



Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

Featuring collections from the Western Reserve Historical Society and
The Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives

MS-4787: Abba Hillel Silver Papers, 1902-1989.

Series V: Writings, 1909-1963, undated.

Reel
173

Box
63

Folder
159

Democracy at the crossroads, 1927.

① Nine years ago we sent our men into battle to make the world safe for democracy. The war for democracy was won, and yet, today, democracy stands discredited in half of Europe, and timid and apologetic at home. In Portugal, Spain, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Hungary, Poland and Russia, Democracy has abdicated, and at home democracy has lost its crusading zeal, and stands in need of defenders and apologists.

The dictators who have established themselves in half of the States of Europe are justifying their usurpation ~~of~~ of power, not on the ground of the existence of an emergency, which their "ad Interim" despotism aims to meet, ~~but~~ on the ground of the utter inadequacy of Democracy as a form of government for society today. They challenge its very creed and dogmas. It is false, futile and inefficacious, they say. Lenin spoke of Democracy as a mere superstitionⁿ, and Mussolini characterized the Goddess of Liberty as "The more or less putrescent corpse." Fascism and Bolshevism represent, at least to their disciples, not drastic but temporary remedies for political maladies, but quite permanent systems of government, and elaborate political philosophies, which in almost every essential are hostile to our democratic system of philosophy. And in our own land, Democracy is the target of sceptic and cynic and thousands among us are open or furtive enemies^{admirers} of the new apostles of the Black gospel or the Red.

To note of the 136th Gen
All this is rather sad and discouraging in the sesqui-centennial year of the Declaration of Independence, which in words of flaming faith proclaimed the supremacy of man over the State, the capacity of man for self-government and man's inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The most sacred political tradition of the American people, sanctified by the heroic labors of ~~the~~ great statesmen and leaders and by the loyalties of countless men and women, and baptized in the blood of three wars, is now being flaunted abroad and questioned ~~discredited~~ at home.

(2) Undoubtedly the drift toward political renunciation in Europe and democratic apathy in America is due to the vast disorganization in the lives of peoples, brought about by the war, and the emotional fag and weariness which followed it. ^{in some countries} Parliamentary government broke down during and after the war, especially in those in which it had not long been established. The people who emerged victorious from the war began to clamor for the rich prizes which their rulers promised them and by means of which they were beguiled into the war. These prizes which ranged all the way from imperial expansion to a millennial social and economic equality for all, could not, of course, be had. There followed indignation, rage, confusion and class struggle. The vanquished peoples found themselves betrayed and humiliated. They turned upon the governments which dragged them to defeat. Revolution and chaos ensued.

In such a world of passion and fury and madness, democratic government, which is the flowering of peace and tranquility, has no chance. It is not want for a nation in extremis. ~~It could not function, because the interests of the governed were irreconcilable.~~ Force was accordingly resorted to and the better organized group or the better led group seized control of government - the Bolsheviks in Russia, the Fascists in Italy, the military oligarchy in Spain, the feudal autocracy in Hungary, etc.

In America the failure to achieve the democratic ideals, at whose behest our people were marshalled into war, and the tragic deflation of the war's exalted purposes at the Peace Conference and in the years which followed it, made men sceptical of their ideals and led them to doubt their value and efficacy. Again the inherent threat to property rights, which was involved in the programs of some of the more extreme political factions of Europe, induced many Americans to look with favor and approval upon any strong-arm man who would put an end to such a menace. For some of us are timid and expurgate dem. and we are more concerned about safeguarding property rights than about safeguarding Democracy. Else how could one explain the high universal condemnation of dictatorships in Russia, and the similar amazing defense of dictatorships in Italy....

The objectives of these two dictatorships are, of course, fundamentally different.

One is the lackey of a predatory capitalism and the other is the vehicle for a *fantasy* ~~fantasy~~ communism. One aspires to make rich and imperial within the framework of extreme orthodox economics; the other seeks to make Russia prosperous and happy on the basis of the revolutionary economics of Marx. Their objectives are like poles asunder, but their technique is the same. Their ideology is the same - ? class-domination; the mode of survival is the same - force, and their victim is the same - democracy.

Both fascism and bolshevism established themselves through revolution, are kept in power by means of military clique; both have destroyed const government; both have ruthlessly suppressed opposition, prohibited free speech and muzzled the press. And yet, while all the sins and curses of Bolshevism, real and imaginary have been fully broadcast among us and duly denounced, the sins of Fascism are subjected to ~~xxx~~ no such unreserved condemnation. Rather is one likely to encounter a widespread admiration of this movement, and praise for its heroic and histrionic autocrat.

(3) The Secretary of the Treasury, Andrew W. Mellon, on his recent return from Europe, indulged in a *paralytic* of Mussolini, declaring his work sound and prophecying that he is making a new nation out of Italy. This *spokesman* ~~spokesman~~ spokesman of the world's greatest democracy, when questioned about his brutal methods in suppressing every vestige of liberty in Italy, blandly remarked, "Many of his are unique indeed, but they are effective". These same methods when employed in Russia are denounced by him and by us as inhuman and tyrannical. But in the case of Mussolini, the Secretary of the Treasury can find no other term for them but "unique" - although goodness knows they are far from being unique; and he justified them on the score of being effective. Effective for what

I have often suspected that many of those who are such opponents of Bolshevism are moved, not by a sense of outrage at the desecration of democracy, but by a sense of fear at the confiscation of property. They were shedding tears, not for

③ principle but for interest. . . . Our government, which still refuses to recognize Russia because it has so flagrantly violated democratic principles, is on the friendliest terms with Fascist Italy, and recently terminated a debt settlement with that Government, which is as astounding as it is generous.

I have frequently heard diluted democracy justify Fascism on the ground that it has made Italy prosperous. This reasoning is, of course, Prosperity is no proof of morality in men or in governments. Peoples have been prosperous under every conceivable form of government- at least for a time. Germany was prosperous under Kaiserism - American under democracy. Again the sole function of government is not to make people prosperous - to give them bread and Government has another and higher function to perform - it is to enable its citizens to develop themselves to the limit of their capacity, intellectually, morally and artistically. The exercise of suffrage, the free participation in political responsibility, and the free exchange of ideas are among the most potent agencies for such development. When a government, for whatever reason, deprives its people of these prerogatives, it denies them some of the most stimulating opportunities for self-expansion and self-realization. Disraeli, long ago, warned men against confusing civilization with comfort, and it has become imperative to warn men against confusing good government with prosperity.

Furthermore, the prosperity of Italy . . . is not at all as great as some would wish us to believe, and even if real, is of ¹/_A short duration as to justify no such weighty inferences as they would have us draw. With the press gagged, criticism and all facts which are likely to reflect upon Fascism vigorously censored or repressed - how can one form correct judgment about the actual condition in Italy. One should like to know more about the actual conditions of labor in Italy before judgment is formed. We know that the eight hour day has been abolished - we know that old-age pensions and medical ²/_B have been abolished. We are informed that while the cost of living has increased 100% over the pre-war rates, wages have decreased 30%. We are informed that children under ten are employed in many Italian factories and such children are paid from 20 to 30 cents for a ten hour day. We are

told that women work ten hours a day for starvation wages. Mussolini boasts that the standard of living in Italy is still high enough to enable him to carry through whatever he has in mind. We would like to know more about these conditions - which are the sole criteria of a country's economic life, before we generalize about Italian prosperity. Who is prosperous in Italy? The or the banker! Or is it the peasant and the day laborer?

People are frequently beguiled by the superficial efficiency which autocracy early achieves. With the centralization of authority there ensues a temporary speeding up in administration, a momentary and dispatch. The victories of autocracy are early victories but they are not lasting victories. Over-centralization in government inevitably makes for the most rigid kind of bureaucracy. Eventually bureaucracy becomes infested with intrigue, rivalry, nepotism ~~and the spoils system~~. In the long run it becomes the most cumbersome and inefficient form of government ~~xxx~~ imaginable.

(6) This is the first of the two deadly evils which beset all autocracies ultimately destroy them. Internal rivalry. With the death of Lenin factionalism set in among the Bolsheviks of Russia. For the present the group of has been victorious. How long will it be before a second faction headed by Trotsky will attempt to seize the reins of government - or perhaps a third? And what can decide such a contest but civil war and blood-shed? How long will the power of Mussolini remain unchallenged? One serious blunder, and those closest to him and the which now acclaim him

Or, assuming that Mussolini will remain supreme duce as long as he likes, can he insure a peaceful dynasty to follow him? One must be a romanticist of the extreme type, as well as amazingly innocent of life and history, to anticipate such peaceful succession in office. Blood and revolution follow in the wake of all autocracy. This is history. All else is fiction. When men are restrained from declaring their preference of rulers by the ballot, they do it by the bullet. There has been no other alternative for the peoples of Europe since the French Revolution taught men their inalienable rights.

The second of the deadly evils which beset autocracy is imperialism. The autocrat must compensate his people for the liberties of which he deprived them. He is forced to hold up before their face tantalizing visions of imperial expansion- apocalyptic hopes of national grandeur and might. Mussolini, true to the role of autocrat, has deftly encouraged such messianic hopes among the Italians. He has projected the vision of a reborn Italy, whose power shall rival that of ancient Imperial Rome. On his last visit to Tripoli he intimated that the Mediterranean Sea ought by right to be an Italian lake. Not so long ago he was firing shells into the defenseless town of Cy prus. A little later he snarled across the Tyrol at Germany. More recently he rattled the sabre at France. Following the signing of the Treaties at Locarno, Mussolini declared that perpetual peace immoral and iniquitous - and that when private persons and state exchequers have a new abundance of gold, we shall again discuss the map of Europe.

Now, it may be that Mussolini is just acting. He knows the psychology of his followers, and realizes that he must make these dramatic gestures in order to hold their reverence and loyalty. But his followers may take, (as thousands among them have taken) his words quite literally. Italy is becoming infested with the wildest kind of national chauvenism, and obsessed with the most fantastic imperialistic hopes. Some day the autocrat himself may find himself, against his own will, stampeded into a war by the masses whose bellum instincts his reckless speeches infamed. A book entitled "The Perfect Fascist" has recently appeared in Italy. Among the axioms and maxims for the guidance of the true Fascist which it contains are the following:

Axiom 2. "Your bayonet and rifle are given you not to live and rust, but with a view to the next war".

Axiom 20. "War is bread to a Fascist combatant".

Maxim 15. "Civilization is non-existent for you. Italianism is existent".

Maxim 54. "For the Fascist the recent war was not the last but the first great war."

b) This is the language of Treitske and Bernardi, even as Mussolini's "inexorable will" is identical with the Kaiser's "Mailed hand" and "Iron will". Italy is now repeating

in crude form the tragi-comedy of Prussian junkerdom. At the beginning heroics and swagger -
at the end disaster and shame.

No, friends, there is still much to be said in favor of our democratic traditions
of a century and a half. I am not unmindful of the short-comings of Democracy in practice.
The very founders of our government, who framed the Democratic Creed in a visible glow of
life and enthusiasm, were soon shaken out of their exaltation by the prosaic spectacle
of democracy in actual operation.

Washington was forced to declare "that mankind when left to themselves are unfit
for their own government".

Madison confessed "that there are subjects to which the capacities of the bulk
of mankind are unequal".

The Secretary of State declared "The wise and the good never form the majority
of any large society, and it seldom happens that their measures are uniformly adopted".

And that keen student of law, John Marshall, following the riots in the State
of Massachusetts, declared "I fear - and there is no opinion more degrading to the dignity
of man, that these have truth on their side who say that man is incapable of governing
himself".

I am aware of the criticism which has been launched against Democracy

Democracy is inefficient and wasteful. It makes for mediocrity in personnel. It fre-
quently degenerates into the rule of the mob, or of a cunning and powerful minority.
Recently, Mr. Walter Lippmann in his incisive analysis of democratic government called
"The Phantom Public" has stripped away much of the glamor and mysticism which has
heretofore en it. His conclusions are that "We must abandon the notion that
democratic government can be the direct expression of the will of the people. We must
abandon the notion that the people govern. Instead we must adopt the theory that, by
their occasional mobilization as a majority, people support or approve the individuals
who actually govern. We must say that the popular will does not direct continuously,
but that it intervenes occasionally."

All these criticisms may be valid, and yet they are not fatal to the democratic

philosophy. The short-comings of Democratic government in practice are not an indictment of democratic of the people who administer it. Democracy is not an achievement, but a goal - a very distant goal. Much greater progress in self-development and education, in moral freedom and social responsibility will have to be made before men will even approximate the ideals of democracy. Democracy in theory is as exalted as man's vision of perfection. In practice it is no better than the men who manipulate it.

Was it not Mazzini who declared: "You will never have things better until you are better". Reality always lags behind the ideal, for the real is set in a framework of facts and the ideal in the realm of hope. The Declaration of Independence spoke magnificently of freedom and equality, and yet at the very time that it was written and for a considerable time thereafter, one-sixth of the population of America was chattel slaves, many whites were disenfranchised and suffrage was limited by race and religion and wealth in some of the colonies. And today, one hundred and fifty years later, our performance still lags far behind our program. In our political actions we still governed more by or tradition than by reason and research, less by knowledge than by propaganda, less by broad social vision than by narrow group interests. In all this there is challenge for self-examination and reformation, but no ground for abandoning the democratic ideal.

It is correct to say that American democracy in operation has been inefficient and wasteful, but it is the sheerest nonsense to say that by its very nature Democracy must forever be inefficient and wasteful. Was Democratic England less efficient and more wasteful than Tsarist Russia? Educate your citizenry to put trained and honest men in office and to keep them there; educate men to regard participation in government as a public servant as the supreme privilege which a man can enjoy, and you will eliminate waste and inefficiency.

Democracy may make for mediocrity, but not inevitably. It also makes possible an Abraham Lincoln and a Theodore Roosevelt and a Woodrow Wilson. And I ask whether these publicly elected democratic officials were inferior in intelligence, capacity and devotion to the autocrats of our day to Mussolini, or him de Rivera or Admiral Horthy.

Lippman's
Mussolini's contentions may be all true, and yet they do not in the least discredit Democracy. From a democratic point of view it is not at all important that the public shall pass judgment upon every issue, however involved and technical. With the increase in the scale and scope of government, it becomes increasingly more difficult for the average citizen to be in position to pass accurate and helpful judgment upon many problems of government, and increasingly more important to relegate many of these tasks to competent and trusted technicians and executives. - This is not in the least a violation of the democratic principle. - From the point of view of Democracy, four things are essential and indispensable, all else is incidental.

1. That every citizen shall be equal to every other citizen before the law.
 2. That no opportunities shall by law be denied to one group and granted to another.
 3. That any citizen shall be privileged to hold any office to which his fellow citizens ~~xxx~~ wish to elect him, and that citizens shall have the right to elect to office whomsoever they please.
 4. That political controversies shall be settled by referendum, not by force.
- 12 a) Within this framework all human progress is possible. The machinery of democracy may be constantly revised to meet new conditions and new knowledge. It may be found expedient to relegate more functions to technicians and experts, or to increase the power of the executive, or to centralize or decentralize in one instance or in another. The democratic form is yielding and susceptible to alteration in detail as long as the essentials are scrupulously safe-guarded..

