lewis to explain his transformation from an old-line labor leader concerned only with wages and hours for his own membership, to a progressive leader interested in the welfare of all labor. The gist of Mr. Lewis' answer was that, in fact, he had always been the second type but had to wait his opportunity.

It was the economic setup and the temper of the people which had changed, not he.

That may or not be true. What is certainly true, however, is that Mr. Lewis' philosophy of labor has changed. Since 1933 his program has been genuinely progressive. It has to be. For Mr. Lewis is the leader of the industrial union movement. And industrial unionism forces a progressive program.

Voluntarism

Because industrial unions take in all workers, skilled and unskilled, men and women, black and white, they must, of necessity, concern themselves with the welfare of the whole working class, not alone of a special group. This means the old union principle of voluntarism—"government stay out"—must be abandoned.

Providing social services, unemployment insurance, old age pensions, etc., for a large membership paying low dues is an impossible task for industrial unions. So they naturally turn to the government for aid. They look to the government also to bring stabilization to industry to insure steady employment.

The United Mine Workers is an industrial union so Mr. Lewis learned this lesson before many other labor leaders did. Heretofore labor has too often been ignored. If the future is to be one of hope, labor must take its rightful place."

Mr. Lewis shares the attitude of the average mid-western American that he's "as good as anybody else if not better." He has an instinctive feeling for the power of labor. His demand that labor should have a voice in the determination of everything that concerns it is, to him, nothing more than elementary justice.

For the Underdog

The press accounts of his speeches for the past year have so high-lighted his anti-Roosevelt statements, that his championship of the underdog, both white and black, had received less attention than it deserves. It is charged that his aim has been merely to exert political pressure on both parties. Perhaps that's so. Nevertheless, he has been constantly repeating things that need repeating.

On unemployment: "The number one problem of America is still the problem of nine to 10 million men and women who are still without jobs in private industry."

On negroes: "The needs of no group in the nation are greater than those of the Negro people. Their incomes as a group are the lowest. Their living conditions are the poorest. Their unemployment is the highest. The discrimination against them is the worst."

On income levels: "Government figures recently released reveal that 19 million American families are compelled to subsist on a monthly income of $26.00. Government figures further reveal that under-consumption threatens the health and physical standards of the population. One half of all the people in the U. S. have incomes which enable them to spend for food requirements only 10 cents per meal per person."

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Learn By Experience

In an article in the *New Republic,* Dec. 23, 1936, he spoke out of his experience: "Until recent years labor leadership believed that if industrial workers were guaranteed the right to organize and bargain collectively through freely chosen representatives, all other objectives could be accomplished through labor's own initiative and effort.

As the result of the experience of the UMW prior to and during the depression, however, it was learned that without orderly planning and the establishment of production, price and profit controls in coal and other over-developed and over-capacitated natural-resources industries, the right to organize would be ineffective as a means of maintaining a union that could hope to win for its membership proper wage and hour standards."

Labor In Politics

Since government action and social planning are necessary to the well-being of labor, it follows that labor must resort to political action as well as economic. Mr. Lewis pointed this out to the delegates to the CIO Pittsburgh convention in 1938:

"Labor must have a strong voice in the government and in the agencies of the government which administer a sound economic program to guarantee that such a program shall not stagnate or be perverted. constantly repeating things that need repeating.

On unemployment: "The number one problem of America is still the problem of nine to 10 million men and women who are still without jobs in private industry."

On negroes: "The needs of no group in the nation are greater than those of the Negro people. Their incomes as a group are the lowest. Their living conditions are the poorest. Their unemployment is the highest. The discrimination against them is the worst."

On income levels: "Government figures recently released reveal that 19 million American families are compelled to subsist on a monthly income of $26.00. Government figures further reveal that under-consumption threatens the health and physical standards of the population. One half of all the people in the U. S. have incomes which enable them to spend for food requirements only 10 cents per meal per person."

Right To Vote

On the poll tax: "You know that the inequities of the poll tax have held from millions of American citizens their right to cast their vote. In this great capital city today many of those who are in the forefront of the fight to strike down the rights of labor and the common people are men who have been sent to Washington by a small minority of citizens in their states—men who would not be here in Washington if the citizens whom they are supposed to represent could cast a vote."

If Mr. Roosevelt is renominated, John L. Lewis may be a leader without a following. The rank and file of the CIO unions are overwhelmingly pro-Roosevelt. A third party movement at this time will not succeed. Lewis knows that. He may try it anyway in the hope of swinging enough votes among the youth groups, Negroes, Townsendites and left-wing unionists to defeat Roosevelt. In terms of his influence among CIO unions such a course would probably prove disastrous. It may even lead to an open split within the CIO.

On the other hand he may do as is currently predicted—indorse Roosevelt on the ground that the labor and peace platforms of the Democratic Party are what he has been fighting for all along. This tactic, it is suggested, will save face for him. That's true. Nevertheless, the fact of the matter is, that if those planks are acceptable to

struggle,[1] Leon Goodelman's series of five articles on strife within the Sandhogs' Union.

Union publicity included complete and careful coverage of the AFL convention in New Orleans and the CIO convention in Atlantic City in the fall. Previous to the conventions, PM's labor staff had men in both cities with their ears to the ground for rumblings of pending action. On days when there were stories from both camps, they were printed side by side. The amount of space devoted to the conventions was fairly evenly distributed, with the CIO holding a slight edge on AFL. Much space was devoted to the internal political backgrounds of union officials.

During July, 1940, a series of Sunday features on New York unions and their leaders was begun. Included in these was one on the Bakers' union[2] and one on the Government Workers'.[3] Quite frequently PM runs sketches on labor leaders, as "A Close-Up of Julius Hochman,"[4] general manager of the Dressmakers' union, and "The CIO's Promising Young Man,"[5] a story of James Carey, president on the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers.

Certain "trends" appear in PM with marked consistency. One such is the constant reiteration of the impassable breach between labor and Willkie; PM's Labor page made the most of the Republican candidates labor record from early September until the election. One technique used was to associate Willkie's name with that of Tom Girdler, the anti-unionist. This was

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1 PM, December 27, 1940, p. 13.
2 PM, July 28, 1940, p. 12.
3 PM, August 11, 1940, p. 14.
4 PM, January 27, 1941, p. 18.
5 PM, September 22, 1940, p. 19.

done in "Willkie Honors Girdler,"[1] an article with pictures of Girdler's strike-breaking activities. One of Wechsler's stories attempted to prove the insurance companies interests in electing Willkie.[2]

Because of the definite attempt made by PM at attract a labor circulation, Editor and Publisher asked Publisher Ingersoll if his experience would indicate that enthusiastic championship of labor meets a response sufficient to justify such a policy.[3] Ingersoll's answer was:[4]

> Our experience indicates without championship that championship of labor meets far more than a justifiable response, and from the lay public as well as from the rank and file labor.

According to evidence gathered during the first months of PM, and cited by Ingersoll as proof of Huberman's incompetency, labor was not entirely satisfied with PM:[5]

> ..... there was continual grumbling by the printing trade unions with which PM did business; there was continuing sharp shooting by the anti-Stalinist faction; the ILGWU, which had received more publicity than any other union, was not buying the paper; ..... PM was not selling better in highly unionized districts such as Seventh Avenue in the thirties.

In his "Report to the Stockholders" on August 7, Ingersoll's explanation of the trouble was:[6]

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1 PM, October 20, 1940, p. 15.
2 PM, October 30, 1940, p. 10.
3 Schneider, Walter E., "Ingersoll Sees PM's First Year as Start in Fulfilling Pledges," Editor and Publisher, Vol. 74, No. 24, June 14, 1941, p. 38.
4 Ibid.
5 Huberman, Leo, "Answer to Ralph Ingersoll's Charge of Incompetence," PS, Vol. 1, No. 13, January 6, 1941, p. 2.
6 Ibid.

> All these things force me to the conclusion that we simply chose the wrong time to bring a Labor Page into the world. I cannot imagine such a lack of response had PM come out with exactly the same page it has in the early thirties.

Other causes suggested by Mr. Ingersoll, and quoted by Huberman,[1] were:

> ..... that PM was labelled "Red" early in its career; that the labor movement was so torn by factionalism that it was not interested in lay journalism of tradeunion news; that the labor movement was disintegrating before the Fascist drive in the U.S.

Nevertheless, according to evidence also cited by Huberman, organized labor is at least interested in PM, if not appreciative.[2] Huberman writes:

> At the CIO convention in Atlantic City in November, PM at seven cents a copy outsold all other papers at five cents a copy. The figures for the news stand in the Hotel Chelsea, convention headquarters, were as follows:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | PM | 200 |
> | Times | 185 |
> | Herald-Tribune | 40 |
> | Post | 50 |
> | World-Telegram | 40 |
> | News and Mirror | -- I have forgotten the exact figures -- about 25 copies each. |

Whether or not June, 1940, was the wrong time to bring forth a labor paper remains to be seen. Certainly PM has a loyal following among minority labor groups, but like any other champion of a cause, it is likely to make tactical errors and

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1 Huberman, Leo, op. cit., "Answer to Ralph Ingersoll's Charge of Incompetence," PS, Vol. 1, No. 13, January 6, 1941, p. 2.

2 Ibid.

consequently tread on the toes of one or another faction working in the same direction. This was long ago discovered by the more orthodox newspapers termed indifferent by PM. This seeming "indifference" often arises from roots deeper and more significant than the "sacred cow" advertising complex which PM insists is at the base of all press evils.

ADVERTISING DIGEST and "NEWS FOR LIVING"

Following the technique of comparing PM as it is with what its editor pledged it to be, it is well to set forth the plan for the "News for Living" section of the newspaper as Ingersoll explained in his prospectus. This section was to include, he stated:[1]

1. A digest of news now found in paid advertising in other papers of the same day.
2. News on prices and values in food, not currently available anywhere outside the New York department of markets.
3. News of what's for sale in the stores of New York not covered in paid advertisements in any paper.
4. News bearing on other problems of living, such as Housing, Health, Education, Medicine, etc.

In order to simplify the following discussion, the writer of this study has decided to confine the material within Mr. Ingersoll's set categories, and to discuss each in the order as listed by him.

These sections, the prospective reader was informed, will:[2]

> ..... replace the possibly outworn Woman's Page and household features in the standard newspaper. They have grown out of an intensive study of how a newspaper unencumbered by the conflicting influence of advertising might be more helpful to its readers. I look on them as of enormous importance in earning PM the loyalty of its readers, testifying as to whose side we are on in the struggle for existence. It's the buyers of goods, not the sellers, for whom we shall be working.

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1 Ingersoll, Ralph M., "Confidential Memorandum," May 14, 1940, p. 6.

2 Ibid.

Advertising Digest

By the time that its final prospectus was being circulated throughout the country, a month before the publication of Volume 1, Number 1, PM had evolved for its use a thorough and carefully delineated advertising philosophy, the essence of which is expressed in the last quotation. This policy on advertising was the result of a lengthy summarizing of theories, however; it was not clearly defined from the early days of plans for PM. In fact, as late as April, 1940, the following appeared as the leading item in the Time's column, "News and Notes of the Advertising Field":[1]

> Any confusion which might have existed in the advertising and publishing field as to whether PM, forthcoming afternoon daily, would accept advertising, eventually was cleared up yesterday, when Ralph McAllister Ingersoll, publisher, announced definitely that the paper would not accept advertising. His statement came in answer to a query at a luncheon of the Fashion Group, Inc., at ..... which James A. Coveny, head of the company of the same name, representing shopping newspapers, also spoke.
>
> Mr. Coveny said that the theory of newspaper production under which readers pay less than the actual cost of getting the news with payments by advertising amounting virtually to a "subsidy," is harmful both to the news and the advertising. He cited two ventures in 1921, one Readers' Digest, with no advertising, and the other a Cleveland shopping paper, with no news, to prove that the theory behind the divorcement of news from advertising is fundamentally sound. PM, he said, is the third "Great Adventure," with advertising itself treated as news.

Ingersoll explained PM's advertising policy as follows:[2]

> The basic principle on which PM was undertaken was that the paper would have to have

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1 New York Times, April 10, 1940, p. 37.
2 Ingersoll, op. cit., pp. 6-7.

enough appeal to enough readers so that it would be supported for itself alone -- it would not have to rely on advertising income. Moreover, although I had no philosophical prejudice against advertising as such, I had long felt strongly that, as currently organized, the advertising operation in newspapers worked against the reader in many ways -- tending to limit the editors' freedom of action, making the paper cumbersome and inconvenient physically, and constantly distracting the publisher from devising new ways to make his paper more valuable to the reader.

So, since I had found a commercial formula which did away with the need for advertising (a 5¢ price for a small sized but much more carefully compiled and better printed paper) I was sure that its success would be enhanced by selling no advertising at all in it. In this way, people will be convinced from the very beginning that we are getting out a paper entirely in their interest -- instead of in the interest of merchants trying to sell them something -- and it will keep the minds of the management on the job of pleasing the reader.

But at the same time I recognized that, without advertising, PM would be found lacking by some people. Much valuable news of what's for sale in New York is printed nowhere except in the ads; many women buy newspapers simply to read the advertising in them, and in order to get the advantage of going without ads we would have to sacrifice their interest.

The obvious solution was to give them the advertising news they want -- but not to charge the advertiser for it. Thus, PM could have its cake -- give its readers the news in the ads -- without getting indigestion from eating it.

From this reasoning comes PM's section called "Advertising Digest," the editor of which collects the copy on all advertising to be published in New York within the next few days and, with the aid of his staff, makes a daily selection of two or four illustrated pages of condensed information contained in the advertisements scheduled to appear <u>that</u> day in other papers.

> To forestall any misunderstandings: This department exercises no critical function. It guarantees no product, underwrites no sale. Its one purpose is to read advertisements in the shoppers' interest and to make the news that will be spread out through several hundreds of pages in nine daily papers completely and effectively available in one place. And, by getting this information several days in advance of publication, through the cooperation of the advertising departments of the various stores, PM will be able to give its readers the digest of advertising on the same day that the advertisements appear in the other papers. Its staff will canvass the advertising so carefully that to get the same information from the other papers. the New York housewife would probably have to spend her whole day at home reading. In the end it will be cheaper and more fun for her to buy PM -- and having read PM at lunch, she can go downtown and do her thrifty shopping or go to the movies secure in the knowledge that she is passing up no important bargain sale.

In light of the fact that many of PM's stockholders are connected with leading advertising agencies,[1] it seems almost anachronistic that PM should have any deep and unshakable prejudices against advertising. Lundberg helps to clear the mystery when he writes:[2]

> ..... This ("Advertising Digest") was originally an ingenious move to circumvent the advertising competition of rivals but it was turned into a sweeping promotional virtue. "No advertisers can influence PM."

It costs from $300,000. to $500,000. a year, according to Lundberg,[3] to operate an advertising department in a newspaper such as PM. Thus, by eliminating this expenditure in the early days of PM, the management was making a considerable saving. He

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1 William Benton and Chester Bowles, partners in the big advertising firm of Benton & Bowles, are both on PM's board of directors. See section on "Stockholders."
2 Lundberg, Ferdinand, "PM, the Wall-Street-Popular-Front Tabloid," Harper's Magazine. October, 1940, pp. 489-490.
3 Ibid., p. 489.

quotes Ingersoll from an earlier memorandum:[1]

> If we achieve the substantial circulation we expect, publishing history shows that advertisers in plenty will follow. Thus advertising can and will be sold, but only after we achieve circulation success.

From this, one may imply that the possibility of carrying paid advertising in PM was considered.

The digest, in its original form, was an illustrated listing of advertised bargains and notable items, arranged topically. Each item was marked with a small symbol indicating which newspaper the information was quoted from, or rather, which paper the ad was scheduled to appear in. The "Advertising Digest" ranged from one to four pages and appeared as a daily feature. Its illustrations, according to an editorial note appearing in the Preview Edition and during subsequent issues of its early publishing days, "are made by the stores especially for the Digest of Advertisements."[2]

In charge of the "Advertising Digest" during its early days were Otto J. Hicks, Editor; Hilda Appel, Gerald Blank, Robert Joyce, Signey Margolius and Sylvia Schur.

A special office in a Fifth Avenue office building on Times Square was devoted to the operation of the "Advertising Digest." This was completely apart from the Brooklyn editorial offices of PM.

The "Advertising Digest" did not work out as well as PM's publisher had hoped, however. In answer to an Editor and Pub-

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1 Lundberg, op. cit., p. 490.
2 PM, June 14, 1940, p. 28.

DIGEST OF ADVERTISEMENTS

Otho J. Hicks, Editor; Hilda Apfel, Gerald Blank,
Robert Joyce, Sidney Margolius, Sylvia Schur

TO THE READERS OF THESE PAGES: PM takes no money from advertisers. It is supported exclusively by its readers. The information on these pages is digested from the paid advertising in other New York papers as a convenience to you—because PM thinks that what the great stores of New York are offering for sale is NEWS which you will want to know.

The Digest, of course, guarantees no product—its writers simply report what they have found most newsworthy. The stores give us the illustrations, which are prepared especially for PM.

So this is your institution, Mr. and Mrs. Shopper—a service bought and paid for exclusively by you, owing allegiance to no one else. Learn to use it and we think you will save time and money. Write and tell us how we can improve it for you.—Ralph Ingersoll.

Ad-News: If you shop tomorrow, look in our Store Directory below for stores that will open. A majority of them close Saturdays in August. Most of those buying ad-space in today's papers, covered in today's Digest, will open, you may be sure.—O. J. H.

GENERAL SALES

Altman's "savings column" for summer shoppers includes 97 men's Sanforized shrunk cotton ensembles, at 2.95, were 3.95. Lingerie, accessories and sports clothes for women, misses, girls, is also cleared: 30 girls' 1.95 cotton dresses, are 95c, women's shoes, 1500 pairs, are 3.95, were $5 to 14.75. Sale items for the home include 300 spun rayon bedspreads at 2.65, were 5.95.

The symbol tells you the paper in which the ad appears. See below.

Sachs Quality say "rush direct to Sachs warehouse," 133rd St. and Willow Ave., for their removal sale. Free bus service from Cypress Ave. Station of Lex. Ave. Local.

Hearns' Saturday specials for men, women, children, and the home, include children's pure wedgies, black and brown in low and high shoe styles, 1.98. Men's polo shirts are 2 for $1, sample women's gloves, 39c.

COAT AND DRESS NEWS

Furs for the Winter

Hecht's fur (1), *and Namm's furred coats* (2), *are illustrated.*



(1) *Hecht's* 29.95 *skunk dyed Manchurian wolf. Collarless, lifted shoulders, Mandarin sleeves,* 12-40



(2) *In Namm's* $50 *furred coat sale. Woolens, handsewn linings, interlined,* 12-20, 38-44, 35½-43½

Russeks' fur jacket ensembles feature guanaco or skunk jackets over detailed wool dresses, 12-20, at $58.

Sally's have muskrat, cross Persian lamb, skunk- or raccoon-dyed opossum and fox greatcoats dyed black or silver, at $77.

Russeks' "Marylin" coats at $130 include a dyed skunk greatcoat, square shoulders, black dyed Persian paw, caracul-dyed kidskin, and leopard cat coats.

Dress Ads Say

Littman's dress (3) *and Hearns' dress* (4) *are illustrated.*

Altman clear 50 young colony dresses, 9-17, at $10, were 17.95 to 19.95.

Littman's "Merry Breeze" dresses for now into fall include rayons in many styles and prints, at 2 for $3.

Namm's feature "that 2-piece look" in a rayon crepe jacket dress with shirred rayon satin blouse, 12-18, and a tucked long-torso style, 14-20, at 6.95.

HATS AND SHOES

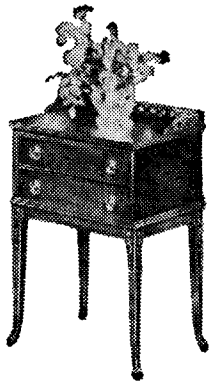
Namm's velveteen corduroy hats, in pork pie and bonnet styles, large and small head-



(3) *Littmann's* 9.95 *"Back to college" ensemble. Wool and rayon coat, dress, hat—black with wine, red, gray*



(4) *One of Hearns'* 1.22 *misses' dresses. Clearing "cool, fashion-right rayon frocks to wear immediately"*



(5) *This commode among Ludwig Baumann's* 11.75 *solid mahogany and mahogany veneer occasional tables*

sizes, black, brown, navy, soldier blue, wine, red, green, beige, are $1.

Hearns have women's "Tenderfoot" arch shoes in suede combinations and smooth soft leathers, walking and dress heel heights, 4-10, AA to EE, at 3.98.

SALES FOR THE HOME

Ludwig Baumann's occasional table is illustrated (5).

Living Room Sets

Living room sets, three pieces in 18th century design, are $169 at Ludwig Baumann.

London Club liying room set in tapestry, is $59 at Spear for sofa, two chairs and ottoman, hardwood frames.

Also for the Home

Broadloom carpeting, including nationally known brands as Alexander Smith, Firth, Masland, is 2.98 a square yard in 9x12 sizes at Ludwig Baumann. Number of designs and colors available.

FOR SPORTS OR TRAVEL

Detrola candid cameras on sale at Davega, are 4.65, 6.65, 9.95 and 14.95.

Zipper bags in brown canvas with steel side stays, waterproof lined, are 99c at Davega. Others are 59c to 3.29.

Eagle · Herald Tribune · Journal & American · Mirror · News · Post · Sun · Times · World-Telegram

14.75. Sale items for the home include 300 spun rayon bedspreads at 2.65, were 5.95.

The symbol tells you the paper in which the ad appears. See below.

SACHS QUALITY say "rush direct to Sachs warehouse," 133rd St. and Willow Ave., for their removal sale. Free bus service from Cypress Ave. Station of Lex. Ave. Local.

HEARNS' Saturday specials for men, women, children, and the home, include children's pure wedgies, black and brown in low and high shoe styles, 1.98. Men's polo shirts are 2 for $1, sample women's gloves, 39c.



(1) *Hecht's* 29.95 *skunk dyed Manchurian wolf. Collarless, lifted shoulders, Mandarin sleeves,* 12-40



(2) *In Namm's* $50 *furred coat sale. Woolens, handsewn linings, interlined,* 12-20, 38-44, 35½-43½



(3) *Littmann's* 9.95 *"Back to college" ensemble. Wool and rayon coat, dress, hat —black with wine, red, gray*



(4) *One of Hearns'* 1.22 *misses' dresses. Clearing "cool, fashion-right rayon frocks to wear immediately"*

is $59 at SPEAR for sofa, two chairs and ottoman, hardwood frames.

Also for the Home

Broadloom carpeting, including nationally known brands as Alexander Smith, Firth, Masland, is 2.98 a square yard in 9x12 sizes at LUDWIG BAUMANN. Number of designs and colors available.

FOR SPORTS OR TRAVEL

Detrola candid cameras on sale at DAVEGA, are 4.65, 6.65, 9.95 and 14.95.

Zipper bags in brown canvas with steel side stays, waterproof lined, are 99c at DAVEGA. Others are 59c to 3.29.

Eagle · Herald Tribune · Journal & American · Mirror · News · Post · Sun · Times · World-Telegram

STORE DIRECTORY

ADDRESSES, TELEPHONE NUMBERS

Below Forty-Second St.

ALTMAN'S, Fifth Ave. at 34th St., MU 9-7000
ARNOLD CONSTABLE, Fifth Ave. at 40th St., CA 5-2300
BEST'S, Fifth Ave. at 35th St., WI 7-5000
CARSON'S, 64 West 14th St., GR 7-3040
CURTIS FURNITURE, Sixth Ave. at 20th St., CH 2-2233
I. J. FOX, 393 Fifth Ave., CA 5-4500
FRANKLIN SIMON'S, 414 Fifth Ave., WI 7-9600
GIMBELS, Broadway at 33rd St., PE 6-5100
HEARNS, 20 West 14th St., GR 7-8000
HECHT'S, 55 West 14th St., AL 4-5400
LANE BRYANT, 1 West 39th St., PE 6-5080
LITTMANN'S, 55 West 34th St., LO 5-0730
LORD & TAYLOR, Fifth Ave. at 38th St., WI 7-3300
LUDWIG BAUMANN, 500 8th Ave., LO 5-1000
MACY'S, Broadway at 34th St., LA 4-6000
McCREERY'S, Fifth Ave. at 34th St., WI 7-7000
MODERNAGE, 162 East 33rd St., CA 5-6366
NORTON'S, 34 West 14th St., GR 7-5800
OHRBACH'S, Union Square at Broadway, AL 4-1600
OPPENHEIM COLLINS, 35 West 34th St., WI 7-8200
ROAMAN'S, 32 West 39th St., WI 7-6400
RUSSEKS, 390 Fifth Ave., WI 7-1900
SAKS-34TH, Broadway and 34th St., LA 4-7000
SCHLOSSMANN'S, 523 Eighth Ave., LO 5-4400
SPEAR'S, 524 West 23rd St., WA 9-8000
WANAMAKER'S, Broadway at 9th St., ST 9-4700

Above Forty-Second St.

ABERCROMBIE & FITCH, Madison Ave. at 45th St., MU 2-3601
BERGDORF GOODMAN, Fifth Ave. at 58th St., PL 3-7300
BLOOMINGDALE'S, Lexington Ave. at 59th St., VO 5-5900
BONWIT TELLER, 721 Fifth Ave., EL 5-6800
DE PINNA, 650 Fifth Ave., VO 5-4800
FINCHLEY, 564 Fifth Ave., BR 9-4420
FLINT & HORNER, 66 West 47th St., BR 9-6660
HATHAWAY'S, 51 West 45th St., BR 9-6186
LANE ENGEL, 1025 Madison Ave., RH 4-0300
LAY-THORPE, 24 West 57th St., CI 7-4300
LEWIS & CONGER, Sixth Ave. at 45th St., VA 6-2200
MARY LEWIS, 647 Fifth Ave., PL 8-3300
McCUTCHEON'S, Fifth Ave. at 49th St., VO 5-1000
MILGRIM'S, 6 West 57th St., CI 7-7200
SAKS-FIFTH, Fifth Ave. at 49th St., PL 3-4000
SLOANE'S, Fifth Ave. at 47th St., WI 2-5600
STERN'S, 41 West 42nd St., LO 5-6000
TAILORED WOMAN, 742 Fifth Ave., PL 5-2500
TRIPLER'S, Madison Ave. at 46th St., MU 2-1760

In Brooklyn

ABRAHAM & STRAUS, 420 Fulton St., CU 6-6000
GOODWINS, 523 Fulton St., TR 5-9100
LOESER'S, Fulton at Bond St., TR 5-8100
MARTIN'S, Fulton and Bridge Sts., TR 5-3100
MAYS, 510 Fulton St., MA 4-7400
NAMM'S, Fulton at Hoyt St., TR 5-5700
OPPENHEIM COLLINS, 485 Fulton St., TR 5-4700
RUSSEKS, Fulton at Bridge Sts., MA 4-3600

Farther Afield

ALEXANDER'S, Fordham Road at Grand Concourse, FO 4-2300
BAMBERGER'S, 131 Market St., Newark, MA 2-1212
BLUMSTEIN'S, 230 W 125th St., MO 2-5700

With Branches

These are other stores, mostly chain and stores with branches, which have announced in the ads their addresses, telephone numbers and summer store hours. We suggest you use your telephone directory for any you have in mind, call the nearest branch to determine hours.

C. LUDWIG BAUMANN
A. S. BECK
BOND CLOTHING
BROOKS BROTHERS
BROWNING KING
COWARD SHOE
CRAWFORD CLOTHES
DAVEGA
JOHN DAVID
ARTHUR KENT
J. KURTZ & SONS
MICHAELS BROTHERS
I. MILLER
MODELL'S
JOHN MULLINS
PECK & PECK
ROGER KENT
ROGERS PEET
SACHS FURNITURE
JOHN A. SCHWARZ
SHOECRAFT
STUART BROOKS
TIMES SQUARE STORES
VIM
WALLACHS
JOHN WARD
WEBER & HEILBRONER
YOUNG'S

OPEN SATURDAYS IN AUGUST

ALEXANDER'S, 10 to 9:30
C. LUDWIG BAUMANN, 9 to 9:30 in all branches
A. S. BECK, Saturday hours vary
BOND CLOTHING, 9 to 8 or 9:30 in all branches
BLUMSTEIN'S, 9:30 to 9:30
BROWNING KING, 8:30 to 6 in all branches
COWARD SHOE, 9 to 5 in all branches
CARSON'S, 9:45 to 7
CRAWFORD CLOTHES, 9 to 9 in most branches
CURTIS FURNITURE, 9:30 to 5
DAVEGA, 9 to "evening" in all branches
JOHN DAVID, 9 to 6 in all branches
FINCHLEY'S, 9:30 to noon
I. J. FOX, 9:30 to 7
GOODWINS, 9:30 to 7
HEARNS, 10 to 6
HECHT'S, 9:30 to 5:30
ARTHUR KENT, Saturday hours vary
J. KURTZ & SONS, 9 to 10
LITTMANN'S, 9 to 9
LUDWIG BAUMANN, 9 to 5:30.
MAYS, 9:30 to 9
MICHAELS BROS., 9:30 to 9:30 in all branches
I. MILLER, Saturday hours vary
MODELL'S, downtown 8:30 to 7, uptown 9 to midnight
MODERNAGE, 9:30 to 6
JOHN MULLINS, 9 to 10 in all branches
NAMM'S, 9:30 to 5
NORTON'S, 10 to 6:25
OHRBACH'S, 10 to 6
ROAMAN'S, 9:30 to 2
ROGER KENT, 9 to 1; 45th St., 9 to 6
ROGERS PEET, 9 to noon in all branches
RUSSEKS, open Saturdays in August
SACHS FURNITURE, 9:30 to 9 in all branches
SCHLOSSMAN'S, 9 to 10
JOHN A. SCHWARZ, 9:30 to 10
SHOECRAFT, 9 to 1
SPEAR'S, 9:30 to 5:30
STUART BROOKS, 9 to 10 in all branches
TIMES SQUARE STORES, 8 to 9:30 in most branches
VIM, 9 to 10
WALLACHS, 9 to 6 in all branches
JOHN WARD, Fifth Ave., 8:30 to 1, other branches vary
WEBER & HEILBRONER, 9 to 6 in all branches
YOUNG'S, Saturday hours vary

OPEN ONE OR MORE WEEKDAY EVENINGS

ABRAHAM & STRAUS, Monday to 9 (furniture)
ALEXANDER'S, every night to 9:30
C. LUDWIG BAUMANN, every night to 9:30
BLOOMINGDALE'S, 9 Thursdays, Mondays (furniture)
BOND CLOTHING, every night to 8 or 9 in all branches
CARSON'S, to 6:45, Thursdays to 9
COWARD SHOE, 34th St., Thursdays to 9
CRAWFORD CLOTHES, every night to 9 (most stores)
CURTIS FURNITURE, Wednesdays, Thursdays to 9
DAVEGA, "open evenings" in all branches
FLINT & HORNER, Wednesdays, Thursdays to 9
FRANKLIN SIMON'S, Thursdays to 9
GIMBELS, Thursdays to 9
GOODWINS, Thursdays to 9, Fridays to 7
HATHAWAY'S, Wednesdays to 9
HEARNS, 9 Thursdays, Mondays (furniture)
HECHT'S, Thursdays to 9
ARTHUR KENT, hours vary
J. KURTZ & SONS, every night to 10
LANE BRYANT, Thursdays to 6:30
LITTMANN'S, every night to 9
LOESER'S, Mondays to 9 (furniture)
LUDWIG BAUMANN, Mondays, Thursdays to 9
McCREERY'S, Thursdays to 9
MACY'S, 9 Thursdays, Mondays (furniture)
MARTIN'S, Thursdays to 9
MAYS, every night to 9
MICHAELS BROS., every night to 9:30 in all branches
I. MILLER, evening hours vary
MODELL'S, downtown to 7, uptown to 11
MODERNAGE, Mondays, Thursdays to 9
MULLINS, every night to 10 in all branches
NAMM'S, Thursday to 9
NORTON'S, Thursdays to 9
OHRBACH'S, Tuesdays, Thursdays to 8:30
OPPENHEIM'S, New York and B'klyn, Thursdays to 9
ROAMAN'S, Thursdays to 9
ROGER KENT, Thursdays to 9, (33rd St.)
RUSSEKS, New York and B'klyn, Thursdays to 9
SACHS FURNITURE, every night to 9
SAKS-34TH, Thursdays to 9
SCHLOSSMAN'S, every night to 10
JOHN A. SCHWARZ, Mondays to 10, Thursdays to 9:30
SPEAR'S, Mondays, Thursdays to 9
STERN'S, Mondays to 9 (furniture)
STUART BROOKS, every night to 10 in all branches
TIMES SQUARE STORES, most nights to 9:30
VIM, every night to 10
WANAMAKER'S, Wednesdays to 9
JOHN WARD, every night to 6:30
YOUNG'S, hours vary

lisher query on the "Advertising Digest" idea, Editor Ingersoll summarized its meaning this way:[1]

> Pros: mainly for those interested in quick, comparative shopping of advertised items.
>
> Cons: mainly from those who thought it served little: who wanted more dramatic presentation of shopping news.

And, when asked to list "some of the major mistakes and how they were corrected,"[2] Ingersoll had only one to dwell upon. He wrote:[3]

> One major, functional mistake was a reliance on a digest of advertising. This was corrected by a creation of shopping pages.

The shopping pages mentioned by Ingersoll came early in 1941. By March, Ingersoll thought they were functioning effectively. The distinguishing differences between the new "Shopping Pages" and the erstwhile "Advertising Digest" is that the former itemize only "Sales and Special Values", and a page or more is devoted to a less scientific but more dramatized page of new and remarkable merchandise, illustrated with larger, freer sketches.

"In the Ads" is a section of "Sales and Special Values" devoted to a condensed summary of bargains in headline form. With these changes, the advertising digest is greatly abbreviated.

After the changes were made, PM found occasion to run a box: "How to Put This Department to Work for You." This appeared frequently. The following is quoted from one appearance:[4]

> Our Fashion Report and digest of Sales and Special Values are based solely on information gathered from the advertisements in New York's nine other major newspapers.

---

1 Schneider, Walter E., "Ingersoll Sees PM's First Year as Start in Fulfilling Pledges," Editor and Publisher, Vol. 74, No. 24, June 14, 1941, p. 9.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 PM, March 2, 1941, p. 28.

Shop Wise

CU Rates New Cars

The current issue of Consumers' Union Reports features ratings of over 50 models of 1941 automobiles. Compared with last year, this year's cars, according to the CU, are higher in price, longer, heavier, with engines delivering more power and higher compression ratios—all at the expense of economical ownership and operation. Some engines require premium fuels.

Warning that there may be no new models in 1942, CU says, "This, of all years, is a good year to buy carefully."

"Best Buys" cited under "Standard Low-Priced Cars," at the price for a four-door sedan, including the minimum amount of extras, delivered in New York City (minus city sales tax) are the Willys Americar, $739 and the Studebaker Champion, $834. Further ratings are given in eight other price classes.

Hand-made Accessories

In a skylight studio at 41 Union Square (17th St.), two smart girls make original leather accessories and hand-wrought jewelry. Their things are grand, if somewhat expensive.

The price range for most of the leather items is $3 to $15. The calf bags and belts, designed by Alma Stern, are expertly stained, thong-bound and decorated with hand-tooled and carved motifs. A dark blue roomy envelope with many pockets, designed for much use and abuse, is $15. By adapting old-fashioned techniques to modern fashion trends, Miss Stern says, she seeks harmony in ensembles and avoids ideas that "stick out" like a sore thumb.

The other girl, Lillian Frank, designs and makes jewelry of sterling, copper or gold. Some of these pieces are set with semi-precious stones or grotesque ceramic masks. Price range is $2 to $15. A hand-

CU Names "Best Buys" in Cars . . . Two Smart Girls Who Make Accessories

New Hosiery Weave

"Crepe de Sheer" hosiery, in which all the strands are woven in one direction, is the "first new stocking weave in five years," according to Gimbels, who have brought it out. This new weave, they say, allows for greater elasticity and snag resistance, and has a dull, smooth texture. They describe the four threads as looking like threes, the threes like twos. There are no twos because they would look like half-threads and "fade away." The interesting thing is their claim that this sheer effect does not sacrifice anything in the way of strength.

One of our shoppers wore a pair for a week and reports they do look dull and sheer, and so far have not snagged. They are 89c a pair, three for 2.55. The colors are wheat, a warm skin tone; may pole, a soft beige; new earth, a golden beige; magnolia, a subdued copper.

Fish, Fruit and Flowers On Your Ears

Since fashion in hair-dos and hats predicts an "open" season on ears, there are many ideas in earrings in the shops.

You can make earrings a part of your ensemble by getting sets of flowers to match your Easter bonnet or print dress have plastic colored petals with stone centers, $1 a pair at Bonwit's or Saks Fifth. Woolworth's have colored enamel or celluloid sets for 10c. Saks Fifth also have gilt loop earrings with dangling flowers for $1, although pendant types are not often seen.

Newest idea is an earring that clips your turban to your ear for a neat effect. Altman's have this turban-anchoring idea in a modernistic gilt clip with swaying jewel drops, $5 a pair.

Other amusing ideas are animal motifs, fruit, vegetable or bits of Americana. Macy's colored glass penguins are 94c; gilt

In a skylight studio at 41 Union Square (17th St.), two smart girls make original leather accessories and hand-wrought jewelry. Their things are grand, if somewhat expensive.

The price range for most of the leather items is $3 to $15. The calf bags and belts, designed by Alma Stern, are expertly stained, thong-bound and decorated with hand-tooled and carved motifs. A dark blue roomy envelope with many pockets, designed for much use and abuse, is $15. By adapting old-fashioned techniques to modern fashion trends, Miss Stern says, she seeks harmony in ensembles and avoids ideas that "stick out" like a sore thumb.

The other girl, Lillian Frank, designs and makes jewelry of sterling, copper or gold. Some of these pieces are set with semi-precious stones or grotesque ceramic masks. Price range is $2 to $15. A hand-wrought gold wedding ring is $15. Miss Frank likes large and bold pieces, bizarre and modern in feeling.

She made a necklace of antique coffee spoons, using the cut off handle pieces for chain links, the bowls for pendants. Clips or pins can be made out of antique sterling jar tops.

You'll find Lillian and Alma in smocks laboring in the midst of charcoal blocks, blow torches and tools and having a wonderful time. A sign on the wall says, "An Artistic Creation Is a Reward in Itself . . ." over which they've scribbled . . . "Yeah."

Men's Clothing Buys

At 637 Broadway, near Bleecker St., there's a men's clothing store called "Sam & Hy." It's small and bare, but the merchandise inspected by our shopper there seemed unusually good value for the money, and some of their customers we have met swear by it. Prices for suits and coats are $25 to 28.50. Sam claims that although he buys his stock on almost the same terms as the uptown stores, his mark-up is considerably less. He also buys job lots and manufacturers' closeouts. There is no charge for alterations.

Our shopper tried on an attractive tweed bearing the label of one of the best-known American woolen houses. Sam & Hy's price was 28.50, which is seven or eight dollars less than the regular price for suits of that material.

On Your Ears

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Other amusing ideas are animal motifs, fruit, vegetable or bits of Americana. Macy's colored glass penguins are 94c; gilt and enamel strawberries or turnips, 1.83. Tiny girls with heads tied mump fashion in enamel and gilt are 3.95 at Lord & Taylor. They also have miniature copies of early American mirrors complete with eagles, 4.95.

Sew with Nylon

Nylon sewing thread on the spool is now available for home sewing, in a choice of forty colors, at 5c for a fifty-yard spool—two for 9c at Macy's. The virtue claimed for nylon thread is that it is even more elastic than silk thread, and far more elastic than mercerized thread. This elasticity of nylon makes the thread less likely to snap in the sewing machine or in the finished seam, when extra tension is put on it. Nylon thread is now on sale at most department store notion counters, in a wide range of colors.

You can sew on any machine with nylon thread, but a slight adjustment is necessary in the tension, because of the elasticity of the thread. Directions say "Use very little tension. Every sewing machine has a tension adjustment."

Service for Suits

The "Lucky Skirt Hanger" is available for hanging spring suits. A double frame of enameled wire has a spring that allows the arms to contract. This permits insertion of a skirt band which holds the skirt open, thus preventing creases. The frame will also hold the jacket. Three for $1, 39c each, at Lord & Taylor's notion counter.

> The fashion section (see pages 26, 27) presents the important new styles in the ads each day; the sales guide on this page lists the important sales advertised that day in all the other newspapers, classified for your convenience by type of merchandise.
>
> We suggest that before you go shopping you check the values listed in the sales guide that day to see what special stores are offered in the merchandise in which you are interested.
>
> The merchandise described in Fashion Report and Sales and Special Values is not personally shopped by PM shoppers. The only items we ourselves shop are those in the Shop Wise column.

According to Ingersoll, PM received more than 1500 letters praising the shopping pages.[1]

The Shop Wise column is not new or original. It is a cleverly written shopping column, one of the introductions after PM re-did this section, but it is scarcely an innovation.

A study of the section during the month of March reveals a surprising sameness. Pages 26 through 29 were each day taken over on the majority of days by "Fashion Reports"; "Sales and Special Values," was usually on the same page with "Shop Wise!" The section also included in regular food page.

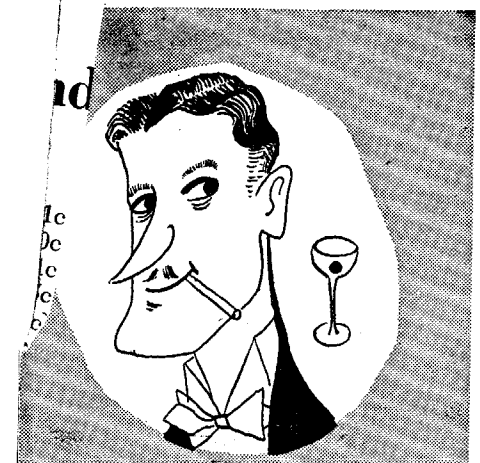
PM's Advertising Theories

Despite Lundberg's explanation of the costliness of establishing an advertising department, and of PM's "no advertising" policy being a promotion stunt that over-sold itself, the inconsistency between a definite and consistent trend to debunk and belittle advertising and the prominence of advertising men

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1 PM, November 4, 1940, p. 26.

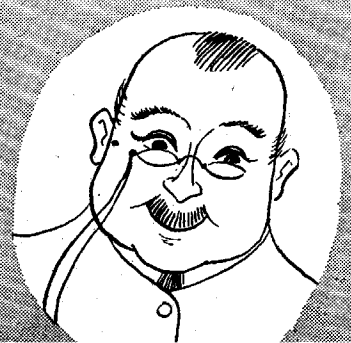
As You Are in the Ads



MAN ABOUT TOWN



DENTIST



Have you ever hoped some day to see an advertisement showing a girl who was *not* pretty, or a housewife with beads of sweat on her upper lip, or a chemist who was *not* holding up a test tube or peering into a microscope? If you have, you're about ready to learn something of a subject called, "The Iconography of Advertising Art."

Under that rather forbidding title, *Harper's Magazine,* back in June, 1938, ran a delightful little monograph by one Paul Parker. Parker, who was, and for all we know still is, head of the art department of the University of South Dakota, had noticed that advertising art was being prepared according to a very rigid set of principles comparable, he thought, to those governing Christian or pagan religious art.

Thus, he notes that the sexes are carefully distinguished, the males with angular heads, wide shoulders, "triangular torsos narrowing to the hips." Women, on the other hand, "can be reduced to ovals. Everything is expressed in curves—the head, the breasts, the hips, the abdomen, the legs, the buttocks."

Among the men the types are quite clear. The Scientist, "grave, efficient, deliberate, unlikely to be swayed by carnal passions" is "one of the few characters in the advertising pantheon who never smiles. He is . . . the Man Who Knows."

Then there's the Doctor. If he smiles, "it is with the proper reserve and dignity." Vienna doctors may be bearded, but most American doctors are content with a mustache. The Doctor is invariably middle-aged, to suggest, no doubt, knowledge tempered with experience.

The Dentist comes somewhat lower in the scale. He is known as somewhat younger and usually more handsome than the Doctor. "His face is entirely hairless. His attributes are his white jacket and his mirror."

Parker goes on to discuss the Salesman and the Buyer interested, but with just the proper trace of skepticism.

The Workman is usually found with his attributes, "a pick and shovel, a machine, or some special uniform" such as that of a filling station attendant. About the only type that has no attributes is the Man-About-Town, because he can be shown in a variety of situations all compatible with a state of "dignified unemployment."

Women in advertising art are "twenty-four or younger until they are fifty." The Professional Woman generally looks as though she made at least sixty dollars a week, usually manages to suggest both "virginity and sophistication."

The Nurse is "young but competent . . ." In language reminiscent of Pater's description of the Mona Lisa, Parker points out, "Although her lips are curved in a slow smile, the smile . . . expresses a knowledge of tragedy and suffering which could have been so easily avoided had the patient only tried the right medicament."

Then there's the Debutante and, of course, the Housewife, who is "twenty-four, married, has two children. . . . She never perspires. . . . " Sometimes, Parker feels, the Housewife "suggests the madonna in religious art—as in certain insurance advertisements in which mother and child look wistfully off into space."

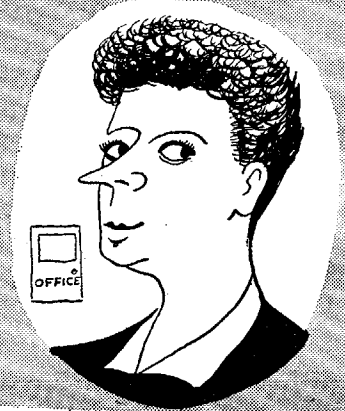
Children are usually sanctified beyond recognition. Parker recalls a tire advertisement in which a baby's halo is "not limited merely to the head . . . the entire body seems to give off an ectoplasmic emanation."

Family groups remind Parker of a Rubens Holy Family. In all, advertising art seems to Parker to be part of a new religion, the American Standard of Living.

On this page, we give you at the sides Artist Charles Martin's conception of face-types in today's ads. Below we reproduce



NURSE



PROFESSIONAL WOMAN



is one of the few characters in the advertising pantheon who never smiles. He is . . . the Man Who Knows."

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Parker goes on to discuss the Salesman and the Buyer who always appear in characteristic poses, usually at opposite sides at a desk. The Salesman is very keen, the religious art—as in certain insurance advertisements in which mother and child look wistfully off into space."

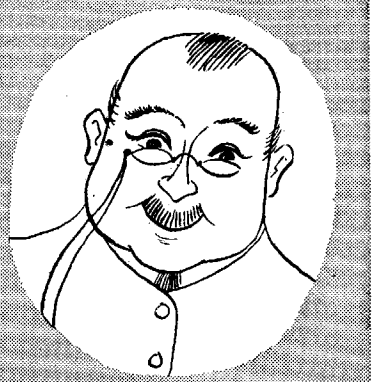
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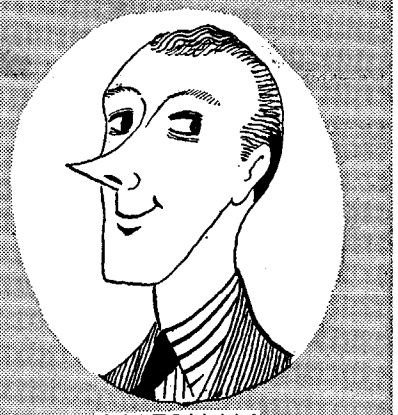
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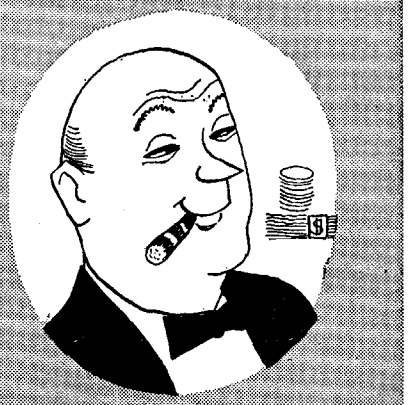
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—G. B.


DENTIST


DOCTOR


SALESMAN


BUYER


PROFESSIONAL WOMAN


DEBUTANTE


HOUSEWIFE


BABY



SLEEK FIGURING! That's the Jantzen achievement of '39 in the creation of the amazing new Glamour Fabrics,

VELVA-LURE ✲ SUEDE-SHEEN ✲ SATIN-KNIT ✲ KNIT-IN PRINTS

Lastex yarn adds the figure-molding magic, with just the correct amount of two-way stretch to hold your body deftly in youthful lines.

These new Glamour Fabrics are exclusive with Jantzen. No one has ever made them before. No imitations can duplicate their richness and beauty. Some of these new Jantzen swim suit fabrics are light and velvety,

WE SELL NO ADVERTISING

There's Romance In Your Teeth, Cherie

And It's Serious Business to the Copywriter Bent on Selling Toothpaste . . . How an Advertising Woman's Mind Works and What She Eats for Breakfast

Speculate on what would happen to a girl at a dance who before she came bathed with Lifebuoy, rinsed her undies in Lux, brushed her teeth with Colgate's and dined on Ry-Krisp.

Any one of these moves would guarantee her a howling success with the stag line, according to the ads for this type of nationally advertised product. Currently they are pre-occupied with the dance; chockful of advice on how to get someone to take you to a dance, dance with you while you are there or propose to you afterwards.

Take the case of Sue in the Colgate ad. She showered in the morning but where did it get her. Jim asked Lois to the dance anyway. An older woman of strong mind and sensitive-looking nostrils ships her off to a dentist who advises Colgate's. Seems Sue had something called bad breath. Colgate's works, removing decaying food particles and stagnant saliva but not Jim. He is shown in the final episode singing "Sweet Sue" through bared teeth while Sue bares her own white teeth back at him.

Alicia Tobin wrote that ad for Colgate's. Miss Tobin is a fashionably-dressed, soft-eyed young woman of 35 with lots of dark chic, who is a leading copywriter for a big Madison Avenue advertising agency, Benton & Bowles. She gets good pay, works hard, keys herself up to a high pitch when she writes ads, considers bad breath a problem, believes in Colgate's and observes people closely.

Love and a Man

mothers always push these thirteen, fourteen-year old girls up to the counter to get the sample beauty treatment put on their faces.

"You go to the dressing room in Klein's and listen to the girls talk about how they want to impress a certain man and how they plan to do it.

"Life's a failure to any of them if they don't get married, even if they have to support the man. Take the girls in Klein's who act as policemen. When they go around picking up the clothes, they talk about the husband who is sick and whom they have to support. But they don't consider themselves pitiful. They're smart. They have a man."

Right at that point is where bad breath, Colgate's Dental Cream, the life of Alicia Tobin and the dreams of young girls coincide.

Others Use Toothpaste Too

The girls are known as the Young Romance group to the advertising fraternity. But men and older women also brush their teeth and have emotional problems. Miss Tobin offers toothpaste to each group on its own terms.

For men, some of the ads talk about success, how to get a job, how to get a raise. Others tell a story of a sweetheart's favor won or saved with Colgate's.

For older women, there is the popularity appeal. They aren't popular, or the children don't like grandma, they like grandpa bet-



Above: how an advertising woman's mind works. Bottom of the page: what she eats for breakfast.

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Love and a Man

The kind of ads she writes for Colgate's are complete short stories with a plot, suspense and solution. They deal with love and a man and happiness. They are very serious business to Miss Tobin and she writes them that way because she watched people for a long time, and made up her mind that getting a man is the most important thing in a young working girl's life, much more important than a job or a career, as it might be with uptown girls.

Saturdays she leaves swank Madison Avenue and goes down to 14th Street, Hearns, the five and tens. She listens to the people talk and what's on their minds.

"All these poor people down in the 14th Street five and ten are spending a nickel here, a dime there, a penny here, having their palms done, their fortunes told, their horoscopes read," she told this department. "Watch the adolescent girls and their mothers in their poor clothes standing in front of the beauty demonstrators. The

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For older women, there is the popularity appeal. They aren't popular, or the children don't like grandma, they like grandpa better. Bad breath. . .

When Miss Tobin writes to sell to wealthier people (another ward of hers is Du Barry cosmetics) she writes subtly of glamour and allure, flattering the reader by showing her prototype wearing Bergdorf Goodman clothes at Belmont Park. (This is what advertising experts call a "snob campaign".)

Watch Towers

Besides 14th Street, Miss Tobin learns about people by going to Syracuse or Staten Island ringing their doorbells, by going on cruises, by working a stretch behind the counter of Liggett's drug store at Grand Central station.

On a cruise she is most interested in the older women who have saved up for the trip for five years. She also writes the advertising for Certo jelly, and these are the jelly makers. Miss Tobin talks to them, listens, gets the flavor of their speech and psychology. She goes back to her magazine cluttered room in the Benton & Bowles



Above: how an advertising woman's mind works. Bottom of the page: what she eats for breakfast.

offices and writes jelly advertising employing the homely phrases used by the kitchen-wise women on the cruise.

Having observed many people in her job of influencing them, she likes the working people down on 14th Street best. "They're friendlier," she said. "They talk to you, ask your advice on a dress, help you carry your packages to the door if you're loaded up."

Miss Tobin takes her products very seriously. She writes about Certo jelly so she goes home and makes it. She uses all the Du Barry cosmetics. Certainly she uses Colgate's. There was a bit of a struggle there. She had worked for Bristol-Meyers for nine years doing advertising on Ipana and brushing her teeth with it all that time. She weaned herself away by alternating Ipana with Colgate's for three months.

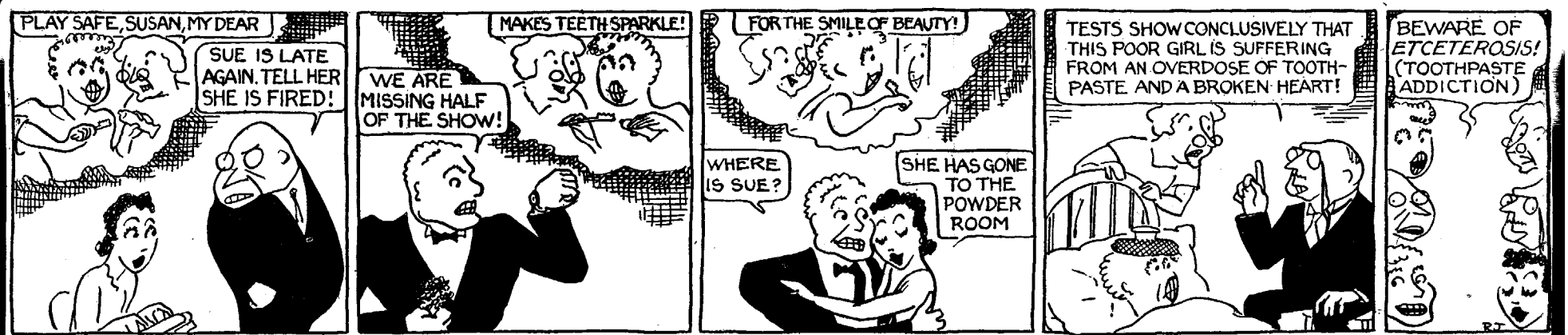
"I really prefer Colgate's," she said briskly.

Miss Tobin grew up in a small town in Pennsylvania and made up her mind to come to New York. Her family was bound she would teach school in Pennsylvania. Miss Tobin was bound she would not. She came to New York. Her first job was editing a hotel house organ at $20 per. Then she got a job as editor of "Fighting Romances," a Macfadden western story magazine, after executives there had decided her Pennsylvania origin made her enough of a westerner. She worked a spell for a publicity agency where she got acquainted with the Ipana people. She has been with Benton & Bowles six years now.

Miss Tobin does not have bad breath, is unmarried and gets along well at dances.

—SIDNEY MARGOLIUS.

This is the first of a series of reports on the psychology advertising people practice on the customers, written for the customers. Every product has its own psychological appeals. We'll tell you about them, in interviews with leading copywriters.



WE SELL NO ADVERTISING

Psyching the Ads: Do Women Dress for Men?

Bonwit's Pennoyer Finds It Depends On the Status of a Lady's Love Life

Really, the big question in advertising is not how much or what style, but do women dress for men or for other women?

A fashionably-corseted, tensely-paced woman with a sharp insight into feminine psychology has spent most of a hectic life fighting the issue to a decision. Sara Pennoyer, sales promotion manager of modish Bonwit Teller, distills her findings down to: "Before and after getting your man is the title of that one."

The young gals are the ones who really dress for men. "They have to make an effect," Mrs. Pennoyer told this department. "A girl has to impress the stag line. If not, it's one of the defeats of her life. She must dare to develop attention value. She starts styles like the bare midriff. She dresses wholeheartedly for the gents."

But after she gets her gent her approach to clothes takes on a subtle new twist. She dresses for one man and her clothes become much more subdued. It's his doing, he doesn't want his wife to be commented on any more. The cute idea that made him sit up before he married her is just what he dislikes afterward. You see, Mrs. Pennoyer said, he doesn't want other men to suspect his wife might be on the make.

Moreover, men do not like change. Elizabeth Hawes recently told in PM how "Men have a way of constantly insisting on a girl wearing 'that blue dress' even after the dress is worn threadbare." According to Mrs. Pennoyer, a wife brings home a hat and her husband dislikes it, not because of the hat but because his wife looks different. Then after a while he gets adjusted, but by that time his wife has bought another hat and when he sees it he demands to know what happened to the other hat he liked so much.

A woman begins to dress for other women when she feels herself secure in her marriage. Then she will go in for style and details like handwork and fine jewelry that other women notice. The way Mrs. Pennoyer analyzes it, she is flaunting her security in front of the other women. And, in the competitive spirit of the jungle, she will wear to her club or luncheon the current style to show the other females she can wear it better than they.

(This is all Sara Pennoyer, talking a mile a minute, grabbing at the phone to make and break appointments, sending her distracted secretary skittering around the merchandise-littered office, telling people who come rushing in and out she doesn't care, you have to have coats, whether they're flighty or not they have to be saleable coats.)

For women who aim to dress for men, Mrs. Pennoyer has some sage tips. A great many men, she finds, like women to wear tweeds and tailored clothes. These they can understand, and in fact, one of the most flattering things a man can do is to want his wife to wear a sweater like his. "It means he loves her, he's extending to her the courtesies of his fashion." So if you see a woman wearing her husband's undershirt you can understand she is much beloved.

Men, says Mrs. Pennoyer, have a better eye for silhouette and color. Women examine the hem of a dress, the man looks at the lines. Men don't care about the style, they like things that make a woman pretty. The Schiaparelli models that set the mode are bought by women dressing for other women.

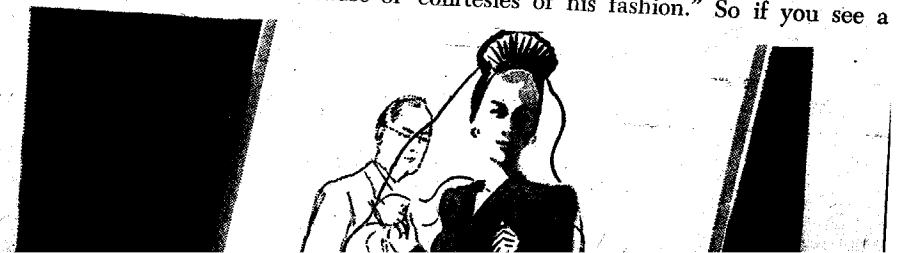
Furthermore, men are much more sensitive to touch than women. They like things that feel nice like beaver, satin, soft wools.

War Time Advertising

Mrs. Pennoyer is a hard-working lady with a puritanic conscience. She has to justify her advertising to herself before she can write it at a time when bombings suddenly make a new silhouette seem idiotic. Now she has worked out a theory which may turn out to be a whole new wartime philosophy for advertising people, that a store can give a woman a sense of release when she's shopping. "When a woman is low she always does something personal," she explained. "She is apt to have her nails done at a critical period. She braces herself for a shock by dashing lipstick across her mouth. She steadies her nerves by trying on a dress."

"You know," Mrs. Pennoyer said thoughtfully," as long as an Englishwoman takes a lipstick into an air raid shelter, the morale of England is good."—SIDNEY MARGOLIUS.

(Fourth in a series on the psychology advertisers practice on the customers. Every product has its own appeals. We'll get the advertising people to tell you about them.)



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Bonwit advertising directed at women who do dress for men.

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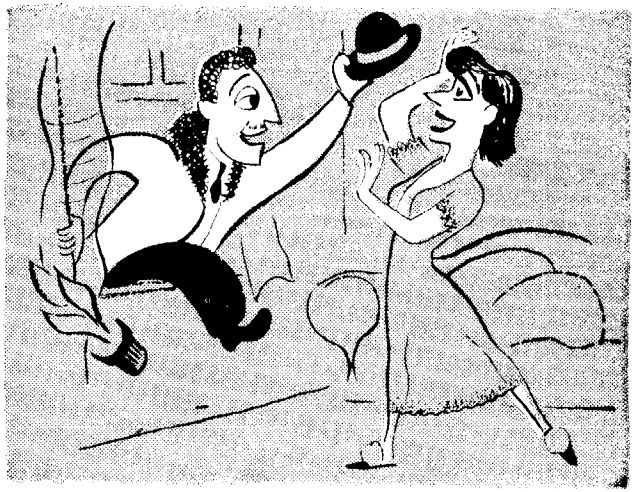
A Day at Home With an Advertising* Copywriter



1. BILL: What coffee! What a delicious, delicate, fragrant, tantalizing aroma!
HELEN: That's because the date's on the can.



2. BILL: I'll be home for supper. No more lonely evenings for you since you learned to keep the smile of youth! Good-bye, dear.



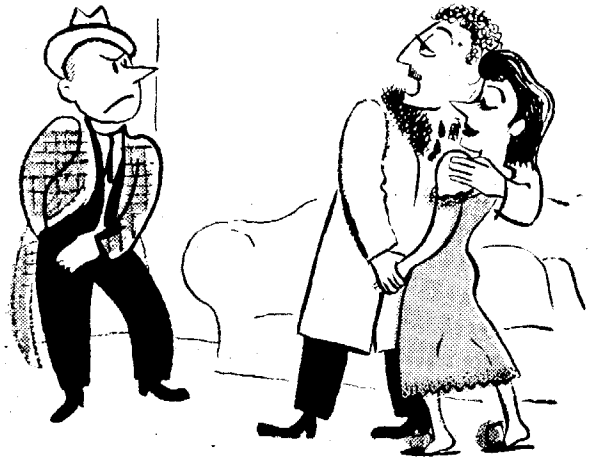
3. RONALD: Hello darling. How lovely you look in the luxurious silk negligee with the hand-run Alencon lace, 3.98 complete!



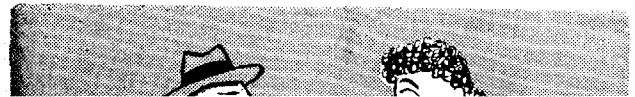
4. HELEN: And you—I can't resist you! That soft, smoothly shaven jaw, that glossy, vigorous-looking hair, that double-breasted English drape!



5. BILL: I forgot my scientifically constructed, free-wheeling umbrella with no-rip, meshless transmission. So! What does this mean?

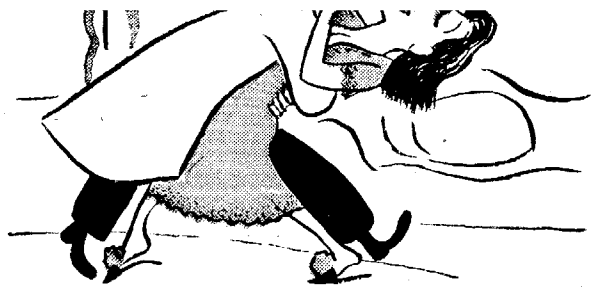


6. RONALD: I've loved her ever since the day she wore that flower-topped pillbox set at a captivating angle on her pert young head.

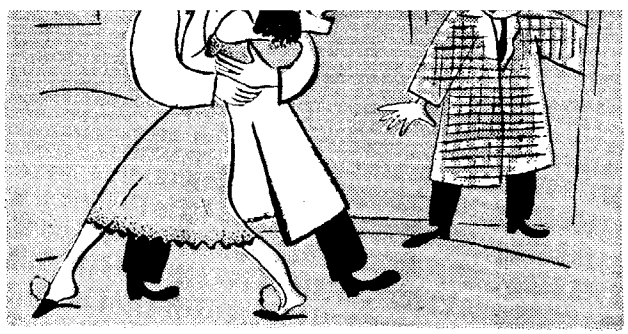




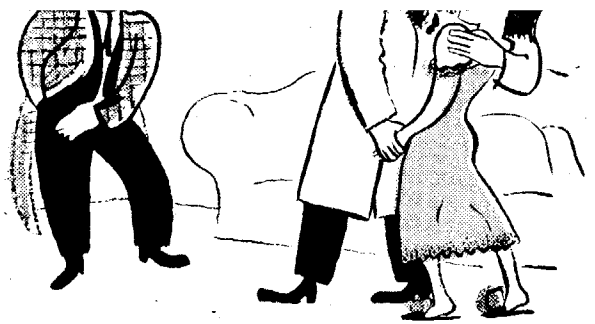




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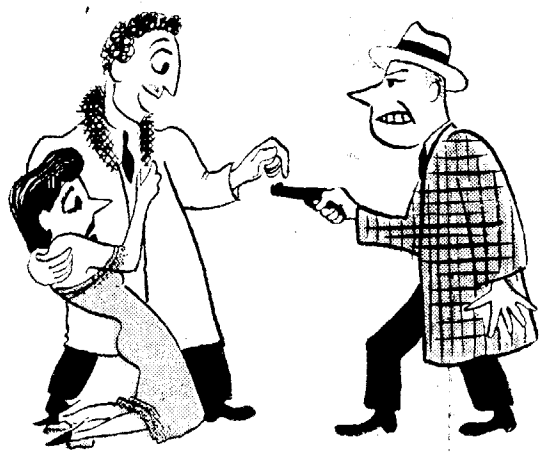
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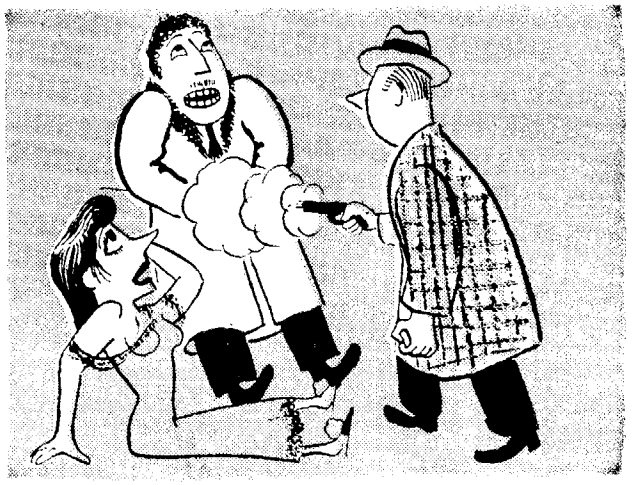
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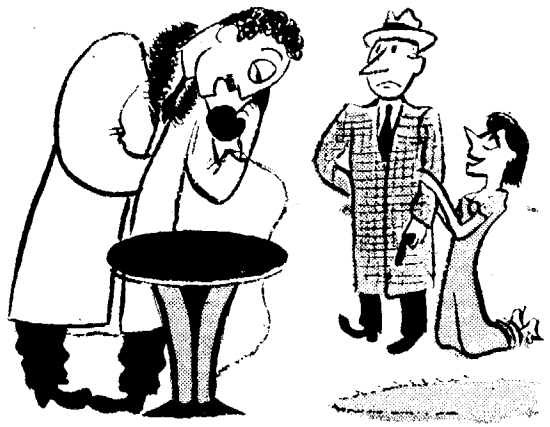
7. BILL: It's a good thing I always carry this streamlined 1940 model with double action, syncro-smooth valves and no-knock transmission.



8. RONALD: Say, isn't that the model with the hand-polished barrel, non-skid air-cooled bullets and hydraulic bearings?



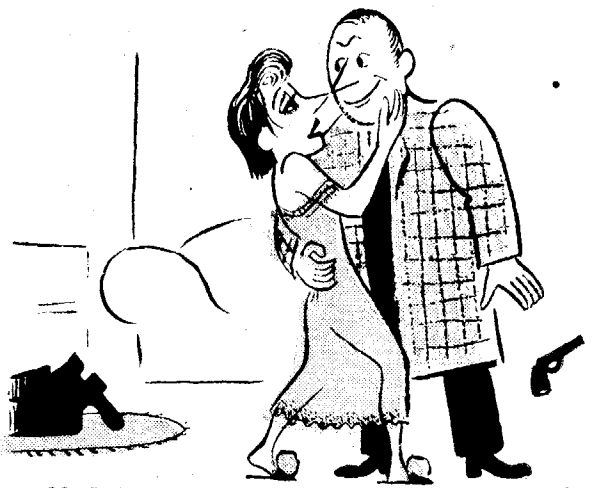
9. BILL: It sure is. Feel that slow, gentle, easy action, that thrilling burst of speed, that sense of *power?* And it costs no more than an ordinary heater!



10: RONALD: Mind if I use the phone? . . . Funeral parlors? . . . Order department . . . Something around $200, made to sell for $300.



11. BILL: There he goes. All over our 3.98 a square yard, wire-marked, slightly imperfect broadloom. To think—if you hadn't forgotten . . .



12. HELEN: To remind you about your umbrella? I didn't forget. Poor Ronald! Even his best friends wouldn't tell him.

*PM Sells No

Words by Gerald Blank and Sketches by Charles Martin, PM Staff

PM, MONDAY, JANUARY 6, 1941

Anybody Got a Home for J. T. D.?

Noted Refugee From a Testimonial Ad Now In Kansas and He's the Color of Teakwood



P. R. S. or J. T. D.?
Sketches by Charles Martin

J. T. D. of Kansas broke into print again a month or so ago with a brief statement which appeared in most of the leading newspapers and magazines. It ran about as follows: In an unsolicited testimonial, J. T. D. of Kansas writes, "I have been smoking your pipe tobacco for five years, and am now the color of well-seasoned teakwood. Due to this attractive coloring, and to the excellent lung condition induced by your cut plug, I am very popular and am invited everywhere." (signed)—J. T. D., Kansas. . . . This was very pleasant news indeed, for the last time I had heard of J. T. D. was in 1934, when he was in California, guzzling fig syrup, and penning an unsolicited testimonial or two about *that*. According to the cut which appeared above his fig syrup epic, J. T. D. was an adolescent, spindle-shanked youth, and from his letter I gained the impression that it was fig syrup alone that was keeping him together, possibly because of its adhesive qualities. You can imagine, then, how pleased I was to learn that he had gained sufficient strength to travel as far as Kansas, and that he was now smoking like a chimney and going out with girls. I felt well repaid for the money I had paid my clipping bureau to keep track of him.

J.T.D. Bashful

J. T. D. is one of those shy people who go through life answering only to initials, and with apparently no purpose beyond the writing of unsolicited testimonials. He is one of my favorites, as is Mrs. F. R. S., of Michigan, who took off 20 pounds in one week without exercise and Mrs. S. E. A., of Texas, who gained 20 pounds in much the same way. I like these anonymous people of the advertisements, and I suppose that is why I often worry about them. How do they manage to make a living without names or addresses?

Although most of these wraiths claim no residence except the state in which the copy-writers find them, there are a few who seem to be settled in a large city, but even they lack street addresses. There is A. I. O. of Denver, whose pithy humor has gained him a large following, and P. R. S. of Boston, who is 94 and has been so for as long as I can remember. P. R. S. has never touched tobacco in any form (or so I assume, since he has never mentioned it) and attributes his years to the fact that he has kept himself regular. Regular or not, I do not like to think of a man of 94 roaming the streets of Boston without a street address, unless, of course, he is accompanied by his agent.

Romantic Initials

I suppose I am just a sentimental fool who has washed his face in laundry soap for 20 years, but I like to stuff *Advertising Age* in my pipe and dream once in a while, just like the rest of you. Some time ago, for example, I became interested in Mr. S. F. S. of Oregon and Miss E. W. T. of the same state. I had followed Miss T's work for years and found it good. S. F. S. was doing all right, too, putting new piston rings in his car, buying all kinds of insurance, and taking excellent care of his teeth and hair. All in all, a good family man and a hell of a fine catch. I have not heard of Miss T. for three years now, but a short time ago I chanced upon the statement of a Mrs. S. F. S. of Oregon, who said, "I simply love your cough syrup and always give it to my children, A. and B." Is it possible that S. F. S. met E. W. T. and A. and B. are the result? I like to think so, and if I am not right, I should prefer that you did not let me know.

I am happy to say that there is a movement on foot to purchase neat little homes (complete with street numbers) for some of these nomads, where they may test products to their heart's content; where the men may shave all day with electric razors, where the women may win their husbands back by using the proper cake flour and where the children may recover rapidly from that racking cough.—CARROLL MOORE.

Let the Buyer Be Wary:

The Bargains I've Seen!

Salesman Tried to Sell Us Everything but the Item We Wanted . . . Also, the Case of the $100 Handkerchief

(Fourth in a series on linen stores.)

By SIDNEY MARGOLIUS

PM Exclusive

It is often difficult to buy the bargains in the windows of some stores. I have seen salesmen drag out almost everything else except the item I requested.

While I was shopping with a companion, we saw a luncheon cloth in the window of the Variety Linen Shop, 461 Seventh Ave. It was about 54x54, with six napkins, and the sign read:

"7 Pc Dinner Set
99c Complete"

We asked to see this set. The salesman showed us several, in cream color in a thin material, with tiny napkins. The set in the window was white, a good-looking set at that price, with medium size napkins. We complained he was not showing us the same merchandise. He assured us he was, stating that the cream color set was white, not cream. It was the way the light hit it, he said.

He then showed us a white set, but told us it had a much longer cloth than the one in the window, and asked 1.97 for it. We complained that we did not want to pay more than the price of the set in the window. Then he brought out a white cloth, 50x50, saying that it was pure linen, and priced at 1.65.

Finally we asked that he take the set from the window, but he explained it would be impossible to disturb the window. My companion showed him that the set could be removed without disturbing the window, but he refused to sell it.

At some other shops, practices which sometimes occur are:

set which, as he got down on his knees and spread the set on the floor, he declared was made by the nuns in a convent. "Church linen and 16th century handmade lace—every century the style of the lace changes, and this was the style of the 16th century," he explained. He offered the set to us at $50.

The Magic of Kansas City

Somewhere in the conversation we mentioned we were visitors from Kansas City. The phrase "Kansas City" had a magical effect on the salesman. He went to work twice as hard. He grabbed a box of men's handkerchiefs, declaring they were the finest and purest quality linen, showing us that on the box there was noted in ink "$36 per doz.," which, he said, was the regular price and marked there so that the public would not be fooled. He offered to sell us the $36 box of handkerchiefs, the $50 luncheon cloth and the $100 original Norma Shearer handkerchief all at the one price of $65.

At the end, as we left, he offered us the luncheon set for which he had originally asked $50, at $34.

'Come On'

An incident from the Better Business Bureau's files shows how another entirely different shop used a bargain item as a "come on."

The bureau's shopper came in for several "linen" handkerchiefs (which later turned out to be cotton). Inside was a display of dinner cloth and napkins with a sign: "HANDMADE IMPORTED $200." This was offered to the shopper for $35, with the understanding it could be returned later for $75. Then a lace cloth, stated to be worth $1800, was offered at $650, with two additional luncheon sets, valued at $550 and $200 respectively, thrown in. The entire lot was then reduced to $400, to $250 and then to $250 with the 32-piece Chinese dinner set thrown in as well. Finally the proprietor offered the dinner cloth which he had valued at $200 at $10, so he could "raise enough money to pay the rent." A dinner set bought for $3 at this store, represented as satin damask and pure silk, turned out to be 60 per cent cotton and 40 per cent rayon.

TOMORROW: What the shopper can do.

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At some other shops, practices which sometimes occur are:

Quoting valuations that are far above the offering price;

Offering to throw in "free" additional merchandise in order to clinch one particular sale;

Appealing personally to the prospective customer on the grounds the merchant has to raise money to pay his rent.

The $100 Handkerchief

An adventure my companion and I had at Serure's on Fifth Ave. at 53rd, illustrates how this shop tried to build up a sale.

While we were buying a sale-priced "linen" handkerchief (which later turned out to be cotton), the salesman—a dark young fellow doing his best to be glib—asked us if we would like to see a $100 handkerchief, a handkerchief of Norma Shearer's, he said. We agreed, and he showed us two handkerchiefs, saying that one was the original handkerchief carried by Shearer at the premiere of her movie, *Marie Antoinette*, and the other a copy. The original was priced at $100, the copy at $50. He centered his attention on the sale of the original, telling us there were 5000 hand stitches in the making and showing us a copy of a newspaper story reporting that the maker of the handkerchief had given it to Miss Shearer. He told us how important it would be to own such a handkerchief. He did his best with us.

My companion asked if he would sell the original for $25. He said he would not, he was not selling handkerchiefs, he was selling linens. He then produced a luncheon [illegible] The phrase "Kansas City" had a magical effect on the salesman. He went to work twice as hard. He grabbed a box of men's handkerchiefs, declaring they were the finest and purest quality linen, showing us that on the box there was noted in ink "$36 [illegible] as satin damask and pure silk, turned out to be 60 per cent cotton and 40 per cent rayon.

TOMORROW: What the shopper can do.

1941, p. 29.

and advertisers among the stockholders continues an enigma.

Gerald Blank's "News in Today's Ads," a number of clever articles which present an inside view of popular ads and their basis, certainly does not elevate the status of advertising. Another group, "Psyching the Ads," pursued such theoretical problems as "Do Women Dress for Men?"[1] and "Do Men Dress for Women,"[2] written by Sidney Margolius and Gerald Blank respectively.

In a group of stories, "Behind the Ads," Margolius interviews advertising copy-writers more sympathetically and explains their psychology. These stories ran early in the year 1941. Another group known as "Debunking the Ads" includes stories such as "Eat Your Way to Health and Happiness,"[3] an article which pokes fun as the use of the "sex angle" in food advertising copy.

In fairness to the department's editors, it should be emphasized that the whole slant of the advertising news is one of concern for the consumer. Federal Trade Commission rulings are well publicized, consumer cooperative progress noted from time to time, Consumer's Union reports quoted and Consumer Distributor articles frequently recommended.

A partial solution to the enigma of PM's relation with professional advertising men and with advertisers may lie in the varied attitudes toward national advertisers on one hand and local department store advertising departments on the other. Federal Trade Commission prosecution of a nationally advertised product will gain any number of stories from PM in support of

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1 PM, November 4, 1940, p. 26.
2 PM, November 11, 1940, p. 26.
3 PM, October 28, 1940, p. 29.

the fight, and magazine and newspaper copy for nationally advertised foods, soaps, and similar preparations will be debunked with cutting satire and complete bitterness. On the other hand, PM will devote series such as "Psyching the Ads" and "Behind the Ads" to very human interviews with New York department store copy-writers. Nor could one question the extent of courtesy extended to New York department store advertising departments by PM during the first months of its elaborate "Advertising Digest."

One might well assume, following through Mrs. Marion Bachrach's comment[1] on the volume of support given Ingersoll by department and chain store owners, that national advertising is treated as completely taboo while local advertising may be contended with as a necessary service for the consumer. Donald Fellows[2] once suggested to the writer of this study that PM might be expressing a phase of a conflict between the large department and chain stores, interested in promoting advertising and marketing their own brands, and the nationally-known and advertised products whose trade names are household by-words.