It is my private conviction that democracy is not, as temporary would maintain, a of the race. Rather is it, in its broadline, the ultimate form of human political organization. For as long as men live upon earth, they will live in societies. As long as they live in societies there will be conflicts.

of interest. These conflicts, which existed 10,000 years ago and which will exist 50,000 years more, can be *adjusted* in one of two ways - through war, which will lead to more war, or through that a sublimated bloodless war, which is the popular vote. For after all, an election is war without its brutality and horrors. The majority says to the minority - "I can kill you if it comes to a show down by force, but what's the use? You know that I am in the majority and therefore let me run this government until such time as you can persuade more people to think as you do, and you will become the majority - then I will yield to you". - This is the saner, wholesomer way of settling the inevitable conflicts which will arise.

b) Furthermore, as long as people live upon earth, they will all try to climb as high upon the ladder of well-being and to possess as much of the goods of life as possible. In the presence of this ascending effort of all men, society can adopt one of two attitudes. It can establish arbitrary limitations for one group or another and declare "Thus far shall you go and no further". This is the caste system and with all its ramifications. Or, society can declare a fair and open field for all: Let each man advance to the limit of his capacity. Let each man ascend as high as his powers or his good fortune will permit him, thereby releasing untold energies and augmenting the social assets. Now we maintain that this latter way of winning the highest opportunities for all men's legitimate efforts towards self- is the fairest, and most secure form of social organization. *Lincoln - United not by slave.*

It would be the height of folly to maintain that these conditions of a free electorate and free opportunity are already fully established here or elsewhere. We are far from the millennium. To have a truly free electorate we must have a truly educated electorate, as well as a reliable channel of political information ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

Before free government can function properly, we shall have to drive out the money changers from the Temple the corrupt special interests, the financial potentates which throttle government - and the demagogues and the exploiters

To opportunity, we shall have to discover ways to control of
 (14) concentrated capital and for distributing more effectually the economic goods of
 life. This will come about not through lackadaisical repining over the short-
 comings of Democracy, but through a crusading zeal which will urge us
 to make straight that which is crooked and fill that which is wanting.

And is not this the time for such a renewed consecration to the Democratic
 ideal? At a time when the old would through fear and weariness and spiritual
 exhaustion is drifting back to the and temper of the Medievalism . . .
 . . . and the new would again sound the clarion call of Freedom, and rally
 all the stout of heart and of faith to defend these mistakes of human life,
 purchased by so much blood and so many ? Has not the time come for our
liberals and progressives, who seem to have gone into retirement during the last
 decade, many of them disheartened and many others dwelling at ease in Zion - I say
 has not the time come for these men, or others who cannot be content to among

. . . listening etc., to resume the cross and crown of democratic leadership?

We have talked a great deal recently about Americanization, concerning which
 the Founding Fathers had nothing to say, and we have said so little about democracy,
 concerning which they had so much to say. I fear me that our zeal for America has
 been a vicarious atonement for our indifference to Democracy. Ought we not to return
 to fundamentals, to the wide and steady vision of a free commonwealth, based not on fact
 but on the loyalty and gratitude of its people, ~~and~~ a commonwealth
 (15) whose purpose is the defense of the inalienable rights of its citizens, and whose glory
 are the spiritual values of life - justice and fair-play, and brotherliness and liberty?
 Ought we not to reinvest Democracy again with that religious fervor which of old,
 so that it will stir the of our youth - and set them upon the . . .
 career of emancipation - which is the mission of America?

10
Nine years ago we sent our men into battle to make the world safe for democracy. The war for democracy was won, and yet, today, democracy stands discredited in half of Europe, and timid and apologetic at home. In Portugal, Spain, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Hungary, Poland and Russia, Democracy has abdicated, and at home democracy has lost its crusading zeal, and stands in need of defenders and apologists.

The dictators who have established themselves in half of the States of Europe are justifying their usurpation ~~of~~ ^{of} powers not on the ground of the existence of an emergency, which their "ad Interim" despotism aims to meet, not on the ground of the utter inadequacy of Democracy as a form of government for society today. They challenge its very creed and dogmas. It is false, futile and inefficacious, they say. Lenin spoke of Democracy as a mere superstition, and Mussolini characterized the Goddess of Liberty as "The more or less putrescent corpse. Fascism and Bolshevism represent, at least to their disciples, ^{drastic} ~~not~~ ^{but} temporary remedies for political maladies, but quite ^{permanent} systems of government, and elaborate political philosophies, which in almost every essential are hostile to our democratic system of philosophy. And in our own land, Democracy is the target of sceptic and cynic and thousands among us are open or furtive ~~murderers~~ ^{admirers} of the new apostles of the Black gospel or the Red.

15
All this is rather sad and discouraging in the sesqui-centennial year of the Declaration of Independence, which in words of flaming faith proclaimed the supremacy of man over the State, the capacity of man for self-government and man's inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The most sacred political tradition of the American people sanctified by the heroic labors of our great statesmen and leaders and by the loyalties of countless ^{men} ~~men~~ and women, and baptized in the blood of three wars, ^{and} ~~is~~ now being flaunted abroad and discredited at home.

Undoubtedly the drift toward ^{democratic} political renunciation in Europe and democratic apathy in America is due to the vast disorganization in the lives of peoples, brought about by the war, and the emotional fag and ~~weariness~~ ^{in some countries} which followed it. Parliamentary government broke down ~~during and after the war~~, especially in those in which it had not long been established. The people who emerged victorious from the war began to clamor for the rich prizes which their rulers promised them and by means of which they were beguiled into the war. These prizes which ranged all the way from imperial expansion to a millennial ^{order} social and economic equality ~~for all~~, could not, of course, be had. There followed indignation, rage, confusion and class struggle. The vanquished peoples found themselves betrayed and humiliated. They turned upon the governments which dragged them to defeat. Revolution and chaos ensued.

In such a world of passion and fury and madness, democratic government, which is the flowering of peace and tranquility, has no chance. It is not ^{intended} for a nation in extremis. It could not function, because the interests of the governed were irreconcilable. Force was accordingly resorted to and the better organized group or the better led group seized control of government - the Bolsheviks in Russia, the Fascists in Italy, the military oligarchy in Spain, the feudal autocracy in Hungary, etc.

In America the failure to achieve the democratic ideals, at whose ^{behest} our people were marshalled into war, and the tragic deflation of the war's exalted purposes at the Peace Conference and in the years which followed it, made men sceptical of their ideals and led them to doubt their values and efficacy. Again the inherent threat to property rights, which was involved in some of the programs of some of the more extreme political factions of Europe, induced many Americans to look with favor and approval upon any strong-arm man who would put an end to such a menace. For some of us are timid and ^{debilitated} ~~democrats~~ and we are more concerned about safeguarding property rights than about safeguarding Democracy. Else how could one explain the high universal condemnation of dictatorships in Russia, and the amazing defense ^{similar} ~~and~~ ship in an ^{of dictatorships} ~~dictatorships~~.

The objectives of these two dictatorships are, ~~of~~ course, fundamentally different.

One is the lackey of a predatory capitalism and the other is the vehicle for a ~~fantastic~~ tentative communism. One aspires to make ~~Italy~~ rich and imperial within the framework of extreme orthodox economics; the other seeks to make Russia prosperous and happy on the basis of the revolutionary economics of Marx. Their objectives are like poles asunder, but their technique is the same. Their ideology is the same - ~~class-domination~~ ^{class-domination}; the mode of survival is the same - force, and their victim is the same - democracy.

Both fascism and bolshevism established themselves through revolution, are kept in power by means of military clique; both have destroyed ~~const~~ ^{stable} government; both have ruthlessly suppressed opposition, prohibited free speech and muzzled the press. And yet, while all the sins and ~~curves~~ ^{weaknesses} of Bolshevism, real and imaginary have been fully broadcast ~~among us~~ ^{in the world} and duly denounced, the sins of Fascism are subjected to ~~no~~ such unreserved condemnation. Rather is one likely to encounter a widespread admiration of this movement, and praise for its heroic and histrionic autocrat.

The Secretary of the Treasury, Andrew W. Mellon, on his recent return from Europe, indulged in a ~~vainglorious~~ ^{vainglorious} of Mussolini, declaring his work sound and prophesying that he is making a new nation out of Italy. This special spokesman of the world's greatest democracy, when questioned about his brutal methods in suppressing every vestige of liberty in Italy, blandly remarked, "Many of his ~~acts~~ ^{acts} are unique indeed, but they are effective". These same methods when employed in Russia are denounced by him and by us as ~~inhuman~~ ^{inhuman} and tyrannical. But in the case of Mussolini, the Secretary of the Treasury can find no other term for them but "unique" - although goodness knows they are far from being unique; and he justified them on the score of being effective. Effective for what

I have often suspected that many of those who are such ~~opponents~~ ^{opponents} of Bolshevism are moved, not by a sense of outrage at the desecration of democracy, but by a sense of fear at the confiscation of property. They were shedding tears, not for

principle but for interest. . . . Our government, which still refuses to recognize Russia because it has so flagrantly violated democratic principles, is on the friendliest terms with Fascist Italy, and ^{clearly} recently terminated a debt settlement with that Government, which is as astounding as it is generous.

I have frequently heard diluted democracy justify Fascism on the ground that it has made Italy prosperous. This reasoning is, of course, ? Prosperity is no proof of morality in men or in governments. Peoples have been prosperous under every conceivable form of government- at least for a time. Germany was prosperous under Kaiserism - America under democracy. Again the sole function of government is not to make people prosperous - to give them bread and ~~circuses~~. Government has another and higher function to perform - it is to enable its citizens to develop themselves to the limit of their capacity, intellectually, morally and artistically. The exercise of suffrage, the free participation in political responsibility, and the free exchange of ideas are among the most potent agencies for such development. When a government, for whatever reason, deprives its people of these prerogatives, it denies them some of the most stimulating opportunities for self-expansion and self-realization. Disraeli, long ago, warned men against confusing civilization with comfort, and it has become imperative to warn men against confusing good government with prosperity.

Furthermore, the prosperity of Italy . . . is not at all as real as some would wish us to believe, and even if real, is of short duration as to justify no such weighty inferences as they would have us draw. With the press gagged, criticism and all facts which are likely to reflect upon Fascism vigorously censored or repressed - how can one form correct judgment about the actual condition in Italy. One should like to know more about the actual conditions of labor in Italy before judgment is formed. We know that the eight hour day has been abolished - we know that old-age pensions and ~~medical~~ have been abolished. We are informed that while the cost of living has increased 100% over the pre-war rates, wages have decreased 30%. We are informed that children under ten are employed in many Italian factories and such children are paid from 20 to 30 cents for a ten hour day. We are

told that women work ten hours a day for starvation wages. Mussolini boasts that the standard of living in Italy is still enough to enable him to carry through whatever he has in mind. We would like to know more about these conditions - which are the sole criteria of a country's economic life, before we generalize about Italian prosperity. Who is prosperous in Italy? The *underprivileged* or the banker? Or is it the peasant and the *day* laborer?

People are frequently beguiled by the superficial efficiency which autocracy early achieves. With the centralization of authority there ensues a temporary speeding up in administration, a momentary *sculpture* and dispatch. The victories of autocracy are early victories but they are not lasting victories. Over-centralization in government inevitably makes for the most rigid kind of bureaucracy. Eventually bureaucracy becomes infested with intrigue, ~~rioting~~, nepotism and the spoils system. In the long run it becomes the most cumbersome and inefficient form of government ~~imag~~ imaginable.

Message to the This is the first of the ^{three} deadly evils which beset all autocracies ultimately destroy them. ~~Internal rivalry.~~ *and which* With the death of Lenin factionalism set in among the Bolsheviks of Russia. For the present the group of *Stalin* has been victorious. How long will it be before a second faction headed by Trotsky will attempt to seize the reins of government - or perhaps a third? And what can decide such a contest but civil war and bloodshed? How long will the power of Mussolini remain unchallenged? One serious blunder, and those closest to him and the which now acclaim him

Or, assuming that Mussolini will remain supreme duce as long as he likes, can he insure a peaceful dynasty to follow him? One must be a romanticist of the extreme type, as well as amazingly innocent of life and history, to anticipate such peaceful succession in office. Blood and revolution follow in the wake of all autocracy. This is history. All else is fiction. When men are restrained from declaring their preference of rulers by the ballot, they do it by the bullet. There has been no other alternative for the peoples of Europe since the French Revolution taught men their inalienable rights.

^{third}
The ~~second~~ of the deadly evils which beset autocracy is imperialism. The autocrat must compensate his people for the liberties of which he deprived them. He is forced to hold up before their face tantalizing visions of imperial expansion- apocalyptic hopes of national grandeur and might. Mussolini, true to the role of autocrat, has deftly encouraged such messianic hopes among the Italians. He has projected the vision of a reborn Italy, whose power shall rival that of ancient Imperial Rome. On his ~~last visit~~ ^{a visit} to Tripoli he intimated that the Mediterranean Sea ought by right to be an Italian lake. Not so long ago he was firing shells into the defenseless town of Cyrena. A little later he snarled across the Tyrol at Germany. More recently he rattled the sabre at France. Following the signing of the Treaties at Locarno, Mussolini declared that perpetual peace immoral and iniquitous - and that when private persons and state exchequers have a new abundance of gold, we shall again discuss the map of Europe.

Now, it may be that Mussolini is just acting. He knows the psychology of his followers, and realizes that he must make these dramatic gestures in order to hold their reverence and loyalty. But his followers may take, (as thousands among them have taken) his words quite literally. Italy is becoming infested with the wildest kind of national chauvenism, and obsessed with the most fantastic imperialistic hopes. Some day the autocrat himself may find himself, against his own will, stampeded into a war by the masses whose ^{believe} ~~believe~~ instincts his reckless speeches ^{had} ~~had~~ inflamed. A book entitled "The Perfect Fascist" has recently appeared in Italy. Among the axioms and maxims for the guidance of the true Fascist which it contains are the following:

Axiom 22. "Your bayonet and rifle are given you not to line and rust, but with a view to the next war".

Axiom 10. "War is bread to a Fascist combatant".

Maxim 15. "Civilisation is non-existent for you. Italianism is existent".

Maxim 84. "For the Fascist the recent war was not the last but the first great war."

b/ This is the language of Treitszke and Bernardi, even as Mussolini's "inexorable will" is identical with the Kaiser's "Mailed hand" and "Iron will". Italy is now repeating

in crude form the tragi-comedy of Prussian Junkerdom. At the beginning Heroics and swagger - at the end disaster and shame.

No, friends, there is still much to be said in favor of our democratic traditions of a century and a half. I am not unmindful of the short-comings of Democracy in practice. The very founders of our government, who framed the Democratic Creed in a visible glow of life and enthusiasm, were soon shaken out of their exaltation by the prosaic spectacle of democracy in actual operation.

Washington was forced to declare "that mankind when left to themselves are unfit for their own government".

Madison confessed "that there are subjects to which the capacities of the bulk of mankind are unequal".

The Secretary of State declared "The wise and the good never form the majority of any large society, and it seldom happens that their measures are uniformly adopted".

And that keen student of law, John Marshall, following the riots in the State of Massachusetts, declared "I fear - and there is no opinion more degrading to the dignity of man, that these have truth on their side who say that man is incapable of governing himself".

I am aware of the criticism which has been launched against Democracy

Democracy is inefficient and wasteful. It makes for mediocrity in personnel. It frequently degenerates into the rule of the mob, or of a cunning and powerful minority. Recently, Mr. Walter Lippmann in his incisive analysis of democratic government called "The Phantom Public" has stripped away much of the glamor and mysticism which has heretofore enshrouded it. His conclusions are that "We must abandon the notion that democratic government can be the direct expression of the will of the people. We must abandon the notion that the people govern. Instead we must adopt the theory that, by their occasional mobilization as a majority, people support or approve the individuals who actually govern. We must say that the popular will does not direct continuously, but that it intervenes occasionally."

All these criticisms may be valid, and yet they are not fatal to the democratic

1-102
20-10
2-10
aby 8 17
Abba Amenua

DEMOCRACY AT THE CROSS-ROADS.

Abstract of Address Delivered by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Before The Midday Luncheon Club of Springfield, Illinois,
On Tuesday, April 12, 1927.