"News for Living" Sections

The "News for Living" sections contained the news mentioned in items No. 2 and 4 of Ingersoll's listing. Roughly divided, these items concern food and market news, and news of housing, health, education, medicine, consumers' interests, and the like.

Farther on in the prospectus, Ingersoll says:[3]

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1 Conversation with Mrs. Marion Bachrach, July 3, 1940.
2 Conversation with Professor Donald Fellows of the School of Commerce, University of Wisconsin, May 20, 1941.
3 Ingersoll, op. cit., pp. 7-8.

Low Cost Dinner

(For Tuesday—Serves Four)

FRENCH FRIED FRANKFURTERS
WITH BARBEQUE SAUCE
HOT POTATO SALAD
SAUERKRAUT
RYE BREAD AND BUTTER

PLUM TAPIOCA

COFFEE or TEA for Adults
MILK for Children

SHOPPING LIST

(Based on Good Buys)

	Price Range
1 lb. Frankfurters	.16- .20
1 lb. sauerkraut	.08- .12
1 green pepper	.03- .05
1 No. 2 can plums	.10- .15
	.37- .52

Staples to be checked:

Seasonings, flour, butter or margarine, vinegar, sugar, dry mustard, eggs, Worcestershire sauce, tobasco sauce, onions, garlic, salad oil, potatoes, bread, tapioca, coffee, tea, milk.

RECIPES (*Serve Four*)

French Fried Frankfurters with Barbeque Sauce

- 1½ cups hot water
- 3 tablespoons flour
- ¼ cup butter
- 2 tablespoons vinegar
- ½ teaspoon salt
- dash of pepper
- ¼ teaspoon paprika
- 1 lb. frankfurters
- ⅛ teaspoon chili powder
- 1 teaspoon sugar
- 1 teaspoon dry mustard
- ½ teaspoon Worcestershire sauce
- few drops tabasco sauce
- 1 teaspoon minced onion
- 1 clove garlic

Melt butter and allow clove of garlic to flavor it for 5 minutes. Remove garlic and stir in flour. Stir in all other ingredients, hot water last. Cook and stir over moderate heat until the sauce thickens slightly. Then continue cooking until it begins to boil. Fry frankfurters in hot deep fat (370-385 degrees) 5-8 minutes, or until thoroughly heated. Drain, split and place on [illegible]

East India Curry Shop



Says—Charlotte Adams:

East India Curry

The East India Curry Shop at 122 E. 57th St. is a fine eating place for a real curry lover. We're one of those, having got our original education chez Mary Wilder Gunn, and turned into an addict. We've missed Mrs. Gunn's restaurant since it ceased to be and are therefore greatly pleased to discover another devoted to that same great sauce.

The East India Curry Shop is a very small and not particularly attractive looking place. It serves no liquor. But it is where you should go if you like good curry. Miss Teele, who runs it, is a very charming lady who has spent much time in the Orient, and will discuss with you the various curries she offers and help you arrive at a decision on which you'd probably like best.

Various Curries

The offerings on luncheon and dinner menus are the same, but luncheon portions are smaller. Prices are according to the curry chosen, and include tea or coffee and dessert. The most expensive curry is chicken (95 cents at luncheon and $1.35 at dinner). This is very mild and the best choice for [illegible] least one good American dish like shrimp in a wine sauce or lamb chops on the menu for people like that.

Curry At Home

The East India Curry Shop is news for lovers of curry in the home, too. They carry a line of attractively packaged curry necessities for your kitchen.

Curry Powder

First, if you're a real cook or have one, there is curry powder of exceptional flavor and aroma at 50 cents for 4 ounces, 75 cents for 8 ounces, and $1.35 for a pound. There might be more American lovers of curry if the realization were common that any old curry powder won't make a good curry dish. The variety to be found in curry powder flavors is tremendous and a good powder is of major importance. This is one of the best.

Curry Sauce

For those who'd like to eat curry at home and not bother to make the sauce, the East India Curry Shop puts up curry sauce in a jar. This is 75 cents for 10 ounces (enough to serve 6 or 8) and $1.75 for a quart. We've tried it at home and found it exactly like the sauce served with lamb at the Curry Shop. This was with the addition of meat stock. If you like it milder you add

Medium Cost Dinner

(For Tuesday—Serves Four)

EGGS IN JELLY

FROG LEGS WITH GARLIC BUTTER
GREEN PEAS
FRENCH FRIED POTATO BALLS
HOT FRENCH BREAD AND BUTTER

CREME BRULER

COFFEE (Demi-Tasse) for Adults
MILK for Children

SHOPPING LIST

(Based on Good Buys)

	Price Range
1½ lbs. frog legs	1.50- 1.50
2 lbs. Peas	.16- .24
1 pint heavy cream	.15- .15
1 small tin puree de foie gras	.35- .35
	2.16- 2.24

Staples to be checked:

Seasonings, gelatin, eggs, flour, milk, butter, garlic, shallot, parsley, olive oil, sugar, vanilla, potatoes, bread, coffee.

RECIPES (*Serve Four*)

- 4 eggs
- 1 package aspic gelatin
- 1 tin puree de foie gras

Prepare the aspic in accordance with directions on the package. In the bottom of each individual custard cup place about a tablespoon of puree de foie gras. Over this pour about ½ inch of aspic. When the aspic has begun to thicken place on it a poached egg. Cover this with more aspic. Decorate with very thin slices of truffle, if you have it. Chill thoroughly in the refrigerator before serving.

Frog Legs with Garlic Butter

- 1½ lbs. frog legs
- 2 tablespoons flour
- salt and pepper
- ¼ cup milk
- 1 clove garlic, finely minced
- 1 chopped shallot
- 1 teaspoon chopped parsley
- 2 tablespoons olive oil

Barbeque Sauce

1½ cups hot water	1 teaspoon sugar
3 tablespoons flour	1 teaspoon dry mustard
¼ cup butter	½ teaspoon Worcestershire sauce
2 tablespoons vinegar	few drops tabasco sauce
½ teaspoon salt	1 teaspoon minced onion
dash of pepper	1 clove garlic
¼ teaspoon paprika	
1 lb. frankfurters	
⅛ teaspoon chili powder	

Melt butter and allow clove of garlic to flavor it for 5 minutes. Remove garlic and stir in flour. Stir in all other ingredients, hot water last. Cook and stir over moderate heat until the sauce thickens slightly. Then continue cooking until it begins to boil. Fry frankfurters in hot deep fat (370-385 degrees) 5-8 minutes, or until thoroughly heated. Drain, split, and place frankfurters on a hot platter. Pour barbeque sauce over the frankfurters.

Hot Potato Salad

4 medium-sized potatoes	¼ cup vinegar
½ teaspoon salt	½ cup salad oil
1 tablespoon sugar	1 chopped hard-cooked egg
½ green pepper chopped	paprika
	1 chopped onion

Cook potatoes in the skin. Heat vinegar, oil and seasonings to the boiling point. Add chopped hard-cooked egg. Peel potatoes and slice them into a bowl which has been rubbed with a clove of garlic. Add minced onion and green pepper. Pour on hot salad dressing, mix just enough to blend and serve at once.

Plum Tapioca

1 No. 2 can plums	¼ cup tapioca
dash of salt	¼ cup sugar

Drain plums. Add enough orange or pineapple juice or water to the plum juice to make 2 cups. Slice plums and remove pits. Stir fruit juice into combined tapioca, sugar and salt and cook over boiling water until the mixture thickens, stirring constantly. Add plums and cook 1 minute longer. Fill sherbet dishes and chill.—J. B.

QUICKLY PREPARED DINNER FOR TWO

TOMATO JUICE COCKTAIL

CALVES' LIVER AND BACON
QUICK FROZEN BROCCOLI
RAW CARROT STICK
CLOVER ROLLS AND BUTTER

TOASTED POUND CAKE WITH
CHOCOLATE ICE CREAM

cover another devoted to that same great sauce.

The East India Curry Shop is a very small and not particularly attractive looking place. It serves no liquor. But it is where you should go if you like good curry. Miss Teele, who runs it, is a very charming lady who has spent much time in the Orient, and will discuss with you the various curries she offers and help you arrive at a decision on which you'd probably like best.

Various Curries

The offerings on luncheon and dinner menus are the same, but luncheon portions are smaller. Prices are according to the curry chosen, and include tea or coffee and dessert. The most expensive curry is chicken (95 cents at luncheon and $1.35 at dinner). This is very mild, and the best choice for the novice, we think. The Bengal curry of lamb ($1.25 at dinner) is the hottest, and our favorite. There's one other we'd like particularly to tell you about, though, and that's the curry of brinjol, green bananas, cashew nuts, papaya and mushrooms (65 cents at luncheon, 90 cents at dinner). This is perfectly delicious, and though it is a curry, quite different from any of the other dishes—the East Indian equivalent of a vegetable plate, far more exciting and less simple than our Western dish! There are several other curries at varying prices, and especially for Lent, a curry of oysters (90 cents at luncheon, $1.25 at dinner).

Condiments

There's a wonderful array of condiments, each in its separate dish, for you to put on top of your curry and saffron rice and mix all well together. Either Miss Teele or the turbaned East Indian waiter will help you with the chutneys, by describing their general flavor tone, and we suggest that you try them all.

Desserts

Desserts include Huloa, a delicious East Indian pudding with nuts and raisins in it, faintly flavored with rose, which is served hot with whipped cream; bananas baked in guava jelly sauce; a green salad tossed with a little fruit in it (excellent idea—our dinner companion tried it and said it was good); and fresh cocoanut whipped cream layer cake, rich, but tasty.

For Sissies

If your best beau or your best girl is too great a feeding problem even to try curry, you can safely drag him or her along to watch you have the fun. There's always at

cents for 8 ounces, and $1.35 for a pound. There might be more American lovers of curry if the realization were common that any old curry powder won't make a good curry dish. The variety to be found in curry powder flavors is tremendous and a good powder is of major importance. This is one of the best.

Curry Sauce

For those who'd like to eat curry at home and not bother to make the sauce, the East India Curry Shop puts up curry sauce in a jar. This is 75 cents for 10 ounces (enough to serve 6 or 8) and $1.75 for a quart. We've tried it at home and found it exactly like the sauce served with lamb at the Curry Shop. This was with the addition of meat stock. If you like it milder you add cream.

Rice

The East India Curry Shop sells Patna rice at 20 cents a pound. *Anybody* could make dry, flaky rice with this. It has practically none of the glutinous quality to which we're so accustomed, and is furthermore of excellent flavor.

More Accompaniments

Kroepoek, those thin shrimp wafers faintly resembling potato chips in appearance after you've fried them, and Poppadums, very similar except that they're not made with shrimp, both perfect accompaniments to curry instead of bread, are for sale at $1 a tin. The shop also carries Bombay Dux, the wonderful little dried fish which are so important as condiments with a good curry, and so hard to find, also at $1 a tin. There's a variety of chutneys for sale, too, the shop's great specialty being a pineapple and ginger one, not hot enough for us, but pleasant, at 75 cents for 10 ounces and $1.75 for a quart.

Shipping Charges

All prices quoted are f. o. b. New York. Add shipping costs for out of town.

Catering Service

The East India Curry Shop will, and frequently does, send out a curry dinner to be served in your own home by an East Indian gentleman who has a collection of handsome and colorful costumes to lend authenticity and interest to the party. Under this service, curries are $1 a portion, Huloa (without the whipped cream) 15 cents a portion, and the cocoanut whipped cream layer cake, $2 per cake. The fee for the East Indian is about $10.

1 package aspic gelatin	1 tin puree de foie gras

Prepare the aspic in accordance with directions on the package. In the bottom of each individual custard cup place about a tablespoon of puree de foie gras. Over this pour about ½ inch of aspic. When the aspic has begun to thicken place on it a poached egg. Cover this with more aspic. Decorate with very thin slices of truffle, if you have it. Chill thoroughly in the refrigerator before serving.

Frog Legs with Garlic Butter

1½ lbs. frog legs	1 chopped shallot
2 tablespoons flour	1 teaspoon chopped parsley
salt and pepper	2 tablespoons olive oil
¼ cup milk	¾ cup butter
1 clove garlic, finely minced	

Wipe prepared frog legs with a damp cloth and then dry them. Season flour with salt and pepper. Dip each leg in milk and then in seasoned flour. Saute in ½ cup butter and olive oil combined, over low heat until delicately browned on all sides. Remove legs to a hot platter. Add remaining butter to the pan in which legs were sauteed and melt over a hot fire. Then add garlic and shallot. Reduce heat and cook until shallot is tender, stirring frequently. Pour over the hot legs. Sprinkle with chopped parsley.

Creme Bruler
(Bill Chidsey's Recipe)

1 pint cream	4 egg yolks
1 tablespoon sugar	1 teaspoon vanilla

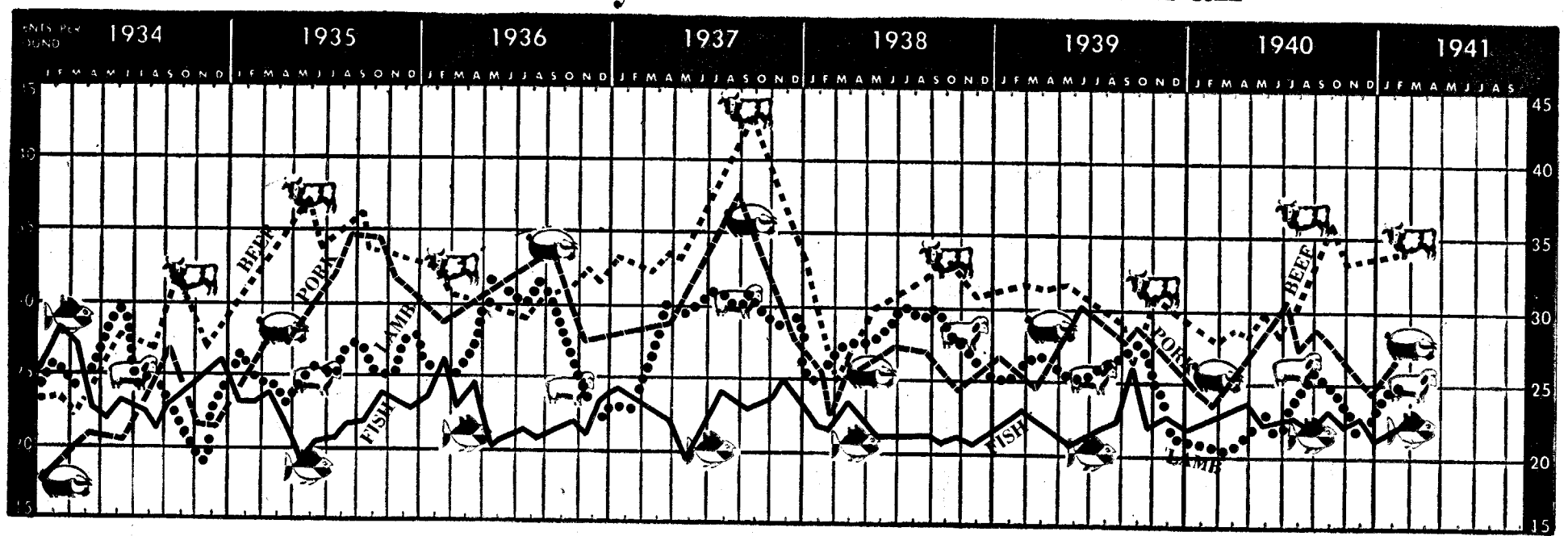
Heat cream in double boiler until hot but not scalding; add sugar, stirring until dissolved. Add well beaten yolks and vanilla. Mix well and pour into baking dish which is just deep enough for the custard to be about 1½ inches deep. Place baking dish in hot water and bake in slow oven till set. It is done when blade of knife inserted comes out clean. Cool and place dish in refrigerator to chill thoroughly. Cover top with a quarter inch of light brown sugar. Place dish under hot broiler and watch constantly. When sugar has melted and entire surface is glazed, remove and cool. Chill again and serve ice cold.—J. B.

Frog Legs

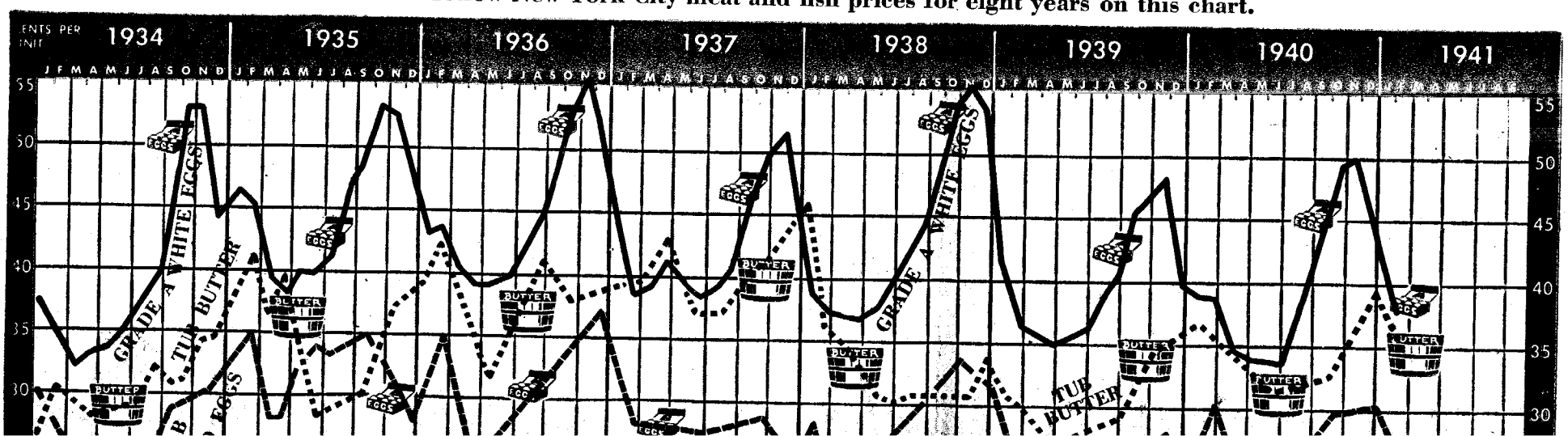
Petrosino Brothers at the Washington Market (BArclay 7, 5398) carry frog legs at the price we've quoted in the shopping list, $1.00 a pound. There are from five to seven legs to a pound. They should come from the market already prepared for use, with skin removed.

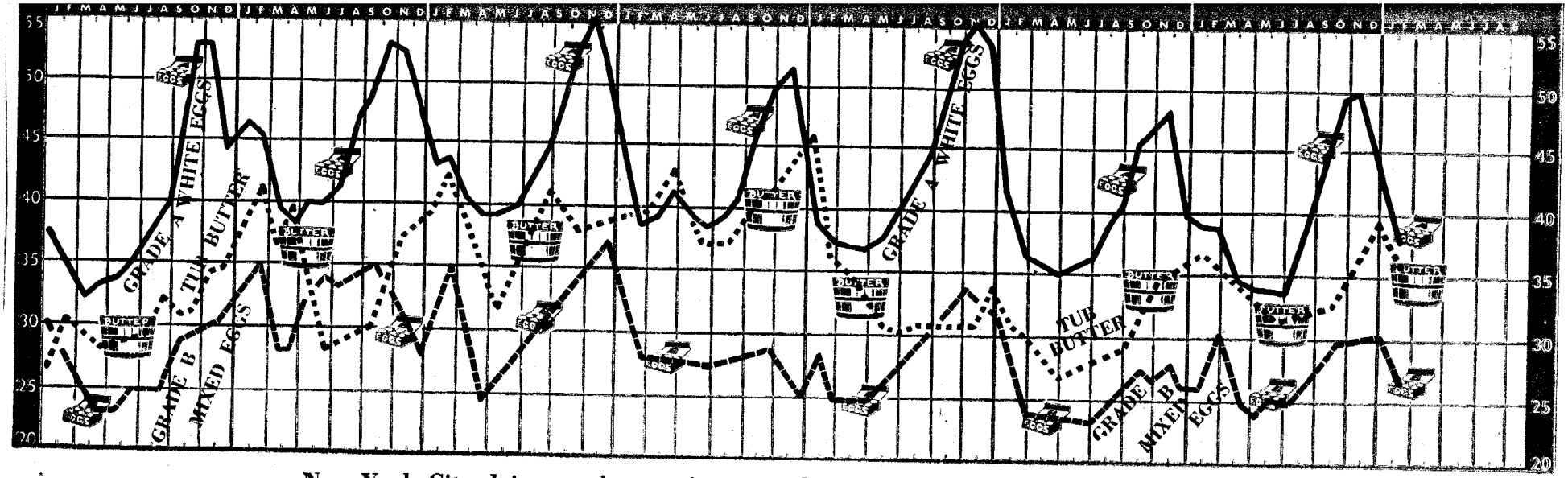
14 NEW YORK PM, THURSDAY, MARCH 6, 1941 NEW YORK

Here's How New York City Food Prices Rise and Fall



You can follow New York City meat and fish prices for eight years on this chart.





New York City dairy products prices vary by months almost identically every year.

We're on an Upswing Now . . . You'd Better Watch the Budget

By CHARLOTTE ADAMS

Food costs are rising. There are a good many reasons why they should. The national income is rising. That is a basic cause for some of the general rise in food costs. When people have more money they buy more food, especially meat. The old supply and demand situation steps up.

The government has told us that there'll be more beef available in 1941 than in 1940 and that the price will be higher. As a bald statement that makes the consumer mad. He is in part responsible because of his greater buying power. However, it's quite possible that upon such an announcement the men who hold cattle on the hoof say, "Prices are going up? Okay, here they go," and raise the prices before demand has really taken effect.

At this point the consumer can have an enormous effect. He can just not buy if the price is too much for him, and if the price has been raised on a false premise it will, at such a point, come down.

The charts above, which show the prices we've been paying in New York City for beef, pork, lamb, fish and dairy products since 1934, give a clear picture which may surprise you. New York City's Department of Markets has been receiving floods of letters howling about rising food costs. Most of them say: "Why don't you do something to stop this?" and "What's going to happen?" The latter seems to be the important question.

As a partial answer we give you the small chart at the right, which in showing you what happened to the general wholesale food index during past wars, may also give some index of what we're in for.

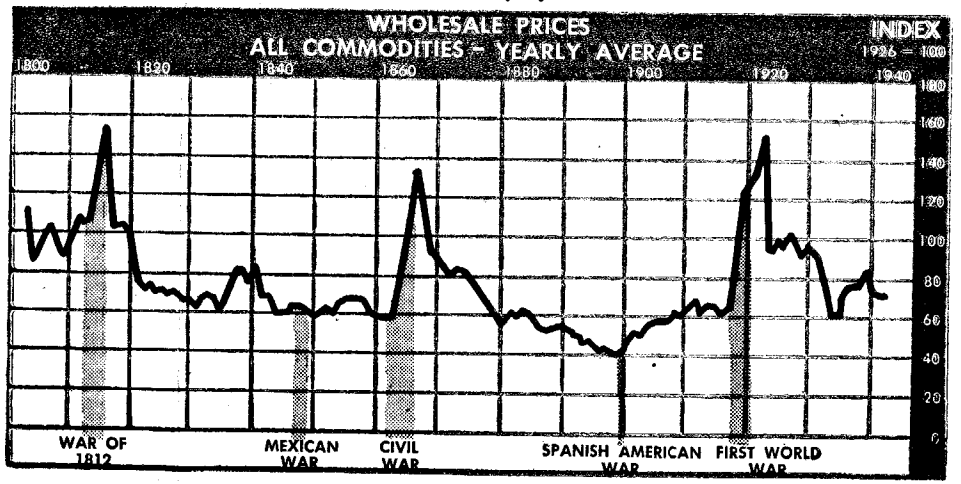
At present we suggest that you concentrate on the fact that right now we're paying less for food than we have at times during the past seven years. Government agencies and many persons in the food field are working on and presenting to the public material on nutrition and ways to feed the family well on a limited budget. PM's own food page is based on the thing the public is howling about. Like all housewives who are on their toes, we watch daily for changes in market prices and fit the food we suggest for your dinners to what the budget will bear.

Let us point out as of this month of February that dairy products have been unusually low and even government buying for Surplus Commodities has not prevented prices from descending even lower. Vegetables are always relatively scarce and high in February. Bad weather conditions in Florida, Texas and California have made them even scarcer this winter.

As for meats, the pig crop in 1940 was reduced about 10 per cent from that of 1939. For this reason hog slaughtering for 1941 will be considerably less than in 1940 and prices therefore higher. Beef production is slightly higher, and therefore while there are factors pushing the price up, it is well to watch for undue rise and to cut tail buying if there's an unexplained big jump.

Lamb and mutton constitute a relatively small proportion of the total yearly meat production of the country, but they are likely to be in slightly larger supply this year than last. Fish is almost always in relatively light supply in February, and the coming of Spring should see its prices lower.

Although food prices have risen and some of them, if not all, will probably rise more, there are ways to handle your budgets so that your family is nutritionally and pleasantly fed.



Wars are always reflected in food costs.

> The advertising news section is disinterested, non-critical, completely objective. The other sections of News for Living do not claim these things. Each stands for the paper's conception of a better life -- a less expensive life with more for your money and more fun in it. This important division of PM will be headed by Elizabeth Hawes, noted fashion authority and author.
>
> Biggest News for Living section outside of Advertising News is the Food Page which, published daily, selects from the reports of the Department of Markets and other institutions, the twenty or thirty best buys in foods for the day -- then arranges these foods -- these particular bargain foods -- in two menus. One menu is for a household with a low budget -- the other for a medium budget household. A recipe is given for the unusual dishes on each menu, along with comments on preparations and reference to cookbooks. Recipes are given each day for left-overs of the day before.

In the market reports, the foods are listed as vegetables, fruits, dairy products, fish, meat and poultry. A note frequently advises purchasers that the Public Market prices are listed as a yardstick, and that:[1]

> In most retail stores, prices are higher. Reason: Varying rents and volumes.

Other helpful items listed in PM are shopping lists, lists of staples, and additional recipes. Maximum and minimum prices for complete meals are sometimes given. Charlotte Adams is food page editor assisted by Jessie Bakker.

Turning to the next major interest of the "News for Living" section, the prospectus comments:[2]

> The department devoted to Clothes is an aggressive shopper for unadvertised bargains, critical, skeptical and highly personal.

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1 PM, June 14, 1940, p. 26.
2 Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 8.

> our readers as parents, teachers, students, or the youthful unemployed. We will try to make the problem clearer, seek solutions with an open mind.

Articles on education, particularly in the public schools of New York, appear frequently but with little plan or theme. Roman Slobodin is listed in the masthead as editor of "Education", yet when the series on New York's worn-out school houses appeared in January,[1] it was Raymond Abrashkin who wrote it and Gene De Poris handled the stories on Communists charges in the school system, printed under "New York."[2]

No mention is made in the prospectus of the child-training pictures and articles which appear almost daily during PM's first months. A fetching picture with the caption written by a child psychologist or quoted from a government bulletin gives advice on scientific means of raising children. Additional articles such as "These Parents Need Government Bulletins"[3] and the Sunday section weekly picture installment on raising Baby Lois, a child whose week-by-week growth and its accompanying problems were carefully delineated for PM readers during July and August, 1940, comprise the child welfare activities.

Nor is health neglected. PM's prospectus reads:[4]

> The health of our readers interests us -- if not as much as it does them, still a lot -- and an important part of their News for Living will be vitally concerned with it.

Helen Gwynn edited health news during PM's early months. Frequent bulletins on health and explanations of services were

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1 See Chapter III, pp. 120-128.
2 PM, March 25, 1941, p. 11.
3 PM, July 22, 1940, p. 26.
4 Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 8.

printed. "Where to Go for Cancer Diagnosis"[1] is typical of this kind of service.

The "Health" material of "News for Living," particularly the careful studies of health services in different parts of the country by Dr. Henry E. Sigerist, professor of the History of Medicine at Johns Hopkins University seems to be the most valuable contribution in the whole section. From August through November, 1940, Dr. Sigerist reported on group health plans in the U.S.A., including reports on the Chicago Civic Medical Center,[2] on the Farmers' Union Cooperative hospital at Elk City, Oklahoma,[3] on the Ross-Loos Group in Los Angeles,[4] on the California Physicians' Group in San Francisco,[5] on the plan of the Medical Society of Milwaukee County, Milwaukee,[6] and others. Discovering the reason for the failure of an Anti-TB campaign in Detroit[7] and exposing health conditions among the migrant farm laborers in California[8] were also of interest to Dr. Sigerist and his readers.

Last but not least, PM is concerned with fun:[9]

> Since we think fun is as vital a part of living as the national political scene or how much your food costs, we will include that as a separate department. We'll try to tell where you can have your fun without overspending your budget.

This last concern was a clever one and has great potentialities, particularly in such a city as New York. It failed, how-

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1 PM, August 21, 1940, p. 15.
2 PM, August 26, 1940, p. 11.
3 PM, September 23, 1940, p. 11.
4 PM, October 4, 1940, p. 11.
5 PM, November 11, 1940, p. 11.
6 PM, August 23, 1940, p. 11.
7 PM, August 19, 1940, p. 11
8 PM, November 14, 1940, p. 11.
9 Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 8.

The California Physicians' Service

This is the second part of a report by [redacted] on the California Physicians Service at San Francisco. The [redacted] of the report, one of a series Dr. Sigerist is making on group health plans in the U. S. A., was printed Friday. Other reports by Dr. Sigerist, who is professor of the history of medicine at Johns Hopkins University, will be published later. The reports are presented as he writes them, without comment, unedited. On Friday Dr. Sigerist outlined the mechanics of the CPS and the services its 16,000 beneficiary members derive from a top subscription fee of $2.50 a month. Today he discusses administration.

Before hospitalizing or operating on a patient a physician must secure the authorization of the medical director of his district except in emergencies. The board also appoints a general manager and district assistant managers.

The California Medical Association sponsored the plan and advanced $15,000 for the expenses of organization. The 5000 physicians contributed $25,000 on joining. Additional funds were obtained through assessment. Of the money received in dues an amount is used for administrative costs, hospitalization and the establishment of a reserve fund. The rest is distributed to the doctors.

Broader Coverage

CPS is very young and time will show whether it meets with success or not. There is no doubt it will increase its beneficiary membership quite considerably. The plan [redacted] the pattern established by the state medical societies of Washington and Oregon but is an improvement insofar as its coverage is broader. Like the Northwestern plans it helps a number of people to pay their physicians and hospitals but does not attempt to improve the existing forms of medical service.

The insistence on a fee-for-service remuneration calls for a lot of unpleasant paper work and the unit system, with its uncertainty, is hardly satisfactory to doctors.

All these medical society plans represent an intermediary solution. They fail to realize that a new medical science serving a new type of society requires new forms of service. Yet they are significant in that they accept the principle of sickness insurance. Ten years ago medical societies abhorred the idea of insurance or of having an organization set between physician and patient. Under pressure of public opinion, reluctantly, they accepted group hospitalization—provided it would not include physicians' services. Now they accept plans under which physicians' services are financed on an insurance basis—on the condition that they be voluntary and preserve the free choice of physician and remuneration on a fee-for-service basis. This will not be the last step in development. Things move pretty fast after all.

November 11, 1940, p. 11.

ever, because these potentialities were not realized. The interest in "fun" soon cooled. An example of the type of "fun" article planned for this feature was the story on eel-fishing from the New York City Recreation pier with its accompanying photographs.[1]

It is interesting to note that PM's "News for Living" aroused the enthusiasm of New York social workers, whose common goal is to bring a richer life to those persons whose needs are great. Writing "An OK on PM", Saul Carson quoted Ingersoll on his plans in favor of "people who are kindly, and courageous and honest"[2] and then comments:[3]

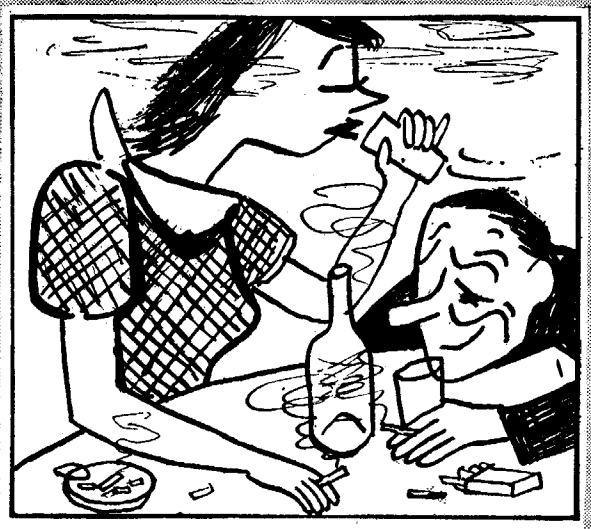
> If these sentiments sounded like the "glittering generalities" that they are, there was reassurance, particularly for those of us who were engaged in social work interpretation in the New York area. That reassurance came in the form of an announcement that a special department in PM would be devoted to "News for Living."
>
> Here an architect hired from public housing work in the government service would head a section on housing, while an economist would direct the news section of consumer problems. A young man fresh from the ranks of the youth movement was youth editor, and a Doctor of Philosophy from Columbia University was editor on the section on education.
>
> .....In no time at all, however, the architecht was gone, the economist disappeared, the Ph. D. from Columbia took his Phi Beta Kappa to more fruitful territory. "News for Living" is run by a hardboiled assistant managing editor who understands precisely what Ingersoll means when he tells his staff they must go after a circulation of 1,000,000 recruited from among the

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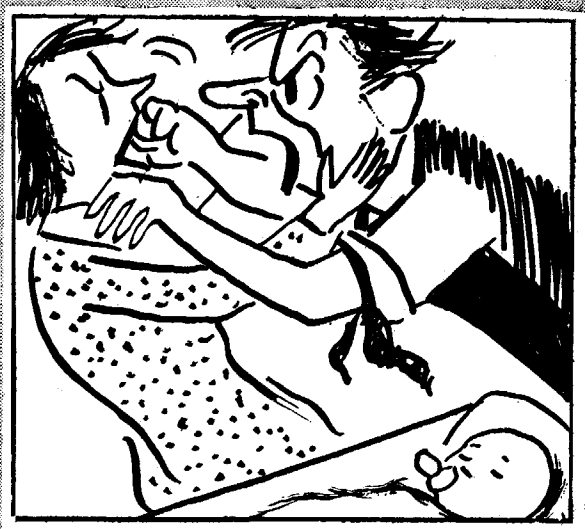
1 PM, June 24, 1940, p. 26.
2 Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 11.
3 Carson, Saul, "An OK on PM," Channels, September, 1940, pp. 156-157.

These Parents Need Government Bulletins:

Publications of the U. S. Children's Bureau and the U. S. Bureau of Home Economics contain expert advice and cost little.—M. F.



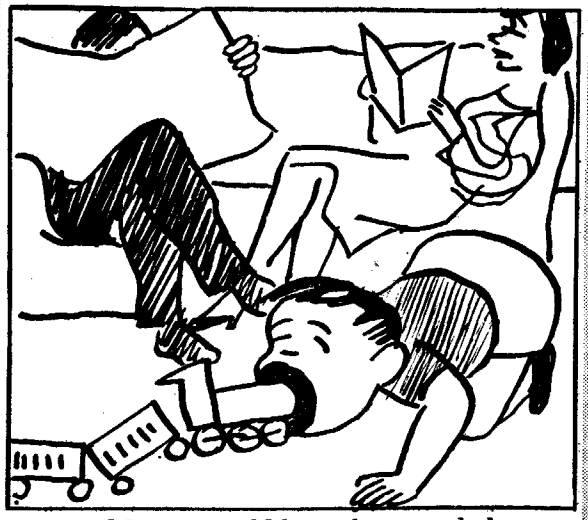
The wrong way to enjoy themselves. This young couple would profit from reading *Pre-Natal Care,* government best-seller full of sound advice to future mothers. (Cost: 10c)

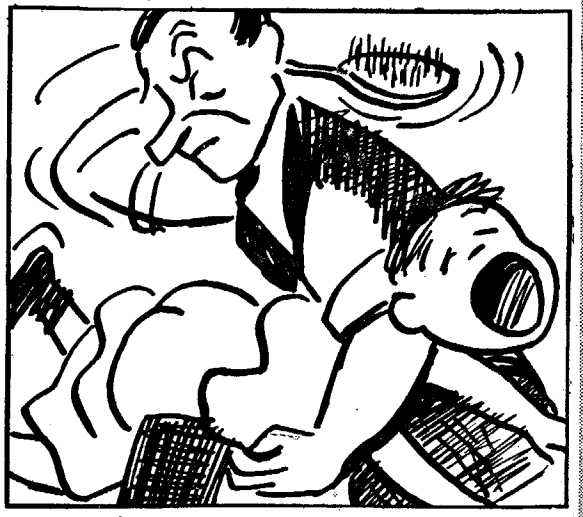


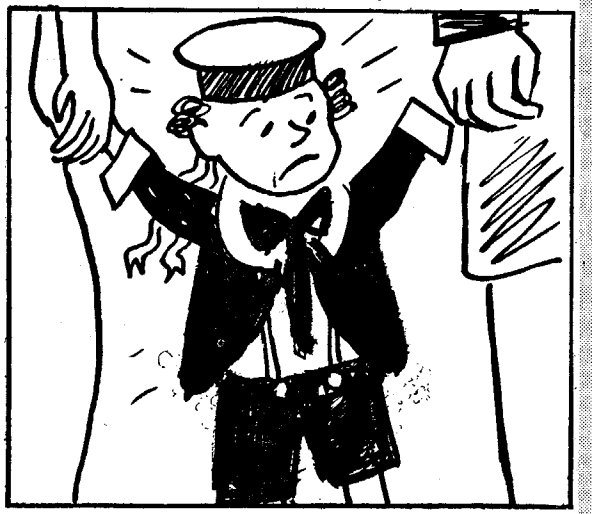
. . . and these parents should pacify themselves and take the pacifier away from Junior. *Infant Care* would tell them how to rear Junior from birth through his first birthday. (Cost: 10c.)

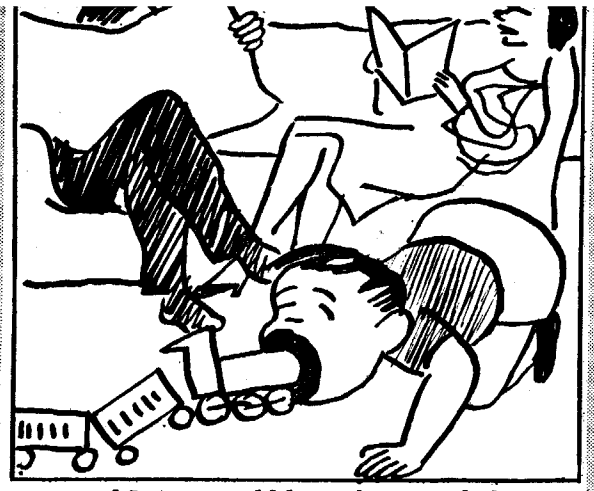


. . and these parents are headed for a nervous breakdown. They need the bulletin, *Why Sleep?* (Cost: 5c. Get it and others mentioned here from Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.









. . . and Junior would have things to do besides swallowing trains if his parents read *The Child From One To Six* explaining what chlidren need and how to provide them with it. (Cost: 10c.)