Nashville
March 22

Ten years ago, we sent our men into battle to make the world safe for democracy. The war for democracy was won and yet today democracy stands discredited in half of Europe and timid and apologetic at home. The dictators, who have established themselves in Europe are justifying their usurpation of power, not on the ground of the existence of an emergency but because of the utter inadequacy of democracy as a form of government for society today.

Undoubtedly, the drift towards political renunciation in Europe is due to the vast disorganization brought about by the war and the emotional fog and weariness which followed it. In a world of passion and fury, democratic government, which is the flowering of peace and tranquility has no chance. In America, the failure to achieve the democratic ideals at whose behest our people was marshalled into war and the terrific deflation of the war's exalted purposes at the peace conference and in the years which followed it, made men skeptical of those ideals and led them to doubt their value and efficacy.

There are more Americans today admiring Mussolini than the Declaration of Independence. We denounce Bolshevism but we praise Fascism. Many of us are more concerned about safeguarding property rights than about safe-guarding democracy. Many expurgated democrats are concerned less about principle than about interest

People are frequently beguiled by the superficial efficiency which autocracy early achieves. With the centralization of authority, there ensues a temporary speeding up in administration. The victories of autocracy are early victories but not lasting. Over-centralization in government makes for the most rigid kind of bureaucracy, intrigue, rivalry and nepotism. In the long run it becomes the most cumbersome and inefficient form of government.

ms
Autocracy must be imperialistic. The autocrat must compensate his people for the liberties of which he has deprived them. He must tantalize them with visions of political grandeur. Mussolini has been making these dramatic gestures. He may be only acting but his people may be taking him seriously. Italy today is a veritable hot-bed of unbridled national pugnacity and chauvinism. This is a menace to the peace of Europe.

There is still much to be said for the democratic form of government. It is correct to say that democracy in operation has been inefficient and wasteful but it is the sheerest nonsense to say that by its very nature it must forever remain inefficient and wasteful. Democracy may have made for mediocrity but it has also made possible an Abraham Lincoln, a Theodore Roosevelt, and a Woodrow Wilson. And I ask whether these publicly elected democratic officials were inferior in intelligence, capacity or devotion to Mussolini. Primo de Rivera or Admiral Horthy.

Within the framework of democratic principles, all human progress is possible. The machinery may be constantly revised to meet new conditions and increased knowledge. It may be found expedient to relegate more governmental functions to technicians and experts or to increase the power of the executive or to centralize here or decentralize there. The democratic form is yielding and susceptible to change. It is our profound conviction that it is the ultimate form of government of society.

At this time when the old world, through fear and spiritual exhaustion is drifting back to the temper and mood of mediaevalism, ought not America set out anew in crusading zeal to make the democratic dogma triumphant in the world? Has not the time come for our liberals and progressives, who seem to have gone into retirement during the last decade, many of them disheartened and many others dwelling at ease in Zion, to resume the cross and the crown of democratic leadership?

We have in recent years, talked a great deal about Americanization concerning which the founding fathers had little to say but we have said very little about democracy concerning which they had so much to say. I feel that our zeal for Americanization has been, in a sense, a vicarious atonement for our indifference to democracy.

AN ABSTRACT FROM
~~THE FAITH OF AN UNTYRED LIBERAL~~, *Liberalism at The Crossroads.*
By
RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

You have heard it said that the liberals of America are tired, and there is much truth to that statement. Many of them have gone into cautious retirement; many others have been disillusioned by the manner in which their high hopes were frustrated during the last decade and a half; still others have sniffed the rich savor of the flesh-pots of Egypt and have succumbed to their enticements. Others again have been fascinated by what appears to them to be the swift consummation of their ideals through revolution in countries like Russia, and they have accordingly seceded from the ranks of the slow-moving, ineffectual liberals and have joined the ranks of the red fraternity. Thus the liberal forces of America, having suffered desertion and discouragement, are not so much tired as demoralized and scattered. That condition obtains also among the liberals in England and in other countries on the Continent.

It would be inaccurate to say however that there is no liberal sentiment in the United States today. There is a very considerable amount of it in all departments of our national life, in politics and economics, in religion, in art, and in literature. But it is unorganized and undirected. It lacks program and leadership. It is certainly not aggressive. At best it rallies around a few liberal magazines, or a few schools of social work, or a few outstanding men noted for their liberal tendencies. American liberalism today is strangely enough, most in evidence in the realm of religious thought. There is real ferment there and a real heart-searching. It

is next in evidence in our literature, particularly in our novels of social criticism and in the saving remnant of our drama. In our economic life it is marking time, content to rest upon the truly remarkable gains which were achieved in the quarter of a century preceeding the world war, and in the period of the war. In our political life, liberalism is purely negative. It has not even attained to the dignity of a party of protest. It is a sad commentary on the negligible status of political liberalism in America today, that Wall Street feels free to smile contentedly upon the platforms and candidates of both major political parties, and to ignore in complete indifference the very existence of the third minor political party.

But lest we despair, let us bear in mind always that liberalism is rooted in the very life and traditions of our people, and that it's present decline is a temporary phase, indicative of a change not of heart but of circumstances. The world without has changed, and not the spirit within; but the spirit whether of men or of nations, is always harassed and sorely troubled, and at times diverted from its essential channel by any radical changes in the world without, until the new adjustments are made. It should be borne in mind that Liberalism in America is not a recent growth nor a tender and alien shoot. Phases of it, especially political and religious phases, were dominant factors in our early colonial days. It burst forth in astounding glory in our Revolutionary era when it emblazoned itself in imperishable splendor upon two of the greatest documents of mankind, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. It suffered a set-back in the stormy period of reconstruction which followed. It gathered momentum during the decades preceeding the Civil War. It was hallowed in the nation's martyrdom during the Civil War. It slumped sadly in the

era of continental expansion and exploitation which followed the Civil War. It bestirred itself anew in the nineties and thereafter for almost three decades it was a motive power in American political life. It gave us leaders of the type of Bryan and Roosevelt and Wilson and LaFollette. It wrote many an advanced measure of legislation upon our State and Federal statute books. It bravely led America into the Great War, in the hope of extending the empire of freedom to other parts of the world and to peoples less favored, but it emerged from the war beaten and betrayed.

For war is the enemy of all real freedom. It is the negation of all that liberalism stands for. There can be no war without the conscription of thought and opinion. There can be no modern war without the conscription of men and the complete militarization of a people's life. This is said not in criticism of war but simply as a matter of cold, uncontested facts.

When the World War ended, the war psychology did not end. And now for ten years the individual has been struggling to get from under the heel of the State, to regain his self-respect, his intellectual autonomy, his decent human instincts. Liberalism suffered a great eclipse during these last years. We believe that it is now beginning to emerge again into the light of a new day.

Insert
There is a creed which the untired and undaunted liberals of all time have lived by. It is this:

We believe in Man, in his slow ascendent progress, in the autonomy of his spirit and in the primacy of his claims over the claims of all forms of human organizations and activities.

We believe in freedom - the fullest measure of freedom compatible with the fullest measure of responsibility.

We believe in authority - but only in authority sanctioned by reason and consent.

We believe that the tools of social progress are education, experimentation and cooperation.

We believe that to be well-governed is not as important as to be self-governed; that values bestowed are not as desirable as values achieved. Hence, we reject all manner of milleniums proffered to us at the spear-point of dictatorship.

We believe that all truth is made manifest through the contact and clash of manifold and diverse opinion and that the very motive power of progress is the free exchange of ideas and the exercised privilege of non-conformity.

We believe in tolerance but not in indifference, in enthusiasm but not in fanaticism, in convictions but not in obsessions, in independence but not in isolation, in conflict but not in hate.

1. You have heard it -

2. It would be inaccurate, however,

3. But less we despair - decline -

- It bravely led us into World War.

① When World War ended

4. There are 3 elements -

1. One of the major social problems
- within last 500 years -

2. But man's hard-won victories -

3. Now there is nothing sacrosanct -
- the ideal state -

5. Working Class.

1. For older days -

2. The bitter struggle -

3. The peace and well-being -

4. The liberal has well had a hard road -

6. Working Machine

① The rapid industrialization -

② The machine not only standardizes -
exploits - 75 years old.

③ Machine-type of education -

7. But in the eyes of the liberal-man comes
- the profitable production -

1. You have heard it said that the liberals of Am.
are tired, and there is ^{much} considerable truth to
that statement. Many of them have gone into
^{cautious} retirement; many others have been disillusioned
by the manner in which their high
hopes have been frustrated during the last
decade and a half; still others have sniffed
the rich savor of the flesh-pots of Egypt
and have succumbed to their enticements.
Others again have been fascinated by what
appears to them to be the swift contingent
of their ideals through revolution in countries
like Russia, and have accordingly seceded
from the ranks of the slow-moving ^{infectious} liberals
and have joined the gangs of the red confederacy.
Thus the liberal forces of Am. may be
scattered, not so much tired as demoralized,
and scattered, and demoralized. That is also
any where and of other countries on the Continent.
2. It would be inaccurate to say however that there
is no liberal sentiment in the U.S. to-day.
There is a very considerable amount of it in all
departments of our national life, political, econo-
mics, in religion, and in literature. But it is un-
organized and undirected. It lacks program and
leadership. It is certainly not aggressive and dynamic.
At best it
rallies around a few liberal magazines, or
a few schools of social work or a few men noted
for their liberal tendencies. Am. liberalism is,
strangely enough, most in evidence in the realm
of religious thought. There is real ferment there,
and real heart-searching. It is next in evidence
in the literature, particularly in our works of
verse criticism and in the very remnants of the old liberalism. In our

economic life; it is reaching time, content to rest upon the truly remarkable gains which were achieved in the quarter of a century preceding the World War, and in the ~~future~~ ^{present}, the ~~war~~ ^{war}, ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~recession~~ ^{recession} ~~which will~~ ^{which will} set in. In our political life, ~~liberalism~~ ^{liberalism} speaks through no party, is purely negative. It has not even attained to the dignity of a party of protest. It is a sad commentary upon the negligible status of post-liberalism in Am. life to-day, that Wall Street feels free to smile ~~derisively~~ ^{derisively} upon the platform and candidates of both major political parties, and to ignore ^{in general completely and utterly} the very eyes and ears of the third union political party.

But lest we despair, let

[illegible]

Constitution of the U.S. It suffered a set-back in
the stormy period ^{which followed} of reconstruction. It gathered momentum
during the decade, preceding the Civil War. It
was hallowed as the nation's workday
during the Civil War. It slumped sadly
~~losing~~ ⁱⁿ the era of continental expansion
and exploitation which preceded the Civil
War. It restored itself anew in the minutes
and for almost three decades it was a
living ~~document~~ ^{power} in Am. pol. life. It gave
us Cades, the type of Bryan and Roosevelt
and Wilson and Taft. It wrote
many an advanced measure of legisla-
tion upon our State and Federal statute
books. It bravely led Am. into the world
~~without~~ ^{the} ~~fear~~ ^{but} ~~it~~ ^{it} ~~suffered~~ ^{emerged} ~~as~~ ^{as} ~~overcoming~~
betrayals and betrayals. It was the
every ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{negative} of all that liberalism stands for
war without the corruption of thought and
policies. There can be no unbroken unbroken
the corruption of men, ~~was~~ as the complete
militarization of a nation's people. This is said
not in entirely ^{at} ~~but~~ ^{as} simply is a matter
of cold, ~~unconfronted~~ ^{unconfronted} ~~and~~ ^{and} facts. When the
Civil War ended, the war psychology had not
ended. For ten years the individual
has ^{been} ~~struggling~~ ^{struggling} to get from under the heel
of the State, to regain his self-respect, his
intellectual autonomy, his ~~control~~ ^{control} ~~human~~
secret instincts. Liberalism has suffered
a ~~serious~~ ^{serious} ~~part~~ ^{part} eclipse during these years.
~~we believe that it~~ ^{is now beginning} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~regain~~ ^{regain} ~~its~~ ^{its}
the light of day.

hoping to extend ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{breadth} Empire to other parts,
the world and to people less favored,



MRS. A. H. SILVER
10311 LAKE SHORE BLVD.
CLEVELAND, OHIO

4. There are 3 ^{enemies} ~~factories~~ in modern ^{society} life which are hostile to liberalism and against which the ^{unfettered} liberal must ^{be prepared to} wage incessant warfare. ① The Usurping State ② The Usurping Class ③ The Usurping machine.

① One of the major ^{social} problems of ^{all time} ~~society~~ ^{has been:} how to adjust the one to the many, how to save man from group tyranny whilst preserving the heritage and the continuity of the group; how to win the fullest expression of the individual's capacities without destroying the necessary political organisation of the State.

In primitive society the individual counted for very little. The tribe was monolithic. Its solidarity was paramount. The individual ~~was~~ ~~both~~ ~~movement~~ ~~he~~ was absorbed. He borrowed his ideology from his tribe. His actions were rigidly regulated by ~~the~~ ^{tribal} code and taboo. His personal habits and customs were the habits and customs of his tribe. The duty ^{which} ~~which~~ he was ^{bound} to perform was the tribal duty. There were decided advantages to this arrangement. The individual was sheltered, ~~protected~~ ^{protected} for and, ^{if} ^{needed} he, advised by his group. He ~~was~~ ^{felt} secure in ~~the~~ ^{belonging to a group dominated by a sense of} ~~the~~ ^{mutual} ~~all~~ ^{responsibility} ~~possessing~~ ^{sense} ~~sense~~ of mutual responsibility. The growth, the individualism, however, was stunted. There was little room in this compact world for mass structures and corporate action for the individualist, the rebel, the non-conformist. Beyond the boundaries of his tribal home, even his gods dared not venture.

Life moved on. The despotism of the organised group was slowly attenuated. The individual began to discover his own private life, within himself.

to had come upon a world distant in many ways from the world about him. As against his heritage, & man's traditions, he became aware of ~~nothing~~ himself of personal sources of judgment and sanction.

Within the last ^{500 yrs} ~~half of a millennium~~ 3 great movements in European civilization asserted the primacy of the individual ^{over} the group, the state ~~and~~ ^{or} the church. The first movement was the Renaissance, the second was the Protestant Reformation, the third was the French Revolution. In all these 3 movements, though at man's rights emerged triumphant, whether it was the intellectual claim, man to freedom, or the religious claim, man to spiritual autonomy or the political claim, man to political sovereignty.

But man's hard-won victories ^{against the tyrannical State} are ~~not~~ ^{not} permanently secured. ^{These gains} ~~They~~ are ~~often~~ ^{often} frequently challenged, endangered, at times totally ~~destroyed~~ ^{upset}. The State is always ready to encroach upon man's domain, to over-govern him, to ~~enmesh~~ ^{enmesh} him in laws and regulations, to coerce him into doing things which the State thinks is for his good, ~~and~~ ^{in his periods of emergency} such as ~~to~~ ^{in his periods} to take complete ^{control} ~~control~~ over his life, his possessions and his persons. All over the world, the State is in the ascendency. ~~to day as contrasted with~~ ~~though it was in this country once called, the~~ ~~unbearable~~ ~~rights of man to life, liberty and the~~ ~~pursuit of happiness~~ Now there is no thing ^{State} ~~State~~ ^{State} should not be confined

with society or with humanity. Some ^{philosophers} ~~have~~ ^{perceived} ~~that~~ those who happened to live in
peculiar times & in places where state intervention
was going on, have sought to cast a halo
of mystic sanctity round the State. It is all
~~the same~~ ^{the same}. The State represents the pol. machinery
of a people that wishes to live securely
and in an orderly fashion. It is administered
by human beings, is fallible as all human
beings are, who possess the delegated, ~~or~~
inherited or unelected power, and who exercise
this power, more or less wisely, often from fortitude
- never faultlessly. It is folly to idolize the
State; and the ideal State, it has been truly
said, is the one "that rules with moderation
and serves without meddling." ^{That is the philosopher's position} The socialists
which is proletarian state idolatry and
Facism which is bourgeois state idolatry
are, by no definition, reactionary and illiberal.
And it is quite consistent with their philosophy
that Marx and Lenin hated liberals just
as vindictively as the Czar did, and that
a Mussolini could pass without any
mental wrench from the role of socialist
agitator to that of dictator ~~dictator~~ ^{dictator}.
Liberalism to-day ~~is~~ ^{is} again ~~unworkable~~ ^{was} upon the
foundations for ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~unhappy~~ ^{unhappy} State.