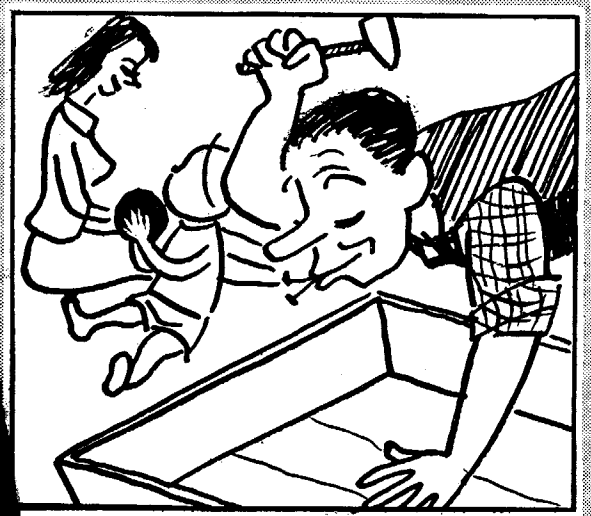


. . . and if this papa had read *Child Management* he might have saved his brush and his temper and understood the reasons for Junior's tantrums and his own reactions to them better. (Cost: 10c.)



. . . Junior is bound to do something bad today. He's so spruced up he's miserable. His mother could learn a lot about dressing him, reading *Fabrics and Designs for Children's Clothes.* (Cost: 10c.)

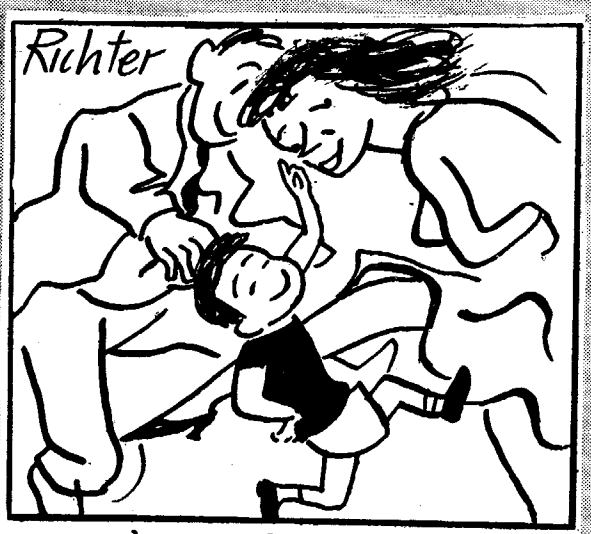
These Parents Have Government Bulletins:



Papa learns to make a sandbox from studying *Home Play and Play Equipment for the Preschool Child,* a bulletin telling the toys a youngster needs and directions for making many of them. (Cost: 10c.)



. . . and the whole family eats the foods listed in *Well-Nourished Children.* The ones essential for a child's normal growth and development are listed in this folder. (Free.)



. . . and mama and papa dance the shag with Junior. All is well in this home for these parents have read *Are You Training Your Child to Be Happy?* Their answer is yes! (Cost: 10c)

NEWS FOR LIVING

NED ARMSTRONG (Consumer News, Housing), HELEN CANAVARRO (Clothes), GILBERT DEWART (Religion), JEAN EVANS (Fun), HELEN GWYNN (Health), RICHARD G. HUBLER (Youth), ROMAN SLOBODIN (Education).

The FTC Objects To Ads Like This . . .



Trade Commission Questions Claims Made for Listerine

WASHINGTON, Aug. 20.—A Federal Trade Commission complaint charges the Lambert Pharmacal Co., St. Louis, with dissemination of misleading representations in the sale of Listerine antiseptic.

The complaint said the company represented Listerine as a corrective for halitosis (bad breath) by halting food fermentation in the mouth, and for dandruff by killing a germ causing the scalp condition. It charges that comparatively few offensive breath odors arose from decayed food particles in the mouth and that dandruff was not recognized as having an infectious origin.

According to the complaint, the Lambert company also "misrepresents that its product would effectively prevent colds and sore throats; that it would keep colds from progressing; that it quickly killed all mouth or throat germs, and that it reached deeper into the throat than most gargles." The complaint charges that these claims for Listerine antiseptic are untrue.

20 Days to Answer

The company has 20 days to answer the charges and to appeal to the federal courts from any commission steps before the action is effective.

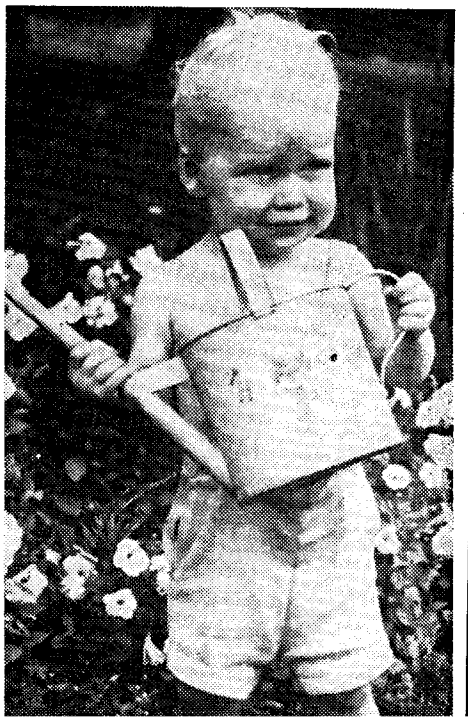
The FTC also ordered the Lambert company to cease what the commission charged was the company's practice of allowing certain customers compensation for sales service without making proportionally equal terms to competing buyers.

The commission charged that to one set of wholesalers the Lambert Co. granted 10 per cent of its net billing prices on the Lambert products sold by those wholesalers during the previous month.

Another group was allowed 5 per cent of the previous month's purchases.

To a group of retailers, 10 per cent of the previous month's purchases was allowed; to another group of retailers, for services and facilities less extensive than those supplied

Don't Try to Thwart A Young Researcher









Listerine Antiseptic kills stubborn bottle-shaped germ (Pityrosporum ovale) which scientists proved causes dandruff. That's the secret of Listerine's amazing results... why a million or more people have turned to it for real relief.

1 For years the cause of dandruff baffled Science. As research became more and more intensive, gradually the conviction grew that a *germ* must be the cause. At last this germ, *Pityrosporum ovale*, was identified. But, how to isolate the microscopic fungus? Scientists wrestled with the problem. Then suddenly, after years of effort—success!



2 Research men inoculated rabbits with the newly isolated germ. Within a short period of time all the typical dandruff symptoms appeared . . . convincing evidence that *Pityrosporum ovale* caused dandruff! Now the rabbits were treated once a day with Listerine Antiseptic. In an average of 14 days the symptoms had completely disappeared. Finally, a famous skin clinic had a group of dandruff patients use the Listerine Antiseptic Treatment daily.



3 *Within the first two weeks, on the average,* a substantial number obtained relief! And, when 76% of a group at another clinic, who used the Treatment twice a day, showed complete recovery or marked improvement within 30 days, scientists were satisfied. *Listerine Antiseptic had been proved an effective treatment for dandruff.*

If you have the slightest evidence of dandruff condition, start now with the delightful twice-a-day treatment of Listerine Antiseptic with massage.

See how quickly you get relief. See how those humiliating flakes and scales disappear. Watch how fresh and clean your hair becomes. Note how healthy and full of vigor your scalp feels, how quickly irritation ends.

People who have tried remedy after remedy in vain, say that the Listerine Antiseptic treatment really works—and really gets results. This confirms the brilliant results achieved in dandruff clinics where dandruff sufferers were under scientific observation.

Even after dandruff has disappeared, it is wise to guard against re-infection by occasional Listerine massages at regular intervals.

LAMBERT PHARMACAL COMPANY
St. Louis, Missouri

THE TREATMENT



MEN: Douse Listerine Antiseptic on the scalp *at least once a day.*

WOMEN: Part the hair at various places, and apply Listerine Antiseptic right along the part with a medicine dropper, to avoid wetting the hair excessively.

Always follow with vigorous and persistent massage with fingers or a good hair brush. But don't expect overnight results, because germ conditions cannot be cleared up that fast.

Genuine Listerine Antiseptic is guaranteed not to bleach the hair or affect texture.

LISTERINE
THE PROVED TREATMENT FOR DANDRUFF

15

The above appeared in the May 22, 1939, issue of *Time*. The ringed sections describe how "scientists have proved" that a germ causes dandruff. The FTC complaint declares dandruff is not recognized as having an infectious origin; charges Listerine's therapeutic properties are temporary.

from any commission steps before the action is effective.

The FTC also ordered the Lambert company to cease what the commission charged was the company's practice of allowing certain customers compensation for sales service without making proportionally equal terms to competing buyers.

The commission charged that to one set of wholesalers the Lambert Co. granted 10 per cent of its net billing prices on the Lambert products sold by those wholesalers during the previous month

Another group was allowed 5 per cent of the previous month's purchases.

To a group of retailers, 10 per cent of the previous month's purchases was allowed; to another group of retailers, for services and facilities less extensive than those supplied by the 10 per cent retailers, a sum equal to 5 per cent of the previous month's purchases.

One type of advertisement objected to by the Federal Trade Commission is reproduced on the eft. Advertising claims for Listerine also are made over the radio, notably on the program *Grand Central Station* on WABC Fridays at 9:30 p.m. A copy of the commercial used in this program was requested of Lambert & Feasley, 9 Rockefeller Plaza, who handle the advertising on the program. The request was refused.—UP—R. D.

HEALTH

Harvard Plans Study Of Wartime Diseases

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., Aug. 20.—A plan of the Harvard Medical School specialists to study communicable diseases under wartime conditions in conjunction with the establishment of a hospital in England by the American Red Cross has been announced by James B. Conant, president of Harvard University.

A pre-fabricated 100-bed hospital will be sent to England, according to a joint statement by Dr. Conant and Norman H. Davis, chairman of the American Red Cross. The non-professional staff and supplies will be provided by the Red Cross, while surgeons and other technicians will be assigned by the medical school.

The plan was described by Dr. Conant as an unusual opportunity both for humanitarian service and for the acquirement of medical knowledge which might be of practical value in the U. S. A.—UP.



"The child hears 'Don't this' and 'Mustn't touch this' and 'Mustn't touch that' constantly. And yet, how can the young child learn anything about the world in which he lives if we do not allow him to see and hear, and smell, and taste and touch many things every day? That is how he builds up his idea of the world about him. Patience and understanding on the part of adults will encourage an eager zest for learning. The reverse is also true. We can retard the child's early learning by thwarting all of his early attempts to become acquainted with his surroundings. It is the responsibility of all those who deal with children to help create in them a confident attitude toward life."—*Helping Children Learn, Agricultural Extension Service, Ohio State University.* (Free.)

Photos by Mary Morris, PM Staff

Teachers Want Security To Teach Democracy

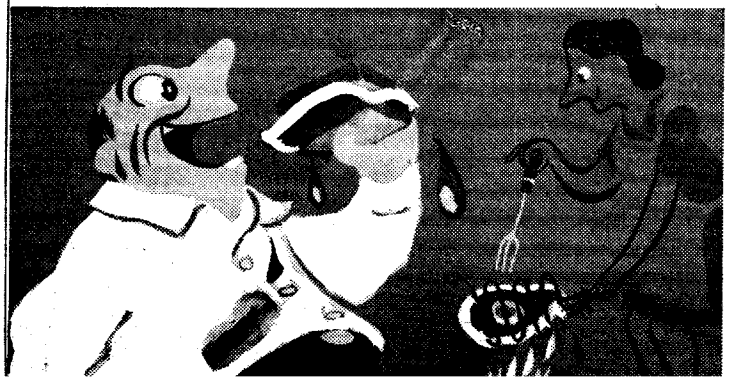
BUFFALO, Aug. 20.—"A free, secure and responsible teacher in every classroom in America" was announced as the aim of the American Federation of Teachers, AFL, by its president, Prof. George S. Counts of Columbia University, at the opening of its five-day convention today.—UP

(*William Green's speech at the AFT convention is reported on Page* 10.)

Don't Let a Spot Spoil Your Fun... Here's How to Get Rid of It



Lucky this gum is on a shoe. It's easy to scrape off. The way to get rid of it on clothes which can be laundered is to scrape, then soften the stain with egg white and wash. On unwashable material use carbon tetrachloride and then sponge with water.



What every housewife knows: picnics often cause spots. But not every housewife knows that she might save money by doing a little dry-cleaning at home instead of sending the spotted fabric around the corner.

Stubborn stains usually need the professional touch. But a lot of them can be removed by amateurs if time is taken to analyze the spot and an appropriate cleaning agent—absorbent, solvent, or bleach—used which is harmless to the fibres of the material.

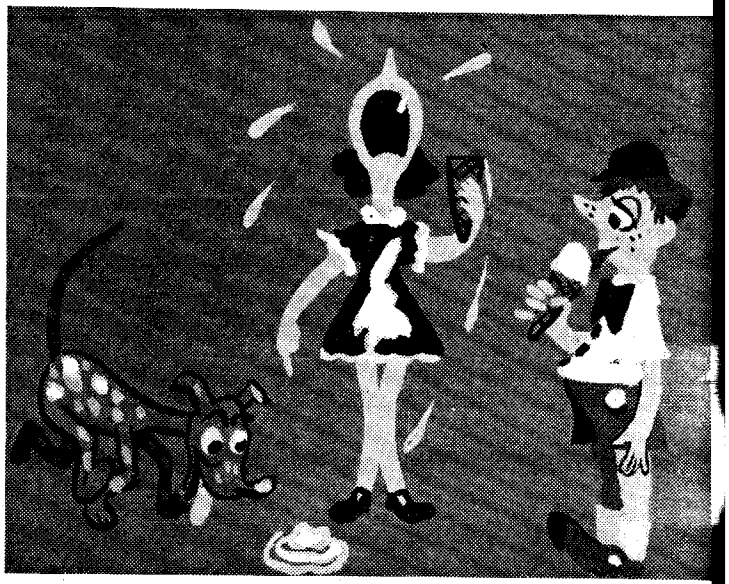
Here is a list of innocuous cleaning agents and the method of applying them.

Dry Cleaning Agents

ABSORBENTS: Fuller's earth can be bought at drugstores for 15 cents. Cornmeal, chalk, can be safely used on all materials, and are effective in removing *fresh* grease spots. Method: Spread on the spot, working the absorbent around gently. When it gets gummy shake it off and repeat the process. If the spot is stubborn, leave the agent on the material overnight.

SOLVENTS: Carbon tetrachloride (obtainable at drug-stores, 4 oz. for 30 cents, 16 oz. for 25 cents) will remove persistent grease spots from all types of materials. Method: Brush the dirt from the stained material, turn it inside out and place it on a clean absorbent pad. Work with light strokes from the outside to the center of the spot. Best way to avoid rings is to blow on the stain while working and to work rapidly, taking care not to use too much of the solvent at one time. If possible, use the same material for a sponge as the stained material.

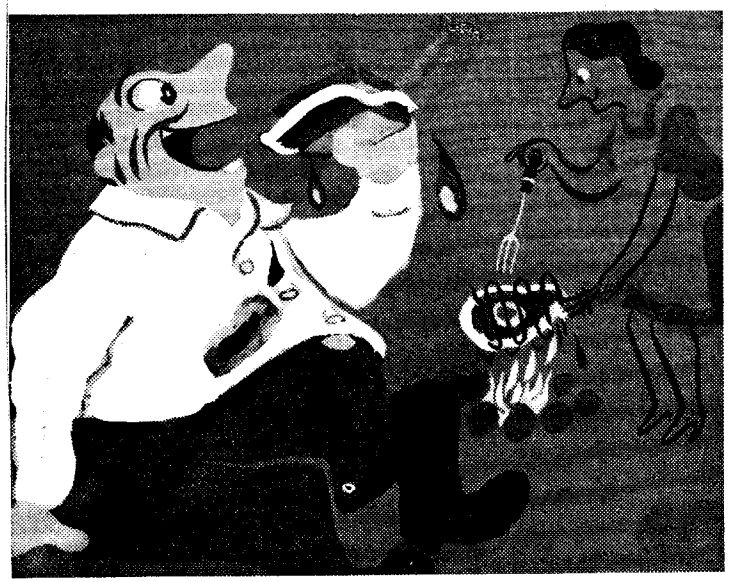
After taking these precautions if there still is a ring you can usually get rid of it by rubbing its edges lightly with the edge of a spoon or coin, or by holding the ring against the spout of a teakettle. But be sure to tie cheesecloth to the spout to keep water



Her vanilla ice cream's gone; the spot can go too. If the dress is washable, soap and water will take out most of it; if the dress is not washable, the spot should be sponged off with cold water and then with carbon tetrachloride.



white and wash. On unwashable material use carbon tetrachloride and then sponge with water.



This man can enjoy his steak sandwich. The stain will come out in the wash with the right technique. First rinse the spot in cold water to remove the protein stain, then use hot soap and water.



Her date may be spoiled but her hat isn't. She can sponge off the mud with water or wood alcohol. Or, if the hat is made of a firm weave black silk, she can rub the spot with raw potato and then brush off the dry film of starch.

oz. for 25 cents) will remove persistent grease spots from all types of materials. Method: Brush the dirt from the stained material, turn it inside out and place it on a clean absorbent pad. Work with light strokes from the outside to the center of the spot. Best way to avoid rings is to blow on the stain while working and to work rapidly, taking care not to use too much of the solvent at one time. If possible, use the same material for a sponge as the stained material.

After taking these precautions if there still is a ring you can usually get rid of it by rubbing its edges lightly with the edge of a spoon or coin, or by holding the ring against the spout of a teakettle. But be sure to tie cheesecloth to the spout to keep water drops from spotting the fabric.

Warm Water

Warm water will sometimes take grease spots out of unwashable material as well as carbon tetrachloride, but to make sure that the colors will not run or that the fabric will not water spot, test an inside seam with water first.

Boiling water is good for *fresh* fruit, coffee and tea stains, but it can only be used on washable colorfast linens and cotton. A good way to remove these stains is to fasten the soiled part of a bowl with an elastic band and pour water from a height of 3 or 4 feet on the spot. The force of the water helps to drive out the stain.

Bleaches to whiten or remove color: Sunlight is good for scorched cotton and linens. Wet the spot with water before exposing it. Hydrogen peroxide, used for medical purposes, to which a few drops of ammonia are added, may be used to remove running colors and some inks from all materials except rayon. Method: Apply with a medicine dropper, glass rod or clean cork and rinse the material carefully after application.

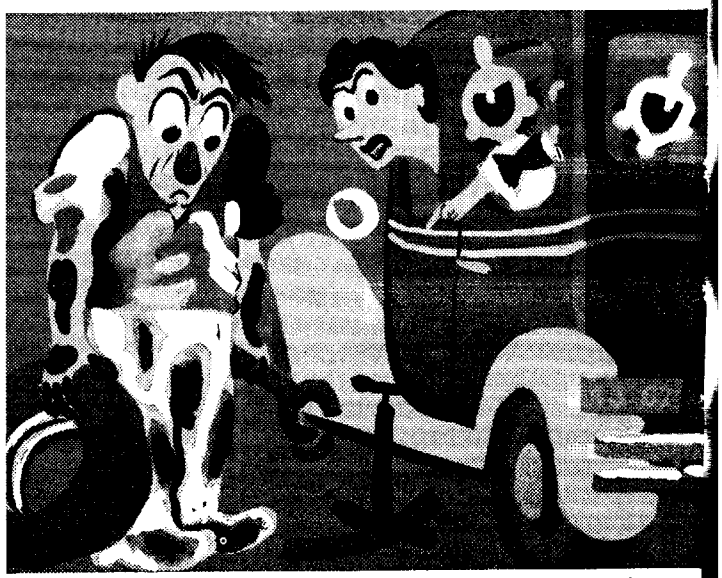
Some stains are composed of two or more substances, which means you have to use more than one cleaning agent. Chocolate stains are a mixture of fat, coloring matter, starch sugar and sometimes milk solids. Most of the stain will come out in the wash, the rest can be bleached out. But if the material can not be laundered, you will first have to use a grease solvent to get rid of the fatty contents and then use hydrogen peroxide to remove the rest.

You can find out how to remove dozens of stains from all types of materials by getting for yourself a copy of *Stain Removal from Fabrics*. Write to the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C. Send five cents, *not* in stamps.—M. F.

tetrachloride.



This girl needn't be so upset by these grass stains. She can get rid of them by sponging her skirt with wood alcohol. If the dress if washable, soap and water will take out most of it and bleaching will do the rest.



If this mess is tar, road oil, and axle grease, and his trousers are washable, they can be cleaned by rubbing lard on the spots and then washing them with soap and hot water. If unwashable, this is a tough problem to solve at home; it is best to consult a dry cleaner.

Sketches by Colin Allen

PM, MONDAY, JANUARY 13, 1941

Consumer Groups Fight for Grade Can Labels, Say U. S. Standards Will Simplify Shopping

Big Food Packers Strongly Opposed, but A, B, C Plan Jumps Ahead

By Sidney Margolius

Out of the welter of advertising claims to quality and the huge assortment of cans on the grocer's shelf, the housewife is often hard put to it to know what brand of canned vegetables are the best buy, or whose set of claims she should believe.

Organized consumer groups have long fought for a system of "grade" labeling of canned foods based on U. S. Department of Agriculture standards. The department establishes minimum specifications for "Grade A", "Grade B" and "Grade C"; cans are then marked by these grades.

Consumer spokesmen declaim that this system would give housewives a simplified shopping yardstick, but big packers of branded food lines strongly oppose government grades.

Last week grade labeling took several long strides forward and the conflict between those who want government standards and those who don't, moved closer to a showdown.

STEP FORWARD NO. 1—A&P stores, who for several years have experimented with A, B, C labels on their own brands, announced that they would extend the system to all their own products, besides which their labels will explain the differences between the grades, and the standards of judgment.

STEP FORWARD NO. 2—The Department of Agriculture's agricultural marketing service embarked on a new venture in government grading. A new service established at the request of five canning plants in four states provides for continuous inspection of plants during the canning process, similar to the inspection of meat packing plants, plus government grading. Foods so labeled think all Grade A's are alike," he told PM. "But since the tendency of the packers will be to grade down—meeting only the minimum specifications for the grade—consumers will soon return to a brand like Del Monte, say, that will continue to pack top quality."

Mr. Willis declared that he is all for informative labeling to help the consumer buy more intelligently, but not for government grades. "A housewife's best buying guide is experience," he said. "This country has been built up on personal choice—not standards."

A Del Monte label of the type Mr. Willis's group considers informative is reproduced below, together with the Macy label. The panel on the right tells the weight of the contents, the size of the fruit, approximate number of pieces in the can, and that the syrup is heavy. It also tells what other Del Monte peach packs are available. It does not say what quality the peaches are. It says they are "Del Monte Quality". You are asked to rely on the Del Monte reputation, established as a household name by persistent, widespread advertising.

You can rely on the Del Monte brand. They are good peaches. But—the consumer groups argue—they don't know what com-

ly brought up by its opponents is that housewives will be afraid to buy the lowest grade, C.

The Consumer-Retailer Council thinks otherwise. They report consumer groups as especially interested in the marking of Grade C products, which, they say, represent high nutritive value at economical prices and "should be used by a large portion of the national population as a means of getting all necessary food values within the limits of modest food budgets."

This is how A&P's new labels describe the three grades:

Grade A will carry the statement that the contents are of finest quality "and therefore represent only a small part of the whole pack, selected at the peak of flavor." The B label explains that the pack is of "choice quality; A & P's intermediate, not highest, quality. They are excellent in appearance and have a fine flavor." The C label says: "Sanitary and packing regulations are the same for all grades (A, B and C) and have practically the same wholesomeness and nutritive value. Grades A and B usually bring a premium for their better appearance and more delicate flavor. Grade C foods are standard quality, good but not fancy, and suitable for all general purposes. They appeal to careful home managers. No one need hesitate to serve them on any occasion."

Those who have followed the controversy say that if Mrs. Consumer raises her voice and loudly demands government grades on the can, she will get them. Right now the New York University School of Education is making a survey of consumer reaction in Macy's grocery department to the new

their grades.

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STEP FORWARD NO. 2—The Department of Agriculture's agricultural marketing service embarked on a new venture in government grading. A new service established at the request of five canning plants in four states provides for continuous inspection of plants during the canning process, similar to the inspection of meat packing plants, plus government grading. Foods packed under the new plan are on sale at Macy's, selected to kick off the program in this city. (*Their label showing the Grade A mark is produced below.*)

STEP FORWARD NO. 3—Several other chains, generally anxious to please the articulate consumer groups because they are under constant attack by independent merchants and need friends, will start experiments this month with grade labeling. These include (some of them are not located in New York) Grand Union, Kroger, D. Pender, The Big Store Markets, Rogers. Their program will also include educational work among consumers to explain the significance of the new labels, in collaboration with the National Consumer-Retailer Council which includes such powerful groups as the National Federation of Women's Clubs and the American Home Economics Association.

The general impression is that national brand packers oppose grading by government standards because it would lessen the value of their brand names. If all the cans are labeled with the simple A, B, C markings, the shopper would no longer have to depend on the brand's reputation, but could merely compare the prices of all the A's, all the B's, all the C's, secure in the knowledge that all the brands in each grade measured up to the government's specifications.

Paul Willis, president of the Associated Grocery Manufacturers of America, and spokesman for the nationally-advertised brand packers, denied that his group is against grade labels for that reason. "I agree that if everything is A, B, C the public will

formative labeling to help the consumer buy more intelligently, but not for government grades. "A housewife's best buying guide is experience," he said. "This country has been built up on personal choice—not standards."

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You can rely on the Del Monte brand. They are good peaches. But—the consumer groups argue—they don't know what comparably good peaches *not* widely advertised they might be able to get for a lower price. If both brands are graded by the same standards, the problem of selection is so much simpler.

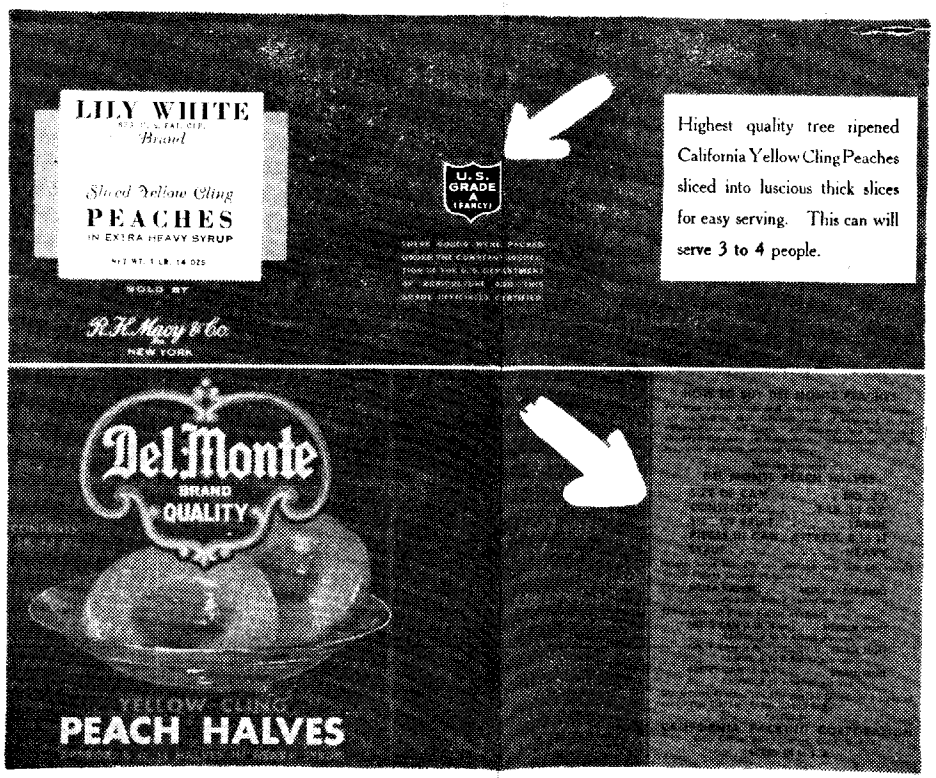
One objection to grade labeling frequent-

quality; A & P's intermediate, not highest quality. They are excellent in appearance and have a fine flavor." The C label says: "Sanitary and packing regulations are the same for all grades (A, B and C) and have practically the same wholesomeness and nutritive value. Grades A and B usually bring a premium for their better appearance and more delicate flavor. Grade C foods are standard quality, good but not fancy, and suitable for all general purposes. They appeal to careful home managers. No one need hesitate to serve them on any occasion."

Those who have followed the controversy say that if Mrs. Consumer raises her voice and loudly demands government grades on the can, she will get them. Right now the New York University School of Education is making a survey of consumer reaction in Macy's grocery department to the new labels. This is the first of many surveys planned in co-operation with the agricultural marketing service in large retail centers throughout the country.

We will report the results of the survey at Macy's as soon as it is completed.

Grade Mark or Trade Mark, Which Do You Want?



> more intelligent readers of New York's two successful tabloids, the Daily News and the Daily Mirror. The pictures have improved. Social significance there is but sex is not being neglected.

Carson has indicated the gradual disintegration of the "News for Living". Its features were in many cases distributed throughout the paper under "New York" and "National" headings, as well as under "Consumer News," "Education," and the like. Ingersoll explains the change by writing that:[1]

> PM's departmentalization is somewhat more relaxed and now has more flexible space requirements, based on news requirements in each department. The various catch-all columns have long since become part of the daily national and local round-up columns of odd items. ..... Editorially: .... the absorption by other departments of Business, Press, News for Living.

The return to the more conventional shopping news and columns must have meant a saving, for PM's Advertising Digest with its necessary advance collection and condensation of prepared copy must have been an expensive undertaking. But with these changes, PM also became more conventional, limiting its space and reducing noticeably the number of consumer features. The "News for Living" section, to the writer of this study, present's PM's greatest diaappointment, for it has failed miserably. It is but a shadow of what the PM prospectus promised it to be.

RADIO NEWS IN PM

Radio news was highly exploited and promoted in PM's pre-publication promotion materials. Ingersoll's "Confidential Memorandum" states that:[1]

> So large a department (will be) devoted to radio that it cannot be compared to any existing treatment -- this department including two pages of tables to help the reader find his way through the ether, a daily column called the Listener's Digest which prints excerpts from the most interesting scripts of the last twenty-four hours, news of the commercial success of programs, etc.

A number of PM's enthusiastic plans for treating radio in news columns were soon revised. In the "Preview Edition" an item at the foot of the front page declares:[2]

> In this space you will find each day "The Day's News by Radio" -- a listing of the day's news broadcast.

This promise failed to materialize, however, and the "Listener's Digest" mentioned in the prospectus made only feeble attempts at existence.

John T. McManus is PM's radio editor. His staff includes Judy Dupuy, Jerry Franken and Henry R. Lieberman.

"Selected Radio Programs," the title given the double spread radio tables, is divided into six main divisions: "From Europe," "Opinion and Discussion," "Drama, Variety, and Quiz," "Concert Music," "Song and Dance," "Children's Corner," and "Television." The time is listed on the left side of the page, the station and

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1 Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 6.
2 PM, June 14, 1940, p. 1.

SELECTED PROGRAMS

Sunday, Oct. 27; Monday, a.m., Oct. 28

NATIONAL NETWORK STATIONS

WOR—Mutual WEAF—NBC-Red
WABC—CBS WJZ—NBC-Blue

The likeliest selections are starred.

THE NEWS BY RADIO

News Services: United Press (UP), Associated Press (AP), International News Service (INS), Transradio Press (TP), Europe (Eur.), commentator surnames.

Sunday

7:45 WOR (TP)
8:00 WEAF (Eur.)
WOR (Eur.)
WJZ (Eur.)
WABC (UP)
8:45 WMCA (INS)
WNYC (AP, INS)
9:00 WEAF, WJZ (Eur.)
WABC (Eur.)
9:15 WHN (UP)
9:55 WEAF (AP)
WQXR (AP)
10:00 WMCA (INS)
WOR (Singiser)
10:30 WNEW (AP)
11:00 WOR (AP)
WJZ (UP)
WABC (UP)
11:30 WEAF (Putnam)
11:45 WJZ- (Newsweek)
Noon WNEW (AP)
12:15 WMCA (INS)
12:45 WOR (Singiser)
1:55 WQXR (AP)
2:30 WABC (UP)
3:30 WEAF (Kaltenborn)
3:45 WOR (Eur.)
5:15 WHN (UP)
6:00 WJZ (UP)
WHN (Raborg)
6:25 WQXR (AP)
6:35 WHN (UP)
7:00 WJZ (Pearson, Allen), WABC (Eur.)
7:15 WJZ (Eur.)
7:30 WOR (Singiser)
7:45 WMCA (Steel)
WOR (Williams)
WNEW (AP)
8:15 WMCA (INS)
8:45 WOR (Thompson)
8:55 WABC (Trout)
9:00 WOR (UP, Eur.)
WJZ (Winchell)
10:00 WOR (AP)
10:45 WHN (UP)
WQXR (AP)
WEVD (Wise)
11:00 WMCA (INS)
WOR (Singiser)
WJZ (AP), WEAF (AP)
WABC (Eur.)
11:30 WOV (INS)
12:00 WMCA (INS), WEAF, WJZ (Eur.)
12:30 WOR (Eur.). WABC (UP)
12:55 WABC (UP)
1:30 WOR (TP)
1:55 WHN (AP)
2:55 WHN (UP)

A.M. Monday

6:00 WHN (UP)
6:15 WABC (UP)
6:30 WEAF (Eur.). WJZ (AP), WABC (King)
6:55 WOR (Bier)
7:00 WMCA (INS)
7:15 WHN (UP)
7:25 WQXR (AP)
7:30 WEAF (Goddard)
7:45 WABC (UP)
7:55 WJZ (UP)
8:00 WEAF (Eur.) WOR (Hawley) WJZ (Eur., Wash. WABC (Eur.) WNYC (AP, INS)
8:30 WMCA (INS) WHN (UP)
8:45 WJZ (AP), WNYC (AP, INS)
8:55 WQXR (AP)
9:00 WEAF (Chappell) WABC (UP)
9:15 WNEW (AP)
9:30 WOR (UP)
9:45 WHN (UP)
10:00 WMCA (INS) WQXR (Sergio)
11:00 WOR (Mack) WNYC (AP, INS)
11:30 WMCA (INS)
11:55 WNEW (AP)

—Warmongers and Appeasers: Who Are They in America?
Economic Defense; John C. deWilde.
Economic Defense; John C. deWilde.

7:30 WOV: *Proportional Representation and Democracy*—Almerindo Portfolio, N. Y. C. treasurer (1100 k.).

8:00 WOR: *American Forum of the Air* — Women and the Election: Frances Perkins, Marion E. Martin, others.

9:15 WMCA: *PM's Readers Forum* About the Far East: Carl Ra eign News editor, presiding; fee, Col. Philip Stockton, and audience guests.

A.M. Monday

9:15 WABC: *American School of the Air* — Story of quinine workers.



Lovely Dale Evans sings songs between news bulletins, read by Todd Hunter, on *News and Rhythm.* (WABC 11:05

9:30 WEAF: *Pin Money Party*—Irene Haye florist; June Hynd.

RELIGIOUS

A. M. Today

10:00 WEAF: *Nat'l Radio Pulpit*—Lost Horizons; Dr. Ralph W. Sockman.

10:00 WABC: *Church of the Air*—Christ and Caesar; Rev. Paul Austin Wolfe, Presbyterian Church; (1:00 p.m.). The Papacy and Peace; Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen.

11:15 WQXR: *Ethical Culture Society*—All Is Not Lost; Dr. Henry Neumann.

12:00 WOR: *World's Fair Temple of Religion* —Carnford, N. J. Presbyterian Choir.

Sunday	WMCA—570k	WEAF—660k	WOR—710k	WJZ—760k	WNYC—810k
A.M. 8:00	Radio Roundup *recorded variety show*	War News; Organ-Xylophone recital Gene and Glenn, *with Jake and Lena*	War News from Europe Silver Strains Uncle Don *reads the funnies*	War News; Music Cloister Bells. trio Tone Pictures *Vocal quartet*	Amsterdam En emble *chamber music courtesy of WPA* News
8:15	News				
8:30	Meditations in Psalms *Erling C. Olsen* Voice of Tomorrow Religious News	War News from Europe Four Showmen, Songs Sunday Drivers (9:50) Music; News	Rainbow House *Children's Hour with Big Brother Bob Emery*	War News from Europe White Rabbit Line *Milton Cross and kid guests*	Masterwork Hour *recorded classics (See Concert Music for details.)*
8:45					
9:00	News Ted Steele records Good News in Ads Master Singers records	Nat'l Radio Pulpit *Radio Choristers* Horn & Hardart's Children's Hour *radio's stage for talented kids*	News, Frank Singiser The Lamplighter Sid Walton and Music Waltz Music	Walden Quartet *string music* NBC Dance Band *Irving Miller*	The Opera Hour: *Mozart's The Marriage of Figaro. All records.*
9:15					
9:30					
9:45					
10:00	Concert Hall of Air *light classics* Matinee Melodies *dance records*	News Words and Music	News; Music Reviewing Stand Don Arres, tenor *latin rhythms*	News; Music; Programs Luther-Lavmar Singers Popular Music News of the Week	Maurice Wilk. Adolphe Baller Concert Orchestra *Macklin Marrow*
10:15					
10:30					
10:45					
11:00	On the Mall News Negro British War Relief Benefit *Apollo Theater*	Bonnie Stewart, songs Oyanguren, guitarist Wings Over America *Story of Aviation*	Choir Music *from the Fair* Irving Caesar News, Frank Singiser	Radio City Music Hall of the Air: *Erno Rapee conducting. Selma Kaye*	Comedy Harmonists *novelty music* Missing Persons; Symphonic Varieties: *Radio's oldest musical quiz*
11:15					
11:30					
11:45					
P.M. 12:00	Novelty music Dance records	Lee Gordon Orch *from Cleveland* On Your Job *Ladies in Waiting*	Singing Canaries Something Old & New *Jack Kilty* Topics and Tunes	I'm an American Vass Family, songs Tom Thomas; Margaret Daum, *songs*	City Symphony Orch *Eugene Plotnikoff conducting. Works of Tschaikowsky, Moussorgsky, Rubenstein.*
12:15					
12:30					
12:45					
1:00	Billy Jones Revue *variety show* Tropical Moods *dance records*	Girl Scouts Program *Robin Hood* Univ. of Chicago Round Table *case histories*	Nat'l Council of YMCA *Cleveland E. Dodge* Nobody's Children	American Pilgrimage V. Gomez, guitar Foreign Policy Ass'n Tapestry Musicale	
1:15					
1:30					
1:45					
2:00					
2:15					
2:30					
2:45					

11:45 WJZ- (Newsweek)
Noon WNEW (AP)
12:15 WMCA (INS)
12:45 WOR (Singiser)
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7:55 WJZ (UP)
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WOR (Hawley)
WJZ (Eur., Wash.
WABC (Eur.)
WNYC (AP, INS
8:30 WMCA (INS)
WHN (UP)
8:45 WJZ (AP), -
WNYC (AP, INS)
8:55 WQXR (AP)
9:00 WEAF (Chappell
WABC (UP)
9:15 WNEW (AP)
9:30 WOR (UP)
9:45 WHN (UP)
10:00 WMCA (INS)
WQXR (Sergio)
11:00 WOR (Mack)
WNYC (AP INS
11:30 WMCA (INS)
11:55 WNEW (AP)

(Short-wave news and guide on page 5)

SPECIAL EVENTS

P. M. Today

1:00 WINS: *Nat'l Donut Week*—at the Fair.

2:00 WEAF: *National Girl Scouts Week* — presentation of Robin Hood, starring Ireene Wicker.

2:00 WOR: *National YMCA Conference*—Cleveland E. Dodge, chairman. Pittsburgh YMCA Orchestra and Chorus.

2:30 WABC: *Navy Day Program* — Frank Knox, Sec. of Navy, speaking from Chicago; Pickups from Washington; (4:30) WEAF, from Chicago, San Francisco, Annapolis, Honolulu.

A.M. Monday

12:30 WMCA: *Negro British War Relief Benefit*—Midnight variety show with Bill Robinson, Benny Goodman, Sophie Tucker, Al Jolson, others.

10:00 WNYC: *Ground-Breaking for Brooklyn-Manhattan Tunnel*—President Roosevelt, Mayor LaGuardia, others. (10:15) WABC; WJZ.

OPINION AND DISCUSSION

M. Today

:30 WEAF: *Univ. of Chicago Round Table*



e Fitch Bandwagon maestro tonight **Eddy Duchin.** (WEAF 7:30 p.m.)

10	News Ted Steele records Good News in Ads Master Singers records	Nat'l Radio Pulpit *Radio Choristers* Horn & Hardart's Children's Hour *radio's stage for talented kids*	News, Frank Singiser The Lamplighter Sid Walton and Music Waltz Music	Walden Quartet *string music* NBC Dance Band *Irving Miller*	The Opera Hour: *Mozart's The Marriage of Figaro. All records.*
11	Concert Hall of Air *light classics* Matinee Melodies *dance records*	News Words and Music	News; Music Reviewing Stand Don Arres, tenor *latin rhythms*	News; Music; Programs Luther-Lavmas Singers Popular Music News of the Week	Maurice Wilk. Adolphe Baller Concert Orchestra *Macklin Marrow*
12	On the Mall News Negro British War Relief Benefit *Apollo Theater*	Bonnie Stewart, songs Oyanguren, guitarist Wings Over America *Story of Aviation*	Choir Music *from the Fair* Irving Caesar News, Frank Singiser	Radio City Music Hall of the Air: *Erno Rapee conducting. Selma Kaye*	Comedy Harmonists *novelty music* Missing Persons; Symphonic Varieties: *Radio's oldest musical quiz*
P.M. 1	Novelty music Dance records	Lee Gordon Orch *from Cleveland* On Your Job *Ladies in Waiting*	Singing Canaries Something Old & New *Jack Kilty* Topics and Tunes	I'm an American Vass Family, songs Tom Thomas; Margaret Daum, *songs*	City Symphony Orch *Eugene Plotnikoff conducting. Works of Tschaikowsky, Moussorgsky, Rubenstein.*
2	Billy Jones Revue *variety show* Tropical Moods *dance records*	Girl Scouts Program *Robin Hood* Univ. of Chicago Round Table	Nat'l Council of YMCA *Cleveland E. Dodge* Nobody's Children *case histories*	American Pilgrimage V. Gomez, guitar Foreign Policy Ass'n Tapestry Musicale	Gilbert & Sullivan *Princess Ida. A full hour for Savoyards.*
3	Symphony of Melody *dance records* Dance Records *Art Green*	NBC String Symphony *Frank Black* H. V. Kaltenborn Bob Becker, dogs	Betty and Buddy Haven of Rest Teatime Music War News from Europe	Great Plays *Everyman, 16th cent. morality play, with Alexander Kirkland*	City Symphonic Band *Harwood Simmons conducting. Works of Wagner, Bach.*
4	Rev. Donald Barnhouse *religious talk* Movieland Review *Al Shayne & Co.*	Yvette, songs Tony Wons Scrapbook Navy Day Program *Col. Frank Knox*	McFarland Twins Orch. *Blue Gardens* Bunny Berrigan Orch. *The Chatterbox*	National Vespers *Dr. H. E. Fosdick* Fun with the Revuers *Irving Miller Orch.*	Vesper Hour *from the Fair* NYA Symphony Orch *Dean Dixon conducting.* (6:25) Nat'l Defense (off the air till 7 a.m.)
5	Young People's Church of the Air *Percy Crawford, preacher*	Metropolitan Opera Auditions Your Dream Come True *Verne Smith, emcee*	Musical Steelmakers *with the Oldtimer* The Shadow *stalks again*	The Moylan Sisters Olivio Santoro Behind the Mike *inside radio*	
6	Movieland Review *Lee Grant Orch* Ave Maria Hour *St. John Nepomucene*	Catholic Hour *Paulist Choristers* Beat the Band *Ted Weems Orch.*	Double or Nothing *orig. money quiz* Show of the Week *Buddy Clark*	News; New Friends of Music: *Budapest String Quartet; Jesus Maria Sanroma*	
7	Melody Time *light classics* Aloha Land Johannes Steel	Jack Benny Show *Dennis Day* Fitch Bandwagon *Eddy Duchin Orch.*	Rendezvous *with Ramona* News, Frank Singiser Wythe Williams	Wash. Merry-Go-Round War News from Europe Speak Up America *national quiz*	
8	Harry Horlick records News On with the Dance *more records*	Chase and Sanborn *Charlie McCarthy* One Man's Family *the air's top brood*	American Forum of the Air: *Theodore Granik, moderator* Dorothy Thompson	Lunt and Fontanne *White Cliffs* Sherlock Holmes *mythical sleuth*	
9	Charlie Barnet records PM's Readers Forum *The Far East* Dance records	Manhattan Merry-Go Round American Album of Familiar Music	News; War News Glenn Miller Orch. Battle of Boroughs *back fence quiz*	Walter Winchell The Parker Family Dear John, drama Bill Stern, sport	
10	Good Will Hour *John J. Anthony's family court of the air.*	G. E. Hour of Charm *Spitalny Girl Orch.* Madrigal Singers Voice Beside You	News; Symphonic Hour *Henry Weber conducting. Marion Claire, soprano.*	Good Will Hour *Picked up from WMCA for the NBC Network*	
11	News Abe Lyman Orch. *dance music from Hotel New Yorker* (12:00) News	News Gus Steck Orch. Dance Music *popular tunes* (12:00) War News	News, Frank Singiser Frank Gagen Orch. Jerry Livingston Orch. *chanticleer* Dance music till 2	News; Johnny Messner Orch.; *McAlpin* Johnny McGee Orch. *Hotel St. George* (12:00) War News	
	Dance records till 1	Music; News at 12:57	(1:30) News	Music; (1:30) News	

frequency across the top.

"In Case You Missed It," a column of remarks on special broadcasts, reviews the notable ether events of the preceding 24 hours. Henry R. Lieberman edits this column. Another regular radio column is "Heard and Overheard," comprised of anecdotes about broadcast stars and behind-the-scenes happenings. It is a warm, gossipy column for radio fans.

In October, Victor Bernstein's "Air Views of the News," a superior column analyzing the analyses given by varied radio commentators, made its appearance. Bernstein frequently chooses some item in the news and reiterates the expressions made by a number of news commentators, creating a symposium effect.

Human interest stories on radio personalities are frequent and interestingly treated in PM. Radio figures become alive and neighborly in these stories. New trends in radio are noted and commented upon, as McManus' story, "Preparedness Theme Hits Radio Full Tilt,"[1] and "WOR Gives Glamor the Ethereal Touch."[2]

Radio news -- such as "Free Air Becomes a Political Issue,"[3] "Energine Starts a New Show,"[4] and "Even Radio Actors Have Labor Woes,"[5] is treated competently and with the same consideration of radio as "big news" which distinguishes PM's radio columns.

Commentary is not missing from PM's Radio pages. Lieberman's reporting of Lindbergh's famous speech from Chicago, early

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1 PM, August 5, 1940, p. 21.
2 PM, August 15, 1940, p. 21.
3 PM, September 3, 1940, p. 13.
4 PM, July 24, 1940, p. 21.
5 PM, August 9, 1940, p.21.

Says Lindbergh: Be Nice to Nazis

All in One Breath, Colonel Urges Isolation and a Peace Move by the U. S. A.

With a copy of Washington's Farewell Address stuck figuratively in one back pocket and his Nazi decoration in the other, Col. Charles A. Lindbergh went on the radio yesterday to propose at one and the same time that the U. S. A. should cling to traditional isolationism and yet move to bring peace to Europe, if necessary, through co-operation with Germany.

Col. Lindbergh made his plea at Chicago's Soldier Field before a wildly cheering audience of some 40,000, gathered under the auspices of the Citizens Committee to Keep America Out of War. His speech, broadcast over the Mutual network, was heard here last night (WOR 11:15) in transcribed form.

It was the Colonel's third sound-off on the air in four months. He made his radio debut as a big-time isolationist prophet on May 19, under the tutelage of Fulton Lewis, Jr., Mutual's Washington commentator.

No Explicit Plan

Col. Lindbergh was not explicit about the kind of peace plan to be put forward by the U. S. A.

"The plan," he said, "should be based upon the welfare of America. It should be backed by an impregnable system of defense. It should incorporate terms of mutual advantage, but it should not involve the internal affairs of Europe. They never were and never will be carried out to our desires."

The logic of Col. Lindbergh's speech, entitled *Keep America Out of War, for American Reasons*, went about as follows. The issue of the war is neither democracy, Christianity nor the preservation of small, helpless nations, but purely and simply the division of spoils. America has no interest in the division of the spoils and could not bring about a settlement, even if it were any of her business. Germany is looming as the dominant power of Europe; so, instead of antagonizing Germany, why not be friends with her?

"There is a proverb in China," he pointed out, "which says that 'when the rich become

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attack the other successfully as long as the defenses of both are reasonably strong. A war between us could easily last for generations and bring all civilization tumbling down, as has happened more than once before. An agreement between us could maintain civilization and peace throughout the world as far into the future as we can see."

Other speakers at the rally, besides Col. Lindbergh, were Senator Pat McCarron (D., Nev.), also an isolationist, and Rep. James E. Van Zandt (R., Pa.), thrice national commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Avery Brundage, president of the American Olympic Committee, presided.

Not Much Known

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"There is a proverb in China," he pointed out, "which says that 'when the rich become too rich and the poor too poor, something happens.' This applies to nations as well as men.

Blazoned on Europe's Skies

"When I saw the wealth of the British Empire, I felt that the rich had become too rich. When I saw the poverty of Central Europe, I felt that the poor had become too poor. That something would happen was blazoned on the skies of Europe by mounting thousands of fighting aircraft."

No matter who wins the war in Europe, Col. Lindbergh warned, it would be to the advantage of the U. S. A. to co-operate with the winning side, even if it is Germany. The implication seemed to be that it didn't matter who won.

"In the past," he said, "we have dealt with a Europe dominated by England and France. In the future we may have to deal with a Europe dominated by Germany. But, whether England or Germany wins this war, Western civilization will still depend upon two great centers, one in each hemisphere.

"With all the aids of modern science, neither of these centers is in a position to attack the other successfully as long as the defenses of both are reasonably strong. A war between us could easily last for generations and bring all civilization tumbling down, as has happened more than once before. An agreement between us could maintain civilization and peace throughout the world as far into the future as we can see."

Other speakers at the rally, besides Col. Lindbergh, were Senator Pat McCarron (D., Nev.), also an isolationist, and Rep. James E. Van Zandt (R., Pa.), thrice national commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Avery Brundage, president of the American Olympic Committee, presided.

Not Much Known

In spite of the prominent names associated with the rally, not much is known about the character of the Citizens' Committee, sponsors of the meeting. On Saturday, however, the Chicago *Daily News,* published by Col. Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy, had this to say:

"The headliners are only a minor part of the real show, which is being surreptitiously encouraged by the counterfeit German-American National Alliance and such other organizations. We may be sure that Doc Goebbels is interested."

According to the Chicago *Daily News,* members of the city's *Einheitsfront* (Front of Unity, or German-American National Alliance) had been urged over the radio to attend the rally to overflowing. The summons, said the *News,* came during a German-language program over station WHIP.

Administration leaders in Washington refused last night to comment on the Lindbergh speech. But in Rome, according to the UP, the newspaper *Il Messagero* praised Col. Lindbergh and reported that he was forming a new "party of true Americans." This was denied by the Colonel.—H. R. L.

AIR VIEWS OF THE NEWS

By Victor H. Bernstein

John L. Lewis will stick to his word and resign as president of the CIO, insists Fulton Lewis, Jr., WOR (*See Page* 10). Mr. F. Lewis's prognostication on Mr. J. Lewis must be treated with extra special respect; the commentator said his information came from the same source which enabled him to scoop the country on the labor leader's indorsement of Willkie.

The commentator further deposes that Philip Murray will succeed Mr. Lewis and that John L. will retain his post as president of the United Mine Workers of America. "Any move which may be made at the CIO convention week after next to draft Mr. Lewis for continued service will fail."

* * *

While the beetle-browed Lewis is resigning, the shaggy-haired Willkie is only beginning to fight, according to Fulton Lewis. When Wendell goes on the air Monday night, he predicts, he will announce his decision to continue active leadership of the Republican Party and of the "crusade" for which it stands—or stood.

* * *

Raymond Gram Swing (WOR) does not feel too cheered up by the withdrawal of the Japanese from China's southernmost province of Yunnan. While undoubtedly Chinese military pressure was a factor, Mr. Swing said, the move was dictated primarily by Japan's desire to shorten her lines preparatory for a thrust southward—possibly towards Siam, which would carry the Japanese military machine to the Malay states and the back door to Singapore.

"Whatever is boiling in that kettle," Mr. Swing said darkly, "is being heated by Japanese fuel."

* * *

Maj. Paul Raborg (WHN) is very much afraid that the gallant Greeks who thrust into Albania and stormed the mountain overlooking Koritza may find themselves knocked out by a boomerang. "At the moment the Greeks are threatening the lines

AIR VIEWS OF THE NEWS

By Victor H. Bernstein

What is in store for Europe if Hitler wins? Dr. Hjalmar Schacht has already drawn a blueprint of tomorrow's world, according to Dorothy Thompson (WOR). Under the plan, Europe will be divided industrially into three parts: (1) heavy industry, under German control; (2) light industry, under Italian control; (3) agriculture and raw materials, under joint control.

A fair division? Miss Thompson points out that heavy industry controls light industry, and reminds us that, in any case, Germany's army will always remain bigger than Italy's.

* * *

The plan is already in operation, Miss Thompson says. Poland has already been taken over, the Poles reduced to serfdom. . . . Everywhere industries are being dovetailed into German economy. . . . In Holland the German Commissar has decreed that Holland must change her agriculture to raise what Germany needs. . . . In Belgium the Nazis have ordered that industry must largely be replaced by agriculture. . . . In France the Nazis are permitting textile production to 50 per cent of capacity in order not to compete with German textiles.

* * *

"The result of all this," Miss Thompson went on, "baffles imagination. Winter is here. Hordes are without any heat and without adequate food. Millions are vainly searching for any kind of work. . . . For, preceding all these measures, there has been a systematic looting by the occupying armies . . . with goods paid for by phony currency."

And how are the conquered nations taking this? "The hatred that is growing in these countries is indescribable. . . . In Norway girls are seen with shaved heads. They are young women who have associated with German soldiers or officers."

This is the Schacht plan. This reporter wants only to add that in Germany D-

night, he predicts, he will announce his decision to continue active leadership of the Republican Party and of the "crusade" for which it stands—or stood.

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Maj. Paul Raborg (WHN) is very much afraid that the gallant Greeks who thrust into Albania and stormed the mountain overlooking Koritza may find themselves knocked out by a boomcrang. "At the moment the Greeks are threatening the lines of communication of two Italian armies," the Major pointed out. "But shortly they may find their mountain surrounded by counter-attacking Fascists—and then where will their own line of communication be?"

* * *

Quincy Howe (WQXR) on experts: "It was the expert who said that there would be no war in the fall of 1939. It was the expert who said that General Mud would stop the German invasion of Poland. It was the expert who said that the Germans would never attack the Western Front because they had so little gasoline. It was the expert who said the Maginot Line was impregnable. It was the expert who said that Hitler would have even less trouble defeating the British than he had defeating the French. It was the expert who said we were going to have a close election, with the trend running to Willkie toward the close of the campaign.

"On the basis of this record, let us hope the expert foresees a long and disastrous war in which the U. S. A. becomes involved."

* * *

She was a grumpy British dowager, said Ed Murrow (WABC) from London. A bomb burst near by as she was climbing into a taxicab.

"Wasn't that a bomb?" she demanded. "Why have we had no sirens or whistles?"

"Lady," answered the driver. "We've got bombs. Don't worry about no whistles and no sirens. We can't have everything."

to raise what Germany needs. . . . In Belgium the Nazis have ordered that industry must largely be replaced by agriculture. . . . In France the Nazis are permitting textile production to 50 per cent of capacity in order not to compete with German textiles.

* * *

"The result of all this," Miss Thompson went on, "baffles imagination. Winter is here. Hordes are without any heat and without adequate food. Millions are vainly searching for any kind of work. . . . For, preceding all these measures, there has been a systematic looting by the occupying armies . . . with goods paid for by phony currency."

And how are the conquered nations taking this? "The hatred that is growing in these countries is indescribable. . . . In Norway girls are seen with shaved heads. They are young women who have associated with German soldiers or officers."

This is the Schacht plan. This reporter wants only to add that in Germany Dr. Schacht has always been considered one of the more "humane" and "moderate" proponents of National Socialism.

* * *

Of the dead, speak only good (old Latin proverb):

Said Johannes Steel (WMCA)—"Neville Chamberlain, of whom Lloyd George once said that he was a local man with a local mind, will be remembered as the man who as late as 1938 refused to build air-raid shelters in London. . . ."

Said James Waterman Wise (WEVD)—"A year ago the death of Chamberlain would have been a tremendous story . . . today it is only a footnote on a tragic period of history which he helped to write."

Said H. V. Kaltenborn (WEAF)—"History may tell of Chamberlain that he lost the peace because he tried too hard to save it. . . . It takes two to make a peace, but only one to make a war."

And what do *you* think of old Latin proverbs, Mr. Benes?

* * *

Walter Winchell (WJZ) has an answer to the correspondents of the *World Telegram et al* who pointed out that 470,000 votes, properly distributed, could have elected Willkie. "Only 180,000 votes," said Mr. Winchell, "also properly distributed, would have assured Roosevelt a *unanimous* electoral vote."

in August, 1940,[1] is largely commentary and sets the stage for the severe denunciation of Lindbergh which followed in PM's news and editorial columns.

PM emphasizes the importance of radio forums by reporting significant developments. "The Forums Hit Fifth Columnists and School-Baiters"[2] illustrates this type of coverage.

In addition to the radio news in the back of the newspaper, the "Short Wave" column, a daily feature of the foreign news pages, should be mentioned here. It consists of quotations from Berlin and BBC broadcasts and reveals foreign public opinion on America's strategy in a world at war.

In June, 1941, after a year's experience with PM, Ralph Ingersoll was asked to list the PM features which he judged the most successful. "Radio pages" heads his list, taking precedence over labor news, movie guide, shopping service pages, and the nine other features listed.[3]

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1 PM, August 5, 1940, p. 21.
2 PM, February 3, 1941, p. 21.
3 Schneider, op. cit., p. 9.

The Forums Hit 5th Columnists and School-Baiters

With the lease-lend bill now in the lap of Congress, WOR-Mutual's Sunday night soapbox, *The American Forum of the Air,* loosed its lungs on this season's Lost Battalion – the fifth column. Two points seemed to stick out when the 45 talky minutes were over. One was that the Dies committee has some pretty silly legislation which it will try to ride through Congress on the wave of other, popular legislation. The other point, made by Morris Ernst, of the American Civil Liberties Union, was that the fifth column is surely here to stay if it is allowed to be driven underground by the Dies committee's "uncritical name-calling" and blunderbuss attacks on liberal thinking.



Morris Ernst

Martin Dies was to have joined the debate but he was ill (flu) and couldn't appear. Instead, Mr. Ernst faced Representative Starnes (D., Ala.), vice-chairman of the Dies committee, and Jerry Voorhis (D., Cal.), a committee-member who does not always see eye-to-eye with Starnes and Dies. A fourth and not very active panel member was John T. Taylor, of the American Legion.

Representative Starnes refreshed the listeners' memories on fifth columnists, and pointed with apparent pride to the way the Dies Committee had shown up the American Youth Congress. "This agency of Moscow, this un-American and subversive group is now reduced to a mere



at un-American activities hit the consumer movement at the very time that "Mr. Dies was playing footsie with Merwin K. Hart," the Fascist-bent economist.

"The fifth column can live only in darkness," Mr. Ernst declared. "Disclosure, rather than suppression, is the way to get them out of the caves and into the daylight, where we can count their teeth."

Mr. Voorhis, who seemed to be in Mr. Ernst's corner most of the evening, added that the most effective weapon against all such activity was "a dynamic program—not just a smug defense.

"We must make sure," he added "that America's cause is the cause of human liberty and human's hope."



Rep. Jerry Voorhis

In the free-for-all debate, Representative Starnes jumped to his chiefs' defense, outlining the high-sounding aims of the Dies committee, and counting off the obliging oppositionists who had appeared before the committee. The trouble with the Dies's technique, Mr. Ernst rejoined, was its naivete in believing that the elements it was fighting were honest enough to tell the truth under oath. He advocated holding some sane, sensible hearings, and using, among other existing laws, the Postal Laws, to keep tabs on, and expose Coughlin, Ford, "everybody out to sell an idea to the American people."

"Let's get these babies," Mr. Ernst pleaded. "There are dozens of practical steps. You won't get headlines, but you'll get the subversive element."

Mr. Starnes protested that the Dies committee's currently recommended anti-fifth column legislation was not aimed at headlines. It just aimed, he said blandly, at de-

night's discussion. Raymond Abrashkin, our education editor, declared that the chief work so far of the Rapp-Coudert Committee investigating schools has been to smear public education and educators.

Last night's *Forum* had a coffee house atmosphere and was run off its course several times by Lambert Fairchild, former alderman and a Republican politico from Riverside Drive-Central Park West. On Mr. Abrashkin's side was Dr. Bella V. Dodd, a leader in the fight on Rapp-Condert activity.

Mr. Fairchild: "There are teachers who are telling their pupils that the President of the United States should have more and more power. There are those [teachers] who are pleading that we've got to extend our democracy to God knows where and that paves the way to dictatorship. These are subversive teachings. . . . Henry Ford is a satisfactory employer of labor so far as his employes are concerned. . . . Do you think it's up to you teachers, and supervisors, who are glorified teachers, to run this show? You're just hired men and women."

Dr. Dodd: "That's just the attitude we've been fighting, that this is a question of employer and employe relations. . . . We don't need a committee of politicians to find out whether a teacher is teaching correctly . . . . Under the cloaks of Communism and smear, the Rapp-Coudert Committee is laying the basis for a cut in state aid. . . Mr. Rapp and Mr. Coudert have no other aim than to establish the principles of Merwin K. Hart, Fascist No. 1 of this state, who when the committee was appointed, said, 'At last the New York State Economic Council [which Mr. Hart runs] has accomplished its objective.'"

Mr. Abrashkin: "The money spent by the Rapp-Coudert committee could have been better spent improving the condition of many New York schools. . . . Why doesn't the committee investigate some of the things



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Rep. Joe Starnes

Mr. Ernst wasted no time defending the AYC. He sailed into Mr. Dies as "a symbol of what to reject in combatting these elements." Mr. Dies, he pointed out, was the man who told a Madison Square Garden gathering that it was un-American to support the Child Labor Amendment. It was Dies, he said, whose blunderbuss shooting

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The bills, he said, intend to outlaw "all agents of foreign governments masquerading under the guise of Americans.

Mr. Ernst chuckled. "I'm for it, that last one," he said. "It's a great trick if you can do it."

Causus Bella

PM's *Readers' Forum*, which debated more money for New York schools last week, stuck to the subject of education for last

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Mr. Abrashkin: "The money spent by the Rapp-Coudert committee could have been better spent improving the condition of many New York schools. . . . Why doesn't the committee investigate some of the things that are really wrong with the schools? . . . Every reactionary budget-cutting organization in New York has come out and cheered the Rapp-Coudert committee."

Close-of-the program-amity:

Mr. Fairchild (who had already complimented Mr. Abrashkin on his custom-cut suit) told Mrs. Dodd, that he believed she was properly named because *"Bella* is Latin for *war."* (Actually it is Latin for wars.) Dr. Dodd replied that *Bella* also means *beautiful* in French and Italian.

MOVIES AND THE ARTS IN PM

In reference to PM's treatment of the arts, Ingersoll's prospectus stated:[1]

> Daily, it (PM) will review and comment on movies, theatre, music, art, books -- giving more than the usual space to movies.

PM has followed its policy in reference to movies. Cecelia Ager, movie editor, brings spice and news interest to her department by her alertness to movie news-- not of stars and the glamour of Hollywood, but news of the Manhattan moving picture patrons, their likes and dislikes. Miss Ager's movie news is written for and about the movie-goer.

In addition to her daily movie review, Miss Ager does occasional stories such as "Yorkville Heils 'Feldzug in Polen,'"[2] a study in audience reaction, and "Mrs. Roosevelt Plays a Scene in Her Jimmy's Movie,"[3] and "Alfred Hitchcock Yearns to Make You Suffer,"[4] character sketches. News of the movies as a commercial enterprise finds its way onto the page in stories such as "Topper Takes a Trip to Court in $50,000 Suit,"[5] and "Hollywood Urges Red Probe by U.S."[6]

The latter is one of several stories of Red-baiting in Hollywood and comes from PM's Hollywood representative, Tom Pettey. Other examples of Mr. Pettey's work for PM are the obituary, "William A. McGuire, Scenarist, Dies,"[7] which found

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1 Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 5.
2 PM, August 7, 1940, p. 19.
3 PM, July 18, 1940, p. 20.
4 PM, July 28, 1940, p. 19.
5 PM, July 24, 1940, p. 18.
6 PM, August 16, 1940, p. 19.
7 PM, September 17, 1940, p. 10.

Yorkville Heils 'Feldzug in Polen'

By Cecelia Ager

The 96th St. Theater, under the El on Third Ave., is an inconspicuous place. It doesn't look like a movie theater. The two blond young men who usher wear pullovers and slacks. The ticket-taker dresses like a shop-keeper. There is no show business tinsel about it, no frivolity, no marquee lights. You have to be tipped off to find it.

Since July 19, the 96th St. Theater has been playing, as its feature picture, *Feldzug in Polen.* (*Field-train in Poland*). This is the Nazi movie version of its conquest of Poland, reported to have been shown with considerable effect to Norwegian government officials before the Nazi conquest of Norway. Though there's nothing outside the theater to attract the passer-by, business has been good. Tickets cost 25 cents, 10 cents for children. Almost all departing patrons drop coins into the German-lettered war relief cans.

PM's reporter went to the 96th St. Theater twice, once at night, once in the daytime. Both times the house was comfortably filled. Both times a goodly number of children were present. Both times the customers were on the edge of their seats, though save for a Paramount short called *Three Busy Little Bears,* the two-hour program was concerned with how logically, and with what trivial opposition, the Nazis make war. It got terrifyingly monotonous to PM's reporter, but to nobody else.

Heils in Manhattan

At night, the sight of Hitler evoked no audible demonstration. Love for Hitler, at night, was a settled thing. In the afternoon, however, when the audience was younger, he had a fervent claque.

When you're accustomed to movie theaters where the sight of Hitler, where the very mention of his name, brings instant hisses—it gives you a strange feeling to find yourself in a spot where they applaud him. You look at him more closely, and discover that in the German version, he's made into

derers," the commentator calls them in Oxford-accented English.

The same commentator explains the UFA newsreel. It starts pleasantly, congratulating the King of Sweden on his birthday. Then it congratulates a ship-load of unemployed Danes in Copenhagen for having the good judgment to set sail for Germany, and employment. Next it goes to Bulgaria, looks at a Nazi-Bulgarian trade commission, and congratulates the Greek Orthodox Church.

Down to Business

But at last it gets down to business, and mops up France. See how the German infantry throws its hand-grenades, in precision, like the Music Hall Rockettes. See the

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When you're accustomed to movie theaters where the sight of Hitler, where the very mention of his name, brings instant hisses—it gives you a strange feeling to find yourself in a spot where they applaud him. You look at him more closely, and discover that in the German version, he's made into a calm, level-headed fellow, working tirelessly for his people, accepting their fanatical devotion as genially as his exhaustion from serving them will permit.

The point is, in the German version, his people are the fanatics. Himself, Hitler is just a clear-thinking, omniscient, omnipresent, omnipotent Man of Destiny, whose little moustache now turns up at the corners.

Dragons and Murderers

The audience was enchanted with the German tanks in Poland, wily little machines that come swimming out of a river and go clambering up its bank, flaming away like wonderful hunched dragons.

The photography was charming, of the Eisenstein school. Guns flashing in the background photographed through lacy green leaves in the foreground. Troops heralding their approach by their reflections, first, in limpid wayside streams. Camera angles up, for the joyous, buoyant young Germans, to give them a Colossus look. Camera angles down, for the Polish prisoners, to foreshorten them. Polish prisoners shambling off to prison camps, some with only one boot, some with slipping puttees, some with rags wrapped around their feet. "Polish murderers," the commentator calls them in Oxford-accented English.

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Down to Business

But at last it gets down to business, and mops up France. See how the German infantry throws its hand-grenades, in precision, like the Music Hall Rockettes. See the captured barbaric Senegalese soldiers, like grinning black apes. "Defenders of democracy," the commentator says, in measured sarcasm. The audience snickers. See Strasbourg Cathedral. Despite the splendid devastation around it, not a stone has been touched. See, now, Compiegne.

Hitler has arrived to sign the treaty with what's left of France. That's the monument erected to celebrate the last treaty signed there. Notice now. That stuff rolled up on top. Now watch, it unfurls. The Nazi banner descends, and the monument of 1918 is blotted out.

Let's go to the railroad car. German troops stand guard in full formation. Hitler and his counselors stride into view, look about casually, enter the car. The French arrive, neat, quick, expressionless, just like the Polish delegation in a similar scene in *Feldsug in Polen*. They walk over to the conference table, examine the place-cards on it, find their own. Look, they're all signing.

"But why does *die Fuehrer* sign autographs?" a little boy in the theater asked his mother.

"Liebchen, he's not signing autographs. But if he wanted to, he could sign them night and day for a hundred years," the mother said to her little boy.

That Hardy Boy Is at the Capitol

PM REVIEWS

Andy Hardy Meets Debutante, an MGM picture at the Capitol, starring Mickey Rooney and Judy Garland, with Lewis Stone. Directed by George B. Seitz. Screenplay by Annalee Whitmore and Thomas Seller.

By Cecelia Ager

The movie audience has been liking the Andy Hardy series with a loyalty that grows and grows. This is only natural, for the Hardy series adores the movie audience in the self-same way.

The Hardys hold the mirror up to the audience; and they're crazy about what they see there: everybody is just folks, why, just like the Hardys. So now, with *Andy Hardy Meets Debutante,* this mutual admiration reaches its climax.

In this one, the Hardys go to the Big City, and what do you suppose they find there? That everybody in the Big City is just folks too. There are no city slickers in *Andy Hardy Meets Debutante;* indeed, there are no slickers of any kind.

Heretofore in movies that didn't do so nicely at the box office as the Hardys, rich people, particularly New York rich people, and especially rich New York "society" people, were black-hearted wretches who used to grind the masses under their diamond-studded heels, after which their butlers, sneering, would kick the remains down marble stairs. Just to show you how revolutionary *Andy Hardy Meets Debutante* is, even the butlers are dears. As for New York judges, they're Harvard Law School Solomons, with a smile. And as for New York corporation lawyers, just give them a look at an orphan, and they fly to sign away their clients' estates, smudging the deeds with their tears.

Well, it's nicer to think that everybody's nice than that maybe somebody isn't. You have a nicer time doing it. It's nice, if you're a small boy, or the mother of a small boy, to think that you, or your son, is better looking than Mickey Rooney, of course, but have just as much good American push. It's nice to think that deep down, your father, or your husband, is the wise, steady, stalwart fellow Lewis Stone is.

It's also nice to think that if you ever get caught running up a bill in a swank hot-spot without the money to pay it, the proprietor, who used to be a rum-runner, will send you [illegible] just a good talking-to. But then, the darned *Andy Hardy Meets Debutante* is nice.

August 2, 1940, p. 19.

Yes, Miss Shearer, Sure, Miss Shearer

When a Movie Star Sits For Press Camera, She Must Have Her Way . . . And Hat

By Cecelia Ager

Norma Shearer came to town Thursday "to take care of some personal business." She has just finished making *Escape.*

Informed of her impending arrival by MGM's publicity department, reporters met her at the station. "You would think," she said yesterday, while PM's photographer was deciding, he thought, how and where he would take her picture, "that they would want to know something about *Escape.* I tried to tell them about it, because I'm full of it, naturally—but they just seemed to go off on another tack."

The tack, which neither Miss Shearer nor PM's reporter could bring herself to define more precisely over the teacups in Miss Shearer's flower-filled suite — red roses amongst them—was George Raft. Mr. Raft is making personal appearances at the Strand at the moment, and he's been away from Hollywood for several weeks. Tuesday Miss Shearer will go to Saratoga with Mr. and Mrs. Mervyn Le Roy, who have taken a large farm there for the racing season. Mr. Raft owns several race horses. Whether his horses will run at Saratoga could not be learned, since Mr. Raft was being nameless, and to ask if a tack's horses will run sounds silly.

PM's photographer was ready. Talking over her tea cup, he suggested. Miss Shearer was wearing a turban. She agreed, but the picture must be in profile, her left profile, an absolute profile, because the turban was best in profile, and her profile was best when absolute and left. So an absolute profile, and left, with no cheating, for Miss Shearer watched, it was.

"I've got another hat which will look better for full face," Miss Shearer said, and left to change her hat. There had to be hats, because Miss Shearer wasn't quite satisfied with the way her hair had been done when she came to town. She's a blonde now, and whoever did it here—for blonde hair has to be done more often than chestnut—made it a little drab. Until it could be done, Miss Shearer, a conscientious movie star, preferred to keep it covered. A conscientious movie star never permits herself to be photographed not looking her absolute best.

Miss Shearer returned wearing a large black off-the-face hat, a canny frame for her radiant face and level head. The photographer thought this time it would be nice if she were to arrange some flowers. Miss Shearer thought not. "That's such an elegant thing to be doing," she said, "so stiff. Couldn't I just sort of do this?" And she folded her arms and leaned forward, as if listening to some fascinating talker. It was agreed the folded arms pose would do just as well. "Just a minute," she said. "Look at my nails. I've had all the polish taken off. If you could wait, I'd put polish back on. My hands look so much better with polish." But that didn't seem a practicable notion. Red polish looks nice, but it photographs exaggerated and black. Miss Shearer smiled, asked to be excused for a moment. When she returned, she was wearing gloves. The full-face photographs were made without further complication. Miss Shearer merely said that she didn't like to be taken smiling too broadly, and then leaned forward and gave, instead, a Mona Lisa smile.

Among the things that Miss Shearer said interest her in *Escape* is the fact that she, the Countess, renounces the physical love she had for the General, in favor of the sympathetic and self-sacrificial love she feels for the young man. Among the things she said about herself are: she really has a sense of humor, and she really isn't the superb business woman she's cracked up to be. She makes so many mistakes, of all kinds, she said, every day, that when she goes to bed each night she writes them down so she'll be sure never to make them again. And she doesn't. Next day's mistakes are all new.

Last night she went to see *Hellzapoppin* with Mickey Rooney.

August 4, 1940, p. 20.

top space on PM's movie page, and "Movies a World Necessity, Hays Tells World,"[1]

Miss Ager's sprightliness lends zest to her reviews; her interests lend variety. She does not confine herself to pictures emanating from Hollywood; her reviews cover foreign pictures such as "The Fugitive"[2] and adventure films like "Leopard Man of Africa."[3]

Foreign language films are not ignored by PM's movie department. "Daybreak," as reviewed by "J.T.M.,"[4] is an arty film and treated as such.[5] The reviewer writes:

> That funny, farcially-bent race, the French, have in the last few years been developing a cinema school of pessimism unrivalled since the heavy-going days of F.W. Murnau and his Emil Jannings cycle. One reason for it is the prevalence in Paris of the old Russian influence -- the modern French cinema has been called the White Russian WPA.

Miss Ager can, on occasion, become quite vitriolic. Her review of "Andy Hardy Meets a Debutante"[6] is satirical, commenting upon its complete "niceness." Her interview with Norma Shearer spared nothing; the actresses remarks are well recorded and, as dealt with by Miss Ager, most revealing. Writes Miss Ager:[7]

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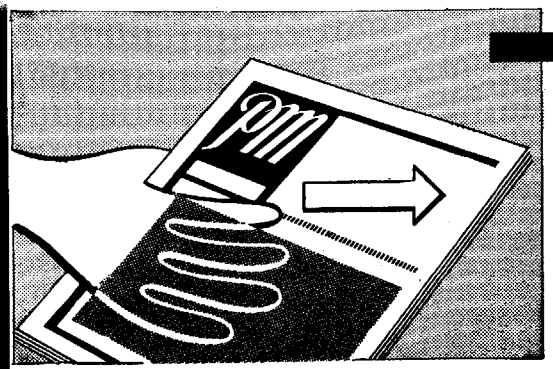
1 PM, July 28, 1940, p. 19.
2 PM, July 23, 1940, p. 19.
3 PM, July 29, 1940, p. 19.
4 PM, July 30, 1940, p. 19.
5 Ibid.
6 PM, August 4, 1940, p. 20.
7 PM, August 8, 1940, p. 19.

A Hollywood Apprentice Practices to Be a Star





Jean Ames is brand new on the Warners' lot. She's just been cast in *Affectionately Yours*, a movie which features Dennis Morgan, Merle Oberon, Rita Hayworth and Ralph Bellamy. So, if you look hard, you may spot her decorating the background. Meanwhile, until she works up into a larger part, Jean's busy posing for pictures like this one, which will certainly garner extra attention for her film appearances.



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> writes them down so she'll be sure to never to make them again. And she doesn't. Next day's mistakes are all new.

Occasionally Miss Ager's lash is used to extend the influence of the movie page. "Newsreel Fans Elect Willkie,"[1] for instance, is a study in audience reaction treated with a very definite bias. Class consciousness is an obvious factor in her writing.

When a particularly notable movie is released, PM's movie department will print a boxed summary of comments by movie critics of other newspapers. "Fantasia"[2] was reviewed in joint columns by Miss Ager and Henry W. Simon, music critic. Other critics, both musical and cinematic, were quoted in boxed inserts.