② The second foe of liberalism is the unhappy
class. In older days it was the dynasty the
feudal lords, the military ^{clique} ~~class~~. More recently
it has been the capitalist class, which ~~has~~
unelected power over other ~~men~~ ^{men} the hazy and
pitiable ^{have caused} ~~other~~ ^{the capitalist class} ~~men~~ ^{the} ~~bourgeoisie~~ ^{bourgeoisie}

It is to know the proletarian ^{class} which plays a
ancient game, usurpation. ^{They} all do it of
course for the benefit, mankind. But mankind
is too stupid to realize it, so that they all have
all had to resort to the bloody arguments
of force, terror and intimidation to persuade ^{mankind}
that it was all meant for its good. The
bitter struggles, to-morrow will be economic
ones, and they are likely to lead not only to
international wars but to civil wars as
well, - class against class. Some one has said
that "the main feature of our time is that the
political movement, the world has passed through
a political phase where liberalism led,
and has passed into an economic phase
where socialism leads". I am not sure
that this is altogether true, ^{but} if true, the
prospect is black indeed unless ^{nations} ~~a few~~
^{put a full} measure of economic liberation against
the ~~tyranny~~ ^{tyranny} of class usurpation. The
peace of society will be secured by the triumph
neither of predatory capitalism, nor of predatory com-
munism, but ^{by} the triumph of a broad liberation
in our economic life which, while it will
safeguard the indispensable requirements of
^{economic} ~~social~~ progress, ^{such as} individual initiative, the ~~freedom~~
of competition, and private property, will yet
wipe out the ~~large~~ ^{growing} extremes of wealth and
~~poverty~~ ^{poverty} will have the ~~aim~~ ^{aim} of ~~proportion~~
open, ~~for all~~ ^{will not be broadened by widely open channels} ~~enable~~ ^{has promised} all
men of ~~industry~~ ^{who labor} and to share ^{governments} ~~in the~~
good things of life, and will protect ~~all~~
those who toil against the disabilities of
sickness, accident, old age & unemployment.

The liberal, ~~with him~~, will have a hard road to travel. His way must always be the way of groping, experimentation, ^{and compromise} moderation - the way of progress. He has no simple and appealing formula - no passage to all hearts. His philosophy must always be that the half loaf is against the extreme philosophy of the whole or nothing. He will be damned by both radical and reactionaries alike. Because he dare not be a doctrinaire he will miss in his life the glow of self-righteousness, and the glamour of absolute which surrounds those who believe themselves to be in possession of the ^{- and the perfect program} absolute truth. He can never ~~relax~~ ^{relax} the sly satisfaction of being contemptuous of his opponents - a private pastime for the doctrinaire, ~~the absolutist and the~~ ^{and} ~~fanatical~~. ~~But~~ ^{in perfect} ~~he may never~~ ^{in a peaceful} know the ~~sublimity~~ joy of crushing and ~~extending~~ ^{extending} nature's his enemies, which is the ^{ecstatic} reward. But ~~the liberal~~ ^{the liberal} way is the way of salvation.

③ The third foe of liberalism is the ^{modern} machine. The rapid industrialization of society has not only surrounded man with machines but has given the machine terrible power over ~~the~~ ^{his} physical, intellectual and social life. ~~It is~~ ^{to} ~~folly~~ ^{to} ~~to think~~ ^{to think} that the machine has not brought great blessings to mankind. It is the machine ^{that} ~~has~~ ^{has} given to the working man, an age a standard of living higher than that possessed by his brothers in toil at any time in human history - shorter hours, higher wages and better conditions of employment. It has given to all men greater security, comfort, contacts and protection. It is slowly but surely knitting the world more closely together.

A N.Y. Electric co. is building to-day for
a California Power Co. a turbine generator
which will develop twice the muscle
power of all the slaves who lived in the
U.S. before the Civil War.



MRS. A. H. SILVER
10311 LAKE SHORE BLVD.
CLEVELAND, OHIO

But the machine which standardizes production
also comes to standardize the producer. It
mechanizes man. It absorbs him into the
process. The machine demands a rigid, machine-
like organization, ~~the~~ human services
around it. They must conform to a given
pattern; use this ^{machine cannot work smoothly} ~~other~~
~~The individual is~~ ^{the individual is} ~~subordinated to the machine~~ ^{subordinated to the machine}
~~of production. The machine says, his life is~~
~~subordinated to the machine~~ ^{subordinated to the machine}
That takes care of all which they use
, capital, ^{brain} ~~intelligence~~ of ~~superior~~ brain.
All things are made to serve production,
government ~~is~~ ^{is} included. [Thus
our human values are becoming machine
values, our judgments mass judgments,
and our machines mechanical. The ~~thought~~ ^{thought}
men are becoming stereotyped, their ~~speech~~ ^{covered},
their religion, ^{their politics} their amusement, their tastes
- all of a kind - drab and monstrous. ~~The~~
~~is started to get the job, whether the job pay~~
~~first or first hundred dollars a day to con-~~
~~sider, are we driving for the job that we~~
~~do not know how to employ, our~~ ^{own} ~~original~~ ^{two}
intelligence and creativity.

Now, standardization and representation
are the ^{best} ~~best~~ liberalism, for the very ^{heart of life} ~~heart of life~~
~~doctrine~~ is the free and full development
of ~~human~~ personality man, each according
to his ^{nature} gifts and circumstances, each according
to his distinctiveness and individuality. ~~One~~
~~should use the machine but not be used up~~
~~by it. When the machine has done its work,~~
~~let the job be left to man's life~~

That the things were ^{not} new (They move with the alignment of
 main thoughts as ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} into ^{pictures in a workshop} books and
 they ~~pass~~ ^{pass} into their social, pol. & cultural
 life that same passion for conformity and
 mass organization, that ~~same~~ ^{the} ~~desire~~ ^{desire}
 all manifestations of individualism.

They wrote with the alignment of
the new proofs and

I read where many
~~they are~~ industries to-day which refuse to
employ even who are ^{35 or} only forty years
age. They are regarded as too old for the high
speed of modern efficiency. They are ^{scraped} scrapped.

I read where many
~~they are~~ industries to-day which refuse to
employ even who are ^{35 or} only forty years
age. They are regarded as too old for the high
speed of modern efficiency. They are ^{scraped} scrapped.

Again the machine not only standardizes
man but supremely exerts him. ~~Man's~~
~~interests are subordinated to that of production.~~
Optimism ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~totally exploded~~ ^{used up by the West}
and business. Man understands ~~ex~~ man can
being trained not to achieve a life but to
to become efficient producers, not well-rounded,
well-cultured human beings. Men have come to
think primarily of jobs, careers, professions,
~~materal success~~ - not; the ~~best~~ ^{best} advantage
of living. Thus the rich tapestry of human life is
drained to rid the wheels of industry.

interests are subordinated to that of production.
Optimism ^{again} is ~~totally~~ ^{used up} by the workers
and business. Man understands ^{now} men are
being trained not to achieve a life but to
to become efficient producers, not well-rounded
well-ordered human beings. Men have come to
think primarily of jobs, careers, professional
~~material~~ success - not the ~~best~~ ^{best} advantage
of life. Thus the rich saps human life is
trained to ride the wheels of industry.

being trained not to achieve a life but to
to become efficient producers, not well-rounded
well-ordered human beings. We have come to
think primarily of jobs, careers, professional
~~material~~ success - not the ~~best~~ best advantage
of living. Thus the rich tape of human life is
drained to feed the wheels of industry.

think primarily of jobs, careers, professional
~~material~~ success - not the ~~best~~ ^{best} advantage
of living. Thus the rich saps human life is
drained to oil the wheels of industry.

of life. Thus the rich ^{and} human life is
drained to rid the wheels of industry.

That in the eyes, the liberal, man comes
best - the machine last. The profitable
production and distribution of commodities
~~- efficient commercialism -~~
is a necessary part of social existence - not
only a part. Social life has other require-
ments. A nation's greatness is not its mate-
rial wealth but the high quality of its moral
and cultural life. ^{Its} ~~It is~~ ^{These} ~~are things which~~ ^{work as nutriment to the soul}
Man was meant for more than a job - whether that job pay
\$02 or \$00 a day.

Handwritten: *Handwritten: and distribution of commodities
to a necessary part of social expenditure*

only a part. Social life has other require-
ments. A nation's greatness is not to mark.

It is not the high quality but the moral
and spiritual value which serve as nutriment to the soul.

and cultural life. Man was meant for more than a job - whether that job pay

15 or 500 dollars a day.

MRS. A. H. SILVER
1011 LAKE SHORE BLVD
CLEVELAND, OHIO

4, We believe in the remission of error through
the increase of truth that all truth is made
manifest through the contact and clash of
diverse ~~prepositions~~ ^{principles} and that the
the only ^{motion power} ~~code~~ progress is the free exchange
of ideas, and the ~~privilege~~ ^{freedom} of non-conformity.

Q We believe in tolerance ^{but not in} indifference,
in enthusiasm but not in fanaticism,
in corrections but not in obsessions.
in struggle but not in hate.

35) We believe that to be well governed is not as important as to be self-governed. That values bestowed are not as desirable as values achieved. Hence we are ~~the~~ opposed to all forms of group, class or individual dictatorship.

6. we believe that the laboratory patient
tolerant, moderate, sound by his knowledge
of history,

- This is the -

1. Share of money -
- Just for capital -

2. - One major social problem

- now the hard-work -

- In money

- Security - not steady

- It's flat - the

3. - Hard Road

4. - Again it

T. O. O'Leary

1920 ✓

Three years ago we sent our men into battle to make the world safe for democracy. The war for democracy was won, and yet to-day it stands discredited in half of Europe and timid and ~~partial~~ ^{Hungary} apologists at home. In Portugal, Spain, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Poland and Russia D. has abdicated, and at home D. has lost its crusading zeal, and stands in need of defenders and apologists. against

The dictators who have established themselves in half the states of Europe are not justifying their usurpation of power, on the ground of the existence of an emergency, which their "ad interim" disposition aims to meet, but on the ground of the utter inadequacy of D. as a form of govt for society to-day. They challenge the whole ~~very~~ ^{its} creed and dogma. D. is false, futile and misdirection. Lenin spoke of D. as "a mere bourgeois superstition," and Mussolini characterized the Godless of Italy as "the more or less putrescent corpse." And in our own land D. is the target of scoffs and cynic and thousands ^{among us} are the fervent admirers of the new gospel, the Black apostle or the Red.

All this is rather ^{bad and} discouraging in the semi-centennial year of the Declaration of Independence, which in warring words of flaming faith proclaimed the supremacy of man over the state, ~~the equality of all men~~ ^{the equality of all men}, and their inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The most sacred pol. tradition of the Am. people, which was sanctified by the heroic ^{deeds of our} ~~great statesmen & leaders~~ ^{great statesmen & leaders} of our countrymen men ^{men} and baptized in the blood of this war, is now being plucked abroad and ~~looted~~ ^{disregarded} at home.

Undoubtedly the drift towards pol. renunciation ⁱⁿ Europe and ~~dem.~~ ^{dem.} apathy in Am. is due to the vast disorganization in the home & people but about by the war, and the ~~existing~~ ^{existing}

Fascism and Bolshevism, represent at least to their ^{displeasure} ~~displeasure~~ ^{displeasure} not
inferior and not ^{displeasure} ~~displeasure~~ ^{displeasure} but temporary ^{displeasure} ~~displeasure~~ ^{displeasure} last great
defeat systems of government, and elaborate political philo-
sophies - what is almost every essential are liable to
the d. system & philosophy.



(2) Q Over ~~dictatorship of a few men, in a confusion of political incapacity and~~
 / par and warfare which followed it. Parliam. Govt had at
 / broke down in some countries, esp. in those in which it was not
 sufficiently democratic long been established. The people who
 emerged victorious from the war began to clamor for the
 rich prizes which their rulers promised them and by which
 they were beguiled into the war. These prizes, which ranged
 all the way from imperial expansion to a universal
 social and economic equality for all, could not be
 had. There ~~was~~ followed indignation, rage and confusion.
 The vainquished peoples found themselves betrayed and dis-
 illustrated. They perceived the facts which drove them to
 the defeat. Revolution and chaos ensued. To such a
 world of passion & fury and readers dem. govt which
 is the flowering of peace and tranquility, has no chance, it
 could not function for the interests, the government was incom-
 patible. and dem. is free was accordingly resorted to, and the
 better org. groups or the better led groups seized control,
 first, the Bol. in Russia, the Fascists in Italy, the military
 oligarchy in Spain, the feudal landowners in Hungary etc.
 In Am. the failure to achieve the dem. system at which
 our people were marshalled into war. The logic deflation
 of the cracked ideals and the economic collapse of the war
 Conf. & in the years which followed it, made us reflex, therefore
there, led them to double their fractiousness by the new
 real threat to property rights which was involved in the new
 new extreme of the factious; Europe induced many men to
 look with jealous and approval upon any strong arm man who
 would put an end to such anarchy. For many of us there
 concerned about the property rights which once dem. systems had
been the basis on which we, then about after warding off the new
and we explain the high universal condemnation of the
due to violence in Russia, and the anarchy, defence of the
shop in Italy the Seizure of the Treasury. Andrew W. Hulton.

The objections, these 2 dictatorships are fundamentally different,
of course. One is the lackey of a predatory capitalism,
the other is the vehicle for a futuristic communism.
One aspires to wealth & luxury rich and imperial within
the frame-work of extreme orthodox economics, the
other seeks to make the Kuma people and
happy on the basis, the revolutionary economics
of Marx. Their objectives are like poles apart;
but their technique is ^{the same} identical - revolution. Their
ideology is ~~an anti-democratic~~ ^{the same - pro-democratic}: their mode of survival is the
same-force and their victory is the same - democracy.

Both fascism and bolshevism exhibited themselves through
revolutionary as kept in power by means of a powerful military
^{clique}
group; both have fostered Communist spirit; both have ruthlessly suppressed opposition, prohibited
free speech and ~~a free press~~. And yet while the
misdeeds of Bol. rule on many has been fully
broadcast among us and duly denounced, the sins
of F. are subjected to no such universal condemnation.
Rather is one likely to encounter a widespread ~~affair~~
admiration; this movement - and praise for its
heroic and historic autocrat.

③ On his ^{recent} return from Europe, indulged in a panegyric of Mussolini, declaring the work sound, and prophesying that he is creating a new nation out of Italy. This special spokesman, the world's greatest demon; when questioned about his brutal methods in suppressing every vestige of liberty in Italy, blandly remarked "Many of his measures are unique, indeed. But they are effective." These same methods when employed in Russia are de-nounced by ^{him} as as criminal, inhuman and tyrannical. ^{and} "We would have nothing to do with those who employ them." But in the case of Mr. ^{the world's despots, the Tsar} ~~the~~ can find no other reason for them but "unique" - altho produces ^{the same} results that they fear being unique. ^{and} ~~but~~ ^{that} ~~they are~~ ^{part of the same} ~~part of the same~~ ^{are done in the same} ~~the being effective~~ ^{for what it does for Gen. Govt. - property, protection, property} ~~effective for what it does for Gen. Govt. - property, protection, property~~ ^{the subjective & labor-treated interests} ~~the subjective & labor-treated interests~~ ^{of any state} ~~of any state~~

I have often respected that ~~most~~ ^{many} of those who ^{can speak} ~~so~~ ^{so} ~~firmly~~ ^{firmly} pronounced on B. were moved not by any sense of outrage at the desecration of graves, but by a sense of pain at the confiscation of property. They were shedding tears not for principles but for interest.... Our govt. which still refuses to recog. Russia here, it has so flagrantly violated ^{her} ~~the~~ ^{her} ~~private~~ ^{property} ~~rights~~ ^{rights} ~~as~~ ^{as} is on the frontier it seems with Fascist Italy, and recently terminated a debt settlement ^{which that part} which is an astounding one, it is generous —

2. I have frequently heard diluted dem. perjury Fascism
on the ground that it has made Italy prosperous. In the
first place this reasoning is of course outright Jesuitry.
Prosperity is no proof of morality in nations or in
governments. People have been prosperous under
any conceivable form of government - at least for a time.
Germany was prosperous under Kaiserism. Am. under
Kaiserism

Meaning. Again, the sole function of govt is not to make people prosperous - to give them bread and circuses. Govt has another and higher function to perform - It is to enable its citizens to develop ^{themselves} to the limit of their capacity; intellect. morally & artistically. The exercise of suffrage, the free participation in political responsibility, & and the free exchange of ideas are among the most potent agencies for such develop- ment. When govt for whatever reason deprives its people of their participation it denies them some of the most stimulating opportunities for self-expression and self-realization. Liberals long ago warned men against confusing civilization with comfort and it was because cooperation to reach men against confusing government with prosperity.

3. Furthermore the prosperity, Italy is not at all
as real as some would wish you to believe & and
even if real it is ~~very~~ ^{not} ~~that~~ ^{such} short duration.
Then as to ~~the~~ ^{its} ~~no~~ ^{no} such ~~written~~ ^{written} influences. ^{as they will have a draw}
with the press ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~circulation~~ ^{circulation} presented and
~~facts~~ ^{all} ~~likely~~ ^{likely} to ~~hurt~~ ^{hurt} the cause of F. vigorously
~~imposed~~ ^{imposed}. Now can one form scientific judgment
about the actual conditions in Italy. One should
like to know more about the ~~conditions~~ ^{conditions} & labor
in Italy before judgment is formed. We know that
the 8 hr. day has been abolished - We know that
old age pensions and medical assistance have been
abolished. We are informed that while the cost of living
has increased 100% on the pre-war rate, wages

8. I have heard 30%. We are informed that children ^{under 14} are employed in many Italian factories ^{and ~~factories~~} and paid from 20 to 30 cents for a 10 hr. day. Later. We are told that women can work 10 hrs. a day for similar wages. Mr. Brants that the standard of living in Italy is still ^{enough} to enable him to carry through what ever he has in mind. We would like to know more about these conditions - which are the ^{only} criteria of a people's econ. life before we generalize about Italian prosperity. Who is prosperous in Italy? The industrialist & the banker! or the ^{poor} peasant and the day labourer?

4. People are frequently beguiled by the superficial & passing which autocracy ^{early} ~~roughly~~ achieves. With the centralization of authority there ensues a temporary speeding up in administration, a momentary ~~improvement~~ and it is patch. The victors of autocracy are early victims and but they ^{are not} ~~do not~~ last. Every pre-centralization in government inevitably results in the most rapid kind of ~~peace~~ ^{peace} bureau decay. Eventually becoming becomes infected with intrigues, ^{rivalry} ~~republicanism~~ and the spoils system. In the long run it becomes the most cumbersome and inefficient form of government imaginable.

5. This is the first & the two ^{deadly} evils which beset all autocracies and which ultimately destroy them. Inter-national rivalry. For Russia the Stalin factor was the ~~highly~~

fortune has been at. With the death of Lenin, fortune
is set out in among the Bolsheviks. For the present
the group of Stalin has been victorious. How long
will it be before the ^{so-called} fortune healed by Trotsky
will attempt to seize the reins of power - is perhaps
a thing? And what can decide such an contest
but ^{civil war} blood - shed? How long will the power, Mr.
remain unchallenged? One serious blunder, and the
Oleyn ^{and the members of the high imperial or clerical class} to him, ~~will~~ then expect him and destroy
him? Or assuming that Mr. will remain ^{for even an autocrat is responsible - not to an electorate of voters - but to God} supreme
duce as long as he lives, can he inspire a
dynasty to follow him? would there be no one
must be a romanticist, the extreme type, and
well as a deeply innocent, thinks left and history
to anticipate such peaceful success in this.
Blood and revolution follow in the wake
of all autocracy. This is history. All else is
~~false fantasy~~ ^{fiction}. When men are restrained from de-
vying their preference by the ballot, they do it by
the bullet. There ^{has been} ~~is no~~ other alternative, since
~~man has sacrificed from the French Revolution~~
taught men their ^{unalienable} ~~unalienable~~ rights.

6. The second of the 2 deadly evils which beset auto-
cracy is the imperialism. The autocrat must com-
pensate his people for the liberties of which he de-
prived them. He is forced to hold up before their ^{very} ~~eyes~~
page tantalizing visions of imperial expansion -
apocalyptic ^{visions} of national grandeur and might.

13) 4. In the more - as long as people live upon earth, they will each try to climb as high upon the ladder of well-being, and to possess as much of the goods of life as possible. In the future, this ascending effort, all ~~the members of~~ ^{men} society can adopt as two attributes. It may establish arbitrary limitations for no purpose or avoid the same. Henceforth shall you go and no farther! This is the caste system in all its ramifications. Or society can ^{admit} a fair & open field for all! Let each man go to the limit of his capacity. Let each man ascend as high as his powers or his ^{own} ~~good~~ ^{strength, yielding up his energies and augmenting the social assets} ~~will permit him~~. Then we maintain that this latter way of insuring the widest distribution for all men by means of efforts towards self-entertainment is the fairest, ^{simplest} ~~safest~~ ^{and also} ~~most~~ secure form of social order. - But ~~learn alone~~ ^{that this is} most fully in its profoundest sense - D.

14. It would be the key at 7 fully to maintain that
these conditions 7^a free electorate and free opportunity
~~have~~ already fully established here or elsewhere. We are
far from the Millennium. To have a free electorate we
must have an educated electorate, reliable channels
of pol. information. Before free press can function properly
[we shall have to ~~clean~~ ^{dismantle} ~~the~~ ^{the means} ~~the~~ ^{changes}
from the Temple - the corrupt & special interests which
thrust the press - the demagogues and the exploiters (to ~~have~~ ^{undo}
that must we shall have to discover ways of ~~destruction~~ ^{establishing} ~~it~~ ^{on a smaller scale}]

[illegible]

12. The hp. Cookinhaus may be all true and yet they do
* not in the least discount D. From a dem. point of view
it is not at all important that the public shall pass
judgment upon every issue, however involved and
technical. With the increase in the scale of the prob.
it became increasingly more difficult for the average citizen
to ^{by an informed} pass accurate and helpful judgment upon many
problems of prob. and it is increasingly more important to
rely upon the experts to competent and trustworthy
technicians and executives — This is not in the
least a violation of the dem. principle — From the
pt of view of D. if things are essential and indispensable
— all else is incidental.

1. That every citizen shall be the equal of every other citizen before the law.

2. That no opportunities shall by law be denied to
one group and granted to another

3. That any citizen shall be privileged to hold any office to which his fellow citizens ^{wish} ~~desire~~ to elect him and that all citizens shall have the right to elect to any office whomsoever they please.

any office whomsoever they please.

4. That ~~all~~ ^{the} pol. controversies shall be settled by vote and

(12) not ~~to~~ by force.

a) Within this framework all human progress is possible. The machinery of Gov. may be constantly revised to meet new conditions and new knowledge. It may be found expedient to rehyal more functions to technical experts, or to increase the power of the executive, or to centralize or decentralize in one instance or in another. The A. form is yielding & susceptible to alterations in detail as long as the essentials are scrupulously maintained.

13. It is my firm conviction that Secor is not a liberal
? He would maintain a transitional pol. & experiment. But
is it in its broad outline the ultimate form,
human pol. organization - As long as men live
upon earth, they will live in societies. As long as they
live in societies there will conflicts, inherent. These
conflicts which existed 10,000 years ago and which will exist
50,000 years hence can be resolved in one of two ways.
^{through} War, ^{which leads to more war} or a sublimated, ^{bloodless} war which is the vote.
For after all an election is war without its
brutality and horror. The major says to the minority
"I can kill you if it comes to a show down & I prefer
but what's the use? Join me so that I am in the majority."
+ ∴ let me run this first night work him as
you can persuade new people to think as you do,
and you will become the majority - then I will
yield to you" — This is the same, while our
way is settling the ever inevitable conflicts which arise

and patients of the people, a power ~~which~~ ^{is} the defense of the (13)
~~not~~ ~~and~~ ~~in~~ ~~face~~, whose ~~subject~~ ^{is} the defense of the
material rights, its citizens and whose play
are the spiritual ~~for~~ values of life - justice and
fair-play, and brotherliness and liberty?
Ought we not to reinvest ^{again} ~~our~~ ^{that} ~~rel.~~ ^{which we have} ~~from~~ ^{lost} ~~our~~ ^{eyes}
it will be the ~~renewal~~ ^{renewal} of youth - and set ~~it~~ ^{it}
Upon the ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~career~~ ^{career} of ~~emancipation~~ ^{emancipation} - which is the
mission of America.



2272

1. 10 years - Dictators justify -
- at home, target + 1000% on open or further colonies.
2. Sad. Sesqui - ideal Soviet. flamboyant
3. Undoubtedly drift towards dem. Regime.
- disorgan - Victorious - vainglorious
- could not think - misnomers -
- at home - failure to achieve - deflation
- ~~discontent~~
4. Inherent threat to property. to mind -
- How else reconcile - Objections?
to the Fasc. / Bol -
- Andrew W. Mellon - "Unique but
effective" for principle but unethical
- recognize Russia
5. Justify on ground of Italy's People
① to pay ② handle Every ③ Sole
function -
Disraeli

6. Would like to know a little more
about Ital. propensity
7. Beguiled by superficial Ephemery
- Internal Rivalry. part 92
Deadly Eris - Lenin - read
them to pieces - Successors
8. 2nd Deadly Eris - ^{apocalyptic} superstition
- The Perfect Fascist. (Quote)
9. Still much to be said for Dean
- Faneels (Quote) -
- W. T. P. (Quote) -
10. Valid - not ~~fatal~~ - but Achilles'
- but fatal - Wagner - "You
will never have these both -

in theory
➔ ① Real logs -

② Abc. 5 Indip. - 1/6

③ 150 years later -

④ need, Self Exam - not rejection

11. Current to say - measurement - not interest
- modern - Washington -

12. Human - need not always
vote - 4 things must,
- nothing

13. Permanent - As long - conflict.
① long in - outlets - conflict.
② - Church - arbitrary limitations.

14. Long way to go -

① Educated electorate -

② financial potential

③ new aggressiveness.

But then work - not Permanent

15. Overriding zeal

① Old world - Clinton

Every Nation a gift

② Liberals & Progressives

16. Americanism - McCarthy
- vicious

17. Day let us not return -

- fundamental - wide & ready vision
- based - purpose - stop -

- reinvest dem. glamour

- youth - care -

1. Memos. under a cloud - War.

Sceptical.

Red Gospel - superstitious - Parliamentarianism

In our hand - target sceptic - catalogue

Regimented - centralization - Dem. govt retarded
early victories - undoing - Krausen cracy

2. Autocracy - imperialistic - War.

3. Dem. not without its faults - machinery for
self-rectification - From west - Pace

4. Dem. in widest sense = Liberalism

① Usurping State, class, machines.

5. One of major problems

In primitive society -

Life moved on -

Within last 500 years

But hard-won victories - State always
all over world.

Sacrosanct - administered - Fully

Ideal State - rules with moderation

- serves without meddling

Both Socialism - Foreign

6. Usurping Class - In older days - dynasties.
The bitter struggles - prosper black -
Peace and well-being -

7. Usurping Machine.

It is falling -
not used it wisely not undulable
Standardizes - stereotyped.

8. How can education meet 3-fold challenges

- 1) State = ① Independent thinking - Propaganda.
② Not to look to Govt - institutions.
③ Wenture of Citizenship - abolition.

- 2) Class ① Social Justice.
② Education is the 'people's'
③ Can't continue

3) Machine

- ① Leisure
② Machine Age will give us
③ Age of Specialization.
④ More > one world
⑤ God Created Man.
⑥ Plans for the future
etc - Both etc.

.C 278
2

SPRING MEETING
OF
THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION
OF CLEVELAND

MONDAY AFTERNOON AND EVENING

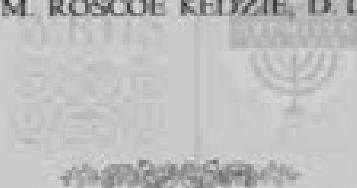
MAY 2, 1927

WITH THE

FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH

FRANKLIN AVENUE AND WEST 43rd STREET

REV. WM. ROSCOE KIDZIE, D. D., *Pastor*



OFFICERS OF THE UNION

A. F. ALLEN	<i>President</i>
REV. WM. ROSCOE KIDZIE, D. D.	<i>Vice President</i>
DANIEL H. FARNAM	<i>Vice President</i>
ROBERT S. CRAWFORD	<i>Treasurer</i>
REV. RAYMOND G. CLAPP	<i>Recording Secretary</i>
REV. G. LeGRAND SMITH	<i>Executive Secretary and Registrar</i>

AFTERNOON SESSION

DR. WM. ROSCOE KEDZIE, *Presiding*

2:30—Period of Worship.

REV. EDWIN A. RALPH, Bethlehem Church.

Assisted by Schaufler School Quartet.

2:50—Business.

Approval of Minutes.

Reports of Committees by their Chairmen—

*Credentials—*REV. JOHN G. HINDLEY, East Church.

*Education—*REV. LESTER L. WOOD, Highland Church.

*Raising the Apportionment—*DR. DAN F. BRADLEY
Pilgrim Church.

*On Union with the Presbyterians—*DR. FERD. Q.
BLANCHARD, Euclid Ave. Church.

3:30—Executive Secretary's Report of the Churches.

REV. G. LEGRAND SMITH.

4:00—"Universalist-Congregational Affiliation,"

REV. ROBERT TIPTON, Pastor of the North Olmsted
Universalist Church.

4:30—"Momentous Movements in China,"

REV. PHILIP D. DUTTON, Missionary of the A. B. C.
F. M., Shansi, China.

5:00—"What I See in My Job."

MRS. MARION BALLOU FISK, Assistant Superintendent,
The Ohio Conference.

5:30—Recess.

DINNER AND EVENING SESSION

MR. A. F. ALLEN, *Presiding*

6:00—Dinner served by First Church Women at 75c a plate.

8:00—Evening Service.

Organ Prelude.

MRS. LEONA EISELE.

Hymn.

Scripture Lesson and Prayer.

REV. CLYDE L. KUHN, Strongsville Church.

Roll Call of the Churches.

Anthem by First Church Choir.

MR. A. L. HASENTFLUG, Director.

Address—"Democracy at the Cross Roads."

RABBI ABRAHAM HILLEL SILVER, D. D., The Temple,
Cleveland.

CLOSING HYMN.

Benediction.

REV. WM. ROSCOE KEDZIE, D. D., Pastor First Church.