A daily feature of PM is the full-page photograph of a motion picture or radio star appearing toward the end of the newspaper, usually on page 22 or 24. In December, 1940, these photographs became shorter in depth and PM began to print promotional material and a subscription blank beneath the caption.[3]

Occasionally, if the picture is of significance, a full-page picture review is printed. An example of a photo-review is"Orson Welles's' Citizen Kane,' (Hearst Parallel) on the Spot."[4]

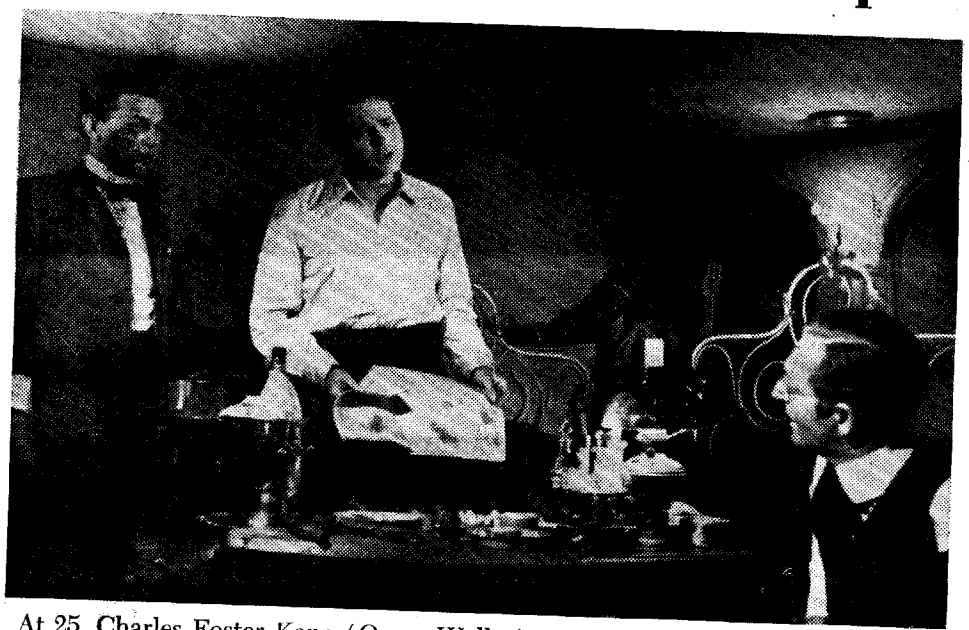
The Movie Directory, summary of movies showing along Broadway and in local neighborhood theatres in New York City, is a

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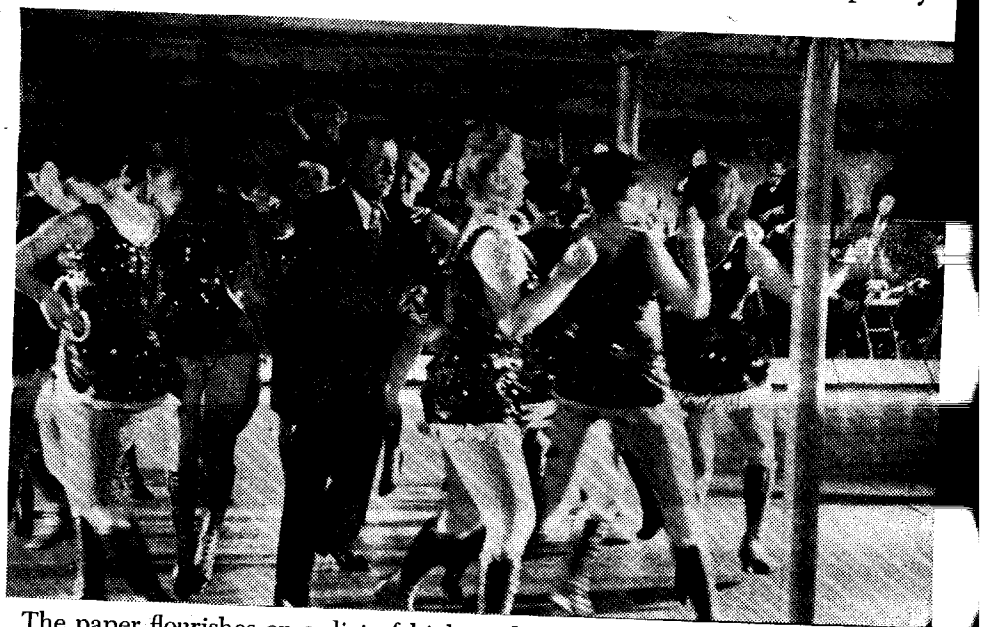
1 PM, August 9, 1940, p. 19.
2 PM, November 14, 1940, p. 19.
3 See page 504.
4 PM, January 19, 1941, p. 19.

Orson Welles's 'Citizen Kane' (Hearst Parallel) on the Spot

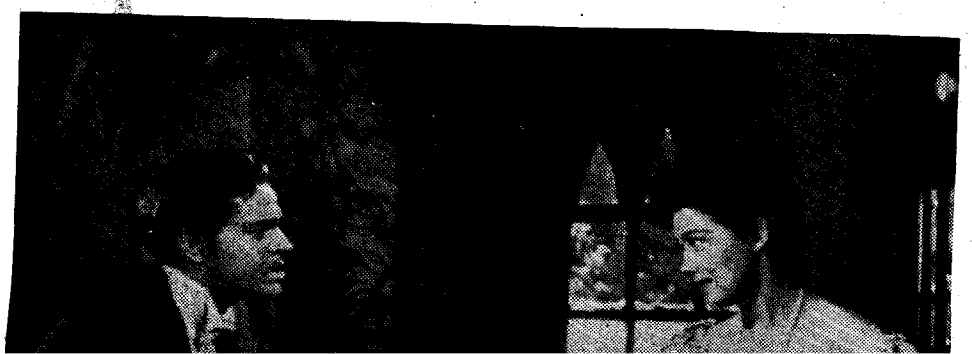
Right now, throughout the country, there is a boycott on publicity for RKO-Radio movies (*Kitty Foyle* for example) in Hearst newspapers, apparently to induce President George J. Schaefer of RKO to ban or prettify Orson Welles's $800,000 RKO movie, *Citizen Kane*, which unprettily parallels the career of William Randolph Hearst. If Schaefer fails to act, a broad Hearst attack on all of Hollywood is expected in reprisal. Mr. Schaefer to date has not knuckled under. Pending developments, here is *Citizen Kane* as Orson Welles portrays him.

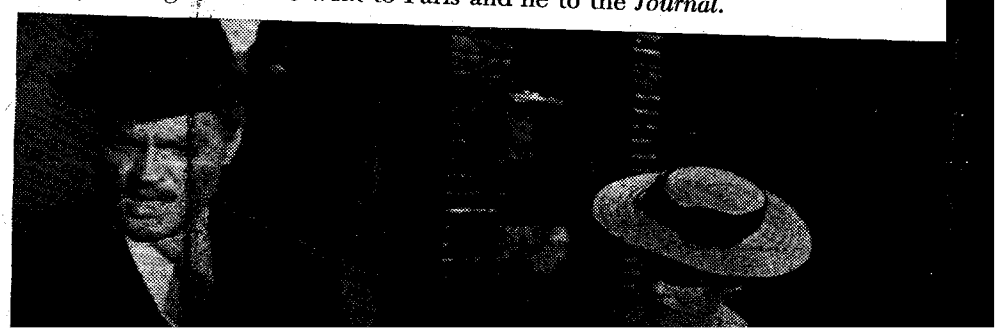


At 25, Charles Foster Kane (Orson Welles) comes into a fortune of $60,000,000 and control of a N. Y. newspaper. W. R. Hearst, at 24, took over his father's San Francisco *Examiner* in 1887, and later control of thirty to forty millions and the N. Y. *Journal*.



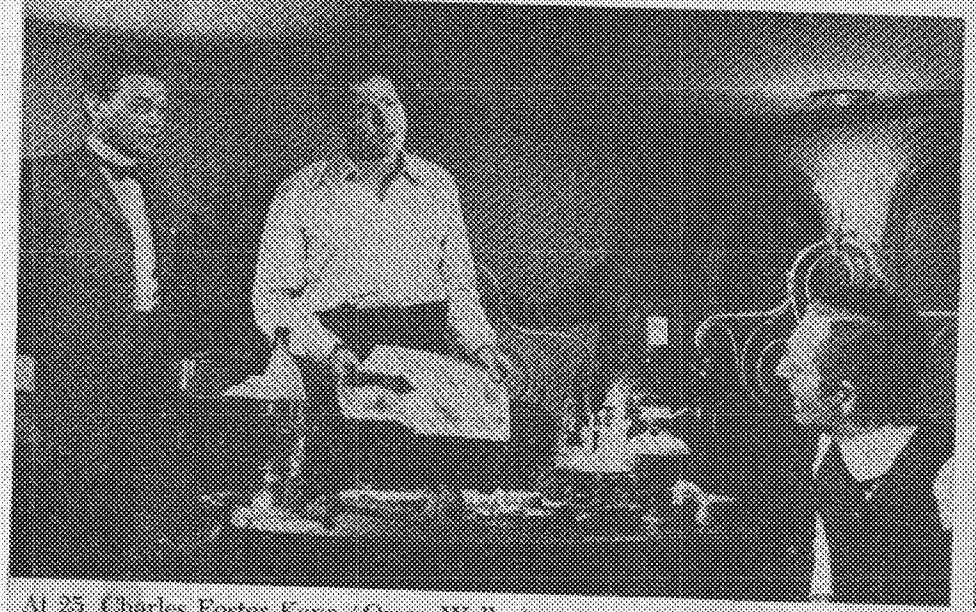
The paper flourishes on a diet of high, wide and handsome circulation stunts, and at the six-year mark a celebration is in order. Mr. Hearst was something of a rakehell himself up at Harvard. At 18 he got engaged to an incipient opera singer, but she went to Paris and he to the *Journal*.





Orson Welles's 'Citizen Kane' (Hearst Parallel) on the Spot

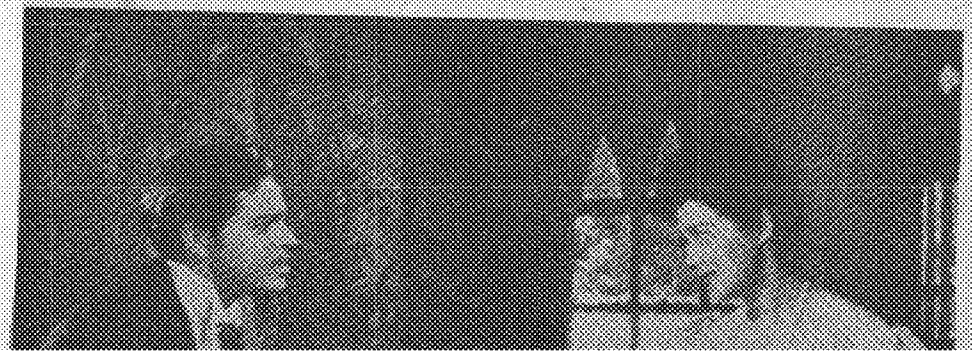
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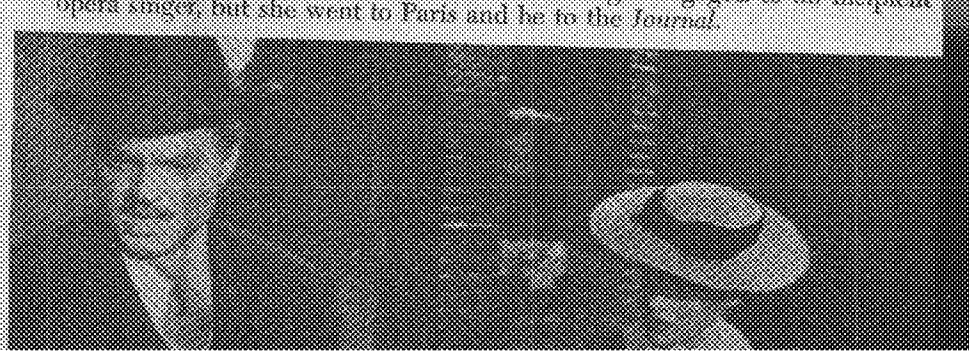


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Citizen Kane marries Emily Norton (Ruth Warrick) a niece of the president but the marriage is not happy after the first few years. They have no children. Mr. Hearst, who was married in 1903, has five children, all of them boys.



When Citizen Kane runs for governor (as Hearst did in 1906) his wife finds out about the relationship with Susan, exposes the details, and causes his defeat. Mr. Hearst was beaten by Charles Evans Hughes with another sort of help. His *Journal* was accused of having inspired McKinley's assassination.

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Splashed one night by a passing truck, Kane accepted the help of Susan Alexander (Dorothy Comingore) in getting cleaned up. She becomes a new interest for him. He decides to make an opera star of her. Mr. Hearst met Marion Davies (nee Douras) in 1916. She was a dancer in *Chu Chin Chow*.



Citizen Kane marries his Susan, but she leaves him at the end, a frustrated, bewildered old man. He loses his grip; eventually his great estates and collections of art works are auctioned off, and the empire of Citizen Kane, the counterpart to Napoleon, dissolves.

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Movies Showing Along Broadway and at Your Local Theater

Theaters showing first run pictures are starred. Prices listed are for evening orchestra seats, for adults, tax included. Time: the nearest quarter hour before the scheduled main-feature after dinner. PM's tip is to get there even earlier, if possible.

MANHATTAN

Times Square

*ASTOR—Gone With The Wind; 1.65—2.20; 8:15.
*CAPITOL—New Moon; 85c; 7:00.
CENTRAL—Now I'll Tell; Hi-Yo Silver; 35c; 7:15.
LOEW'S CRITERION—Snow White; other Disneys; 44c; 6:30.
*GLOBE—Leopard Men Of Africa; 44c; 8:00.
LOEW'S MAYFAIR—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 44c; 6:15.
*MUSIC HALL—All This, And Heaven Too; Wendell Willkie Information Please Short; 99c; 6:45.
NEW YORK—Bride Comes Home; College Swing; 30c; 8:00.
*RKO PALACE—T. Brown's School Days; Man Who Talked Too Much; 65c; 7:00.
*PARAMOUNT—Untamed; Louis Armstrong Orch.; 99c; 8:30.
PIX—Woman Chases Man; Indianapolis Speedway; 28c; 7:45.
*RIALTO—The Fugitive; Armstrong vs. Jenkins Fight Pic.; 40c; 7:45.
*ROXY—Turnabout; Dennis Day on Stage; 75c; 7:30.
LOEW'S STATE—21 Days Together; Andy Kirk Orch.; 75c; 5:30.
*STRAND—They Drive By Night; Geo. Raft in Person; Will Osborne Orch.; 99c; 8:45.
*WORLD—The Baker's Wife; 83c; 8:00.

Greenwich Village—Chelsea—Downtown

ACADEMY—Brown's School Days; Man Talked Too Much; 44c; 7:15.
LOEW'S APOLLO—Brother Orchid; Bill Of Divorcement; 33c; 7:30.
LOEW'S DELANCEY—Edison The Man; One Million B.C.; 39c; 6:45.
8TH ST. PLAY—Brother Orchid; 44c; 7:45.
5TH AVE. PLAY—Hallelujah; Eternal Mask; 55c; 8:45.
GRAMERCY PARK—My Son, My Son; Alias The Deacon; 40c; 7:15.
RKO JEFFERSON—Waterloo Bridge; Dr. Cyclops; 33c; 7:45.
SAVOY—My Favorite Wife; Earthbound; 33c; 8:00.
LOEW'S SHERIDAN—Edison The Man; One Million B.C.; 44c; 6:45.
TERRACE—Four Men And A Prayer; Hard To Get; 44c; 7:30.
RKO 23RD—Brown's School Days; Man Talked Too Much; 44c; 7:30.
WAVERLY—Waterloo Bridge; Dr. Cyclops; 39c; 6:45.

East Midtown

COLONY—Feather In Her Hat; Submarine D-1; 33c; 8:00.
RKO 86TH—T. Brown's School Days; Man Talked Too Much; 50c; 7:15.
RKO 58TH—Brown's School Days; Man Talked Too Much; 50c; 7:45.
LOEW'S LEXINGTON—Dr. Takes A Wife; 21 Days Together; 55c; 7:15.
NORMANDIE—Cat & Canary; 55c; 7:00.
LOEW'S ORPHEUM—Edison The Man; One Million B.C.; 50c; 6:45.
PLAZA—Brother Orchid; 65c; 7:45.
LOEW'S 72ND ST.—Dr. Takes A Wife; 21 Days Together; 55c; 7:15.
68TH ST. PLAY—Good-bye Mr. Chips; 44c; 7:30.
SUTTON CINEMA—Rebecca; Blondie On A Budget; 39c; 6:30.
TRANS-LUX 52ND ST—My Man Godfrey; 44c; 8:00.
TRANS-LUX 85TH ST.—Next Time We Love; 55c; 8:00.
TUDOR—Waterloo Bridge; Dr. Cyclops; 33c; 8:00.

West Midtown

ALDEN—Good-bye Mr. Chips; Torch Singer; 39c; 7:15..
BEACON—Brother Orchid; Bill Of Divorcement; 44c; 7:30.
RKO COLONIAL—Four Sons; Private Affairs; 39c; 7:30.
RKO 81ST—Brown's School Days; Man Talked Too Much; 55c; 7:30.
LOEW'S 83RD ST.—Dr. Takes A Wife; 21 Days Together; 55c; 7:30.
55TH ST. PLAY—End Of A Day; Carnival In Flanders; 55c; 7:15.
LOEW'S LINCOLN SQ.—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 39c; 7:30.
LITTLE CARNEGIE—Gone With The Wind; 1.10; 8:15.
NEMO—Brown's School Days; Man Talked Too Much; 55c; 7:30.
RIVERSIDE—Brown's School Days; Man Talked Too Much; 55c; 7:30.
STODDARD—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 44c; 7:45.
SYMPHONY—Brother Orchid; Bill Of Divorcement; 44c; 7:30.
THALIA—Secret Agent; Orage; 44c; 8:45.
LOEW'S ZIEGFELD—Dr. Takes A Wife; 21 Days Together; 55c; 7:30.

BROOKLYN

Downtown

CLINTON—Buck Benny Rides Again; Biscuit Eater; 33c; 7:00.
*FOX—Devil's Island; Gambling On The High Seas; 50c; 7:45.
LOEW'S MET—Susan & God; Love, Honor & Oh Baby; 55c; 6:45.
*PARAMOUNT—Ghost Breakers; Lone Wolf Meets A Lady; 55c; 7:30.
ST. GEORGE PLAY—My Favorite Wife; Earthbound; 44c; 8:45.
*STRAND—Fugitive From Justice; Opened By Mistake; 44c; 6:00.

Bedford—Bushwick

LOEW'S BEDFORD—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 44c; 7:30.
BELL CINEMA—Saturday's Children; Man From Dakota; 33c; 7:00.
RKO BUSHWICK—Four Sons; Private Affairs; 44c; 7:30.
LOEW'S GATES—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 44c; 7:15.

Greenpoint—Williamsburg

LOEW'S BROADWAY—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 39c; 7:45.
RKO GREENPOINT—Four Sons; Private Affairs; 39c; 7:45.
MESEROLE—My Son, My Son; Alias The Deacon; 39c; 7:00.
RKO REPUBLIC—Four Sons; Private Affairs; 39c; 7:45.

Eastern Parkway

CARROLL—My Favorite Wife; Earthbound; 33c; 7:00.
CONGRESS—Brother Orchid; Bill Of Divorcement; 39c; 7:00.
LOEW'S KAMEO—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 44c; 7:45.
LOEW'S PITKIN—Edison The Man; One Million B.C.; 44c; 6:45.
SAVOY—Four Sons; Private Affairs; 44c; 7:00.

Park Slope—Bay Ridge

LOEW'S ALPINE—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 44c; 5:45.
LOEW'S BAY RIDGE—Torrid Zone; Sandy Is A Lady; 39c; 7:15.
CARLTON—Buck Benny Rides Again; Biscuit Eater; 39c; 7:00.
RKO DYKER—Four Sons; Private Affairs; 44c; 7:45.
FORTWAY—Lillian Russell; Saint Takes Over; 33c; 7:15.
HARBOR—Saturday's Children; Dark Command; 33c; 7:15.
RKO PROSPECT—Four Sons; Private Affairs; 39c; 7:45.
SANDERS—Strange Cargo; La Conga Nights; 33c; 6:45.
RKO SHORE ROAD—Buck Benny Rides Again; Biscuit Eater; 39c; 8:00.

Boro Park—Bensonhurst

BENSON—My Favorite Wife; Ski Patrol; 33c; 7:00.
LOEW'S BORO PARK—Brother Orchid; Bill Of Divorcement; 44c; 7:00.
LOEW'S 46TH ST.—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 44c; 7:15.
MARBORO—My Son, My Son; Alias The Deacon; 39c; 7:00.
LOEW'S ORIENTAL—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 44c; 6:15.
WALKER—Brother Orchid; Bill Of Divorcement; 39c; 7:00.

Flatbush

ALBEMARLE—My Favorite Wife; Earthbound; 44c; 6:45.
ASTOR—They Were Five; My Song For You; 39c; 7:45.
AVALON—My Son, My Son; Alias The Deacon; 44c; 6:45.
CANARSIE—Strange Cargo; 40 Little Mothers; 33c; 7:15.
CLARIDGE—Strange Cargo; 40 Little Mothers; 33c; 7:00.
COLLEGE—Lillian Russell; Saint Takes Over; 33c; 6:30.
ELM—Torrid Zone; Sandy Is A Lady; 39c; 7:15.
GRANADA—Lillian Russell; Chas. Chan In Panama; 33c; 7:30.
RKO KENMORE—Four Sons; Private Affairs; 55c; 7:30.
LOEW'S KINGS—Edison The Man; One Million B.C.; 50c; 6:45.
BROADWAY—Four Sons; Private Affairs; 33c; 7:30.
GRAND—Four Sons; Private Affairs; 44c; 7:15.
SUNNYSIDE—My Favorite Wife; Earthbound; 39c; 7:00.
LOEW'S TRIBORO—Edison The Man; One Million B.C.; 44c; 6:45.
LOEW'S WOODSIDE—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 39c; 8:45.

Jackson Heights—Forest Hills Area

AUSTIN—Buck Benny Rides Again; Biscuit Eater; 39c; 7:30.
BOULEVARD—My Son, My Son; Alias The Deacon; 39c; 7:30.
COLONY—French Without Tears; East Side Kids; 33c; 7:30.
CORONA—My Favorite Wife; Earthbound; 39c; 7:15.
FOREST HILLS—My Favorite Wife; 44c; 8:00.
JACKSON—My Favorite Wife; Earthbound; 44c; 7:30.
LOEW'S PLAZA—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 39c; 6:15.

Jamaica Area

RKO ALDEN—Private Affairs; Crooked Road; 44c; 7:30.
COMMUNITY—My Son, My Son; Alias The Deacon; 44c; 7:00.
LOEW'S HILLSIDE—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 39c; 6:15.
JAMAICA—My Favorite Wife; Earthbound; 39c; 7:15.
LAURELTON—Saturday's Children; Ghost Comes Home; 39c; 7:15.
LINDEN—Biscuit Eater; French Without Tears; 33c; 7:15.
MERRICK—Four Sons; Cross Country Romance; 50c; 7:45.
QUEENS—My Favorite Wife; Earthbound; 44c; 7:00.
LOEW'S VALENCIA—Dr. Takes A Wife; 21 Days Together; 50c; 6:00.

Ridgewood Area

LEFFERTS—My Favorite Wife; Earthbound; 39c; 7:00.
RKO MADISON—Four Sons; Private Affairs; 44c; 8:00.
RIDGEWOOD—My Son, My Son; Alias The Deacon; 44c; 7:00.
LOEW'S WILLARD—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 44c; 6:15.

Rockaways

CENTRAL—Rebecca; Blondie On A Budget; 44c; 7:15.
RKO PARK—Buck Benny Rides Again; Chan's Cruise; 44c; 7:45.
RKO STRAND—My Son, My Son; Alias The Deacon; 44c; 7:30.

BRONX

East Bronx

ALLERTON—Brother Orchid; Bill Of Divorcement; 39c; 7:15.
BLENHEIM—My Son, My Son; Alias The Deacon; 28c; 7:15.
LOEW'S BOULEVARD—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 44c; 7:15.
CASTLE HILL—My Son, My Son; Brother Orchid; 39c; 9:45.
RKO CHESTER—Brown's School Days; Man Talked Too Much; 44c; 7:30.
CROTONA—Brown's School Days; Man Talked Too Much; 44c; 7:30.
DOVER—Of Human Bondage; Thunder Afloat; 33c; 7:15.
RKO EMPIRE—Torrid Zone; Sandy Is A Lady; 33c; 7:00.
LOEW'S FAIRMOUNT—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 44c; 7:45.
RKO FRANKLIN—T. Brown's School Days; Man Who Talked Too Much; 44c; 7:30.
LOEW'S NATIONAL—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 39c; 8:00.
LOEW'S POST ROAD—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 44c; 8:00.
RKO ROYAL—Man Talked Too Much; T. Brown's School Days; 39c; 7:30.
WARD—Buck Benny Rides Again; Torrid Zone; 33c; 7:30.

West Bronx

LOEW'S BURNSIDE—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 44c; 6:15.
EARL—Brother Orchid; Bill Of Divorcement; 39c; 7:15.
RKO FORDHAM—Man Who Talked Too Much; T. Brown's School Days; 50c; 7:45.
LOEW'S GRAND—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 44c; 6:00.
LUXOR—Brother Orchid; Bill Of Divorcement; 39c; 7:15.
MARBLE HILL—Torrid Zone; Waterloo Bridge; 39c; 6:45.
MT. EDEN—My Son, My Son; Women Without Names; 33c; 7:00.
LOEW'S 167TH ST.—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 44c; 8:45.
LOEW'S PARADISE—Dr. Takes A Wife; 21 Days Together; 50c; 6:00.
PARK PLAZA—Brown's School Days; Man Talked Too Much; 44c; 7:30.

LOEW'S MAYFAIR—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 44c; 6:15.
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TERRACE—Four Men And A Prayer; Hard To Get; 44c; 7:30.
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East Midtown

COLONY—Feather In Her Hat; Submarine D-1; 33c; 8:00.
RKO 86TH—T. Brown's School Days; Man Talked Too Much; 50c; 7:15.
RKO 58TH—Brown's School Days; Man Talked Too Much; 50c; 7:45.
LOEW'S LEXINGTON—Dr. Takes A Wife; 21 Days Together; 55c; 7:15.
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THALIA—Secret Agent; Orage; 44c; 8:45.
LOEW'S ZIEGFELD—Dr. Takes A Wife; 21 Days Together; 55c; 7:30.

Harlem—Manhattanville

RKO ALHAMBRA—Four Sons; Private Affairs; 33c; 7:30.
HARLEM OPERA—Waterloo Bridge; Sister Tharpe Orch.; 33c; 7:45.
LOEW'S 116TH ST.—Edison The Man; One Million B.C.; 39c; 6:45.
RKO 125TH—Brown's School Days; Man Talked Too Much; 39c; 7:45.
RKO REGENT—Brown's School Days; Man Talked Too Much; 39c; 7:30.
LOEW'S VICTORIA—Edison The Man; One Million B.C.; 39c; 6:45.

Washington Heights—Inwood

ALPINE—Torrid Zone; Sandy Is A Lady; 33c; 7:15.
AUDUBON—Fire Over England; Lives Of A Bengal Lancer; 25c; 8:00.
RKO COLISEUM—T. Brown's School Days; Man Who Talked Too Much; 44c; 7:15.
DEL-MAR—Waterloo Bridge; Dr. Cyclops; 39c; 6:45.
LOEW'S DYCKMAN—Brother Orchid; Bill Of Divorcement; 39c; 7:15.
RKO HAMILTON—T. Brown's School Days; Man Who Talked Too Much; 44c; 7:30.
LOEW'S INWOOD—Edison The Man; One Million B.C.; 39c; 6:45.
LANE—Waterloo Bridge; Dr. Cyclops; 39c; 7:00.
LOEW'S 175TH ST.—Dr. Takes A Wife; 21 Days Together; 50c; 7:15.
LOEW'S RIO—Edison The Man; One Million B.C.; 39c; 6:45.
UPTOWN—My Favorite Wife; Waterloo Bridge; 28c; 7:00.

BROOKLYN

Downtown—Brooklyn Heights

RKO ALBEE—Maryland; Sailor's Lady; 55c; 7:15.

even earlier, if possible.

CLINTON—Buck Benny Rides Again; Biscuit Eater; 33c; 7:00.
*FOX—Devil's Island; Gambling On The High Seas; 50c; 7:45.
LOEW'S MET—Susan & God; Love, Honor & Oh Baby; 55c; 6:45.
*PARAMOUNT—Ghost Breakers; Lone Wolf Meets A Lady; 55c; 7:30.
ST. GEORGE PLAY—My Favorite Wife; Earthbound; 44c; 8:45.
*STRAND—Fugitive From Justice; Opened By Mistake; 44c; 6:00.

Bedford—Bushwick

LOEW'S BEDFORD—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 44c; 7:30.
BELL CINEMA—Saturday's Children; Man From Dakota; 33c; 7:00.
RKO BUSHWICK—Four Sons; Private Affairs; 44c; 7:30.
LOEW'S GATES—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 44c; 7:15.

Greenpoint—Williamsburg

LOEW'S BROADWAY—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 39c; 7:45.
RKO GREENPOINT—Four Sons; Private Affairs; 39c; 7:45.
MESEROLE—My Son, My Son; Alias The Deacon; 39c; 7:00.
RKO REPUBLIC—Four Sons; Private Affairs; 39c; 7:45.

Eastern Parkway

CARROLL—My Favorite Wife; Earthbound; 33c; 7:00.
CONGRESS—Brother Orchid; Bill Of Divorcement; 39c; 7:00.
LOEW'S KAMEO—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 44c; 7:45.
LOEW'S PITKIN—Edison The Man; One Million B.C.; 44c; 6:45.
SAVOY—Four Sons; Private Affairs; 44c; 7:00.

Park Slope—Bay Ridge

LOEW'S ALPINE—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 44c; 5:45.
LOEW'S BAY RIDGE—Torrid Zone; Sandy Is A Lady; 39c; 7:15.
CARLTON—Buck Benny Rides Again; Biscuit Eater; 39c; 7:00.
RKO DYKER—Four Sons; Private Affairs; 44c; 7:45.
FORTWAY—Lillian Russell; Saint Takes Over; 33c; 7:15.
HARBOR—Saturday's Children; Dark Command; 33c; 7:15.
RKO PROSPECT—Four Sons; Private Affairs; 39c; 7:45.
SANDERS—Strange Cargo; La Conga Nights; 33c; 6:45.
RKO SHORE ROAD—Buck Benny Rides Again; Biscuit Eater; 39c; 8:00.

Boro Park—Bensonhurst

BENSON—My Favorite Wife; Ski Patrol; 33c; 7:00.
LOEW'S BORO PARK—Brother Orchid; Bill Of Divorcement; 44c; 7:00.
LOEW'S 46TH ST.—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 44c; 7:15.
MARBORO—My Son, My Son; Alias The Deacon; 39c; 7:00.
LOEW'S ORIENTAL—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 44c; 6:15.
WALKER—Brother Orchid; Bill Of Divorcement; 39c; 7:00.

Flatbush

ALBEMARLE—My Favorite Wife; Earthbound; 44c; 6:45.
ASTOR—They Were Five; My Song For You; 39c; 7:45.
AVALON—My Son, My Son; Alias The Deacon; 44c; 6:45.
CANARSIE—Strange Cargo; 40 Little Mothers; 33c; 7:15.
CLARIDGE—Strange Cargo; 40 Little Mothers; 33c; 7:00.
COLLEGE—Lillian Russell; Saint Takes Over; 33c; 6:30.
ELM—Torrid Zone; Sandy Is A Lady; 39c; 7:15.
GRANADA—Lillian Russell; Chas. Chan In Panama; 33c; 7:30.
RKO KENMORE—Four Sons; Private Affairs; 55c; 7:30.
LOEW'S KINGS—Edison The Man; One Million B.C.; 50c; 6:45.
KINGSWAY—Four Sons; Private Affairs; 50c; 7:15.
LEADER—My Favorite Wife; Earthbound; 33c; 7:00.
MARINE—My Favorite Wife; Earthbound; 44c; 7:15.
MAYFAIR—My Favorite Wife; Earthbound; 39c; 7:00.
MIDWOOD—My Favorite Wife; Earthbound; 39c; 7:00.
NOSTRAND—Torrid Zone; Sandy Is A Lady; 39c; 7:00.
PATIO—My Son, My Son; Alias The Deacon; 44c; 7:00.
RIALTO—Buck Benny Rides Again; Biscuit Eater; 39c; 7:15.

Coney Island—Sheepshead

LOEW'S CONEY ISLAND—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 44c; 7:45.
OCEANA—My Favorite Wife; Earthbound; 39c; 7:30.
SHEEPSHEAD—Buck Benny Rides Again; Biscuit Eater; 39c; 7:30.
RKO TILYOU—Four Sons; Private Affairs; 44c; 8:00.
TUXEDO—Buck Benny Rides Again; Biscuit Eater; 33c; 7:30.

QUEENS

Flushing Area

BAYSIDE—Rebecca; Flight Angels; 44c; 8:00.
COLLEGE—My Son, My Son; Flight Angels; 33c; 7:15.
RKO KEITHS—Four Sons; Private Affairs; 44c; 7:30.
LITTLE NECK—40 Little Mothers; Courageous Dr. Christian; 39c; 7:15.
LOEW'S PROSPECT—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 44c; 7:15.
ROOSEVELT—My Favorite Wife; Earthbound; 39c; 7:30.

Long Island City Area

LOEW'S ASTORIA—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 39c; 7:45.
BLISS—My Son, My Son; Alias The Deacon; 39c; 6:30.
BOULEVARD—My Son, My Son; Alias The Deacon; 39c; 7:30.
COLONY—French Without Tears; East Side Kids; 33c; 7:30.
CORONA—My Favorite Wife; Earthbound; 39c; 7:15.
FOREST HILLS—My Favorite Wife; 44c; 8:00.
JACKSON—My Favorite Wife; Earthbound; 44c; 7:30.
LOEW'S PLAZA—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 39c; 6:15.

Jamaica Area

RKO ALDEN—Private Affairs; Crooked Road; 44c; 7:30.
COMMUNITY—My Son, My Son; Alias The Deacon; 44c; 7:00.
LOEW'S HILLSIDE—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 39c; 6:15.
JAMAICA—My Favorite Wife; Earthbound; 39c; 7:15.
LAURELTON—Saturday's Children; Ghost Comes Home; 39c; 7:15.
LINDEN—Biscuit Eater; French Without Tears; 33c; 7:15.
MERRICK—Four Sons; Cross Country Romance; 50c; 7:45.
QUEENS—My Favorite Wife; Earthbound; 44c; 7:00.
LOEW'S VALENCIA—Dr. Takes A Wife; 21 Days Together; 50c; 6:00.

Ridgewood Area

LEFFERTS—My Favorite Wife; Earthbound; 39c; 7:00.
RKO MADISON—Four Sons; Private Affairs; 44c; 8:00.
RIDGEWOOD—My Son, My Son; Alias The Deacon; 44c; 7:00.
LOEW'S WILLARD—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 44c; 6:15.

Rockaways

CENTRAL—Rebecca; Blondie On A Budget; 44c; 7:15.
RKO PARK—Buck Benny Rides Again; Chan's Cruise; 44c; 7:45.
RKO STRAND—My Son, My Son; Alias The Deacon; 44c; 7:30.

BRONX

East Bronx

ALLERTON—Brother Orchid; Bill Of Divorcement; 39c; 7:15.
BLENHEIM—My Son, My Son; Alias The Deacon; 28c; 7:15.
LOEW'S BOULEVARD—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 44c; 7:15.
CASTLE HILL—My Son, My Son; Brother Orchid; 39c; 9:45.
RKO CHESTER—Brown's School Days; Man Talked Too Much; 44c; 7:30.
CROTONA—Brown's School Days; Man Talked Too Much; 44c; 7:30.
DOVER—Of Human Bondage; Thunder Afloat; 33c; 7:15.
RKO EMPIRE—Torrid Zone; Sandy Is A Lady; 33c; 7:00.
LOEW'S FAIRMOUNT—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 44c; 7:45.
RKO FRANKLIN—T. Brown's School Days; Man Who Talked Too Much; 44c; 7:30.
LOEW'S NATIONAL—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 39c; 8:00.
LOEW'S POST ROAD—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 44c; 8:00.
RKO ROYAL—Man Talked Too Much; T. Brown's School Days; 39c; 7:30.
WARD—Buck Benny Rides Again; Torrid Zone; 33c; 7:30.

West Bronx

LOEW'S BURNSIDE—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 44c; 6:15.
EARL—Brother Orchid; Bill Of Divorcement; 39c; 7:15.
RKO FORDHAM—Man Who Talked Too Much; T. Brown's School Days; 50c; 7:45.
LOEW'S GRAND—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 44c; 6:00.
LUXOR—Brother Orchid; Bill Of Divorcement; 39c; 7:15.
MARBLE HILL—Torrid Zone; Waterloo Bridge; 39c; 6:45.
MT. EDEN—My Son, My Son; Women Without Names; 33c; 7:00.
LOEW'S 167TH ST.—Typhoon; 20 Mule Team; 44c; 8:45.
LOEW'S PARADISE—Dr. Takes A Wife; 21 Days Together; 50c; 6:00.
PARK PLAZA—Brown's School Days; Man Talked Too Much; 44c; 7:30.

STATEN ISLAND

CAPITOL—Four Sons; Safari; 28c; 7:00.
PARAMOUNT—Private Affairs; Brown's School Days; 44c; 7:00.
RITZ—Mortal Storm; Light Of Western Stars; 44c; 7:00.
ST. GEORGE—Maryland; Girl In 313; 44c; 7:00.
STADIUM—Edison The Man; Ghost Comes Home; 33c; 7:00.
STATEN—Lillian Russell; Chan's Murder Cruise; 33c; 7:00.
STRAND—Torrid Zone; Five Little Peppers At Home; 33c; 7:00.

LONG ISLAND

BALDWIN—Rebecca; Blondie On A Budget; 39c; 6:30.
FLORAL—Torrid Zone; Buck Benny Rides Again; 39c; 6:30.
FREEPORT—GROVE—My Favorite Wife; Earthbound; 44c; 7:00.
FREEPORT—40 Little Mothers; French Without Tears; 44c; 7:30.
GLEN COVE—COVE—Brother Orchid; Ma! He's Making Eyes; 44c; 7:15.
GT. NECK PLAY—My Favorite Wife; 44c; 7:15.
HEMPSTEAD—RIVOLI—Four Sons; Private Affairs; 55c; 7:30.
HUNTINGTON—Susan & God; My Love Came Back; 50c; 6:30.
LONG BEACH—LAUREL—My Favorite Wife; Earthbound; 44c; 7:30.
LYNBROOK—My Favorite Wife; Earthbound; 44c; 7:00.
MANHASSET—My Son. My Son; 44c; 7:30.
PT. WASH.—BEACON—Torrid Zone; Sandy Is A Lady; 44c; 7:45.
ROCK. CENTER—FANTASY—My Son, My Son; Alias Deacon; 55c; 6:45.
VALLEY STREAM—SUNRISE DRIVE-IN—I Stole A Million, Geo. Raft; 40c; 9:00. (Cars and children free.)
VALLEY STREAM—VALLEY—Rebecca; Blondie On A Budget; 39c; 7:45.

popular device used by PM. The directory is arranged by sections with the feature picture, time and price listed for each theatre.

Ingersoll, in answering Editor and Publisher's question on improvements in journalistic practices made by PM, as of June 18, 1940, listed the M ovie Directory as the second in importance, preceded only by PM's shopping news service.[1]

Music, Drama, Art, and Books

PM's coverage of music and drama is limited to several days of each week. There seems to be no set schedule; news in any of these fields is printed as it occurs rather than because the reader is expecting it on a certain day.

Henry W. Simon , music editor, writes scholarly music critiques distinguished by their brevity. The famous Berkshire Music festival[2] was judged important enough to rate two columns; an ordinary concert may be covered in a half-column review. Pictures accompany more important recitals and concerts, such as the Ballet Theater's appearance in New York's Lewisohn stadium.

News of the theater is edited by Robert A. Hague, assisted by Robert Rice, son of playwright Elmer Rice, Louis Kronenberger signs numerous critiques.

The drama critiques are erratic; their length and intensity varies in proportion to the interest displayed by the reviewer in the play. Although this is true to a certain degree for any newspaper, the dramatic critics for the other New York dailies are likely to give careful consideration to all major productions

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1 Schneider, op. cit., p. 9.
2 PM, August 16, 1940, p. 20.

THEATER

In Bucks County, the Audience Is the Thing

ROBERT A. HAGUE, ROBERT RICE



Often at the classy Bucks County Playhouse at New Hope, Pa., situated in the center of the warm weather's Bohemian belt, the audience is as good a show as the play. According to Lyle Justis, who made these sketches, here's what happens on any given evening: "All the Broadway bluebloods come sweeping from their estates where they raise principally Canadian thistle for export to neighboring farms, and the wealthy intelligentsia of nearby Philadelphia come out, and the ordinary people that this is supposed to benefit stand around and gape at these dopes who will pay more than $2 to see one little show. But it's charming and between acts the lobby is out under the stars by the mill dam and the river bank.