INFORMATION

First Congregational Church is located at Franklin Ave. and West 45th St. The Clifton Blvd. bus going through the Public Square from the East Side passes First Church door. The Lakewood, Detroit and Clifton cars stop at W. 45th St. The church is two short blocks south of Detroit Ave.

Dinner will be served by First Church women at 75c a plate. Orders for reservations must be in by Friday, April 29, at Congregational Headquarters, 801 Hippodrome Bldg., Main 2452. Tickets will be on sale at the church.

The Constitution says: "Each church shall be represented at the meeting of the Union by pastor or pastors and two delegates and by one additional delegate for each two hundred of the membership of the church or major fraction thereof." The voting membership of the Union is composed of the annual lay delegates chosen by the churches, Ministerial Members who are not pastors and Life Members. Besides these, visitors are urgently invited.

Revised dates of meetings

Programs.

Speakers for
Clubs

ANNUAL ANNOUNCEMENT OF
The Mid-Day Luncheon Club

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

Season of 1926-27

STATEMENT

The Mid-day Luncheon Club was founded October 21, 1913, with the following as charter members: Frank Waller Allen, Dr. Walter G. Bain, Dr. A. R. Crook, Dr. Don Deal, Rev. T. N. Ewing, D.D., Vernor E. Henshie, Elmer J. Kneale, Dr. T. J. Knudson, George E. Lee, Vachel Lindsay, Dr. J. C. Nayphe, Edward W. Payne, T. L. Rickaby, Clarence J. Root, Rabbi Sidney Tedeschi.

The purpose of the club is for the discussion of subjects of value in scientific, literary, artistic, ethical and other departments of human endeavor.

The meetings of the club are usually held at the noon hour in the form of a luncheon, at least twice each month. On a few occasions each year an evening dinner or meeting is held. All of the luncheon and dinner meetings this year will be held at the Leland Hotel. The hours for all luncheon meetings are from 12:15 Noon, to 2:00 P. M.

The cost of the noon luncheons, with but two or three exceptions during the year, is fixed at \$1.00 per plate, and is divided as follows: 90 cents is paid to the hotel for the luncheon; 10 cents reverts into the club treasury. When an unusually elaborate or expensive program is arranged, the cost of the luncheon is fixed at \$1.25 per plate, with 25 cents reverting into the club treasury. The cost of the evening dinners is \$1.50 per plate, with 25 cents reverting into the club treasury.

The club year begins October 1st, with a recess during July, August and September. The annual business meeting is held usually in June, or early in the fall, at which time officers for the coming year are elected by the membership present at this meeting. The officers elected are president, secretary, treasurer, and four members of the executive committee, which includes the officers. The past presidents are members ex-officio of the Executive Committee. In the absence of the president, it is understood that one

of the past presidents, in due rotation, shall take charge of any meeting occurring in such absence.

Each member of the club residing in Springfield is notified by telephone the day before each meeting occurs, except where a mail notification is desired. The services of six women are utilized in telephoning the membership on the day of notification. Each non-resident member is notified by mail two days before each meeting occurs. Each member has the privilege of bringing as many guests as he may desire to each meeting. While only men are eligible for membership in the club, ladies are invited to attend all meetings.

Members are asked to be definite in making reservations for the club meetings, as it is necessary to account to the hotel for all reservations ordered. Reservations may be made for any club meeting by telephoning Main 6632.

The name of each member is permanently fixed on the membership roll of the club, not to be removed until ample notice justifying such removal is received by the secretary. Persons wishing to relinquish membership in the club are asked to notify the treasurer or the secretary immediately upon receipt of the first notice for payment of dues, otherwise they will be expected to pay the dues for the current year.

The annual dues, which are \$3.00, are payable upon receipt of a notice from the treasurer.

Members of the club are asked to kindly notify the secretary of any change in address or telephone number, so that there may be no interruption in the notification of meetings.

Members are asked to present names of persons for membership in the club at any time during the year, by forwarding such names to the secretary. These names are placed before the executive committee for their unanimous approval, following which the secretary will notify by letter the persons nominated. Upon the acceptance by these persons of membership, their names are placed before a general meeting of the club to be voted into full membership.

The officers of the club may be reached as follows: President, Walter McClellan Allen, Booth Building, Telephone Main 1496; Secretary, Elmer J. Kneale, Illinois State Registrar, Telephone Capitol 2216. Treasurer, Arthur H. Gottschalk, 301 W. Edwards Street, Telephone Capitol 140.

The total membership of the club on the date of publication of this announcement is 1,112. 1,078 are resident in Springfield; 34 are non-resident.

PROGRAM 1926-1927

The following are expected to be the guests of the club and speak. Where a definite date has been fixed, it is so indicated. Where the exact date is yet to be fixed, the month only is indicated:

1926

THE RIGHT HON. RIGHT REV. A. F. WINNINGTON INGRAM,
D. D., LL. D., Bishop of London October 5

RABBI STEPHEN S. WISE October 23

STUYVESANT PEABODY, President of the Peabody Coal Co. November 4

HER MAJESTY QUEEN MARIE of Roumania November 13

MAYOR BERTHA K. LANDES, of Seattle, Wash. November 17

FRED B. SMITH November 30

THE MOST REV. JOHN J. GLENNON, D. D., Archbishop of
St. Louis December 8

SILAS H. STRAWN, Chairman of the Montgomery Ward Co. December 22

1927

HON. ERIC H. LOUW, Commissioner of the Union of South
Africa to the United States January 28th

THE RIGHT REV. FRANCIS C. KELLEY, D.D., Bishop of
Oklahoma January 11th

* PROP. PHILLIP FOX, of Northwestern University, Illustrated
lecture on Astronomy January 17th

MELVIN A. TRAYLOR, President of the American Bankers'
Association January

GEORGE A. RANNEY, Vice-President of the International
Harvester Company January

GIPSY SMITH February

MARIE BARONESS WEANGLE, of Russia February

RIGHT REV. IRVING PEAKE JOHNSON, D. D., Bishop of
Colorado February 1st

MAYOR JAMES J. WALKER, of New York City February

REV. CHARLES W. GORDON, D. D., (Ralph Connor) of Winni-
peg, Canada February 19

SENATOR ARTHUR CAPPER, of Kansas March 25

* LAWRENCE A. DOWES, President of the Illinois Central
Railroad April

SENATOR CHARLES J. DENEEN April

BISHOP FRANCIS J. McCONNELL, D. D., LL. D., Resident
Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Pittsburg,
Pennsylvania April 23

REV. CHARLES A. TINDLEY, D. D., Pastor of Calvary Metho-
dist Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, Pa. May

REV. W. A. ("Billy") SUNDAY May

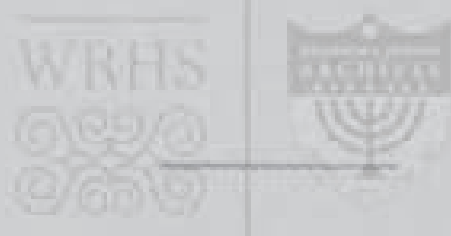
DR. MAX MASON, President of the University of Chicago. May

* Dr. John A. Ryan, D. D., Catholic University,
January 19th; subject: "The Church and Labor."
Rabbi Abba Hilel Silver, Cleveland, Ohio, April
12th.

NOTED SPEAKERS WHO HAVE APPEARED BEFORE THE MID-DAY
LUNCHEON CLUB.

Chronologically Listed.

Bishop William A. Quayle.
William Jennings Bryan.
Alvaro Obregon, former President of Mexico.
Chief Justice William Howard Taft.
President Calvin Coolidge.
General John J. Pershing.
Dr. Henry Van Dyke.
Dr. Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior.
Former Premier M. Georges Clemenceau.
Vice-President Charles G. Dawes.
Former Premier David Lloyd George.
The Right Hon. Sir Esme W. Howard, Ambassador of Great Britain.
His Eminence Michael Cardinal von Faulhaber, Archbishop of Munich.
Tsuneo Matsudaira, Ambassador of Japan.



The Mid-Day Luncheon Club
of Springfield, Illinois

Administration

WALTER McCLELLAN ALLEN
President

ELMER J. KNEALE
Secretary

ARTHUR H. GOTTSCHALK
Treasurer

Executive Committee

WALTER McCLELLAN ALLEN
DR. WALTER G. BAIN
JOHN A. BARBER
G. C. BRETSCHER
S. LEIGH CALL
DR. A. R. CROOK
ARTHUR H. GOTTSCHALK
HON. JAMES M. GRAHAM

RIGHT REV. JAMES A. GRIFFIN
DR. T. E. HAGLER
HON. LOGAN HAY
ELMER J. KNEALE
DR. T. J. KNUDSON
VACHEL LINDSAY
CLARENCE I. ROOT
CHIEF JUSTICE CLYDE E. STONE



NEW PHILADELPHIA, OHIO

*Chamber of
Commerce*

Community Banquet

THURSDAY, APRIL 28TH
1927



FIRST METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

Six O'clock



MENU

Grape Fruit

Roast Beef

Mashed Potatoes

Gravy

Pea Patties

Pine Apple Salad

Rolls

Butter

Jelly

Pickles

Salted Nuts

Ice Cream

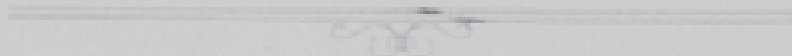
Cake

Coffee



Music for this occasion furnished by
The West End Saxophone Soloists

NO SMOKING





PROGRAM

Song—"America"—Ensemble

Invocation Rev. P. B. Schaffner

"Twilight is Lovelight" Arranged from Rubenstein's
Famous Melody by Walter Lewis

Chamber of Commerce Quartette

Messrs Kennedy, Whitmer, Miller and Wilson

Mrs. C. F. Flora, Accompanist

Address of Welcome Pres. A. A. Bowers

"Heah Dem Bells" Strickland
Quartette

Address—"Democracy at the Cross Roads"
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

"Venetian Love Song" Nevin
Quartette

"Star Spangled Banner"—Ensemble



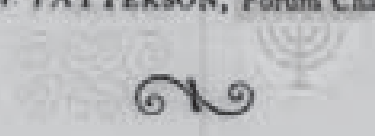
1-call 3rd--



New Philadelphia, Ohio
Chamber of Commerce



A. A. BOWERS, President
W. L. DAVIS, Vice President
APOLLO OPES, Secretary
A. J. HARRIS, Treasurer
L. M. PATTERSON, Forum Chairman



DIRECTORS

L. W. Alexander	W. A. Wagner
J. U. Congleton	F. W. Andrews
A. E. Hert	E. L. Wenger
L. M. Patterson	E. D. Moore
A. A. Bowers	H. A. Coleman
O. L. Dodd	Wm. L. Davis



27-8

Five Successive Programs

FORD HALL FORUM

Under the Auspices of the Boston Baptist Social Union

Twentieth Season—1926-1927

EVERY SUNDAY EVENING AT 7.30

GEORGE W. COLEMAN, LL.D., Director and Chairman

DAVID K. NILES, Assistant Director

ALICE H. SAMSON, Executive Secretary

1243 Little Building, Boston

RUSSELL COOK, Director of Music

CLARA BELLE COOK, Accompanist

REUBEN L. LURIE, Editor, Bulletin

LOUIS P. SMITH, Head Usher

JOHN S. BALLOU, Outside Usher

ARTHUR J. THORSTON, Platform Usher



Hon. BURTON K. WHEELER
March 6

THE LAST
FORUM MEETING
OF THIS SEASON IS
APRIL 17

THE ANNUAL BANQUET
COMES WEDNESDAY
APRIL 27



WALTER DREY
March 13



SCOTT NEARING
March 20



JULIUS HOCHMAN
March 27



ABBA HILLEL SILVER
April 3

FORD HALL, Corner Bowdoin Street and Ashburton Place.
Doors open at 7.00 o'clock. Half-hour concert. Address by noted speakers
Questions from the audience
TO HELP MEET EXPENSES A SILVER COLLECTION IS TAKEN AT THE DOOR

Five Successive Programs

MARCH 6

Hon. BURTON K. WHEELER—U. S. Senator, Montana
"Dollar Diplomacy"

Concert at 7.30—ALICE HATCH, Soprano
HILDEGARD BERTHOLD—Violoncello

A Beethoven (1770-1827) Centennial Program

MARCH 13

WALTER DREY—Vice-President, Forbes Magazine
"The Social Value of Hypocrisy"

Concert at 7.30—PEABODY HOUSE ORCHESTRA
RUSSELL COOK—Conductor

MARCH 20

SCOTT NEARING—Sociologist
"Russian Influence in Mexico—China—South America and the Orient"

Concert at 7.30—INDIA (Mohammedan)—MOHAMMED FOZLOL KARIM—
chanting the Moslem maezzin in Arabic
CHINA—TSU ZUI LO—playing the Yang Ching
SYRIA—S. H. ATTAYA—playing the Syrian Ood
RUSSIA—Folk songs on the Balalaika

MARCH 27

JULIUS HOCHMAN—Vice-Pres., Intern'l Ladies' Garment Workers Union
"The Menace of Communism to American Trade Unionism"

Concert at 7.30—Cantor DAVID BRODSKY, Lyric Baritone
Program of Folk-Songs and Art Songs

APRIL 3

Rabbi ABBA HILLEL SILVER—Clergyman, Progressive Thinker
"Democracy at the Cross-Roads"

Concert at 7.50—THE KNICKERBOCKER STRING TRIO
MARIE ZELENY—Violin FLORENCE COLBY—Violoncello
MARY SYNOTT—Pianoforte

PROGRAM EXTENDED TWO ADDITIONAL MEETINGS



ROBERT EMMONS ROGERS
April 10



SHERWOOD EDDY
April 17

APRIL 10 — A Drama Forum

Prof. ROBERT EMMONS ROGERS—Professor of English at M. I. T.
"Does the Drama Help or Hinder Social Progress?"

Illustrated with readings from the three plays that give the history of the labor movement, "The Weavers," "Strife," and Churchill's "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde." Then some of the modern radical symbolical plays such as "Hairy Ape," "Adding Machine," "Processional," "R. U. R.," and others.

Concert at 7.30—"DIE MEISTERSINGER VON NORNBERG"
From Richard Wagner's immortal music drama

THE CONCORD SINGERS and THE BEACON HILL ENSEMBLE
(40 voices) (30 players)
WALTHER VON STOLZING—JOSEPH LAUTNER HANS SACHS—MORRIS BROWN
RUSSELL COOK—Conductor

APRIL 17

Dr. SHERWOOD EDDY—Clergyman, Y. M. C. A. Worker
"Date We Be Christian"

Concert at 7.30—VESPER BRASS QUARTETTE
in a Program of Special Easter Music from Bach, Beethoven and Weber
arranged for 2 trumpets, horn and trombone.

COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE BOSTON BAPTIST SOCIAL UNION

GEORGE W. COLEMAN, Chairman
Hiram N. Lathrop J. Arthur Sparrow Arthur E. Watkins DeWitt G. Wilcox

INSIDE USHERS

LOUIS E. SMITH, Head Usher
Alexander Abrahams Mrs. Ada F. Ishitsky Maurice Rosen
Miss Sarah Abrahams Nathan Ishitsky Arthur E. Sullivan
Miss Ida S. R. Gould Mrs. Minnie H. Kogos Ulric L. Thain
Herbert H. Hammond Leo Meltzer Arthur J. Thornton
Miss Marian T. Hosmer Arthur E. Perkins Abraham Woolf

OUTSIDE USHERS

Fred L. Cushing JOHN S. BALLOU, Head Usher F. O. Mitchell

TAKING THE SILVER OFFERING

J. ARTHUR SPARROW, in charge
Mrs. Grace E. Blanchard Mrs. Alice M. Parnell Mrs. Matilda G. Sullivan
Mrs. M. Susan Hammond Miss Rachel A. Peaslee Mrs. Clara F. White
Miss Alfreda M. Mosher John J. Sullivan Mrs. Louise M. Young

SPECIAL ASSISTANTS

Joseph Hailwood John C. Quadros
Miss Ednah Blanchard Miss Miriam C. Lathrop Miss Marguerite Sanders
Dr. Annie G. Copeland Reuben L. Lurie Mrs. Claire Thornton

Forum Songs

THESE THINGS SHALL BE!