PM RECOMMENDS FOR THEATER, ART AND MUSIC

THEATER

Evenings at 8:40, $3.30 to $1.10; Matinees Wed. and Sat. 2:40, $2.75 to $1.10, unless otherwise specified below

At the Fair

AMERICAN JUBILEE: The Fair's super-colossal historical pageant. (Daily at 8:30

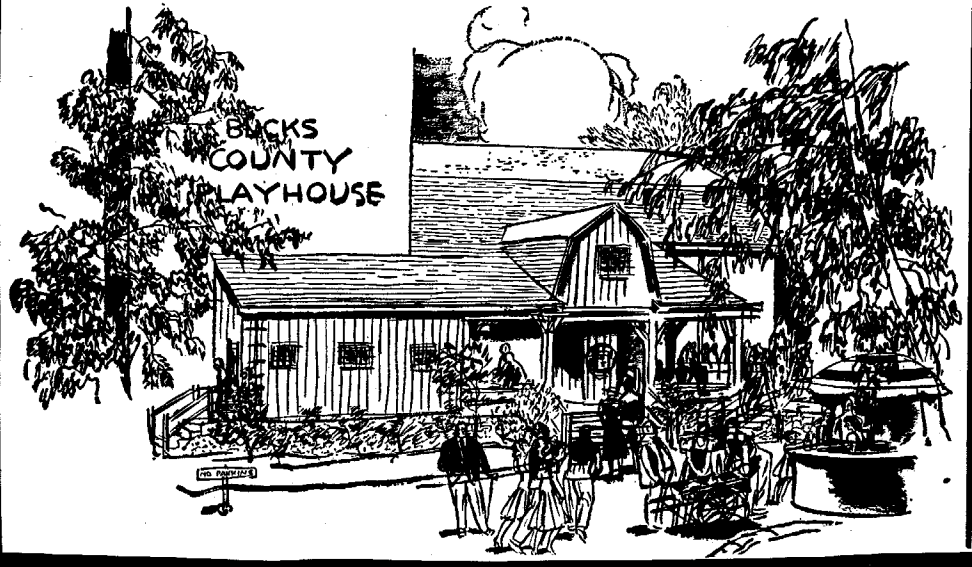
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"There is a solid Muldoon of the old Quaker and farmer families" who come to the show, according to Mr. Justis.



"All the painters and etchers and sculptors who have married well enough to pay $2.20 a seat, come out terrifically."



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Plays

LADIES IN RETIREMENT: Flora Robson & Co. will petrify your corpuscles. (Henry Miller, 43, E. of B'way. BR 9-3970. Mats. Thurs. and Sat., $2.20 to $1.10.)

LIFE WITH FATHER: A funny play about a lot of redheads. With Howard Lindsay and Dorothy Stickney. (Empire, B'way at 40. PE 6-9540.)

THE MALE ANIMAL: Elliott Nugent's and James Thurber's contribution to collegiana. (Cort, 48, E. of B'way. BR 9-0046. Mats. $2.20 to $1.10.)

THE MAN WHO CAME TO DINNER: Proving that Alexander Woollcott's business is everybody's. (Music Box, 45, W. of B'way. CI 6-4636. Mats. Thurs. and Sat.)

THERE SHALL BE NO NIGHT: Robert Sherwood's polemic admirably played by the Lunts. (Alvin, 52, W. of B'way. CO 5-4114. Eves. 8:30. Mats. Wed. and Thurs. 2:30. No performances Sat.)

TOBACCO ROAD: This is where you came in (Forrest, 49, W. of B'way. CI 6-8870. Eves. 8:45, $1.10 to $.55. Last four weeks.)

Musicals

DU BARRY WAS A LADY: One of Buddy de Sylva's Grade A musicals with Bert Lahr and Ethel Merman. (46th Street, 46, W. of B'way. CI 6-6075. Eves. 8:30, $4.40 to $1.10. Mats. 2:30.)

HELLZAPOPPIN: Olsen and Johnson's Big Noise. (Winter Garden, B'way at 50. CI 7-5161. Eves. 8:30; Mats. 2:30, $2.20 to $1.10.)

LOUISIANA PURCHASE: Another of the de Sylva wows, with Victor Moore, William Gaxton, Zorina, and Irene Bordoni. (Imperial, 45, W. of B'way. CO 5-7889. Eves. 8:30, $4.40 to $1.10; Mats. 2:30.)

At the Fair

AMERICAN JUBILEE: The Fair's supercolossal historical pageant. (Daily at 3:30, 5:30, 8:30 and 10:45; admission, 40c; reserved 99c.)

AQUACADE: Billy Rose's aquatic high jinks. (Daily at 3, 5, 8:30 and 10:45; admission, 44c, reserved 99c.)

GAY NEW ORLEANS: The Fair's biggest buy. Three shows for 28c. (Du Barry Brown at 6, 8 and 10; Sazerac at 7, 9 and 11; Mardi Gras Frolic at midnight.)

RAILROADS ON PARADE: Trains and actors in a colorful pageant. (Daily at 11:30 a.m., 1:30, 3:30, and 5:30; 28c to 55c.)

STREETS OF PARIS: Gypsy Rose Lee in a condensed version of the B'way revue. (Eves. 8:45 and 10:30, Sat. and Sun. afts. 3:30 and 5:30; other afts., 5, 44c to 99c.)

ART

AMERICAN ART TODAY: 789 items, mostly the work of WPA artists. (American Art Bldg., World's Fair. Daily 10 to 10; free.)

MASTERPIECES OF ART: About 400 paintings in a 30-million dollar display. (Fine Arts Bldg., World's Fair. Daily 10 to 10; weekdays 50c; Sun. 25c.)

MEXICAN: Past and present, in a comprehensive and dramatic show. (Museum of Modern Art, 11 W. 53; weeksdays 10 to 6; Sun. 12 to 6; open Wed. eve. till 10; 25c.)

VAN GOGH: Exhibition of 14 paintings collected by the Netherlands Government. (Room 303, Holland House, 10 Rockefeller Plaza; weekdays 10 to 6; Sat. till noon; through July 31; free.)

MUSIC

STADIUM CONCERTS: Philharmonic-Symphony, Efrem Kurtz conducting; all-Russian program; tonight at 8:30. (Lewisohn Stadium, Amsterdam at 136; 25c to $1.)

GOLDMAN BAND: Tonight at 8:30. (Central Park Mall.)

NEW YORK CIVIC ORCHESTRA: John Barnett conducting; tonight at 8:30. (Prospect Park, Brooklyn.)

and do as good a job of reporting on a failure as on the season's find. PM's dramatic department apparently feels under no compunction to bother with a play which does not meet its particular fancy.

Louis Kronenberger's critique of "Native Son" is an outstanding example of a thoroughly-treated review. It is socially-conscious throughout, reporting "Native Son" [1] as:

> .... a tragic case history of a morally mangled victim of society and circumstance.

"How Other Critics Felt about 'Native Son'" [2] a box containing quoted comments, is printed in conjunction with the critiques.

During the summer months, PM devoted considerable space to the summer theaters of the East. A typical story on the summer theater includes information on how to get there, where to eat, what is billed, and where to go afterward.[3]

There are two columns in connection with the theatre. Ben Crisler's "Critic at Large" is composed of gossipy items and of little value; Robert Rice's "Rice and Old Shoes," although of the same nature, has more items of interest and is far better written.

Art reviews are less frequent and book reviews are confined to Tom Tippett's Sunday section.

A feature of the arts section is the directory, "PM Recommends for Theater, Art and Music." This lists plays, musicals, World's Fair attractions, art exhibitions and concerts, with the

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1 PM, March 25, 1941, p. 21.
2 Ibid.
3 PM, July 29, 1940, p. 21.

The Tragic Saga of Bigger Thomas Makes Vivid Theater

PM Reviews

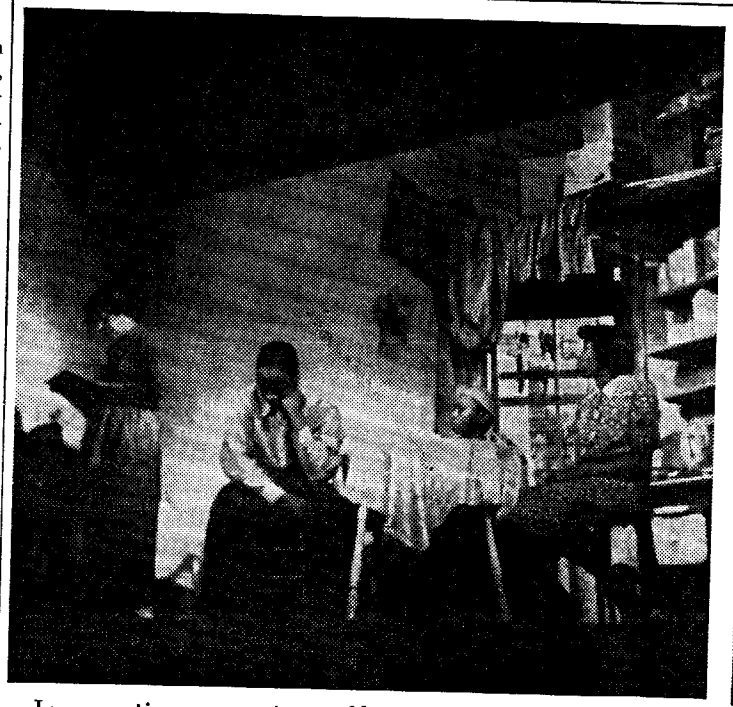
NATIVE SON, a dramatization by Paul Green and Richard Wright of the latter's novel, presented by Orson Welles and John Houseman at the St. James Theater, with Canada Lee, Ray Collins, Anne Burr, Evelyn Ellis, Erskine Sanford, Everett Sloane, Paul Stewart, Rena Mitchell and Philip Bourneuf; staged by Mr. Welles; settings by James Morcom.

By Louis Kronenberger

The soundest way to review *Native Son,* I think, is to review it twice: first as a thing in itself, and then in comparison with the novel from which it was adapted.

Taken by itself, it is a thoroughly effective piece of theater. Even for one who has read the novel—and certainly for any one who hasen't—it is tense, dramatic and frequently compelling. Its ten scenes in the life of Bigger Thomas move swiftly and build firmly; and by staging them without intermission—as he staged *Julius Caesar*—Orson Welles has maintained an excited pitch and given the play a rewarding compactness. If there is as much sheer theater as there is drama in Mr. Welles's production, the theater does not, for the most part, vulgarize the drama when it occurs.

On the stage, too, Bigger Thomas breaks through as a genuine personality. Canada Lee plays him with both force and understanding, and with the ability to express his violent, inarticulate emotions. Bigger, early in the play, is a brutal young Negro, surly with his family, bullying with his gang, in whom there smoulders a fierce resentment toward a world that hems him in and holds him down. After he accidentally murders his employer's daughter, he becomes largely a creature of fear until, as the police close round him, there swells up once again a compulsive, anarchic defiance. The last scene, in his death cell, shows a change in

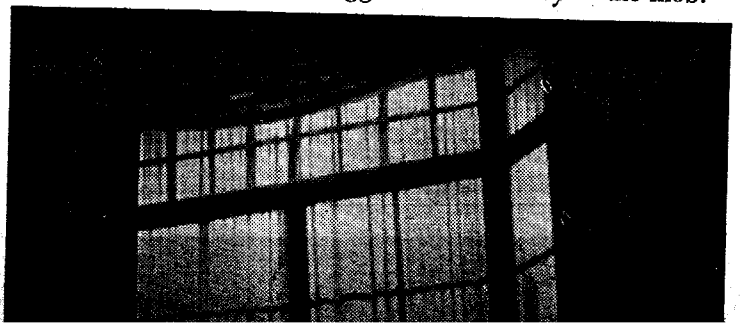


In one tiny room in a Chicago tenement live the Thomases, mother (Evelyn Ellis), Bigger (Canada Lee), Buddy (Lloyd Warren) and Vera (Helen Martin). The father is dead. Bigger is out of work.



And so Bigger hangs around street corners with Jack (J. Flashe Riley) and Gus (Wardell Saunders). The gang commits petty stickups; plays pool; sometimes pretends it's white. Bigger is the bad boy of the mob.





The Tragic Saga of Bigger Thomas Makes Vivid Theater

PM Reviews

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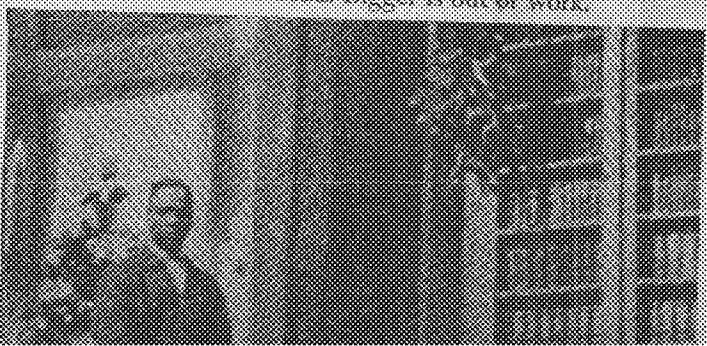
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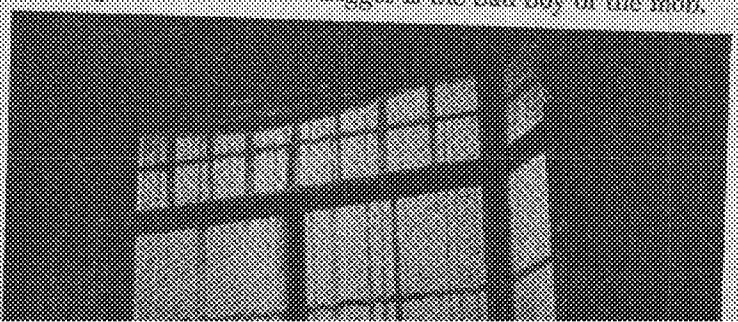


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Tragic Case History

Native Son is a vivid evening in the theater, a tragic case history of a morally mangled victim of society and circumstance. All the same, the play lacks the richness and subterraneous power of the book, as well as the essential meaning. If it succeeds on its own terms—as the somewhat comparable dramatization of *An American Tragedy* never did—it succeeds only so. Far too much has gone out of it. The whole continuous analysis of Bigger's mind and emotions has gone out of it—the fierce black man's hate for the whites, the terrible inner deadness of spirit, the *liberation* through crime—crime that is the only creative outlet Bigger can command, and the only freedom he can know. Gone are the psychology of race and individual alike. Bigger, on the stage, is much more of a primitive figure than a frustrated one; which is why on the stage, his actual crime rather than his whole chaotic life becomes the mainspring of his destiny. This is a distortion, at the very least, and in the truest sense it is a misrepresentation.

The social indictment of *Native Son* also loses, though not to the same extent, on the stage. We do not get the book's depressing, unanswerable charge against the white race for crushing and crippling the black one, for selfishly producing thousands of Bigger Thomases at every step. The indictment is there, and not to be sidestepped, but Bigger unfortunately seems rather more the victim of circumstances than of society. On the other hand, if much of the power of the book is removed from the play, so is much of the overt propaganda, which was a glaring weakness in the novel.

As Bigger, Mr. Lee naturally dominates the action, but Evelyn Ellis as Bigger's mother and Ray Collins as Bigger's lawyer were also decidedly effective, and most of the other roles were played adequately if no better. James Maroon's miniature settings are excellent.

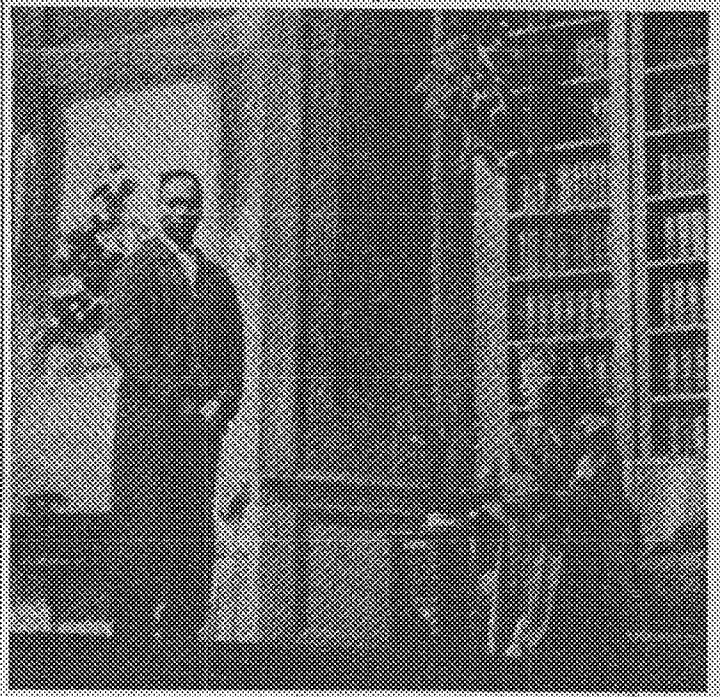
FIRST NIGHT

CARRIELLE: A dramatization by Leonardo Bercovici of Thomas Mann's short story, *Tristan*, presented by Rowland Leigh at the Maxine Elliott Theater, tonight at 8:40. The cast includes Eleanor Lynn, John Cromwell, Harold Vermilyea, Frederic Tozere, Whitner Bissell and Frieda Altman, staged by Randolph Carter. $3.30 to 55 cents.

MOVIE OPENING

THE CHINESE DEN (Film Alliance), at the Rialto, with Paul Lukas.

Thomases, mother (Evelyn Ellis), Bigger (Canada Lee), Buddy (Lloyd Warren) and Vera (Helen Martin). The father is dead. Bigger is out of work.



A social worker gets Bigger a job as chauffeur for the wealthy Dalton family. There he meets Mary Dalton (Ann Burr), parlor pink. She takes an interest in Bigger, but he is scared of her as he is of all whites.

And so Bigger hangs around street corners with Jack (J. Plaske Riley) and Gus (Wardell Saunders). The gang commits petty stickups; plays pool, sometimes pretends it's white. Bigger is the bad boy of the mob.



That night she gets drunk and makes passes at him, and when her blind mother comes in the room he covers the girl's face with a pillow so she won't cry out, and accidentally smothers her. In a few days he's caught.

How Other Critics Felt About 'Native Son'

BROOKS ATKINSON, *Times*: "Mr. Green and Mr. Wright have translated a murder story into a portrait of racial fright and hatred and given it a conclusion that brings peace to a taut, bewildered mind."

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He is unsuccessfully defended by a liberal lawyer (Ray Collins).

Photos by Morris Gordon, P.M. Staff.

drama in Mr. Welles's production, the theater does not, for the most part, vulgarize the drama when it occurs.

On the stage, too, Bigger Thomas breaks through as a genuine personality. Canada Lee plays him with both force and understanding, and with the ability to express his violent, inarticulate emotions. Bigger, early in the play, is a brutal young Negro, surly with his family, bullying with his gang, in whom there smoulders a fierce resentment toward a world that hems him in and holds him down. After he accidentally murders his employer's daughter, he becomes largely a creature of fear until, as the police close round him, there swells up once again a compulsive anarchic defiance. The last scene, in his death cell, shows a change in Bigger but (unlike the book) scarcely explains it.

Tragic Case History

Native Son is a vivid evening in the theater, a tragic case history of a morally mangled victim of society and circumstance. All the same, the play lacks the richness and subterraneous power of the book, as well as the essential meaning. If it succeeds on its own terms—as the somewhat comparable dramatization of *An American Tragedy* never did—it succeeds only so. Far too much has gone out of it. The whole continuous analysis of Bigger's mind and emotions has gone out of it—the fierce black man's hate for the whites, the terrible inner deadness of spirit, the *liberation* through crime—crime that is the only creative outlet Bigger can command, and the only freedom he can know. Gone are the psychology of race and individual alike. Bigger, on the stage, is much more of a primitive figure than a frustrated one; which is why, on the stage, his actual crime rather than his whole chaotic life becomes the mainspring of his destiny. This is a distortion, at the very least; and in the truest sense it is a misrepresentation.

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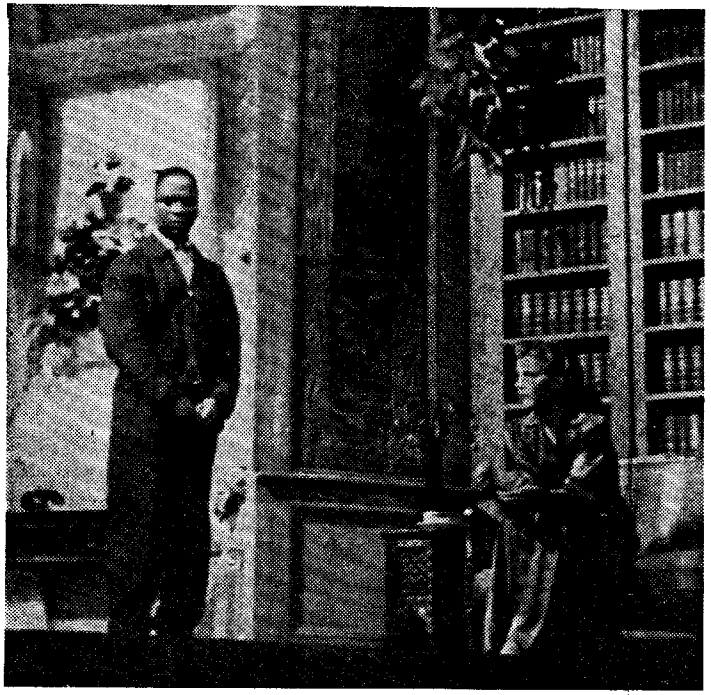
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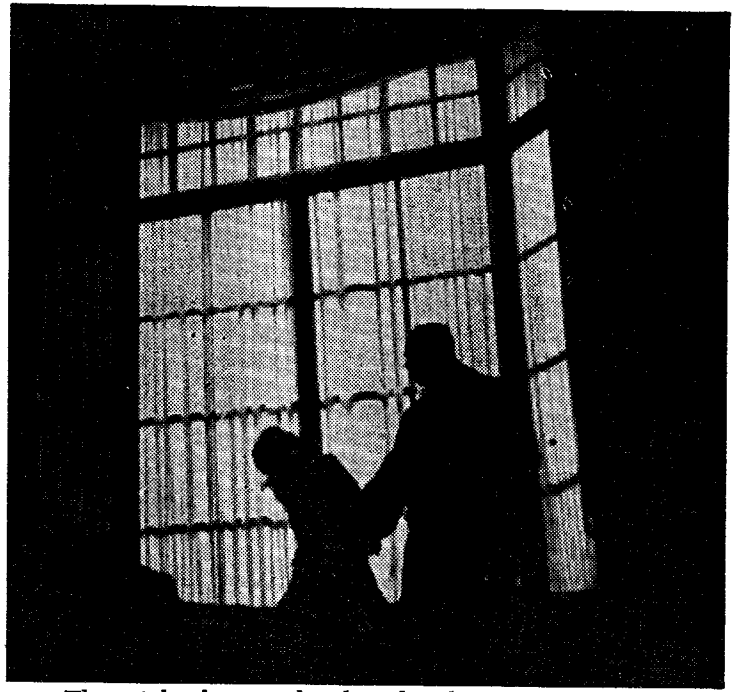
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In one tiny room in a Chicago tenement live the Thomases, mother (Evelyn Ellis), Bigger (Canada Lee), Buddy (Lloyd Warren) and Vera (Helen Martin). The father is dead. Bigger is out of work.



A social worker gets Bigger a job as chauffeur for the wealthy Dalton family. There he meets Mary Dalton (Ann Burr), parlor pink. She takes an interest in Bigger; but he is scared of her as he is of all whites.

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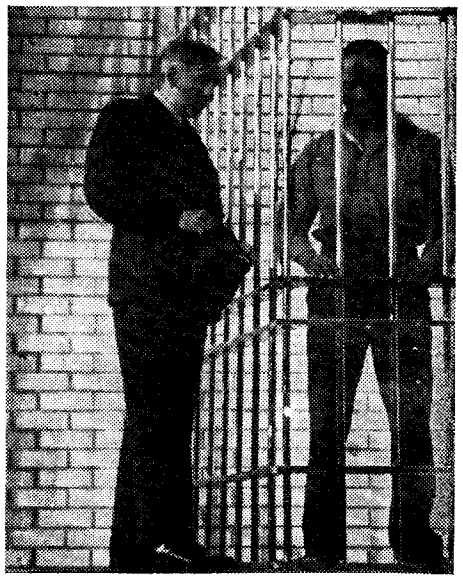
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Photos by Morris Gordon, PM Staff

theater, address, telephone numbers, and ticket prices included in the information.

PM's art, drama, music and book sections are certainly far above the tabloid level and they compare favorably with corresponding sections in metropolitan newspapers, but there is little spectacular or vastly superior about them.

SPORTS

The forgotten -- or neglected -- department in PM seems to be that devoted to sports. There are from four to six sports pages each day but a great deal of space is given over to frequent scoring lists and the news included seems most superficial.

PM's early department masthead listed Joe Cummiskey as sports editor; Tom Meany, Bob Brumby, Tom O'Reilly, George F. T. Ryall, John Lewy and Fred Green as writers.

The prospectus had nothing to say of the sports coverage other than that it would constitute one of the five main news classifications.[1] There has been little or no criticism of sports by PM's critics, who are more absorbed with comment on the news tone in foreign and domestic happenings than in the field of sports.

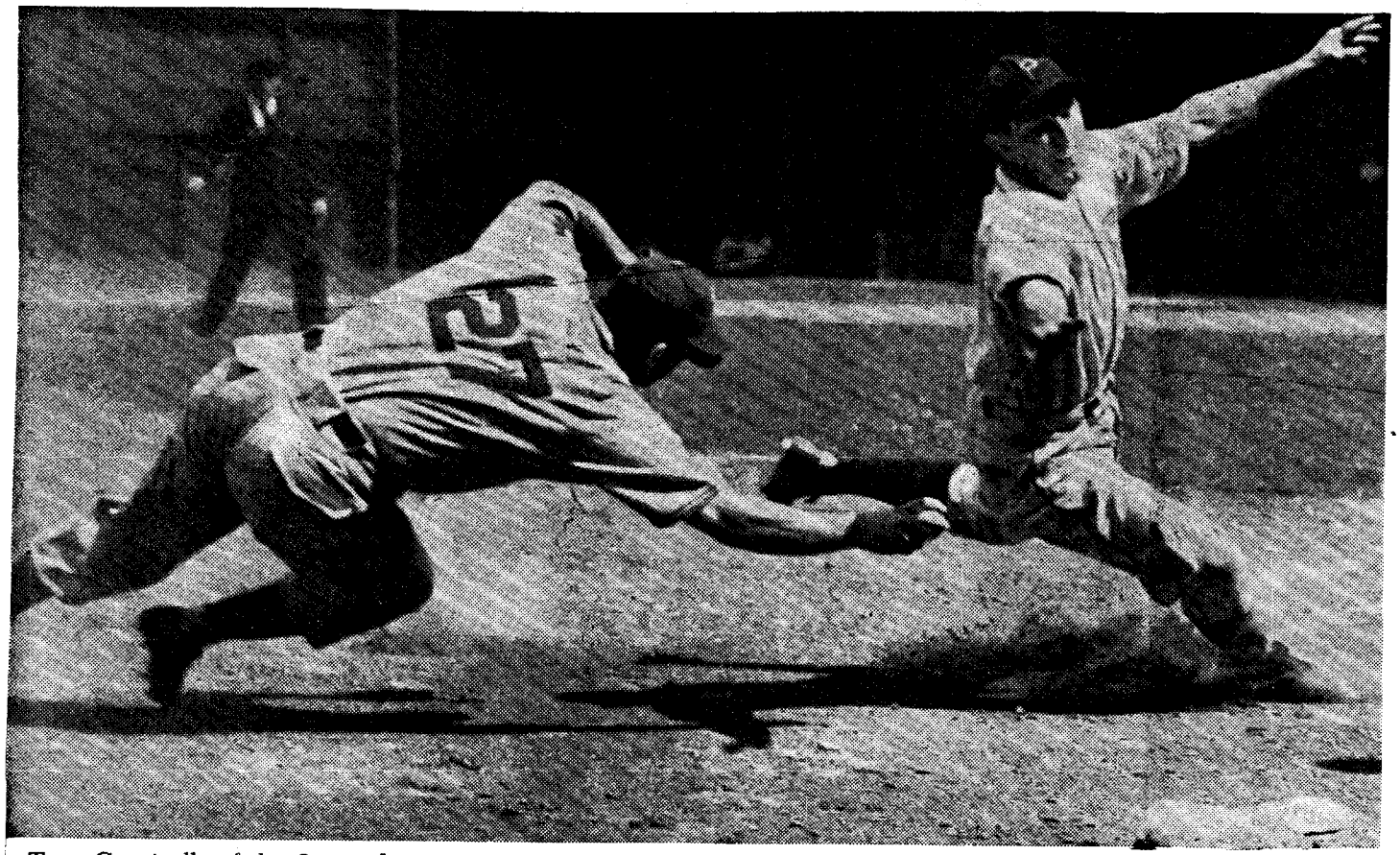
PM's sports pages are versatile, but like other sections of the newspaper, they appear "spotty." One feels the field is not satisfactorily covered. Baseball and football are given ample coverage and horse racing and prize-fighting command a good deal of attention. "PM's Box Score on Selectors" and "PDQ's Selections" are both devoted to racing tips. Baseball and football scores and commentary range along with that of any other fairly large newspaper, neither better nor worse.

"Here's How and Why," the more-or-less regular sports column, is written by any of several sports writers. Tom Meany on a base-

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1 Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 4.

Was the Runner Out or Safe?



Tony Cuccinello of the Giants dives at Ham Schulte of the Phils in a play at third base. And, whether you think so or not, Schulte made it. He was safe. Why? Because Tony has stretched as far as he can and Ham is just falling toward the bag.

Photo by Wide World

Reds, Faltering (?), Face Tough Week

. . . Champions, Five Games Ahead of Dodgers, Meet Red-Hot Pirates Tonight

By Tom Meany

Cincinnati, which has lost 10 of its last 16

SPORTS

Joe Cummiskey, Editor; Tom Meany,

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Here's How ...And Why

. . . All Eyes on Goshen This Week, With the Hambletonian to Be Raced Wednesday

By Tom O'Reilly
Staff Correspondent

GOSHEN, N. Y., Aug. 12.—Well, trip me over a bootjack if Goshen ain't gone *moderne!* Wednesday's Hambletonian Stakes will have more gadgets than a stratoliner—machine betting, phonograph voice, electric starter, lightning eye, photo finish, automatic odds-board, saliva test and everything but a speedometer on the dash-board where the whip-socket used to be.

As if that isn't enough the town has a new, modern saloon called The Wonder Bar, planted right among the false-fronts between the Occidental House and the Orange Inn. It was enough to turn Greyhound white—and did.

Greyhound, who's eight now, was due to start these gadgets spinning for the first time today when Septus Palin yelled "Giddap," in a match race with Peter Astra, a four-year-old upstart owned by a country doctor who thinks his trotter is the fastest thing on the pike.

30,000 Expected

Bob Bliss, a local dirt farmer who has an eye for a trotter and gets to the city now and then, asked me last week, "Is that Greyhound-Peter Astra thing a tandem event?" Eli Crutch, the auction-pool oracle who tipped Uncle Sam off to a good thing, supplied the answer today. "It'll be tandem



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. . . Champions, Five Games Ahead of Dodgers, Meet Red-Hot Pirates Tonight

By TOM MEANY

Cincinnati, which has lost 10 of its last 16, is either in a slump or returning to normalcy. . . . Only five games ahead of the Dodgers now, Reds go on the road for a week, opening in Pittsburgh tonight. . . . And the Pirates, with 10 out of 11, are currently the greatest collection of red-hots since Murder, Inc., was at large. . . . Dodgers have a grand opportunity this week and had better make the best of it before plunging into the West, where men are mad and practically everybody's hand is against them. . . . The Dodgers will get no breaks from any of the clubs with which they traded punches.

Is the Tiger infield folding? . . . Bartell and Gehringer must stand up to keep Detroit going and merely standing up is getting to be a job for Richard and Charles. . . . And Rudy York at first is a liability any time he appears without a bat in his hand. . . . The Yanks have won three straight but the pardon comes too late. . . . Unless the Cleveland players, now tied for first with Detroit, wait on Bradley with another petition, or bolt to form a third party, the Indians should pull away from the field, which in the American League is merely a euphemism for Detroit and Boston. . . . The Red Sox have been playing better ball with Jimmy Foxx catching. . . . If the guy could only pitch—!

Lyons "Sunday Pitcher"

Boston's big chance lies in 11 games the Indians and Tigers have against each other, but Sox must finish on road, while Detroit and Cleveland finish at home. . . . White Sox still stick ahead of Yanks. . . . Ted Lyons has started 16 games for the White Sox, 14 of them on Sundays. . . . He won both his weekday starts.

Phils had lost nine straight until Kirby Higbe blanked the Giants yesterday. . . . It was Higbe's third win against New York, only team he has beaten more than once. . . . Babe Young continues to belt the ball for the Giants. . . . Until Babe's grand-slam homer in first inning of nightcap yesterday, series had been setting an all-time low for runs. . . . Phils wound up with four runs in 26 innings, which is slightly less than terrific.

Best come-back in either league is that staged by Bees. . . . After winning exactly two games out of 20, Casey Stengel's team grabbed 10 of next 14. And with a line-up that reads like the draft list of the Piedmont League. . . . Stengel has done creditable jobs with Carvel Rowell, Chet Ross and Manuel Salvo. . . . The latter has won seven games for Casey in six weeks.

Sid Hudson, Florida State League alumnus, won his 11th for Washington yesterday. . . . He's definitely the rookie pitching find of the season. . . . Nats incidentally have been getting fairly good pitching for last fortnight. . . . Browns so far have won three more games than they did all last season, 46 against 43. . . . Phils won 45 games both last season and the year before and need a dozen more wins to equal that mark. . . . And will have trouble getting 'em, too.

Currently the best pitcher in the National League is Whit Wyatt. . . . Despite all the notoriety, Luke Hamlin has thrown only 14 home run balls this season. . . . Last year he gave up 27. . . . When Luke arrived with other Dodgers at Floyd Bennett Field last night, he probably took one look at the airport and decided it would be a great place to pitch—no fences.



SPORTS

JOE CUMMISKEY, Editor; TOM MEANY, BOB BRUMBY, TOM O'REILLY, GEORGE F. T. RYALL, JOHN LEWY, FRED GREEN

BASEBALL TODAY

National League

	W.	L.	Pct.	GB
Cinn.	66	36	.647	. .
Bklyn.	62	42	.596	5
N. Y.	53	46	.535	11½
Pitt.	52	49	.515	13½
Chi.	54	54	.500	15
St. L.	49	52	.485	16½
Bost.	39	63	.382	27
Phila.	33	66	.333	31½

Results Yesterday

Phila. 2, N. Y. 0 (1st)
N. Y. 8, Phila. 2 (2d)
Bost. 3, Bklyn. 2 (1st)
Bklyn. 3, Bost. 0 (2d)
St. L. 3, Cinn. 2 (1st)
St. L. 3, Cinn. 1 (2d)
Pitts. 7, Chi. 3 (1st)
Pitts. 5, Chi. 1 (2d)

Games Today

Cinn. at Pitt. (8:30)
St. L. at Chi. (4:00)
(Only games scheduled)

American League

	W.	L.	Pct.	GB
Cleve.	66	44	.593	
Det.	64	44	.593	
Bost.	58	49	.542	5½
Chi.	53	50	.515	8½
N. Y.	53	51	.510	9
Wash.	47	59	.443	16
St. L.	46	64	.418	19
Phila.	40	64	.385	22

Results Yesterday

N. Y. 7, Phila. 6 (11 innings)
Wash. 2, Bost. 1
Chi. 4, Det. 3 (1st)
Chi. 4, Det. 3 (2d)
Cleve. 12, St. L. 4 (1st)
St. L. 7, Cleve. 6 (2d)

Games Today

Det. at Cleve. (4:00)
Chi. at St. L. (10:15)
(Only games scheduled)

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Goshen is taking this race right in stride and waiting for Wednesday when a crowd of 30,000 is expected to file into Billy Cane's Good Time Park to see the three-year-olds race for the Hambletonian's $45,000.

Although forty-odd horses are still eligible no more than a dozen trainers are expected to step into Walter Cox's little stable office tomorrow morning and plank down $500 each as their final ante in this greatest of sulky stakes. The race should be a wide-open affair with the public likely to divide its money among six choices—Spencer Scott, Milestone, Kuno, Earl's Moody Guy, Remus and Gentleman Jim.

It's Not the Betting

Given a fair day, under these circumstances and with mutuel betting getting its first big Goshen trial, it's just possible that E. Roland Harriman, the millionaire trotting enthusiast, will be proved correct in his prediction of a $500,000 betting day, although I doubt it.

Few citizens attend the Hambletonian with an idea of winning money. The exceptions, of course, are the wealthy owners, the trainers and that little band of nondescript gypsies who trail the sulkies from Orlando to Old Orchard.

Half of the Hambletonian crowd will be from New York, quite a few from Saratoga and the remainder from the surrounding countryside. The farmers are the wisest. They know what makes a trotter go. The thoroughbred fanciers never cease to wonder how a horse can work five miles just to warm up for a race.

ball writers' feud,[1] Tom O'Reilly on the Hambletonian (races)[2] and Bob Brumby on fights all write. "Here's How and Why"[3] within the same week.

Pictures are used frequently in PM's sports news but they are usually the conventional type of sports picture with little attempt at originality or freshness. The use of picture series is in accordance with the tabloid characteristics of the publication.

Additional columns, which appeared during the winter months, were Cummiskey's "Sports Ticker Talk" and "Tom O'Reilly Says." A "Sports Tonight" column was also introduced.

There are two main faults in PM's sports coverage which are noticeable to even the least skilled sports' page reader. The first one is the hit-or-miss quality about the slant of the sports' pages. There is much on horse racing and boat racing, sports with which the ordinary tabloid reader has little to do, and little on active sports in which the city dweller might find an outlet. What sports news is aimed for the average PM reader, the football and baseball news mainly, is purely the "inside dope" passed on to the spectator.

Secondly, Ingersoll pledged his readers that:[4]

> PM will be written in English -- as distinct from journalese. Its staff will create its style, giving its columns their own personality.

Apparently this principle does not apply to the sports news, for it is written in as garbled and ridiculous a lingo as one could find in a newspaper sports' section. It is disappointing

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1 PM, August 11, 1940, p. 28.
2 PM, August 12, 1940, p. 29.
3 PM, August 13, 14, and 15, 1940, p. 30.
4 Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 8.

New Jersey Will Have Three Tracks



By George F. T. Ryall

For a month diligent Racing Commissioners of New Jersey have been inspecting proposed sites for race tracks, and going into huddles with promoters. The result is that only three tracks, instead of the four permitted by law, will be licensed. Naturally, one will be as near as possible to Manhattan; one will be in Monmouth County, and the third will be somewhere in South Jersey.

The most eager bidding, and the liveliest lobbying has been for the franchise of a course nearest New York. Officially, only two groups are hot on the trail. One is headed by Tom Thorp, front man for Harry Straus of the American Totalisator Co.; the other by Charles W. Williams. Charles Strube, Santa Anita promoter and manager is also interested. And Jerome Louchheim industrialist and horse owner will come in, too, if conditions are right. All have their sites staked out, although they are rather secretive about them—anywhere from the end of George Washington Bridge, and Bendix Airport, to Patterson.

Until the question of dates came up, Amory Haskell, horse show and hunting man, and Joseph Roebling seemed certain to get the track in Monmouth County. The hitch came when they insisted their meeting follow Delaware Park's in July. This did not fit into the commission's plans. The commission would like to see the Monmouth County races a sort of glorified hunt meeting.

Thereupon, up popped James O'Day, who last May filed plans in Queens County, without first bothering to ask the New York Racing Commission for a sanction, to build a track on the old Flushing airport at the end of the Whitestone Bridge. O'Day, and Major Edward Bowes, radio enterpreneur, who have a site on the polo fields near Shrewsbury, were willing to take whatever dates offered—to open the season in April, and close it in November if necessary. Their willingness put them definitely in the running.