These things shall be! a loftier race
Than e'er the world hath known shall rise;
With flow'r of freedom in their souls,
And light of science in their eyes.

They shall be gentle, brave and strong.
To spill no drop of blood, but dare
All that may plant man's lord-ship firm,
On earth, and fire, and sea, and air.

Nation with nation, land with land,
Unarm'd shall live as comrades free;
In ev'ry heart and brain shall throb
The pulse of one fraternity.

These things—they are no dreams—shall be
For happier men when we are gone:
Those golden days for them shall dawn,
Transcending aught we gaze upon.

—John Addington Symonds.
—Johann Sebastian Bach.

A FORD HALL HYMN

Come from many sundered races,
We from all the lands of earth,
Turn our sunrise lifted faces
Toward a whole world's glad rebirth.
Thou great Spirit, who existed
Under many names, art God,
Hear our footsteps, still persistent
In the paths Thy prophets trod.

One in passionate desire,
One in righteous wrath at wrong,
Thrilled by sacrificial fire,—
Here we lift to Thee our song.
Speed the dawn, so long expected,
Herald of the common good,—
Justice, full and resurrected,
Our triumphant brotherhood.

—Miriam Allen de Ford.

CHOOSE YE, THIS DAY

Once to ev'ry man and nation comes the moment to decide
In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good or evil side;
Some great cause, God's new Messiah, offering each the bloom or blight,
And the choice goes by forever 'twixt that darkness and that light.

Then to side with Truth is noble when we share her wretched crust,
E'er her cause bring fame and profit and 'tis prosperous to be just.
Then it is the brave man chooses, while the coward stands aside,
And the multitudes make virtue of the faith they had denied.

New occasions teach new duties; time makes ancient good uncouth;
They must upward still and onward who would keep abreast of Truth;
Lo, before us gleam her lamp-fires! we ourselves must pilgrims be,
Nor attempt the future's portal with the past's blood-rusted key.

—James Russell Lowell.

ODE TO JOY

Hail thee, joy! All hail! divinest—
Daughter of Elysium,
Oh, receive us where thou shinest,
In thy fire-encircled dome.
By thy magic is united
What stern custom parted wide;
All mankind are brothers plighted
Where thy gentle wings abide.

Joy, 'tis joy! From heav'n descended,—
Turns unseen the wheel of life,
Joy by love and hope attended,
Leading hearts from worldly strife.
Draws the stream from hidden sources,
Stirs the seed in earth confined,
Rolls the stars along their courses,
Moves the hearts of all mankind.

—Schiller.
—Ludwig van Beethoven.

THE VISION

(Netherlands Air)

Great hearts that have battled in ages behind us,
For love of their country, for Justice and Right,
Behold in a Vision, a People triumphant,
The shadow of dark error dispersed by the Light.

A heritage noble that bids us be worthy,
Be brave and be strong with the strength of the Truth,
A task fit for heroes, for highest endeavor,
A task for every one of us, maiden and youth.

Oh, what shall we make it, this land of our fathers,
This realm that expandeth from sea unto sea?
Be ours the fair Vision, the fairer fulfillment,
A nation shining glorious, mighty and free!

—Cordelia Brooks Fenna.

Forum Who's Who

BURTON KENDALL WHEELER—United States Senator from Montana, was born at Hudson, Mass., February 27, 1882. Elected to the United States Senate in 1922. No American audience need be told very much about Senator Wheeler—of him it can truly be said that he is always on guard protecting the interests of all the people, not only of the great State of Montana but of our entire country. The only mistake he ever made, in our opinion, was moving from Massachusetts to Montana. The road to the White House, Senator, is more direct from the State in which you were born than from the State of your adoption—but, then, detours are often necessary.

WALTER DREY—Vice-president and general manager of *Forbes Magazine*, a conservative business man who writes good poetry. An unusual topic is "The Social Value of Hypocrisy." Why do you tell your friend her new hat is becoming when you think she looks like a fright in it? Why do you ask your guest to come again when you've been bored almost to distraction? Why do you tell your employer he's a fine fellow when all the time you're thinking he ought to be hung, at least? Why do some people come to the Ford Hall Forum 'heresy hunting' instead of with an open mind? Mr. Drey has been gathering material and preparing just for this address for more than a year. Take our word for it—and there is no hypocrisy about it either—you are going to hear the most unusual talk you have ever heard in your life.

SCOTT NEARING—Was born in Morris Run, Pa. Received the degree Bachelor of Science in Economics, Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania 1905; and Doctor of Philosophy there in 1909. Dr. Nearing's lecture work in the field of economics and sociology has been carried on before widely differing groups of people from coast to coast and from Montreal to Mexico City. Whether you agree with him or not, and most people do not, he shakes you out of your complacency and makes you think. He acts as a mental tonic, and this being the first day of spring, we especially urge you to invite some of your sulphur and molasses taking friends to hear our speaker for this evening. The change may do some good.

JULIUS HOCHMAN—Graduate of Brookwood Labor College, vice-president, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, went to work at the age of eleven. He made labor history in 1923 when he successfully conducted a dressmakers' strike in New York City, and was the first man to establish a five day, 40 hour week in the American labor movement. He has led the fight to keep the Communists from gaining control of the Unions he represents and says that they hate him more than they hate any capitalist. You will hear a tale of an industrial struggle that will amaze you; not between Capital and Labor but between two groups within the same labor organization. This will be an especially good night to park your prejudices on the outside.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER, D.D.—Rabbi. The Temple in Cleveland since 1917; was born in 1893. One of the ablest orators in America and one of our most progressive thinkers, we are fortunate, indeed, that he is to address us at this time on so pertinent a subject as "Democracy at the Cross-Roads." We call him the "Friend of Ford Hall" and he well deserves the title, because it is only his friendship for our Forum that makes him willing to make the long trip from Cleveland just to address us. We appreciate much this honor that you have conferred on us, Rabbi Silver, in accepting our invitation and trust we may continue to merit your friendship and interest just as we know you will continue to merit that of the Ford Hall Forum.

ROBERT EMMONS ROGERS—Professor of English, M. I. T., was graduated from Harvard in 1909, A.B. and A.M., and was one of Professor G. P. Baker's early students in Drama. He taught at Williams College, worked for a time in the theatre with Charles Frohman and Maude Adams, and was special writer on the *Brooklyn Eagle*. Since 1913 he has been in the English Department of the Institute of Technology, specializing in modern American, English and European Literature and the Drama. For a year he gave courses in literature at the Boston Labor Union College; and for the past five years has given numbers of courses in Boston and neighboring cities for the state University Extension. This is something new for our audience—a sort of forum lecture-recital. We hope you like the experiment. If you do, you can have more of them another season.

SHERWOOD EDDY—LL.D., Y. M. C. A. worker and Clergyman. Appointed Secretary for Asia, Y. M. C. A. work of the International Commission, 1911, working among students of Japan, Korea, China, India, the Near East and Russia. With a group of one hundred speakers and writers, for a part of each year, he has been making a study of the political, industrial and religious situations in twelve of the principal countries of Europe. Mr. Eddy and his party have thus become the unofficial Ambassadors of American culture to these foreign lands, who were beginning to think that our only interests were commercial. We wanted a speaker and topic for this, our closing night of the season that was in keeping with the day and the occasion—"Dare We Be Christian" is the topic that fits the day and Sherwood Eddy, because he practises what he preaches, is the speaker who fits the occasion.

Speakers and Topics for this Season

- Oct. 17 Prof. JEROME DAVIS—"Is Democracy Succeeding in Russia?"
ROGER BALDWIN—"Is Democracy Failing in America?"
- " 24 Miss AGNES MACPHAIL—"The Rising Tide of Liberalism."
- " 31 VICENTE VILLAMIN—"The Common Sense of the Philippine Question."
MARCIAL P. LICHAUICO—"Why I Disagree with Mr. Villamin."
- Nov. 7 KENNETH MCGOWAN—"The Theatre of Today and Tomorrow."
" 14 EDMUND VANCE COOKE—"The Book of Extenuations."
" 21 Miss JUSTINE WISE—"The Challenge of the Passaic Strike to Modern Youth."
KENNETH LINDSAY—"The Philosophy of British Labor and Modern Youth."
- " 28 Prof. JOSEPH JASTROW—"The Psychology of Superstition."
- Dec. 5 Dr. JOHN A. LAPP—"Capitalizing Prejudices."
" 12 NOEL SARGENT—"The Open Shop."
JAMES H. MAURER—"The Closed Shop."
" 19 Prof. HARRY A. OVERSTREET—"Problems of Adult Personality."
" 26 Prof. ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER—"Conservatism and Radicalism in American History."
- Jan. 2 Rev. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES—"1926-1927: Toward What Is Humanity Moving?"
" 9 JOHN LANGTON-DAVIES—"Eugenics: New Religion or Old Superstition?"
" 16 ANNA LOUISE STRONG—"Religion and Morals in the Soviet Republic."
" 23 DHAN GOPAL MUKERJI—"Caste and Outcaste."
" 30 FRANK TANNENBAUM—"Mexico Misunderstood."
- Feb. 6 Rev. CLINTON WUNDER—"Is the Church Committing Suicide?"
" 13 A. PHILIP RANDOLPH—"The Negro Helps Himself."
COUNTER CULLEN—"Color."
" 20 Prof. BRUNO ROSELLI—"Mussolini: Savior of Italy?"
Rev. BERTRAND M. TIPPLE, D.D.—"Mussolini: Destroyer of Italy."
" 27 OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD—"Wanted: A Political Opposition."
- Mar. 6 Hon. BURTON K. WHEELER—"Dollar Diplomacy."
" 13 WALTER DREY—"The Social Value of Hypocrisy."
" 20 SCOTT NEARING—"Russian Influence in Mexico, China, South America and Orient."
" 27 JULIUS HOCHMAN—"The Menace of Communism to American Trade Unionism."
- Apr. 3 Rabbi ABBA HILLEL SILVER—"Democracy at the Cross-Roads."
" 10 Prof. ROBERT EMMONS ROGERS—"Does the Drama Help or Hinder Social Progress?"
" 17 Dr. SHERWOOD EDDY—"Dare We Be Christian."
" 27 (Wednesday Evening) ANNUAL BANQUET—particulars later.

Oct. 16 Rabbi STEPHEN S. WISE—OPENING NIGHT OF NEXT SEASON.

COMMITTEE OF CITIZENS

Elizabeth Balch
Mrs. George W. Coleman
Mary Caroline Crawford
Courtenay Crocker
Henry S. Dennison
Edward A. Filene
Susan W. FitzGerald
Alvan T. Fuller
Rev. George A. Gordon

Richard W. Hale
Henry P. Kendall
Stanley King
Rabbi Harry Levi
Daniel L. Marsh
Harold Marshall
Denis A. McCarthy
Mrs. John F. Moors
Henry Penn

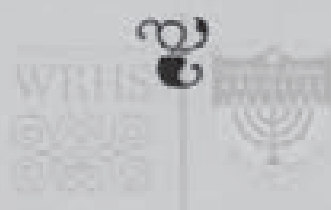
Roscoe Pound
George E. Roewer, Jr.
Bernard J. Rothwell
Clarence R. Skinner
David D. Vaughan
Felix Vorenberg
Joseph Walker
Butler R. Wilson
Mrs. Roger Wolcott

YOUR MEMBERSHIP IN THE FORD HALL FOLKS MEANS:

- You do not need to wait in line for the front doors to open.
- You receive by mail advance notices and programs.
- You have the right to attend and participate in the monthly business meetings.
- You have the satisfaction of being of real help in a fine civic enterprise.

N.B.—The membership quota, for this season, limited to 1000 (instead of the 1500 we had last year) was filled in December. This reduction was voted by the Folks themselves so that we would be able to accommodate more of the general public who come in at the front door. If you want to obtain one of these memberships for next season and are not now a member, send in your name and address to the Forum Office, 1243 Little Building, and your name will be put on the waiting list.

The
Southwestern Ohio
Teachers Association



October 26-27, 1928
CINCINNATI, OHIO

PLEASE BRING THIS PROGRAM WITH YOU TO THE MEETINGS
All sessions meet on Eastern Standard Time

The
Southwestern Ohio
Teachers Association



Opening Session
Music Hall, Friday, 9 A. M.



FRIDAY AND SATURDAY
OCTOBER TWENTY-SIXTH AND TWENTY-SEVENTH
NINETEEN HUNDRED AND TWENTY-EIGHT
CINCINNATI, OHIO

OFFICERS

President

FRANCES JENKINS, Cincinnati

Vice-President

E. D. ROBERTS, Cincinnati

Executive Committee

	Term Expires
C. M. MERRY, Cincinnati.....	1938
J. D. STOVER, Wyoming.....	1939
ESTHER SCHROEDER, Cincinnati.....	1940

Treasurer

O. H. BENNETT, Cincinnati

Executive Secretary

W. Q. BROWN, Cincinnati

Committee on Resolutions

E. C. BUSSERT, Blanchester, Chairman
MRS. FINCH, Miami University
F. B. HARRIS, Lebanon

Committee on Audit

C. W. JOHNSON, Norwood, Chairman
J. S. SINGLETON, Middletown
PAUL H. SEAY, Cincinnati

Committees please meet at front of Music Hall at close
of the morning session.

GENERAL STATEMENT

The annual dues of the Southwestern Ohio Teachers Association are fifty cents. Superintendents and Principals are urged to secure, as far as possible, the payment of these dues by their teachers in advance of the meeting. Membership fee in the State Association has been fixed at \$1.50, which includes the fifty-cent fee for the sectional association. Teachers paying the fee of \$1.50 become members of both the State and Southwestern Associations. The Southwestern fee of fifty cents may, however, be accepted from teachers who do not wish to become members of the State Association at the same time. Membership tickets should be issued to all teachers paying the fee. Upon presentation of these tickets at any meeting place on Friday or Saturday, the teacher will receive a badge for 1928. If the fee has not been paid in advance of the meeting, both tickets and badges may be obtained at Music Hall. One dollar of the combined fee should be sent to Mr. F. E. Reynolds, Secretary-Treasurer of the State Association, Columbus, Ohio; fifty cents should be sent to W. Q. Brown, Executive Secretary, Kennedy School, Montgomery Road and Kennedy Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio. All checks should be made payable to the Southwestern Ohio Teachers Association.

Admission to all sessions is by Membership Badge.

DIRECTORY OF BUILDINGS

MUSIC HALL, Phone Canal 3710. Elm Street, near Twelfth. Reached by College Hill or Westwood cars.

EMERY AUDITORIUM, Phone Canal 4919. Central Parkway and Walnut Street. Reached by Vine-Clifton, Vine-Burnet, or Clifton-Ludlow cars.

HUGHES HIGH SCHOOL, Phone Avon 1580. Clifton Avenue and McMillan Street. Reached by Clifton-Ludlow, Fairview, Cross-Town, and Ohio Avenue cars.

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI, Phone Avon 6160. Clifton Avenue. Reached by Clifton-Ludlow, Fairview, and Cross-Town cars.

Clifton-Ludlow cars pass down Walnut Street to Sixth, over Sixth to Vine and out Vine.