The situation in South Jersey is more changeable, if less complicated. It was all set for Atlantic City to have a track until wowsers started a clean-up-the-city movement. Now interest in having a track there has shrivelled considerably. Nick Ludington, airport and air-line owner, wanted a track at Camden, and was supported substantially by wealthy Philadelphians, but oddly enough Camden was the only big city in the state that had voted heavily against racing in the referendum last year—so Camden was out.

There'll Be a Track

Harry F. Sinclair, who raced the Rancocas Stable with such success fifteen years ago, and was once a New York Racing Commissioner himself, would like a track at Rancocas Farm, if for no other reason than to show The Jockey Club he is not out of racing by any means.

The Jersey Commission approves of Rancocas, but the place is pretty difficult to get to from New York even though it might be accessible for Camden, and Philadelphia horseplayers. The chances are that there will be a track between Camden and Atlantic City which the groups from both cities will get together on.

However, the Racing Commission and all the promoters will have to get together pretty soon if they want to have racing in 1941.

Baseball Scores

											R	H	E
GIANTS	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	—	1	5	1
PHILLIES	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	—	0	5	1

Gumbert and Danning; Si Johnson, Brown (9) and Warren.

											R	H	E
CUBS	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	—	1	8	0
PIRATES	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	—	0	7	0

Olsen and Todd; Klinger, Brown (9), Davis and Lopez.

											R	H	E
ATHLETICS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	—	0	5	0
YANKEES	3	1	1	0	0	5	0	3	x	—	13	13	1

Potter, Dean (3), Beckman (7) and Hayes; Bonham and Dickey

											R	H	E
DODGERS	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	—	3	11	0

Giants	ab	r	bh	po	a	Phillies	ab	r	bh	po	a
Whiteh'd,2b	3	0	1	1	5	Schulte,2b	3	0	1	1	3
Moore,lf	4	0	0	2	0	Marty,cf	4	0	2	5	0
Demaree,cf	4	0	1	2	0	Bragan,ss	4	0	0	3	2
Young,1b	4	0	0	18	0	Rizzo,lf	4	0	1	3	0
Danning,c	3	0	1	1	3	Mazze'a,rf,1b	3	0	0	3	0
Ott,rf	4	0	0	0	0	May,3b	3	0	0	1	2
Witek,ss	4	0	0	2	7	Warren,c	3	0	1	3	0
Cuccin'llo,3b	3	0	0	0	5	Mahan,1b	2	0	0	8	0
Gumbert,p	3	1	2	1	1	xMueller	0	0	0	0	0
	—	—	—	—	—	xxMonchak	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	32	1	5	27	21	Brown,p	0	0	0	0	1
						SiJohnson,p	2	0	0	0	0
						Klein,rf	1	0	0	0	0
						Totals	29	0	5	27	8

x Batted for Mahan in 8th.
xx Ran for Mueller in 8th.

GIANTS	0 0 1	0 0 0	0 0 0	—1
PHILLIES	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	—0

Errors: May, Danning. Runs batted in: Moore. Two base hits: Gumbert, Marty. Sacrifices: Mazzera, Whitehead. Double plays: Danning to

Trigger Lady



Baseball Scores

											R	H	E
GIANTS	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	—1	5	1
PHILLIES	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	—0	5	1

Gumbert and Danning; Si Johnson, Brown (9) and Warren.

											R	H	E
CUBS	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	—1	8	0
PIRATES	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	—0	7	0

Olsen and Todd; Klinger, Brown (9), Davis and Lopez.

											R	H	E
ATHLETICS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	—0	5	0
YANKEES	3	1	1	0	0	5	0	3	x	—13	13	1

Potter, Dean (3), Beckman (7) and Hayes; Bonham and Dickey

											R	H	E
DODGERS	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	—3	11	0
BEES	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	x	—4	8	2

Grissom, Hamlin (6), Head (7), and Phelps; Salvo and Berres.

											R	H	E
CARDINALS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	—0	4	2
REDS	0	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	x	—5	9	0

Bowman, Doyle (8), and Padgett; Moore and Lombardi.

							R	H	E
TIGERS	0	3	0	0	2		—5	7	1
WHITE SOX	1	1	0	0	0		—2	8	1

Rowe and Tebbetts; Lee and Tresh. (Called, rain at end of 5th.)

											R	H	E
RED SOX	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	—3	5	1
SENATORS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	—0	9	2

Johnson, Wilson (9) and Foxx; Chase, Masterson (8) and Ferrell.

Baseball

Foul lines in Ebbetts Field will be marked with neon lights next year, if Larry McPhail, Broklyn's flamboyant executive, has his way.

Porter Vaughan, ace pitcher from the University of Richmond, is said to have received an $8000 bonus from Connie Mack, who also helped the young man through college.

A quartet from the Brooklyn Dodgers, consisting of Dixie Walker, Tex Carleton, Gus Mancuso and Ducky Medwick, will sing *Sweet Adeline,* on the *Life of the Party,* radio show over station WABC, Monday night.

Golf

Mike Turnesa, of the famous Westchester golfing family, is favored to win the Vermont Open Championship, now running at the Burlington Country Club. Horton Smith, pre-tourney choice, blew up in the early rounds.

Midget Auto Racing

Charley Miller, Red Redmond and Lyle Dickey are the featured drivers at the Tri-City Speedway races in Union Township, N. J., tonight.

Dodgers	ab	r	bh	po	a	Bees	ab	r	bh	po	a
Reese,ss	3	1	0	1	0	Sisti,3b	2	0	0	3	1
Walker,cf	5	1	3	3	0	Cooney,cf	4	1	1	4	1
Camilli,1b	4	1	2	5	0	Rowell,2b	4	1	2	2	3
Phelps,c	4	0	2	6	0	West,rf	4	1	1	1	1
Reiser,rf	4	0	1	1	0	Moore,rf	0	0	0	0	0
Lavagetto,3b	4	0	0	0	4	Roos,lf	4	1	2	2	1
Medwick,lf	3	0	2	4	0	Miller,ss	4	0	0	5	1
Coscarart,2b	3	0	0	4	2	Hassett,1b	4	0	1	7	1
Grissom,p	2	0	1	0	0	Berres,c	4	0	1	2	2
Hamlin,p	0	0	0	0	0	Salvo,p	1	0	0	1	3
a Franks	1	0	0	0	0						
Head,p	0	0	0	0	0	Totals	31	4	8	27	14
b Wasdell	0	0	0	0	0						
c Hudson	0	0	0	0	0						
Totals	33	3	11	24	6						

a Batted for Hamlin in 7th.
b Batted for Head in 9th.
c Ran for Wasdell in 9th.

DODGERS ——— 2 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0—3
BEES ——— 0 0 0 0 0 4 0 0 x—4

Runs batted in: Camilli, Phelps, Ross 4. Two base hits: Medwick, Walker. Home runs: Camilli, Ross. Stolen base: Reese. Sacrifices: Reese, Sisti. Double plays: Rowell, Miller, Hassett. Left on bases: Brooklyn 9, Boston 7. Base on balls: Grisso m2, Head 1, Salvo 5. Struck out: By Grissom 5, Salvo 2. Hits: Off Grissom, 5 in 5 innings; none out in 6th; off Hamlin 1 in 1 inning; off Head 2 in 2 innings. Losing pitcher: Grissom. Umpires: Reardon, Sear and Jorda. Time: 2:28. Attendance: 7284.

Giants	ab	r	bh	po	a	Phillies	ab	r	bh	po	a
Whiteh'd,2b	3	0	1	1	5	Schulte,2b	3	0	1	1	3
Moore,lf	4	0	0	2	0	Marty,cf	4	0	2	5	0
Demaree,cf	4	0	1	2	0	Bragan,ss	4	0	0	3	2
Young,1b	4	0	0	18	0	Rizzo,lf	4	0	1	3	0
Danning,c	3	0	1	1	3	Mazze'a,rf,1b	3	0	0	3	0
Ott,rf	4	0	0	0	0	May,3b	3	0	0	1	2
Witek,ss	4	0	0	2	7	Warren,c	3	0	1	3	0
Cuccin'llo,3b	3	0	0	0	5	Mahan,1b	2	0	0	8	0
Gumbert,p	3	1	2	1	1	xMueller	0	0	0	0	0
						xxMonchak	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	32	1	5	27	21	Brown,p	0	0	0	0	1
						SiJohnson,p	2	0	0	0	0
						Klein,rf	1	0	0	0	0
						Totals	29	0	5	27	8

x Batted for Mahan in 8th.
xx Ran for Mueller in 8th.

GIANTS ——— 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0—1
PHILLIES ——— 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0—0

Errors: May, Danning. Runs batted in: Moore. Two base hits: Gumbert, Marty. Sacrifices: Mazzera, Whitehead. Double plays: Danning to Witek to Young; Gumbert to Young. Left on bases: New York 6, Phila. 5. Base on balls: Off Si Johnson 1, Gumbert 2. Struck out: By Si Johnson 2. Hits: Off Si Johnson, 5 in 8 innings; off Brown, 0 in 1 inning. Losing pitcher: Si Johnson. Umpires: Barr, Magerkurth and Stewart. Time: 1:47. Attendance: 1500.

Athletics	ab	r	bh	po	a	Yankees	ab	r	bh	po	a
Rubeling,3b	4	0	0	1	4	Gordon,2b	4	2	2	1	2
Moses,rf	4	0	1	4	0	Rolfe,3b	5	3	2	0	1
Chapman,cf	4	0	2	1	0	Henrich,rf	4	2	2	1	0
Johnson,lf	4	0	0	1	0	DiMaggio,cf	4	2	2	6	0
Siebert,1b	3	0	1	11	0	Keller,lf	5	1	1	6	0
Hayes,c	3	0	1	2	0	Dickey,c	3	1	2	4	0
McCoy,2b	3	0	0	1	8	Dahlgren,1b	4	1	2	6	1
Brancato,ss	3	0	0	3	3	Knicke'ker,ss	4	0	0	2	2
Potter,p	0	0	0	0	0	Bonham,p	3	1	0	1	0
xDavis	1	0	0	0	0						
Dean,p	1	0	0	0	0	Totals	36	13	13	27	6
Beckman,p	1	0	0	0	0						
Totals	31	0	5	24	15						

x Batted for Potter in 3rd.

ATHLETICS ——— 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0— 0
YANKEES ——— 3 1 1 0 0 5 0 3 x—13

Errors: Gordon. Runs batted in: Henrich 3, DiMaggio 2, Keller, Gordon, Dickey, Dahlgren 2, Rolfe. Two base hits: Rolfe, Henrich 2, Seibert, DiMaggio. Home runs: Keller, Gordon, Dahlgren, Rolfe, DiMaggio. Double plays: Knickerbocker and Dahlgren; Knickerbocker, Gordon and Dahlgren; Rubeling, McCoy and Siebert. Left on bases: New York 4, Philadelphia 4. Base on balls: Potter 2, Dean 2, Beckman 1. Struck out: By Bonham 3, Beckman 1. Hits: Off Potter, 3 in 2 innings; Dean 7 in 4 innings; Beckman 3 in 2 innings. Losing pitcher: Potter. Umpires: Pipgras, Ormsby and Summers. Time: 1:45. Attendance: 7587.

Dudley Shoots 62 to Qualify For P.G.A. Title Tourney

MARPLE, Pa., Aug. 10. — Big Ed Dudley of the Philadelphia Country Club broke all competitive records in this area today when he scored a 10-under-par 62 over the heavily wooded Paxon Hollow course to qualify for the National P. G. A. championship.

Five qualified in yesterday's play and Dudley and four others played for the remaining two positions. George Fazio of Glendale won the other place with a 66.



Winsome Ilene Davidson, of Alliance, Neb., is favored to succeed Mrs. William Gilbert, of Madison, Wis., as North American Women's trapshooting champ. Sir Stork caused Mrs. Gilbert to leave title undefended.

Boys Athletic Club Observes 10th Year

Patrolman Milton Gibbons took several boys under his wing a decade ago and interested them in boxing and wrestling to keep them out of mischief. His idea became so popular that he was forced to move his wards into the Tuckahoe School gymnasium.

Today the group—the Tuckahoe Police Associates Athletic Club is regarded as one of the strongest amateur boxing units in the country and last week celebrated its 10th anniversary and most successful season. The boys have turned in 87 victories out of 104 bouts; won 14 championship titles, four in the Diamond Belt Tournament, five in the Golden Glove and five in the AAU.

The club has added track to its activities and plans to other sports soon.—F. G.

that PM, which purports to be esthetically concerned over news style, should condone such second-rate prose, and that the newspaper which boasts that "implicit in PM's relationship with its readers is the understanding that if PM devotes much space to a story, it must be a good story"[1] should waste so much of its valuable space on worthless, poorly-chosen and spottily-edited sports material.

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1 Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 9.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY

What is PM? How did it come about? What are its chances for survival?

The analytical portions of this study have attempted to answer the first two questions, and by a brief review of the truths about PM discovered in this study. It will be possible to formulate here an answer to the third.

PM is a daily newspaper, the brain-child of one Ralph McAllister Ingersoll, whose career has been made in the Time-Life-Fortune circuit of innovations, of spectacular publishing successes based upon a formula for gathering and disseminating news. Moved by the successes of these magazines and by his own even more ambitious journalistic ideas, Ralph Ingersoll broke with the Luce publications to enter the field of daily journalism with "a 100 per cent free newspaper"[1] devoted to helping "the people" to a richer, fuller life. His ideals were high, his principles, as quoted from time to time throughout this study, admirable. Even after a year of publication, his vision is not dimmed. In June, 1941, Ingersoll wrote of "PM's fresh start"[2] which consisted:

> .... In gearing its "useful news" pages not to its ideas of what people ought to want to know, or what national and local advertisers wanted the readers to know, but to solving the simple, most fundamental problems common to all our lives.

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1 Schneider, Walter E., "Ingersoll Sees PM's First Year as Start in Fulfilling Pledges," Editor and Publisher, Vol. 74, No. 24, June 14, 1941, p. 9.

2 Ibid., p. 38.

The changing political forces which have played upon Editor Ingersoll, and were reflected at one time or another in his plans for the new newspaper, are examined critically in Chapter II. On the surface, they present a picture of a political philosophy evolving from liberalism with a pro-Communist touch to a nationally-centered leftism and toward the social gains visualized by the Leftists.

Then just as the plans for PM were nearing completion, the world was tossed into the maelstrom of another major war, and necessary international alignments loomed as important issues. Ingersoll turned to a complete support of Britain, as representative of the democratic spirit, and full war on the Fascist forces of the totalitarian nations.

The position of Russia, insignificant at the moment except for its economic alignment with Germany, was unimportant during PM's early months and so the charges of Communism arose over staff affiliates and general leftist tendencies in labor and national coverage rather than in criticism of PM's foreign policy. In September, 1941, PM is expressing as much enthusiasm over a support of the USSR as it did over Britain's fight. But in the light of rapidly changing international alignments and a changing American conception of the role of Russian Communism, the question whether PM is Communist-dominated looms less important today, at the completion of this study, as it did a year ago, when the first research was begun. The bear bleeding under the assault of the conquering Germans has turned out to be quite a helpless and surprisingly white in its newly-acquired sheep's clothing.

The analysis of Ingersoll's political philosophy, however, as expressed by both his background and in his editorials, indicates that PM's editor and publisher is not Communist. This is set forth conclusively in Chapters II and IV.

Nor can PM's stockholders be charged with Communism. They are largely a group of moneyed people with a few less wealthy intellectuals also sharing in its backing. Their motives for support are varied, ranging from interest in journalistic experiments and a desire to do good with surplus funds to a possible wish to support a pro-Roosevelt newspaper in the hope of perpetuating the New Deal and the prosperity it has brought. The largest and most faithful of the stockholders, Marshall Field III, might well represent all three of these motives.

PM's Staff

PM's staff, it was discovered, is a conglomerate of energetic individuals gleaned from newspaper and magazine publishing circles, a minority with a background of journalistic experience, others with the sketchiest sort of training, other than the espousal of a particular "cause," for which they have worked energetically.

Some generalizations were formed concerning this staff -- its youthfulness, its diversity of background, its political leanings, largely to the left.

Staff relations, it was shown in Chapter II, have not been as harmonious as one might expect on a staff given as much freedom as PM's. Quite early in its publication history, a major conflagration broke out between Publisher Ingersoll and Labor Editor Leo Huberman over a diversity of opinion concerning the political stand of John L. Lewis.

Charged with "incompetence" by his employer, Huberman sought an adjustment through the American Newspaper Guild. In the course of Guild-PM discussions, some revealing expressions in regard to labor were made by Ingersoll. The complete discussion of the Huberman case and of other incidences of staff friction, is included in the closing pages of Chapter II.

For Whom Is PM Writing?

Chapter III is concerned with the theoretical question, "For whom is PM writing?" The answer is inconclusive, since a careful analysis of the evidence, comprised of the newspaper itself, the expression emanating from PM's promotional department, comments by Ingersoll, and numerous criticisms, has failed to indicate any concerted aim in one direction. At present, PM seems to be writing for two groups: the intellectual liberals and the dissatisfied lower-income tabloid reader, who usually cannot afford to pay a nickel a day in support of PM.

An examination of the crusades in PM indicates an attempt on the part of the newspaper to win support by attracting attention to its worthy efforts in behalf of the people, to bring about civil reform and devote its energies to making a better New York and United States. These are laudable ambitions, courageously executed, but they have been carried through with an eye to attracting readers as well as benefiting the community and nation. A study of crime news in PM indicates a definitely sensational cast with pictures and stories not too far removed from the treatment of crime in other metropolitan tabloids such as the Mirror and Daily News.

Editorial Policy

The editorial policy of PM and its effect upon news is examined at length and in detail in Chapter IV. Following an analysis of "Letters to the Editor" and other editorial page features, the study turns to an analysis of Ralph Ingersoll's editorials, concerned with both style and content. For the tone for PM's stand in relation to national and international events is set by these editorial expressions from the pen of its editor and publisher. PM, more than any other major newspaper in the country, has a definite editorial pace set by Ingersoll but carried through by numerous other departments in his paper.

For when PM takes a definite stand editorially, it is likely to be reflected in news stories and commentary from the front cover to page 32. This is true in reference to conscription, defense efforts, aid to Britain, labor policies, political support, and other major issues, and because such is the newspaper's policy, an unusual amount of time and space has been devoted to an analysis of significant editorials relating to these issues. The "all-out" drive against Lindbergh and Willkie, for instance, has been examined carefully here from an editorial standpoint, and re-examined in the subsequent analysis of news content for signs of editorial influence and opinion in newswriting.

Chapter IV also includes an analysis of editorial cartoons and their significance in expressing the newspaper's editorial policy.

Financial Backing

As a preliminary step toward the answering of the third question listed in the first paragraph of this summary, "What are PM's chances for survival?", the financial structure of the newspaper is examined in the opening section of Chapter V, "The Newspaper PM." Here the financial blueprint as originally planned and as it has been since Marshall Field's re-organization in October, 1940, is set forth. The heart-beat of PM is taken in the section on "Circulation" and its efforts toward recovery noted in the section devoted to "Promotion."

The verdict drawn from the clinical chart which is the outcome of this examination indicates that the patient is not yet capable of standing on his own feet. PM has expended its first funds and is now financially dependent on the good graces of Marshall Field. Despite the very positive vote of confidence given PM's editor by Field, and Ingersoll's denial of any degree of editorial interference by Field, the probability of interference is more potent under the new financial arrangement, as explained in Chapter V. Perhaps, with careful nursing, the newspaper may survive and live for many years, but not without the contributing support of backers. For PM's first year has proved conclusively that a newspaper of this type cannot support itself without advertising and make enough sales at five cents a copy to become financially independent, much less profit-making.

Before proceeding into the analysis of news content and commentary in the newspaper, the mechanical factors of size, shape, type, and format were set forth.

News or Commentary?

The news analysis is written with a particular problem in mind; the problem of separating news from comment in such a way that it will be possible to tag one section as straight, or pure "news" and another as "opinion" or "comment." Although PM has taken some steps toward segregating the two, by printing definite commentary under captions indicating it as such, there is still an enormous amount of opinion expressed in orthodox news stories. Much of this is due to PM's heavily-personal style, which encourages the interjection of the writer's personality and his experiences into content of his writing.

A discussion of the identification of news stories and the combination of staff editing with United Press wire stories casts additional light on the admixture of opinion with fact.

The news analysis includes a study of foreign news and additional comments on Communist sympathies in the coverage of the Trotsky assassination, and an analysis of national news, including the coverage on important news events such as the 1940 presidential election, the draft, the Lend-Lease bill, exposures of subversive activity, etc.

Throughout these analyses, copious quotations from PM's news pages and columns illustrate the difficulty of separating fact from comment.

Propaganda

In this connection, it is natural that the question of propaganda should arise. Is there propaganda in PM? Is PM

propagandizing in its news pages?

The answer to both questions, as revealed by the careful examination of PM's news pages, is "yes". The propaganda may not always be purposeful, but from the very freedom of style in which the newspaper is written, there is a definite championing of certain issues, a tendency to over-emphasize the editorially favorable, to minimize or delete the unfavorable. In fact, propaganda in PM is maddening and insidious because it is created through twisted logic and imbedded so deeply in factual material that it is almost impossible to root it out. The critical reader is aware of its presence, for the newspaper is seeped in propaganda and the general effect is obvious. Yet it is extremely difficult to trace through the news columns and place one's finger on a section which may definitely be labelled as propaganda.

PM considers objectivity in news unattainable, according to Richard Rovere, nation writer[1]. This being the case, one may expect to find any amount of editorial material in the news columns. And it is there.

In PM, propaganda is not restricted to the use of the seven symbols, or propaganda devices, nor is it combined to news columns. It has found its way into the book reviews, the photographs, the cartoons, the headlines, the feature stories. It appears as opinion in signed and unsigned articles, letters to the editor, and unidentified bulletins.

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1 Rovere, Richard H., "Here Comes PM," The Nation, Vol. 150, June 8, 1940, p. 701.

In considering propaganda, it is well to review Ingersoll's pledge to prospective subscribers:[1]

> We are against people who push other people around, just for the fun of pushing, whether they flourish in this country or abroad. We are against fraud and deceit and greed and cruelty and we will seek to expose their practitioneers. We are for people who are kindly and courageous and honest. We respect intelligence, sound accomplishment, open-mindedness and religious tolerance. We do not believe all mankind's problems are now being solved successfully by any existing social order, certainly not by our own, and we propose to crusade for those who seek constructively to improve the way men live together. We are Americans and we prefer democracy to any other principle of government.

A laudable statement, none can deny. And garnished with glittering generalities. Consider, for instance, the original claim, "We are against people who push other people around, just for the fun of pushing, whether they flourish in this country or abroad." No decent individual could oppose this remark, but what does it mean? If one is to interpret this statement to mean that PM considers the foreign crisis a matter of one group pushing another group around for the fun of it, then this newspaper certainly is not a reliable source of news and comment. For none can deny that there are issues far deeper than national sadism involved in the present conflict. The cleverness of this writing lies in its use of informality, the fresh presentation of platitudes, and its general vagueness and lack of meaning.

Even in this pre-publication prospectus, signs of the art of perplexing vagueness are present. They are increasingly frequent during the early months of publication.

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1 Ingersoll, Ralph, "Confidential Memorandum," Publications Research, Inc., May, 1940.

Although the seven propaganda devices are generally well known, they will be named herein in order that their presence in PM may be noted.

1. Name-Calling

This refers to the act of affixing to persons, attitudes, or ideas a bad name, so that association inevitably follows. For instance, the term, "silk-stocking panel,"[1] applied to a jury, and "political problem child," referring to Bridges.[2] This technique was used with intensity during the political campaign and plays a large part in PM's sustained campaign against Adolf Hitler.

2. Use of glittering generality

This technique is so common in PM, and so inseparable from the general tone of the newspaper, that additional examples are superfluous.

3. Transfer

The technique of promoting an issue by referring to it in terms of something admirable is also widely used in PM.

When Louis Raemaekers, a Dutch cartoonist, joined the staff of PM in September, 1940, a biographical sketch concerning him appeared in the "Family Album."[3] The lead of this sketch is: "Louis Raemaekers, who joins the family today,

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1 PM, June 14, 1940, p. 20.
2 Ibid., p. 20.
3 Sacartoff, Elizabeth, "Family Album," PM, September 8, 1940, p. 2.

has distrusted Germans all his life."[1] But the transfer propaganda enters in the fourth last paragraph of the sketch.

Miss Sacartoff writes:

> In 1917 Louis Raemaekers came to the U.S.A. and worked for Hearst. He stayed on the job for several months, but he was no friend of the late Arthur Brisbane, nor did he ever meet William Randolph Hearst. He did meet President Wilson.[2]

This is subtle transfer. Hearst was indifferent to the Allied cause in the past war; Wilson was an Anglophile. Hearst is here being condemned as un-American in the most adroit manner.

4. Testimonial

The technique of having an issue supported by having someone who is highly esteemed lend his prestige to the measure, or to kill it, having someone who is intensely hated support or endorse the issue. is another common one in PM. In a full page article entitled "Like It or Not, Willkie Rides Hitler's Air Waves,"[3] an attempt is made to identify Willkie and Hitler with the Nazi cause. The three-column bank on the left of the page declares:

> Goebbels' Broadcasters Campaign for the Republican Candidate as Frankly and Specifically as GOP Speakers in this Country.[4]

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1 Sacartoff, op. cit., p. 2.
2 Ibid.
3 PM, November 8, 1940, p. 8.
4 Ibid.

Also included on this page is a reprint of the cover of Father Charles Coughlin's publication, "Social Justice," with its screaming headline:

VOTE FOR WILLKIE
TO AVERT WAR AND [1]
STOP DICTATORSHIP

5. Plain Folks Machinery

This is the technique of making people think the plan is home-grown and home-spun. It includes the "front porch" campaign tricks.

Applied to PM, this technique can be found in the obvious proletariat front and the constant intensification of class consciousness.

More specifically, the plain folks device can be found in Ben Robertson's story about England above which appears the headline: "Only the Very Rich Complain of War's Ever-Mounting Hardships."[2] In the whole article, there is not a single reference to substantiate this headline.

Class consciousness is encouraged in PM. In the article comcerning Kathryn Lewis' activities in the "Save America First Committee"[3] the arousing of class hatred is obvious. It permeates the whole page. The article is written in an ugly tone, although much of it concerns a man who was formerly extolled in a series of articles in these same "Labor" columns.[4] The use of stereotypes adds to the propagandistic air of the article.

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1 PM, November 8, 1940, p. 8.
2 PM, September 3, 1940, p. 5.
3 PM, December 2, 1940, p. 10.
4 PM, July 16, 1940, p. 15.

6. Card-Stacking

This refers to the presentation of incomplete or untrue arguements in place of complete ones, or evading the issue by raising another argument. This may be done without intention and the fault may be laid to faulty logic rather than to a definite attempt to deceive.

For instance, in the story of Kathryn Lewis, the following passage appears:[1]

> Among the moving spirits of the committee (Save America First) are the country's leading advocates of appeasement. In private conversation they are willing to admit their real motives.

What motives? And if appeasement is the motive referred to, since when is this trend of thought subversive? This statement is based on a bit of card-stacking that is closely allied to the next propaganda device.

7. The Band-Wagon

This is the technique of creating the impression that everyone is "for" something -- why stay out of the crowd and be unpopular? It is used by PM in foreign news, national news, and particularly, in news of defense.

Essentially, the problem is this -- PM, either consciously or otherwise, has devised a method for combining comment and information so inextricably that it is adroit propaganda. The newspaper's editorial staff recognizes propaganda. Indeed, it devotes quite a bit of space to the analysis of propaganda emanating from Germany.[2] The propaganda from England is treated as a true record

1 PM, July 16, 1940, p. 15.
2 Particularly in "Short Wave" column, Foreign pages.

of war suffering and with a heavily sentimentalized cast.[1]

An example of this extremely sentimental type of treatment is Selwyn James' article, "If You Spent a Childhood in London .. Rode Its Buses ... Saw Its Pubs."[2]

The regular column on short wave news, which purportedly "compares official versions of what is news,"[3] illustrates this double treatment of news coming from Europe. A Goebbels' speaker is quoted on his conception of American newspapermen:[4]

> Their hearts are hardened. They want destruction. They know no good-will between men. They have invented a fifth column hoax. There may be some exceptions but most of them come from the lower East side in New York where the people sweat and stink. They come from the lowest standards, from Jewish sweatshops. They know no friendship. They are so ugly and miserable that in their hearts there is nothing but hate. No decent American man or woman wants to have anything to do with them.

It is interesting, in connection with propaganda, to note that some of the most conjecturing news stories are not signed, contrary to PM's boast that every article is to be tagged with initials.[5]

For instance, an eight-page feature story in a Sunday edition is entitled "How We Will Lick Hitler," or "A New Last Chapter for Mein Kampf."[6] The story is a conglomeration of an Ingersoll editorial and some very realistic sketches, embellished with wild conjecturing about the Nazi invasion of the Eastern United States.

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1 PM, September 1, 1940, p. 5; September 12, 1940, p. 4; September 15, 1940, p. 5.
2 PM, September 12, 1940, p. 5.
3 PM, September 2, 1940, p. 4.
4 Ibid.
5 Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 9.
6 PM, October 13, 1940, pp. 33-40.

The whole article was built on an assumption. It was confused, inconsistent, and dangerous. The total effect depended upon name-calling and glittering generalities. There is much wild conjecturing in this.

At the every end of this journalistic horror appears an editorial note stating that "this new last chapter of Mein Kampf is about as plausible as the other chapters."[1] The article is not signed.

It is interesting to note the ways in which propaganda can be inserted into the news content and commentary of a newspaper, even in this day when a larger proportion of the news is subjected to the impact of opinion and the necessity for jelling opinion is becoming more important to national unity.

Advertising

A discussion of PM's theories on advertising is included in the section of Chapter V devoted to the advertising Digest and "News for Living." The incongruity of PM's claim to have no prejudice against advertising and its rabid accusations of advertising influence in relations to its competitors indicates an inconsistency here as in other policies. The enigma of PM's advertising theories is examined and some additional theories posed.

Irvin, in writing of PM's latest promotional attempts, criticizes the newspaper's continued insistence that advertising is the curse of all publishing evils. The Editor and Publisher writer comments:[2]

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1 PM, October 13, 1940, p. 40.
2 Irvin, op. cit., p. 27.

> One attitude in the (promotional) piece, though, makes us just a little tired. That is the claim that PM is "the newspaper that can and dares to tell the truth." The courage to do this, PM claims, comes from the fact that it carries no advertising. The implied criticism of other newspapers and advertisers is, as all but the hopelessly misled know, 98 per cent unjustified. Can it be that PM's failure to make more of a dent in New York's circulation picture in its first year is due to public recognition of the hollowness of this appeal?

Irvin has greatly understated the case when he writes of PM's "implied criticism" of other newspapers, for this criticism has been harsh, consistent, and unflagging. The "Press" section, which was discarded during PM's first months, gave way to a "Press" caption tacked indiscriminately over the top of any item PM could find to criticize in a rival newspaper. Nor was this criticism made in gentle tones.

* * * *

Of the remaining sections -- those devoted to radio, movies, theatre, the arts, and sports, some have been good, others mediocre, none distinguished by the unique qualities promised PM's prospective readers. Although individual sections are of value, there is scarcely enough appeal in these entertainment features of the newspaper to make many nickel sales for this part of the paper alone.

As Others See It

A goodly portion of this thesis is composed of the writer's investigational results as compared with the promises for the newspaper as outlined by Editor Ingersoll. In addition, the verdicts of critics have been quoted frequently in order to substantiate certain points brought forth by the writer.

Although this study includes only nine months of PM's existence, beginning with July, 1940, and ending at the close of March, 1941, the following summary of criticisms of PM at the close of its first full year, made in June, 1941, are being included because they represent the evaluations of experienced newspapermen. Certain allowances must be made for personal and professional grievances, but on the whole, the tone of these criticisms is justified by the discoveries of this study.

It is only fair that Ralph Ingersoll should have the first utterance on the success of his experiment in journalism at the close of its first year. "The only needed improvement," he wrote in answer to Editor and Publisher's query,[1] "Is better execution of the original plans and better craftsmanship."

To his prospective readers, Ingersoll writes, in June, 1941:[2]

> And now, near the end on its first year, PM is at last sure enough of its own strength to go back to the public and promote itself. ... We like introducing you to PM at this stage because we can skip all the false starts we made during the first six months and forget all our failures -- the ideas which sounded good to us but didn't work out in practice.

From this one is to assume that Ingersoll is cheerful, if not completely satisfied with his newspaper at the end of its first year.

Other newspapermen are less optimistic and more brutally frank in their opinions of PM. Editors in three states -- New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, were asked to discuss how

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1 Schneider, op. cit., p. 9.
2 Ibid., p. 38.

PM's results stacked up against the blueprints of what Ingersoll had set out to do, or the angles of the PM experiment which interested them most. The inquiry was conducted by Editor and Publisher[1]; the results published in its columns.

Opinions ranged from the succinct statement of Editor A. (anonymous) who summarized his feelings in the sentence, "PM must be classified among amusements,"[2] to lengthy reports such as the one made by Dwight Marvin, then president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, who wrote:[3]

> PM is not a newspaper at all. It is a daily illustrated magazine. For slovenly readers it is an answer to a prayer for it picks out things the editor thinks one ought to read and presents them competently.
>
> For slovenly thinkersit is equally valuable for it colors material, generally by-lining it, to enforce editorial opinion.
>
> It is an attempt, apparently, to offer tabloid technique in a higher intellectual and social scale than those addicted hitherto to the tabloid.
>
> It has its place; but is that place large enough for permanence?

Or, in the opinion of Editor B.:[4]

> Anyone even slightly acquainted with daily publishing overhead costs must conclude that a daily magazine such as PM -- without advertising revenue and at 5¢ per copy in competition with 2¢ tabloids -- is an economic monstrosity. If large circulation were possible -- this might be offset, but it is patent that PM survives only via contributions from a very rich man who may find it convenient to write off losses for income tax purposes.
>
> Editorially, PM strives for a type of attention-arresting material which cannot always be accur-

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1 "PM Is Many Things to Editors Appraising It from Sidelines," Editor and Publisher, Vol. 74, No. 24, June 14, 1941, p. 8.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.

> ate. This is not enduring journalism. It was an interesting experiment which in the New York field did not click.[1]

Wrote Editor C.:

> It is my recollection when plans for PM were announced that the publication was to be a newspaper. This it certainly is not. It has become a daily journal of opinion, the opinion being mostly Mr. Ingersoll's.
>
> Some of the material has been excellent, notably the labor stories in the earlier days of PM. More recently, however, the whole publication has been devoted to tub-thumping to the exclusion of news and entertainment.

Another editor, more favorable in his reactions to PM, writes:[2]

> My own opinion is that it is close to being the "newspaperman's newspaper." It is thorough in its research and liberal in its policies. But its appeal is largely directed to workers and those of the middle bracket income groups, -- a type of reader that is not likely to spend 5¢ a copy for a daily publication.
>
> As a newspaper it is handicapped in format and distribution so that it does not present enough spot news to appeal to the average reader; thus it becomes a secondary newspaper and here again the average reader doesn't want to spend a nickel for a secondary paper.
>
> So far as Mr. Ingersoll's blueprints are concerned, I think he has come fairly close to producing the kind of daily he dreamed about.[3]

Writes Editor E.:

> PM promised to be a smart, newsy, fair, interesting paper. It turned out to be a dull, stale, bigoted, offspring of editorial ego and frustration.

C.M. Morrison, editor of the Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger, gave Editor and Publisher the joint opinion of the

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1 Editor and Publisher, op. cit., p. 8.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.

Ledger editorial executives:[1]

> In re: PM. Disappointing and cannot be regarded as an even reasonably complete newspaper. Necessary to read at least one and preferably two standard newspapers to remain informed. Supposedly devoted to freedom of opinion, its tone, temper and treatment grievously illiberal and one-sided. Has done many fine things, many not so fine. Altogether a noteworthy and valuable newspaper experiment.

While E.Z. Dimitman, executive editor of the Philadelphia Inquirer wrote:[2]

> Mr. Ingersoll and his staff had before them the greatest opportunity of the decade to produce something new and better in the way of a newspaper. Unfortunately, in my opinion, they have failed miserably, for the following reasons:
>
> 1. It is not a newspaper but a magazine of some sort.
> 2. News is not presented fairly and impartially but always with a slant and a prejudice.
> 3. The personal opinions of Mr. Ingersoll are considered more important by the editors than any developments that may occur from day to day.
> 4. The paper seems to have a policy that the underdog, whether right or wrong, must be supported, whereas the upper dog, whether right or wrong, must be denounced.
> 5. The paper tends to create class hatred.

And suggests as improvements:[3]

> If PM were to change over to AM, devote more of its space to news and backgrounds of news, throw out the free advertising and sell space at a high rate to selected advertisers, make Mr. Ingersoll an editorial writer and fire some of the left-wingers who seem to have so much influence on this newspaper and revive the original plan of operation as visualized by Mr. Ingersoll in the pre-publication days, PM might stage a comeback.

Philip Hochstein, editor of the Newark Star-Ledger, admits:[4]

1 Editor and Publisher, op. cit., p. 8.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.

> I want to be frank. PM has made some notable experiments and contributions to journalism; on the other hand, it has not been a complete, well-balanced newspaper. PM has also exhibited a leftist tendency that has hardly been objective. Experimentation is essential and not to be belittled but the reader has the right to expect a well-balanced product.
>
> PM has been a good laboratory; out of this experiment may some day emerge a new type of newspaper. PM may have t paved the way but it has not realized its objective.

Said Editor F., among other things:[1]

> Maybe too much was expected in one year. Possibly clarification of its objectives in the light of its experience is needed. I am not convinced that the absence of advertisements is good from a news standpoint.

Not all of the criticisms are so negative, however. James Kerney Jr., editor of the Trenton Times and State Gazette, writes that:[2]

> While PM's results fall short of the hyperspectacular build-up we were given, nevertheless PM has done a swell job of humanizing and close-editing war news, particularly from England. PM gives more readable background than most of us. But I am tired of the fetish they have made of advertising, claiming without any basis that it leaves them freer to print the truth. Unfortunately for PM, they just don't seem to fill the established needs of America's newspaper public.

These, then, are the opinions of experienced and mature newspapermen. Each of them has some truth in it, depending upon the viewpoint of the writer.

The conclusions of the writer of this study are scattered throughout the paper with the more important ones emphasized and reiterated in this summary chapter. Certainly PM has added

1 Editor and Publisher, op. cit., p. 8.
2 Ibid.

something to the field of journalism in America, if it is no more than an awareness of new forces, of the need for greater background material and for freshness of style and form, and of an awakening spirit of revolt against the accepted journalistic patterns. PM has, in fact, given to the field of journalism many more things, but, in the words of the last critic, "they just don't seem to fill the established needs of America's newspaper public."[1]

Because this is true, and because PM has been unable to determine the nature of its reading public and how best to go about finding and securing that public in order to hold its circulation at a higher point, it is doubtful whether the newspaper can weather another year. If it does pull through, it will be as the result of additional ministrations at the hand of its guardian angel, Marshall Field, or other interested backers, rather than on its own money-making abilities. And, this being the case, PM is not fulfilling its destinies nor the dream of the man who conceived of a new kind of newspaper, "a daily publication supported directly by its readers -- rather than being supported indirectly by its advertisers."[2]

This, then, is PM, the newspaper that "can and dares to tell the truth," the experiment in journalism which has not, as yet, yielded any conclusions. What these results will be, only time can tell.

END

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1 Editor and Publisher, op. cit., p. 8.
2 Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 3.

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Approved Robert M. Hearst

Date: October 23, 1941