Fairview cars pass down Vine Street to Ninth, over Ninth to Walnut, over Walnut to Sixth, over Sixth to Vine, and over Vine to Hughes Corner.

HOTELS

Fountain Square Hotel, Fifth and Vine.	\$2.50 to \$3.50
Dennison Hotel, Fifth and Main.	1.00 to 4.00
Hotel Gibson, Fourth and Walnut.	3.00 to 10.00
Hotel Sinton, Fourth and Vine.	2.50 to 9.00
Havlin Hotel, Vine and Opera Place.	2.00 to 7.00
Hotel Metropole, Sixth and Walnut.	2.00 to 7.00
Grand Hotel, Fourth and Central Ave.	2.00 to 6.00
Palace Hotel, Sixth and Vine.	1.25 to 4.00
Emery Hotel, 401 Vine.	1.50 to 4.50
Rand Hotel, 25-27 W. Fifth.	1.00 to 5.00
Regal, 5 East Sixth.	1.50 to 5.00
Princeton Hotel, 431 Elm.	1.00 to 3.50
Oxford Hotel, Sixth and Race.	.75 to 1.50
Alms Hotel, McMillan & Alms Place.	3.50
Vernon Manor, Oak and Burnet.	3.50

FOREWORD

In the programs for the general sessions and departmental meetings, the Executive Board believes it has provided for the teachers of the Southwestern Ohio Teachers Association a list of speakers and of topics for discussion that will make a strong appeal to the entire membership of the Association.

Members of the Faculties of the University of Cincinnati and of Miami University, and Superintendents, Principals, and Teachers of the Southwestern Ohio District will contribute largely to the programs. Outside speakers who have been engaged to address the General and Departmental meetings are:

CARL ADAMS,

Professor of Chemistry, Antioch College

EDNA DEAN BAKER,

President National Kindergarten and Elementary College

LOTUS D. COFFMAN,

President University of Minnesota

RAY FIFE,

State Supervisor of Vocational Training

ARTHUR HINES,

County Superintendent of Wayne County, Ind.

HOWARD JENSEN,

Professor of Social Science, Butler University

EDITH KELLER,

State Supervisor of Music

CHARLES H. LANGER,
President Walton School of Commerce, Chicago

JAMES EDWARD ROGERS,
Director National Physical Education, New York

JAMES T. SHOTWELL,
Director Division of Economics and History,
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

ABBA HILLEL SILVER,
Rabbi—The Temple, Cleveland

JAMES TIPPETT,
University of Pittsburg

ETHEL NEAL WRIGHT,
State Supervisor of Vocational Education

RUFUS B. VON KLEINSMID,
President University of Southern California, Los
Angeles

Excellent and varied musical programs have been provided for the three general sessions:

FRIDAY MORNING—

Mme. Karin Dayas, Finnish Pianiste. Mrs. Ruth Townsend, Mezzo Soprano from Paris, France. The Conservatory Artist Trio for Piano and Strings. Mrs. Thomie Prewett Williams will preside at the piano as accompaniste

FRIDAY EVENING—Mrs. Mary Townsley Pfau

SATURDAY MORNING—

Mr. Albert Berne, Favorite Cincinnati Baritone

GENERAL SESSIONS

Friday Morning, 9:00 O'clock

MUSIC HALL, Elm Street, Near Twelfth

Invocation—Rev. H. K. Eversull

Music

Appointment of Committees

Address—The Unmeasured Social Values of Education

Lotus D. Coffman

Music

X Address—Democracy at the Crossroads
Abba Hillel Silver

Friday Evening, 8:00 O'clock

EMERY AUDITORIUM, Central Parkway and
Walnut Street

Music—

Morning Hymn.....Henschel

Hills of Gruzia.....Mednikoff

Mary Townsley Pfau

Invocation—Rev. Jas. F. Hoffman

Music—

The Robin Woman's Song (Shanewis)....Cadman

Mary Townsley Pfau

Address—The Passing of the Barbarian World
James T. Shotwell

Music—
 Memory.....Fairchild
 Sea Rapture.....Coates
 Summer.....Martin Shaw
 The Danza.....Chadwick
 Mary Townsley Pfau

Saturday Morning, 8:45 O'clock

EMERY AUDITORIUM, Central Parkway and
 Walnut Street

Music—Albert Berne

Invocation—Rev. F. N. McMillin

Address—The Pupil and Curriculum Selection
 James S. Tippet

Music—Albert Berne

Address—America's Way Out
 Rufus B. von Kleinsmid

Music—Albert Berne

Business Meeting

DEPARTMENTAL SESSIONS

The departmental sessions will be held on Friday, October 26, beginning at 2:00 o'clock.

It is desired that these meetings be made as practical as possible. To this end topics have been chosen and the entire afternoon given in the hope that teachers will attend not only as interested listeners but also as willing contributors to the discussions.

Each department will elect as its first item of business a chairman and a secretary for next year.

The names and addresses of the officers elected should be sent at once to the Executive Secretary.

Election: The new constitution provides for the election of officers by ballot. Voting facilities will be provided at Hughes High School and at the University of Cincinnati, Friday afternoon between the hours of 1:00 and 5:00 o'clock. The ticket coupon should be given to the Teller.

COUNTY SCHOOL PROGRAM

Room 312, Hughes High School

Chairman—E. H. Pattison, Batavia

Secretary—F. B. Harris, Lebanon

Election of Officers

Address—The Contribution of Rural Education—
Ray Fife, Supervisor of Vocational Training,
Ohio State Department of Education.

Debate—The County Unit Plan of School Administration—

Affirmative—D. H. Patton, County Superintendent, Highland County; J. C. Fichter, County Superintendent, Butler County

Negative—Warren E. Leavitt, School Board Member, Mariemont; Arthur Hines, County Superintendent, Wayne County, Ind.

KINDERGARTEN AND PRIMARY DEPARTMENT

Auditorium, Hughes High School

Chairman—Mary Waite, University of Cincinnati

Secretary—Helen Bertermann, Clifton School, Cincinnati

Election of Officers

Address—Creative Expression in the Primary Grades—Edna Dean Baker, President National Kindergarten and Elementary College, Evanston, Ill.

Discussion

INTERMEDIATE DEPARTMENT

McMicken Auditorium, University of Cincinnati

Chairman—James D. Ferguson, Mt. Healthy

Secretary—Mrs. Ethel Innis, Terrace Park

Election of Officers

Address—The Place of the Skills—James Tippet, University of Pittsburgh

Address—First, Last and Greatest of School Room Problems—Wm. A. Cook, University of Cincinnati

SUPERINTENDENTS AND PRINCIPALS DEPARTMENT

Room 306, Hughes High School

Chairman—Matthew Davall, Mt. Healthy

Secretary—Essie Arey, North Fairmount School,
Cincinnati

Election of Officers

Address—Problems of the Junior High School from
the Principals Standpoint—Wade E. Miller, Mid-
dletown

Address—Problems of the Junior High School from
the Board of Educations Standpoint—F. B. Dyer,
Cincinnati

Address—Education Through Physical Education—
James Edward Rogers, Director of National
Physical Education Service, New York

CONSERVATION OF VISION DEPARTMENT

Room 322, Hughes High School

Chairman—Alice W. Burdge, Sands School, Cincinnati

Secretary—Mildred Whitman, Hamilton

Election of Officers

Address—Public School Lighting—Samuel Freeman,
Director of Lighting Bureau, Union Gas & Electric
Company with practical demonstration

Address (Illustrated)—Lighting—A matter of Correct
Training, not Equipment—Allie Hines, Super-
visor of Primary Grades, Cincinnati

SCIENCE DEPARTMENT

Room 205, Hughes High School

Chairman—J. W. Lyle, Hughes High School

Secretary—Ann Allen, Withrow High School

Election of Officers

Address—Wireless Messages from the Stars—Elliot
Smith, University of Cincinnati

Address—Ohio Myths and Ohio Mound Builders—
John B. Jewett, Newtown

MATHEMATICS DEPARTMENT

Room 119, Hughes High School

Chairman—E. L. Hatton, Guilford School, Cin-
cinnati

Secretary—W. C. Wilson, Withrow High School

Election of Officers

Address—Junior High Mathematics—D. K. Probasco,
Wilmington

Address—Junior High Mathematics—J. V. Nangle,
Wyoming

Address—Mathematics Clubs in High School—Helen
Swineford, Withrow High School

Address—Tests in Mathematics—C. A. Gregory,
University of Cincinnati

HISTORY DEPARTMENT

Room 112, Hughes High School

Chairman—J. M. Hamilton, Withrow High School

Secretary—Margaret Caldwell, Hamilton

Election of Officers

Address—Propaganda and the Social Sciences—
Howard Jensen, Butler University

CHEMISTRY DEPARTMENT

Room 117, Chemistry Building, University of
Cincinnati

Chairman—M. H. Huber, Hughes High School

Secretary—M. H. Huber, Hughes High School

Election of Officers

Address—Teaching Chemistry for its Cultural Value
—Carl Adams, Antioch College

Discussion—Standard Minimum Course in High
School Chemistry as Developed by the Committee
on Education of the American Chemical Society.
See Journal of Chemical Education, May, 1927.

ENGLISH DEPARTMENT

Room 302, Hughes High School

Chairman—Frances G. Richards, Miami University

Secretary—Honora Jacob, Norwood

Election of Officers

Address—Every-Day English in the High School—
Bess M. Hoover, Middletown

Address—Debating for Every Pupil in the High
School—Pearl M. Corl, William McGuffey High
School

Address—Our Future Journalists in High School—
Helen M. Dudley, Woodward High School

FOREIGN LANGUAGE DEPARTMENT

Room 101, Hughes High School

Chairman—Alta Jordan, Fort Thomas

Secretary—Mrs. O. W. Renfrow, Walnut Hills High
School

Election of Officers

Address—Self-Culture—Charles H. Handschin, Mi-
ami University

COMMERCIAL DEPARTMENT

Room 106, Hughes High School

Chairman—T. H. Ziegler, Withrow High School

Secretary—M. Hook, Norwood High School

Election of Officers

Discussion—Class Room and Office Problems Sub-
mitted by Commercial Teachers

Address—Constructive Criticism on Present-Day
Presentation of Fundamental Principles of Ac-
counting—Chas. H. Langer, Walton School of
Commerce, Chicago

ART DEPARTMENT

Room 37, McMicken Hall, University of Cincinnati

Chairman—Ella Brite, Woodward High School

Secretary—Jeanette Greenberg, Cincinnati

Election of Officers

Address and Demonstration—The Theory of Color—
John F. Earhart, University of Cincinnati

Address—Measurements in Art—Gordon Hendrickson, University of Cincinnati

Short Talks by Jessie L. Paul and Dean Schneider
of the University of Cincinnati

MUSIC DEPARTMENT

Room 101, Hughes High School

Chairman—Frances Crowley, Cincinnati Conservatory of Music

Secretary—Blanche K. Evans, Woodward High School

Election of Officers

Address—A Survey of Music Education in Ohio—
Edith Keller, State Supervisor of Music

Demonstration directed by Mynona Benson and given
by children of Centralized Schools of Clinton
County

Community Sing, directed by A. W. Martin, Miami
University

PHYSICAL EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
Men's Gymnasium and Swimming Pool, University
of Cincinnati

Chairman—Arch D. McCartney, Western Hills High
School

Secretary—Maud Suter, Hughes High School

Election of Officers

Address—Progress in Problems in Physical Educa-
tion—James Edward Rogers, Director National
Physical Education Service, New York

Discussion—The 1928 Gymnastic Exhibition and
Olympic Games—Carl Ziegler, Director of Physical
Education, Cincinnati

Demonstration—Swimming Pool—Life Saving and
Methods of Swimming—Allen C. Kindschy, Hughes
High School

HOUSEHOLD ARTS DEPARTMENT

Room 12, Hughes High School

Chairman—Martha Hanna, Oxford, Ohio

Secretary—Fannie Metcalf, Miami University

Election of Officers

The Home Economic Division of the Ohio State
Teachers Association will meet in joint session with
the Household Arts Department. The program
will be in charge of the State Program Committee,
Adele Koch, Chairman.

INDUSTRIAL ARTS DEPARTMENT

Room 117, Hughes High School

Chairman—T. C. Mobberley, Hughes High School

Secretary—R. T. Fell, Hughes High School

Election of Officers

Address—Industrial Arts in the Junior High School—

E. D. Roberts, Associate Superintendent Schools,
Cincinnati

Address—Mechanical Aptitudes and School Success

—L. A. Pechstein, University of Cincinnati

PROFESSIONAL TRAINING AND RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

Dinner Meeting, 5.45 P. M.

Woman's Building, University of Cincinnati

*For reservations, notify G. B. Bolenbaugh, Fairview
School, Cincinnati*

Chairman—H. A. Kellum, Reading

Secretary—G. B. Bolenbaugh, Fairview School, Cin-
cinnati

Election of Officers

Addresses—My Ph.D. Research—Walter Collins,
Gordon Hendrickson, W. A. Justice, Spencer Shank,
W. H. Burten, Members of Faculty, College of
Education, University of Cincinnati

DEPARTMENT OF TEACHERS OF AGRICULTURE

Room 314, Hughes High School

Chairman—Joseph H. Frantz, Blanchester

Secretary—Mathias Drake, Midland City

Election of Officers

Address—Out in the Fields With God—A. M. Crane,
Walnut Hills High School

Address—My Trip to Europe—Mathias Drake,
Midland City

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

Room 114, Hughes High School

Chairman—Roy E. Cahall, Automotive Trades School

Secretary—Arthur C. Taylor, Building Trades School

Election of Officers

Address—Helping the Teacher—Ethel Neal Wright,
State Vocational Department

Address—Educating for Industry—Powell W. Cross-
ley, Jr., Cincinnati

Discussion

GROUP MEETINGS

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI LUNCHEON

The annual luncheon for alumni and other students of the College of Education of the University of Cincinnati will be held on Friday, October 16th, Hughes High School, 12.30. Assistant Professor W. A. Justice, of the College of Education Faculty, is in charge. The alumni will receive a letter from him, this containing a return card for their acceptance. New members of the faculty and other interesting speakers will be presented.

MIAMI LUNCHEON

The Miami Alumni Banquet will be held at the Metropole Hotel, Walnut Street, near Sixth, Friday Evening, October 16th, 5.30 P. M.—\$1.50 per plate. For reservations call or write Anna M. Geeting, 2532 Bell Place, Cincinnati, Ohio; Telephone, Woodburn 2697-Y.

DINNER MEETING RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

At Woman's Building, University of Cincinnati, Friday Evening, October 16th, 5.45 P. M. For reservations notify G. B. Bolenbaugh, Fairview School, Cincinnati.

Financial Report of the Southwestern Ohio Teachers Association

January 15, 1927 to January 1, 1928

RECEIPTS

Balance—Western Bank and Trust.....	\$574 06
Fifth-Third Savings.....	1,210 96
Interest on Savings Account....	44 90
Transferred to Commercial Account from Savings Account..	200 00
Membership Dues (1926).....	29 00
(1927).....	2,500 50
Total.....	\$4,559 42

DISBURSEMENTS

Executive Secretary:	
Salary.....	\$300 00
Expenses.....	71 10
Treasurer:	
Bond.....	5 00
Expenses.....	5 00
Speakers.....	1,885 32
Music.....	317 00
Printing and Buttons.....	327 65
Expenses of Executive Committee.....	53 72
Expenses of 1926 Meeting.....	26 50
Transferred from Savings Account to Commercial Account..	200 00
Incidentals.....	54 00
Total.....	\$3,316 29

CASH ON HAND

Fifth-Third Savings Account...\$1,055 86	
Western Bank and Trust Company.....	127 27
Total.....	\$1,243 13